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Introductory Note

The papers in this volume were prepared for discussion at the One Hundred Thirty-First Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, convened at the Philadelphia Marriott Hotel and Pennsylvania Convention Center, Philadelphia, PA , 18-21 November 1995. 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.

Eugene H. Lovering, Jr., Editor

Q Bibliography Supplement VI: 1995

David M. Scholer
Fuller Theological Seminary

Introduction

This brief listing supplements the Q bibliographies that have appeared in the *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* volumes since 1986. This Supplement contains an additional sixty-two items. It is the plan now to complete a comprehensive Q bibliography through 1996, which will be published (hopefully in 1997) in a volume on Q edited by James M. Robinson, John S. Kloppenborg and Paul Hoffmann.

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Dissertation

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Abraham and the Promise of the Spirit: Galatians and the Hellenistic-Jewish Mysticism of Philo*

Sze-kar Wan
Andover Newton Theological School

Interpreters of Galatians have generally recognized the strategic importance of *both* Paul's appeal to the experience of the Spirit (Gal 3.1–5; 4.6–7) *and* his exegetical appeal to the Abraham traditions (Galatians 3–4).[1] Both constitute central themes in Paul's indirect quarrel with his opponents, a quarrel which Paul elected to conduct by direct admonishment of his recent converts in Galatia.[2] The important question, however, is, What gives Paul's argument internal logic? The key, this paper will suggest, might be sought in the type of Hellenistic-Jewish mysticism reflected in the writings of Philo.

This paper will, first, examine the exegetical issues involved and some recent solutions; second, reconstruct a coherent picture of the mystic Abraham in Philo; and third, suggest points of contact between the Philonic patterns of appropriating Abraham and the Galatian controversy.

The Problem

The *crux* is Gal 3.14. After appealing to the Galatians' reception of the Spirit and their experience of the miraculous accompaniment at the moment of their conversion (3.1–5, esp. vv. 2, 5), Paul steps onto an exegetical platform, likely erected first by his opponents,[3] debating the issue of Abraham. Paul's argument

* I wish to thank Susan Murtha-Smith for her help in the initial stages of research for this paper.

1 Studies on Abraham in Galatians or Paul continue to proliferate. See, e.g., Dietzfelbinger, *Paulus u. AT*, 32ff.; Berger, "Abraham in den paulinischen Hauptbriefen," 47–89; Martin-Achard, *Actualité d'Abraham*, 112–37; Mayer, "Aspekte,"118–27; Sandmel, *Introduction*, 148–54; Wieser, *Abrahamvorstellungen*, 36–93; Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians*, 175–99 (survey designed to show that Abraham in first-century Palestinian Judaism conforms to E. P. Sanders's category of "covenantal nomism"); and most recently, Harrisville, *Abraham in Paul*, 47–135. Harrisville's study ends with the suspect conclusion that Paul did not draw from contemporary discussion of Abraham but was entirely dependent on the Biblical text of Genesis 12–25; Harrisville, *Abraham in Paul*, 179–83.

2 This way of framing my approach is in pointed contrast to such literary approaches to Galatians as attempted by Lyons, *Autobiography*, 75–176, esp. 119–21, and to a lesser extent by Hays, *Faith*, 1–28; Hays, *Echoes*, 105–11. Some of their charges are answered by Barclay, "Mirror-Reading," who also formulates several helpful criteria to insure fruitful "mirror-reading." For recent scholarship on Galatians in general, see Cosgrove, *Cross*, 5–23.

3 The key argument is based on Gal 3.6–7. Paul cites Gen 15.6, "Abraham believed in God

begins with Abraham's faith (Gen 15.6) and continues with the blessing of Abraham (Gen 12.3; 18.18) available to all (Gentiles) who believe (3.6–9). Blessing brings up its correlative, curse, which Paul associates with the law but from which Christ has redeemed[4] us (3.10–13). At this point of his argument, in 3.14, Paul draws a two-part conclusion based on his exegesis, the first expected, the second surprising:

14a:	ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ γένηται ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ,	in order that the blessing of Abraham might come[5] to the Gentiles in Christ Jesus,
14b:	ἵνα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως.	in order that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith.

That 3.14 is meant to be a conclusion to the preceding exegesis is clear from the fact that the two ἵνα-clauses are syntactically consecutive to v. 13 and that elements making up the verse are all extracted from the previous exegetical discussion of vv. 6–13—or at least most of them. The first ἵνα-clause is constructed out of results from the blessing- and curse-sections: the *Gentiles* are *blessed* with the faith of *Abraham* (3.9) and *Christ* has redeemed us (3.13). The "proof" is strictly a terminological one, held together by *Stichwörter*.

The construction of the second ἵνα-clause is in principle the same, but introduces a heretofore unnamed element, "promise." The promise God made to Abraham is a well-known and integral part of the Abraham story. It might have already been alluded to in vv. 8–9, where the *Stichwort* is "blessing," since blessing is understood to be the content of God's promise to Abraham in Gen 12.2–3 and elsewhere.[6] But Paul's exegesis in vv. 6–13 does not make that explicit. The entrance of "promise" in the text is so abrupt that more than a few ancient readers assimilated ἐπαγγελία to εὐλογία of v. 14a.[7] Nevertheless, it is not entirely groundless that Paul introduces "promise" into his conclusion.

To complicate matters enormously, however, Paul joins "promise" to the reception of Spirit in 14b.[8] But the promise to Abraham in the Biblical text

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and it was reckoned to him *righteousness*" in v. 6, but draws the *non-sequitur* conclusion in v. 7, "those who believe, these are the *children of Abraham*." The harsh transition from "righteousness" to "children of Abraham" would be inexplicable unless it was first raised by the Opponents. See detailed analysis by Martyn, "Law-Observant Mission," 18; Mußner, *Galater*, 216; Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians*, 173–74.

4 Gk. ἐξαγοράζειν; cf. also 4.5.

5 Mußner, *Galater*, 235, prefers to translate γένηται in the stronger sense of "Wirklichkeit werden."

6 So Betz, *Galatians*, 153.

7 So Marcion (result of a deliberate Marcionianism?) and Ambrosiaster, among others. The reading is supported by $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ D* F^{gr} G 88* but is clearly inferior to ἐπαγγελία. See comments in Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 594.

8 Virtually all commentators agree that ἡ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ πνεύματος of v. 14b is to be taken as appositional: it does not mean "the Spirit's promise" but "the promise which is the Spirit" or, better, "the promised Spirit." See Schlier, *Galater*, 96–97; Bruce, *Galatians*, 168; Rohde, *Galater*, 145; Dunn, *Galatians*, 179; Borse, *Galater*, 130. Cf. Mußner, *Galater*, 235 n. 116: "damit wir die Verheißung empfangen, die im Penuma besteht." Calvin's translation of the phrase as "spiritual promise" has not been met with universal acceptance; cf. Calvin, *Gal. & Eph.*, 92.

consists of land and descendants, often in the context of the covenant, but no Spirit. What might have motivated Paul to put these two elements together? Richard Hays suggests two possible answers, the first based on LXX Isa 44.3, the second relies on the internal "logic" of the narrative, and both are traced to Paul's creative hermeneutics of experience. Hays's solutions are not without difficulties. First of all, the language of Isa 44.3 ("I will place my Spirit on your σπέρμα and my blessings on your children") provides close parallels to Gal 3.14b. But as Hays himself admits, it is addressed to "my child Jacob and my beloved Israel" (Isa 44.2), not Abraham.[9] Isa 44.3 fails to illuminate the problem as do all the other texts suggested by commentators.[10]

As for the narrative logic of the passage, the internal thread through Paul's story is Christological, so goes the argument, and Christ is the middle term between "promise" and "Spirit." Since Christ is understood as the agent through whom the Spirit is given to the Galatians (3.14; 4.6) and at the same time identified as the promised seed of Abraham, the reception of the Spirit must be seen as the fulfillment of the promise God gave to Abraham.[11] Without entering into a discussion of what amounts to the central thesis of Hays's work, suffice to say that this reasoning seems to go against the internal flow of the narrative. The strength of the proposal hinges on the identification between Christ and the seed of Abraham. But this is precisely what the narrative has yet to reach; Paul does not supply the readers or hearers this piece of information until the *following* section, 3.15–19.[12] Hays might have recognized the problem later in a modified version of the same argument when he drops the reference to the Christ-seed equation and opts for one based on experience:

> The unwritten logic of Paul's claim must be something like this: (a) Scripture promises that Gentiles will be blessed in Abraham. (b) Gentile Christian communities, who—like Abraham—have come to believe in Israel's God apart from the Sinai Torah, have experienced the blessing of the Holy Spirit, palpably present in their midst. (c) Therefore, this experienced Spirit must be the promised blessing of which Scripture speaks.[13]

This is an accurate presentation of Paul's "unwritten logic," so far as the internal movement of Galatians is concerned, and it has the advantage of putting the accent on Paul's authorial responsibility. But it is itself based on another unwritten assumption, namely the experience of the Holy Spirit as "blessing." Unless there is such a prior equation, Hays's point "b" above could not have

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9 Hays, *Faith*, 211. Cosgrove, *Cross*, 105 n. 43, cites this approvingly.

10 Calvin, *Gal. & Eph.*, 92, proposes Joel 2.28 as background. Mußner, *Galater*, 235, lists a number of prophetic texts: applicable to the Messiah (Isa 11.2–3), to Israel (Isa 32.15; 44.3; 59.21; Ezek 11.19; 36.26–27; 39.29), and to Gentiles (Joel 3.1–2). He also lists Rom 8.23; 2 Cor 1.22; 5.5; Eph 1.14 as NT parallels. All these texts run into the same difficulty as Isa 44.3.

11 Hays, *Faith*, 212.

12 Mußner, *Galater*, 235, makes a similar observation: one might expect Paul to follow v.14a, which ends in ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, with an immediate identification of Christ with "the seed of Abraham" in v.14. But this is precisely what Paul does not do, at least not until the following section.

13 Hays, *Echoes*, 110.

made sense to either Paul or his readers. In other words, even if one is to argue for pure creativity, one is still confronted by the problem that it is the historical Paul himself who equated the reception of the Spirit to the promise of Abraham and it must have been a meaningful equation at least to him. Was Paul led to his conclusion by the inexorable flow of the narrative? Was Paul's construction of this argument motivated more by the exigencies of the Galatian situation?[14] Or was there something in the historical past that laid the ground work for the equation?[15]

The recent work of Christopher Stanley illustrates a similar confusion between the literary and the historical. In a tightly argued article Stanley succeeds in weaving 3.14b into Paul's overall narrative of vv. 1–14: ". . . the second ἵνα-clause that closes v. 14 . . . provides a clear link between vv. 6–14a and the theme of vv. 2–5."[16] But this simply pushes the question farther back. If v. 14b harks back to 3.1–5, which I think it indeed does, *what* might have prompted Paul to preface his exegetical argument with an appeal to the Galatians' experience of the Spirit in the first place? Was it an arbitrary or capricious decision on Paul's part or was there a deeper logic dictating this choice?

A novel approach is recently attempted by Charles Cosgrove who, in contrast to the overwhelming majority of commentators, suggests that the problem which Paul addresses in Galatians has to do with the right condition for acquiring the Spirit. While Paul insisted on the reception of the Spirit on the basis of faith, his opponents advanced a life in the Spirit on the basis of the works of the law, that is circumcision (5.2–12; 6.12–13). If this does not represent the situation of the historical Galatia—for, after all, Paul could have been misinformed or he might have misrepresented his enemies' position—at the very least Paul

> addresses the Galatians as if the problem were the conditions for sustaining or promoting life in the Spirit, as if the agitators had said: Perform the works of the law and you will experience more of the Spirit and its power, for "the one who does them *shall live* by them."[17]

Since the issue of Abraham was first raised by the Opponents, to adopt Cosgrove's hypothesis would imply that *the Opponents* identified the reception of the Spirit as the Abrahamic promise.[18] Louis Martyn also makes a similar suggestion but unfortunately does not supported it by exegesis.[19]

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14 So the view of Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*, 256–63.

15 The answer to this question has far-reaching implications beyond this paper. If Paul's equating the reception of the Spirit to the promise of Abraham was not governed by arbitrary exegesis or by the need of the moment but rather by some well-established, recognizable means, it would argue against the thesis, popularized by Sanders, "Fulfilling the Law," and Sanders, *Paul, the Law*, 47, 152–53, that Paul's rejection of the law "was based on his dogmatic interpretation of the Christ-event and the exigencies of the Gentile mission" (summary statement found in Stanley, "Under a Curse," 495 n. 48).

16 Stanley, "Under a Curse," 492–95; quote from p. 493.

17 Cosgrove, *Cross*, 86; emphasis his; see his more extensive discussion on pp. 101–18.

18 Cosgrove, *Cross*, 104–105 and 105 n. 43, though Cosgrove does not actually spell this connection out explicitly.

19 Martyn, 315, goes so far as to suggest that "God is now reaching out for the Gentiles and thus for the whole of humankind. . . . [Such act] is marked by the fact that he bestows his Spirit even on communities of Gentiles if their communal life is ordered by *correct exegesis* of scripture

Hard evidence for this hypothesis, however, is wanting. Cosgrove points to Luke 24.49; Acts 1.4; 2.23, 39, among other, as support for the equation.[20] But these Lukan passages are all late and the verdict is still out on whether Luke-Acts might be in some fashion dependent on the Pauline writings. In any case, it seems difficult to maintain Cosgrove's larger thesis linking life of the Spirit to doing the works of the law. It flies in the face Gal 5.8, "If you are led by the Spirit, you are *not* under law."[21] Once the link between the law and the Spirit is broken, the other, between the Spirit and the Abrahamic promise, becomes difficult to repair.[22] The most probable author of the equation is Paul, which still leaves the question of background open. In spite of recent attempts at resolving the problem, therefore, Hays's original question still stands: "Was there something within the realm of Jewish expectations which *did* associate the Spirit with the promises to Abraham?"[23]

Abraham the Mystic according to Philo

The figure of Abraham was one of the standard *topoi* in first-century Judaism.[24] Taking their starting point from the Genesis accounts and their ancestry from Abraham, Jewish writers found in Abraham a prime representative for their ethnic aspirations and expressions (cf., e.g., *Jubilee* 11–12, 20–23). He was seen as the first proselyte and missionary (Gen 15.6; cf. *Jub.* 11.16–18; 12.1–21; *Apoc. Abr.* 1–8, etc.), an example of perfect obedience, even to the point of following the yet-to-be-written Torah (cf., e.g., *Jub.* 16.28). Most important for Jewish writers, he is the recipient of God's promise to and covenant with the Jewish people (Gen 12.7; 13.14–17; 15.18–19; 17.1–8; etc.). Among Hellenistic-Jewish authors Abraham is presented as one who conforms to the prevailing Hellenistic mode, that is as a model of virtue[25] and in some quarters as a mystic *par excellence.*

Abraham's virtue and mysticism are prominently displayed in a summary statement by Philo (*Virt.* 212–19). In the course of discussing whether noble birth determines one's character (§187), Philo adduces the example of Abraham

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and thus by true observance of his Law" (my emphasis).

20 Cosgrove, *Cross*, 105–106.

21 Suggested by Lull, "Review of Cosgrove," 93–94, who also thinks that Cosgrove has misunderstood the inner logic of 3.1–12.

22 Cosgrove, *Cross*, 104–105, also suggests that since Paul seems to have assumed familiarity on his readers on the equation, it must have been a current notion among Jewish Christians. This is possible, but the texts Cosgrove adduces are unfortunately late.

23 Hays, *Faith*, 210–12; quote from p. 211 with his emphasis.

24 There is no lack of surveys on Abraham in Jewish literature. See, e.g., Knox, "Abraham," 55–60; Martin-Achard, *Actualité d'Abraham*, 132–37; Wieser, *Abrahamvorstellungen*, 153–79; Jeremias, "'Αβραάμ," 8–9; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1.183–308, 5.207–69; Berger, "Abraham," 372–82; Sandmel, "Abraham's Knowledge," 137–39; Sandmel, *Philo's Place*, 30–95, for a partial survey of the figure of Abraham in Jewish literature; Moxnes, *Theology in Conflict*, 117–69; Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians*, 175–99; and Siker, *Disinheriting the Jews*, 17–27, for a short survey, and 202 n. 16, for bibliography.

25 Besides Philo, see Josephus, *Ant.* 1.256, where Abraham is called "a man superior in every ἀρετή;" *Sib.* 3.234 (*OTP* 1.367), the race of people coming from Ur in Chaldea "care for righteousness and virtue."

which demonstrates that virtue or wisdom comes not through one's birth but is to be grasped by the νοῦς:

> §212 *The most ancient member of the Jewish people* was a Chaldean by birth, the son of an astrologer, one of those who study the lore of that science, and think that the stars and the whole heaven and cosmos are gods . . . . §214 *Perception of these truths [regarding the true God] and divine inspiration* induced him to leave his native country, his race and paternal home, knowing that if he stayed the delusions of the polytheistic creed would stay within him and render it impossible for him to discover the One, . . . whereas if he departed, the delusion would also remove from his mind and its false creed be replaced by the truth. §215 At the same time also, the fire of yearning, which possessed him to know *To On*, was fanned by the divine warnings vouchsafed to him. With these to guide his steps, he went forth never faltering in his ardor to seek for the One, nor did he pause until *he received clearer visions, not of His essence, for that is impossible, but of His existence and providence.* §216 And, therefore, he is *the first said to believe in God*, since he is the first to have grasped a firm and unswerving conception that there is one Cause above all, and that it provides for the cosmos and all therein . . . . §217 Indeed, they continued to treat him with a respect which subjects pay to a ruler . . . . For the society also which he sought was not the same as they sought but oftener *under inspiration* another more august . . . . §219 *He is the standard of nobility for all proselytes,* who, abandoning the ignobility of *strange laws and monstrous customs* which assigned divine honors to stocks and stones and soulless things in general, have come to settle in a better land, in a commonwealth full of true life and vitality, with truth as its director and president.[26]

It is clear from this passage that the intended audience of *De virtutibus* are Gentiles and this picture of Abraham serves some missionary purpose.[27] This is the only way to make sense of the introduction of Abraham as "the most ancient member of the Jewish people" (§212) and the emphasis on Abraham's conversion throughout the passage (esp. §§214, 216).

In connection to conversion three observations could be noted. First, Philo freely admits that Abraham was of Gentile birth ("a Chaldean") and son of an astrologer who considers the stars and the whole heaven and cosmos gods (§212). Second, The conversion of Abraham entails changing his belief system from polytheism to monotheism, from obeisance to the phenomenal and sense-perceptible bodies to the Prime Cause, from the many to the One, from the created to the Uncreated (§212–13). Staying in Chaldea would mean remaining "in the delusions of the polytheistic creed," whereas departure means "its false creed be replaced by the truth" (§214). Third, Abraham, the progenitor of the Jewish people, is identified as "the first said to believe in God" (§216), an obvious dependence on Gen 15.6, ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβρὰμ τῷ θεῷ.[28]

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[26] All translations of Philonic texts are adapted from the Loeb Classical Library (= PLCL) unless noted to the contrary.

[27] See Friedländer, *Apologetik,* 302–10; Knox, "Abraham," 59; Mayer, "Aspekte," 119. This question will be discussed in greater detail in "Vision, Ecstasy, and the Gentile Mission" below.

[28] Elsewhere in *Virt.* 68, 218 Philo uses πιστεύω exclusively to refer to Abraham's faith in God.

Thus far Philo's portrayal of Abraham is not out of the extraordinary by standards of his day, albeit more so within the apologetic than the emerging Rabbinic tradition.[29] The emphasis on the visions and ecstasies surrounding the events of Abraham's conversion and his subsequent life, however, is characteristically if not uniquely Philonic. According to *Virt.* 214, Abraham recognizes the error of polytheism when he is "divinely inspired" (ἐπιθειάσας). This fundamental change of direction sets in motion a spiritual journey, a progress towards perfection and visions of God. The journey is understood literally, since he does leave Chaldean for Canaan, but also symbolically, since it becomes a pursuit for the One, a ceaseless endeavor leading to "clearer visions, not of His essence—for that is impossible—but of His existence and providence" (§215). This progress towards perfection is also noted for its mystical transformation. As a philosopher-king he impresses those around him as someone in search of a "more august society *under inspiration*" (ἐπιθειάζων again), one which is superior to the mundane imitations; as a mystic, he demonstrates a form of union with the divine resulting in and reflected through a metamorphosed countenance (§217):

> Thus, whenever he was possessed, everything in him changed to something better, eyes, complexion, stature, carriage, movements, voice. For the *Divine Spirit* which was breathed upon him from on high made its lodging in his soul, and invested his body with singular beauty, his voice with persuasiveness, and his hearers with understanding.

In every step of his way divine inspiration or ecstasy plays an integral and indispensable role; the Philonic Abraham, in the words of Georgi, is a "*pneumatic.*"[30]

As one would expect from Philo, the figure of Abraham is regularly allegorized as a soul progressing towards perfection. According to *Gig.* 60–61, human souls are divided into three classes: earth-born, heaven-born, and God-born. The "earth-born" are those who delight in the pleasures of the body; the "heaven-born" are lovers of learning who develop the heavenly element that inhabits the mind; while the "God-born" are the accomplished prophets and priests who have "risen wholly above the sphere of sense-perception and have been translated into the world of the intelligible . . ." (§61). These are not hard and fast categories but represent different stages in a soul's progress towards perfection. Abraham at first typifies the heaven-born[31] who, while sojourning in Chaldea, searches for God through a study of nature (§62). When he has risen to a higher stage, however, he becomes "God-born" (§§63–64).[32] True, Philo never

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29 Berger, "Abraham," 373.

30 Georgi, *Opponents*, 58, where he also writes, "Pneumatic and prophetic gifts here clearly coincide with missionary skills, not least of all because Abraham shares the prerequisites of the others: the general human condition as well as the initial lack of faith and finally the possibility of conversion." What Georgi means by "general human condition" is not immediately evident from the context.

31 Philo calls him "man of heaven" in accordance with terms established earlier in §§12–15.

32 Or "man of God." According to Philo this progress from "man of heaven" to "man of God"

calls Abraham "earth-born"; that dubious honor goes to Nimrod (§§65–66).[33] But what makes it impossible for Nimrod to escape fleshliness, Philo goes on to tell us, is that in addition to being wicked he is also a deserter (§67). Nimrod represents those who have no desire go forward.

Corresponding to the three classes of human souls are three stages of development on the spiritual journey towards perfection—awakening, understanding, vision. This pattern of perfection is discernible most clearly in *Abr.* 70–71. Here "Abraham" stands for the "virtue-loving soul" (cf. §68), while "Chaldea" retains its usual association with astrology (cf. §69):

> In this [false] creed Abraham had been reared, and for a long time remained a Chaldean. Then opening the soul's eye as though after profound sleep and beginning to see the pure beam instead of the deep darkness, he followed the ray and discerned what he had not beheld before, a charioteer and pilot presiding over the world and directing in safety his own work, assuming the charge and superintendence of that work and of all such parts of it as are worthy of the divine care. And so to establish more firmly in his understanding the sight which had been revealed to him the Divine Logos follows it up by saying to him, "friend, the great is often known by its outlines as shown in the smaller, and by looking at them the observer finds the scope of his vision infinitely enlarged. Dismiss, then, the rangers of the heavens and the science of Chaldea, and depart for a short time from the greatest of cities, this world, to the lesser, and thus you will be better able to apprehend the Overseer of the All.

The soul, first of all, is awakened from its slumber and is granted a preliminary glimpse of God as the Driving Cause (the Platonic's "charioteer"[34]). In the second stage of perfection, the "Divine Logos" has to offer the soul a rational explanation, so that it might come to a deeper understanding of the initial, fleeting vision. In the third and final stage of perfection, the soul arrives at its destination and achieves a vision and apprehension of the "Overseer of All."[35]

But the two descriptions of spiritual progress in *Virt.* 212–19 and *Abr.* 70–71, in spite of their similarity in pattern and structure, are different in hermeneutical assumption and intent. The portrait of Abraham in *De virtutibus* is presented as a *literal* interpretation:[36] it presents the historical Abraham as the progenitor of

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is evidenced by the change of name from "Abram" (etymologized as "uplifted father") to "Abraham" ("the elect father of sound" or "the good man's reason").

33 Cf. Knox, "Abraham," 59, who thinks that polemics against Nimrod have by this time already become a standard part of the Abraham legends.

34 So also *Mut.* 16. See Wan, "Charismatic Exegesis," 57 nn. 16–17, for further discussion.

35 For more detail of the vision in *De Abrahamo*, see §§107–30, esp. 121–22, and discussion in Wan, "Charismatic Exegesis," 69–70.

36 Commenting on this passage, Sandmel, *Philo's Place*, 105 n. 10, writes, "The passage is a good example of Philo's merging of the literal and the allegorical. Abraham leaves Chaldea; Abraham leaves astrology; departure from the literal Chaldea ensures departure from astrology." In support of Sandmel's observation is the equation of Chaldea to astrology which is explicitly stated as a "symbolic" interpretation in *QG* 3.1 and as one "in accordance with the laws of allegory" in *Abr.* 68–69. But the Chaldea-astrology equation was well fixed before Philo (see, e.g., *Jub.* 11.8) and it itself functions as a type of atheistic philosophy (Stoicism?) that identifies the created order

"the Jewish people." The interpretation of the same Abrahamic story in *De Abrahamo,* on the other hand, is *allegorical:* "Abraham" becomes the soul that must advance in its quest for the true vision. Yet these journeys mirror each other, so much so that they seem to transcend the normal distinction between the literal and allegorical. Abraham's journey becomes the typical soul's and *vice versa.*

What binds these two interpretations together is the Biblical text that describes Abraham's ecstasy: "about sunset, an ἔκστασις fell on Abraham and great, terrifying darkness fell upon him" (LXX Gen 15.12). As far as Philo is concerned, the "historical" Abraham went through exactly the same progress of spiritual journey as the soul of every other human being. In *Her.* 265, this text is treated as a description of the typical soul's ecstatic experience: Human reason must be darkened before the Spirit could come upon the soul. "The mind is evicted at the arrival of the *Divine Spirit,* but when that departs the mind returns to its tenancy. Mortal and immortal may not share the same home" (*Her.* 265).[37] In *Virt.* 217 Philo probably has the same Biblical text in mind when he says, "the *Divine Spirit,* which was breathed upon [Abraham] from on high, made its lodging in the soul." This qualifies Abraham, not any soul, as prophet and, more important for the purpose of this paper, as "the standard of nobility for all proselytes" (*Virt.* 219, ἅπασιν ἐπηλύταις[38] εὐγενείας ἐστὶ κανών). Exactly what κανών means here will become clear in due time; for now it is enough to note that Abraham fulfills both the literal and allegorical requirements because he is not only the first proselyte but also the proto-mystic both typologically and genealogically.

Vision, Ecstasy, and the Abrahamic Promise

The role mysticism plays in Philo's schema becomes clearer when it is considered in the context of his discussion of the Abrahamic Covenant and its attendant promise in *Her.* 314–16 (on Gen 15.18). The LXX reads: "On that day the Lord established a covenant with Abraham, saying, 'To your seed I will give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates.'" Philo's comment puts its emphasis on the Wisdom of God:

> What "land" does he mean, but that which was mentioned before to which he now refers, the land whose fruit is the sure and steadfast *apprehension of the Wisdom of God,* according to which through His *Cutters* He separates all things and keeps untouched by evil those that are good, as it is meet they should be kept for those who are born to life imperishable? (*Her.* 314)[39]

By reference to his earlier discussions of "land" and "Cutters" this passage is clearly construed as part of an extensive allegorical interpretation throughout the whole treatise. "Cutters" (τομεῖς) recalls *Her.* 130–32 on Gen 15.10, "he

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for God. Note, too, the "Chaldeans" of *Abr.* 68–69 are the historical people of Chaldea.

37 Cf. also *QG* 3.9. See below for discussion on §§249–66, esp. §§259–66.

38 That ἐπηλύτης is a synonym of προσήλυτος is clear from *Virt.* 102–104, where Philo changes προσήλυτος (Heb. גר) in LXX Lev 19.33–34a twice to ἐπηλύτης (and also to its cognate ἐπήλυτος) and in the process alters the Leviticus rule of accepting sojourners among Israelites to a commandment to accept proselyte into Judaism.

39 The text of the last sentence is corrupt, but I have provisionally accepted Colson's emendation; see his notes in PLCL 4.444 n. 2; 4.576.

divided them [*sc.* the animals] in the middle." Philo deviates from the normal reading of taking "Abraham" as the subject of διεῖλεν and takes the unexpressed subject as an indication of the unseeable God. It is God, accordingly, by means of his "Logos-Cutter," who severs "the whole succession of things material and immaterial whose natures appear to us to be knitted together and united" (§130). The Logos-Cutter is a principle of reason, according to which the variegated world of differences and multiplicity can be organized (§§133–236).[40] But at the same time it is also an agent of divine inspiration, providing the morally upright with prophecy; the wicked, on the other hand, cannot be inspired by God (§259). In this fashion, the rational function of the Logos is assimilated to the moral function of Divine Wisdom. Further along in the same passage, as examples of just men being possessed by Logos and prophesying as a result, Noah, Isaac, Jacob, Moses are all adduced, as well as Abraham (§§260–63). The whole section, §§249–65, in fact, is an extended commentary on Abraham's ἔκστασις of Gen 15.12. But as shown in my earlier discussion, the principal agent here in *Her.* 265 as well as in *Virt.* 217 is the "Divine Spirit."

"Land," on the other hand, recalls his earlier discussion in §§96–99 on Gen 15.7, "I am God who led you out of the land of the Chaldeans, to give you this land to inherit." This refers to two promises, Philo tells us, one old and the other new. The old promise has to do with the departure from Chaldean astrology; the new is

> inheritance of the *Wisdom* which cannot be received by sense, but is apprehended by a wholly pure and clear mind. Through this *Wisdom* the best of all migrations becomes an established fact, the migration of the soul which passes from astrology to real nature study, from insecure conjecture to firm apprehension, and to give it its truest expression, from the created to the uncreated, from the world to its Maker and Father (§98).[41]

The function of Wisdom in this context corresponds exactly to Abraham's conversion as described in *Virt.* 212. This is clearly not accidental, for after all the concern of Philo in both treatises is to show that Abraham is ὁ σοφός. But the role of apprehending firm knowledge, normally a function of Logos, is here taken over by the Divine Wisdom.

The conclusion seems inevitable: Logos, Spirit, and Wisdom are all functionally equivalent terms in *Her.* 314.[42] The juxtaposition of Wisdom and the Logos-Cutter in the identification of "land" is therefore hardly surprising.[43] If so,

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40 The discussion of the Logos-Cutter thus occupies some 45% of the whole treatise! The treatise traditionally bears the double title, "Who is the Heir of Divine Things *and* On the Cutting into Equals and Opposites."

41 Cf. also *QG.* 3.1 on Gen 15.7.

42 This is also the conclusion of Hay, "Logos-Cutter," 15, after an analysis of *Heres*: "Thus the idea of intellectual and moral division permeates the treatise. One only needs to recognize that 'divine dividing powers' and 'divine wisdom' and 'divine Logos' are all essentially equivalent and interchangeable terms to unravel the basic structure of Philo's thought." See also Goodenough, *Light*, 158. In a study of the general relationship between Wisdom and Logos in Philo, Burton Mack reaches the similar conclusion that these two figures are assimilated into each other in Philo; Mack, *Logos und Sophia*, 20, 133–34. But see the cautionary note by Tobin, *Creation of Man*, 140–42 and 140 n. 7.

43 See Mack, *Logos und Sophia*, 118–19, for discussion of the merging of the mythological and

what is promised to Abraham and his descendants in the Philonic scheme of things is the Divine Wisdom, the reception of which is the key to per fection. Elsewhere Philo describes this reception in terms of the sexual union between Abraham and Sarah, which is really a union between the mind and Wisdom (*Abr.* 100–102).[44]

Vision, Ecstasy, and the Gentile Mission

The purpose of Philo's mystical Abraham is clearly apologetic and the natural *Sitz im Leben* is the proselytization of Gentiles. By describing the genesis of the Jewish people as coinciding with the rejection of star worship and the discovery of monotheism, both embodied in the conversion of Abraham, the possibility is open to all Gentiles trapped in the same astrological web to become acquainted with and, in the language informed by Gen 15.6, "to believe" in God. By the designation "Jewish people" (τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος, *Virt.* 212), consequently, Philo cannot refer simply to his fellow-Jews but to all who hold the right belief of God regardless of ethnicity.[45] Gentiles can become "Jewish" by means of adherence to monotheism.[46] This is almost required by the logic of his argument in *De virtutibus:* nobility has to do with what the mind can grasp and not with birthright.

To call the Philonic variation "law-free" Judaism, however, would be a mistake. At the end of our passage in *De virtutibus*, the perfected Abraham is called "a κανών of nobility for all proselytes." This is set in contrast to "strange *laws* and monstrous *customs*" (ἀλλόκοτοι νόμοι καὶ ἔκθεσμοι ἔθη, §219). In the same treatise, the paradigmatic and archetypal Moses is propped up as a "κανὼν καὶ νόμος" to all future rulers (§70). At this point, κανών dovetails with ἔμψυχος νόμος ("ensouled law"), the better-known designation of Abraham and the patriarchs (*Abr.* 5). This latter term is usually taken to imply an embodiment of the law, as if the Philo were only concerned with demonstrating how Abraham could have obeyed the law before it was written down. That, admittedly, is one of the aims of Philo, since he goes on to tell us that "the enacted laws are nothing more than memorials[47] of the life of the ancients" (§5).[48] But the intention here is not merely defensive; Philo is also concerned with raising Abraham up as the ideal type of a virtue-loving soul which by following the path established by

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Jewish Wisdom-speculation reflected in this identification. Hay, "Logos-Cutter," 19–20, has also shown that the "Logos-Cutter" in *Heres* functions as an agent of creation as well as redemption; the notion appears to have been originated with Philo, and he did so partly by accepting popular ideas of Hermes, Isis, and Osiris as personifications of Wisdom.

44 See discussion in Goodenough, *Light*, 139–40.

45 Cf. also Friedländer, 302–10; and Georgi, *Opponents*, 56, who come to the same conclusion though via a different route.

46 Georgi, *Opponents*, 58: "It remains clear that Abraham is meant to present a possibility which is also offered to others, since it is in general the true possibility of human existence." Ibid., 59: "Abraham shows to those who want to see it, to those who are ready to follow his path, the enormous possibilities of human existence."

47 Or "commentaries;" Gk., ὑπομνήματα.

48 That ἔμψυχος νόμος is intimately related to the notion of νόμος φύσεως in Philo is conclusively demonstrated in Koester, "ΝΟΜΟΣ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ," 521–41, and one of the factors that motivated Philo to develop more fully the notion of νόμος φύσεως is his concern to show that Abraham and the other patriarchs conducted their lives in accordance with the law of nature.

Abraham could achieve the same perfection. Thus Philo can conclude *De Abrahamo* by saying that Abraham is not so much "lawful" (νόμιμος), according to some, as "he himself is a law and an unwritten statute (θεσμὸς ἄγραφος)" (§276). Properly understood (i.e., allegorized), Abraham *is* the law and following the law means the reception of the Wisdom of God promised to Abraham and his descendants. But his descendants, as established earlier, are those who are willing to follow the path of progress opened up by Abraham, regardless of ethnicity.[49]

Sandmel has argued that Philo knows nothing of the missionary Abraham whom Rabbinic Judaism later champions but instead presents for his readers Abraham the significant convert.[50] Sandmel might be drawing too sharp a distinction between being a convert and a missionary, however, since the Philonic Abraham, as the proto-proselyte, can be easily used in a missionary context. Once Abraham becomes the κανών for all proselytes and an agent of change for all those around him, it is but a small step to make him into the central topic in Gentile missions.[51] The Abraham in Philo might not have been an active missionary, but his interpreter probably was.

Philo's Abraham is not the only one in Judaism but one among many, as can be illustrated through the different attitudes towards Abraham's association with astrology. Philo nowhere mentions Abraham as an astrologer, only that he has been living in the erroneous doctrine of Chaldea before his new perception of truth. This is not surprising given Philo's concern to present Abraham as the convert from error to truth. But set within the matrix of debate within Judaism around the figure of Abraham, Philo's position is a mediating one. On one side of the debate are those, enamored with Hellenism, present Abraham as the proto-astrologer. In Ps.-Eupolemus frg. 1 [= Eseb., *PE* 9.17.3, 8, 9], where it is said that Abraham's knowledge of astrology was so prodigious that he taught the Egyptian priests the same art while sojourning there. The Ps.-Eupolemus's Abraham attributes the discovery of astrology to Enoch, against the claims of the Babylonians and the Greeks.[52] On the other side, there are those who categorically deny that Abraham or any of his descendants practices astrology. In *Sibylline Oracles* Book 3 the author explicitly rejects "the astrological predictions of the Chaldean" and "astronomy" (ll. 227–28).[53] Likewise according to *Jub.* 12.16–17,

> . . . in the sixth week, in its fifth year, Abram sat up during the night on the first of the seventh month, so that *he might observe the stars from evening until daybreak* so that he might see what the nature of the year would be with respect to rain. And he was sitting alone and *making observations*; and

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49 Abraham is presented as a mystagogue in the *Testament of Orpheus*. In ll. 26–28, *OTP* 2.799, Abraham is introduced as "a certain unique man, an offshoot from far back of the race of the Chaldeans. For he was knowledgeable about the path of the Star, and how the movement of the Sphere goes around the earth." He is a supernatural being, a heavenly man, who sits on a golden throne and communicates God's revelation to human beings" (ll. 32–41, *OTP* 2.800). See discussion in Georgi, *Opponents*, 54–56; Knox, "Abraham," 56.

50 Sandmel, *Philo's Place*, 109 n. 9, 200.

51 Georgi, *Opponents*, 49–60. Georgi's position is reached partially by depending on Knox, "Abraham," 55–60.

52 *OTP* 2.880–81.

53 *OTP* 1.367.

> a word came to his heart, saying, "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?"[54]

This episode takes place in the narrative immediately after Abraham has rejected Chaldean idols and idol-worship (11.16–12.14); the forsaking of astrological observations as a means to knowledge of God is therefore part of the same rejection. The Abraham of *Jubilee*, in fact, is a law-abiding patriarch. He faithfully obeys the "law of circumcision" (15.23–24); attends to God's commandment to promulgate it among all future generations (15.25–32); and listens to the prediction of future abandonment of the law (15.33–34).

Philo's Abraham stands mid-way between these two extremes. He does not reject the studies of stars and other heavenly bodies wholesale. Abraham's discovery of God in *Virt.* 214 is a result *both* of "grasping the notion" (ἔννοιαν λαβών) about the true God[55] *and* of "being divinely inspired" (ἐπιθειάσας). This double description, with an epistemological awareness as a result of astrological observations followed by revelatory knowledge, reflects a typically Hellenistic-Jewish view. Likewise in *Her.* 280–82, Philo reports the opinions of those who understand "fathers" of Gen 15.15 not as Abraham's Chaldean ancestors but as "sun, moon, and other stars" (§280) and those who take it to mean "the first four principles and powers, earth, water, air, fire" (§281–82). Philo does not repudiate either view but adds a third (expressed in ὁ τῶν ἀρχαίων λόγος), which holds that a fifth principle or element, "moving in a circle, differing by its superior quality from the four, out of which they thought the stars and whole of heaven had been made and deduced as a natural consequence that the human soul also was a fragment thereof" (§283). In other words, nature study has a place in Philo so long as it leads eventually to the soul's contemplation of the true God.

Paul and Philo on Abraham

This presentation of Philo's Abraham is admittedly selective, but it is nevertheless an endeavor to highlight an aspect of Hellenistic Judaism, namely mysticism, that might shed light on the Galatian controversy. The composite picture of Abraham that emerges from Philo's writings is that of a mystic. Nature study leads him to abandon astrology of his pagan upbringing and to convert to monotheism. He thus becomes the first convert (based on Gen 15.6). This initial stirring in turn spurs him onto a higher and clearer vision of God. Divine intervention—either mediated through his divine agents, "Logos," "Wisdom," "Spirit," or described in terms of inspiration, possession, transformation—is irreducibly part of his spiritual progress towards perfection. He receives a promise through an ecstasy that God will grant him and his descendants the Divine Wisdom.

More important is how the figure of Abraham is used in an apologetic or missionary context. Philo uses the mysticism of Abraham to redefine "the Jewish people" as including those converted to monotheism. The law in this connection

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54 *OTP* 2.81; emphasis added. Cf. Knox, "Abraham," 57.

55 The phrase ἔννοιαν λαβεῖν has been well established as the perception by the νοῦς since Plato: of τὸ ὄν, *Phb.* 59d; of an idea, as opposed to αἴσθησιν λαβεῖν, *Phaedo* 73c. Philo himself uses it in this sense in *Leg. all.* 1.37; 2.32, etc.

is differentiated into two levels: the unwritten law "ensouled" in the lives of the patriarchs and the written commentaries. While Philo does not discard the second, his preference is clearly on the first. A different, more superior way of fulfilling the demands of this new Judaism, therefore, is the acquisition of virtue through union with the Divine Wisdom promised in God's covenant with Abraham.

Paul's Abraham in Gal 3.1–14, sketchy as it is, contains several points of contact with Philo's. It takes its starting point from Gen 15.6 (Gal 3.6). Though Paul makes no mention of Abraham's conversion from paganism, he does place the discussion in the context of the *Galatians'* conversion experience (3.1) which includes the reception of the Spirit and witness of its miraculous manifestations (3.2, 5). The Galatians, furthermore, are said to have turned away from the worship of false gods (4.9) and perhaps even astrological bodies (στοιχεῖα, 4.3, 9).[56] Abraham, on the other hand, is said to have been "pre-evangelized" (προ–ευαγγελίζεσθαι, 3.8). The term is obviously not connected to Abraham's conversion, but the content conveyed by it, "all the Gentiles will be blessed in you" (Gen 12.3; 18.18), does concern the Galatians' conversion or more accurately the Galatians' reception of blessing through Abraham.

These two portraits of Abraham are of course painted on entirely different canvasses. Philo's schema is based on the Hellenistic model of contemplation; Paul's is eschatological.[57] It is therefore illegitimate to equate Philo's "Wisdom of God" to Paul's "Spirit" simplistically, as if they were merely different titles for the same figure; they assume altogether different roles in their respective schemata. What is comparable, however, is their structurally parallel relationship to the promise of Abraham. They both function as vital link between the patriarch and later believers. As content of the promise God made to Abraham and his descendants *and* energizer of the lived experience in the here and now, this crucial link—Wisdom of God in Philo and Spirit in Paul—creates a homology between the life of Abraham and that of the believer. In other words, not the content but the manner of appropriating Abraham is the most important similarity between Philo and Paul. If this hypothesis is correct, there might be a great deal more contact between Paul and Hellenistic-Jewish mysticism of Philo than hitherto assumed.

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56 The exegetical problems surrounding στοιχεῖα are legion and will not be entertained here, but "astrological elements" remains one of the best translations.

57 Though recent discussions ought to warn us against too strict a distinction between Pauline eschatology and mysticism; see, e.g., Segal, *Paul the Convert*, 34–58; Wan, "Charismatic Exegesis," 55 n. 11.

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Becoming God's Body: The KAVOD in Valentinianism[1]

April D. De Conick
University of Michigan

G. Scholem, the Patriarch of Jewish mystical scholarship, argued in the early 1960s that the *Shiur Komah* literature which describes "the measurement of the the Body" of God seated upon the throne of the Merkavah, is a culmination of a long history of speculation. Although the *Shiur Komah* literature itself cannot be dated before the sixth century, he maintained that the divine Body mysticism described within them must be grounded in an older form of mystical speculation which seems to have centered around the manifestation of an intermediary figure, the *Kavod*, in the form of God's Shape or Body.[2]

The *Kavod* or Glory of God was a figure which was believed to simultaneously conceal and reveal God.[3] The *Kavod* is described in the Pentateuch as both a light phenomenon associated with the pillar of cloud and fire which surrounded Yahweh (cf. Exod 16:10b; 24:16–17, 43–44; 40:34–35, 38; Numb 17:7; 1 Kings 8:10–11; Lev 9:23–24; 1 Sam 3:3, 4:21) and as having a bodily form similar to a human being (i.e. Exod 33:18–34:8).

The anthropomorphic *Kavod* is quite developed in Ezekiel's vision. The prophet states that he saw "a likeness as the appearance of a man (דמות כמראה אדם)" enthroned (1:26). He further describes this deity as radiant with fire enclosing his body (1:27). This is the "*Kavod* of Yahweh" (1:28).

This passage became the foundational text for later Jewish mystical speculations, speculations about God's Body which culminated in the *Shiur Komah* literature. These speculations furthered the idea that God's *Kavod* was a

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1 This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism Symposium: Vision and Audition held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, December 8ā9, 1994.

2 G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition* (New York, 1960); idem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead: Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah* (forward J. Dan; trans. J. Neugroschel; ed. and revised according to 1976 Hebrew edition J. Chipman; New York, 1991) 15–55.

For *Shuir Komah* literature, see now, M. S. Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism* (Lanham-New York-London, 1983); idem, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions*, TSAJ 9 (Tübingen, 1985).

3 See the detailed presentation of the *Kavod* by J. Fossum, "Glory כבוד δόξα," *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (ed. K. van der Toorn *et. al.*; Leiden, forthcoming).

Body of cosmic proportions surrounded by radiant light.[4] So the idea developed that when the mystic approached the heavenly throne, he would gaze upon the *Kavod*, God's Bodily manifestation, which functioned as an intermediary figure concealing the direct vision of God but at the same time revealing to the worthy aspirant the vision of the God seated upon his Merkavah. Thus in the *Shiur Komah* we find the typical passage:

> I [Rabbi Ishmael] have seen the King of Kings over Kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, sitting on a high and elevated throne [...]. What is the measure of the body of the Holy One, blessed be He, which is hidden from all men? The soles of His feet fill the entire universe, as it is said: "The heavens are My seat and the earth My footstool" [Isa 66:1]. The height of His soles is 30,000,000 parasangs [...].[5]

Scholem argued that an early form of this divine Body mysticism can be detected in the *Prologus* of Origen's *Canticum Canticorum* where this third-century patristic author refers to the Song of Songs and Ezekiel chapter 1 as Scripture which the Jews did not exegete in the presence of younger scholars. Scholem suggested that this practice indicated that the *Shiur Komah* mystics promoted the tradition that the beautiful body of the lover in the Song of Songs 5:11–16 represented the divine Body.[6] The Merkavah mystics, according to Scholem, would have regarded the Song of Songs as an esoteric text concerning the manifestation and Form of God.[7] It is also significant that recently M. Cohen has noted that Origen also states that some Jews cited Isaiah 66:1, "The heavens are My seat and the earth My footstool," as a text which substantiated their view that God has a body (*Hom. in Gen.* 1.13).[8]

Scholem briefly noted, as well, that the Jewish-Christian source of the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* knows of the teaching that God has a bodily "Form" or μορφή. He mentions two significant passages, 3.7 and 17.7–8.[9] J. Fossum has discussed several other *Pseudo-Clementine* references to God's Body, his σῶμα or μορφή (*Hom.* 11.4.1, 17.16; cf. 3.17.2, *Rec.* 1.28.4), and has argued that the vision of the Jewish-Christian sect leader, Elchasai, also attests to elementary *Shiur Komah* speculation (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 9.13.2–3; cf. Epiphanius, *Pan.* 19.4.1–2, 30.17.6, 53.1.9).[10] Since Elchasai revealed his message in 101 CE, the third year of Trajan's reign, it is arguable that an early form of divine Body speculation must have existed in the late first century and early second century.

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4 The terms "Body," "Glory," "Form," "Image," and "Likeness" are synonymous with each other. On this see Fossum, "Jewish-Christian Christology and Jewish Mysticism," *VC* 37 (1983) 263; idem, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord*, WUNT 36 (Tübingen, 1985) 283–284. For a useful survey of the linguistic data, refer to S. Kim, *The Origins of Paul's Gospel*, WUNT 4 (Tübingen, 1981) 195–205. For a survey of the literature which develops the *Kavod* notion, see Fossum, "Jewish-Christian Christology."

5 Cohen, *Texts*, 87, lines 94–96 and 98–102.

6 G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, (New York, 1960) 38–40.

7 Scholem, *On The Mystical Shape*, 32; idem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 36–40.

8 Cohen, *Liturgy*, 40 n. 65.

9 *Jewish Gnosticism*, 41.

10 J. Fossum, "Jewish-Christian Christology"; idem, *The Image of the Invisible God*, (manuscript, 1994) 25 n. 88.

Additionally, Scholem makes reference to divine Body mysticism in the works of a second-century Valentinian teacher from the Eastern school, Marcus (Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.14.1–3; Ephiphanius, 34.4.7).[11] This was first recognized by M. Gaster decades ago. Gaster, followed by Scholem, demonstrated that Marcus's theology is based on speculation on the divine Name and its pronunciation as well as descriptions of God's Form.[12]

Finally Scholem briefly refers to the teachings of another second-century Eastern Valentinian, Theodotus, teachings which are preserved for us by the pen of Clement of Alexandria in his unfinished manuscript, *The Excerpts of Theodotus.*[13] He notes that there are "Jewish elements in these fragments" particularly sections 37–38 which are "soaked with Merkabah mysticism."[14]

Curiously, Scholem did not develop these observations at any length nor did he recognize the extent to which Theodotus incorporated Jewish mystical elements into his soteriological scheme. Theodotus is a creative theologian, not merely incorporating these Jewish mystical elements unchanged. Rather he transforms these elements as he builds his unique Gnostic system of salvation. He particularly interprets Matthew 5:8, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God," and 18:10, "For I tell you that in heaven their angels always behold the face of the Father who is in heaven," against this Jewish background, using them as a foundation upon which to build his version of Valentinian mythology. In so doing, he creates a scheme of salvation which centers on the Body of the Son and the eschatological hope that the believers will be transformed into this Body.

I. The Body of the Son

Theodotus's exegesis of Matthew 18:10 against the background of Jewish mysticism begins with the description of the Pleromic world which consists of seven pairs of aeons who exist in order to "always behold the face of the Father" (10.6). The first of these aeons differs from the rest. He has been "provided with his own form and with his own nature which is exceedingly pure and sovereign and directly enjoys the power of the Father" (10.3).

Theodotus stresses repeatedly that this particular aeon has a "shape (σχῆμα)," "form (μορφή)," or "body (σῶμα)" (11.2). He prooftexts this by quoting 1 Corinthians 15:40: "there is one glory of the heavenly, another of the earthly, another of the angels, another of the archangels." He states that this passage determines that Paul knew about "heavenly, beautiful and intellectual bodies" (11.2). He asks the rhetorial question, How could Paul enumerate different names, if these names were not determined by their shape, form and body? (11.2).

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11 *Jewish Gnosticism*, 37–38; *Mystical Shape*, 25–28.

12 M. Gaster, "Das Shiur Komah," *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Mediaveal Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology* 2 (New York, 1971) 1343–1348; on this, see also Scholem, *Mystical Shape*, 25–28; G. Stroumsa, "Form(s) of God: Some Notes on Metatron and Christ," *HTR* 76 (1983) 280–281.

13 R. Casey, *The Excerpts ex Theodoto of Clement of Alexandria*, SD 1 (London, 1934) is the edition refered to in this paper; see also, F. Sagnard, *Les Extraits de Théodote*, SC 23 (Paris, 1948).

14 G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 34 and n. 10.

Moreover, the Son's Body is purer than the angels' bodies. His Body is described as "light unapproachable (ἀπρόσιτον φῶς)" and "Power of God (δύναμις θεοῦ)" (12.3). For a visual analogy, Theodotus refers to the transfiguration story, which describes the Son's Body whose "'garments gleamed as the light, and his face as the sun,' which it is not easy even to look at" (12.3).[15]

Furthermore, this aeon functions as the many-named intermediary between the Father and the aeonic world. Among his names are: "Only-Begotten (μονογενὴς)," "inapproachable light (φῶς ἀπρόσιτον)," "First-Born (πρωτότοκος)," "Son (υἱός)" (10.5), "Logos (λόγος)," "Christ (χριστός)," "Life (ζωή)," "Mind (νούς)" (6.3–4), "Knowledge (γνῶσις)" (7.3), and "Power of God (δύναμις θεοῦ)" (12.3). He even is called "the Name (τὸ ὄνομα)" (26.1) which means that he has been endowed with God's unutterable divine Name!

The most popular name, by far, for this aeon in Theodotus's myth is the "Face of the Father (πρόσωπον πατρὸς)." As the Father's Face, he makes the Father "known" (10.6). This knowledge is understood to be a visionary experience rather than an intellectual one. The other aeons are said to see the Father not with eyes of sense but with the eye of Mind which the Father has provided (10.6). This eye is, of course, the Son. Thus Theodotus concludes that the Son's Body is the "beginning of the vision of the Father, being called the 'face of the Father'" (12.1).

Without doubt, Theodotus has applied *Kavod* traditions, to the Valentinian mythology of the Father and the Only-Begotten. The Father can *only* be seen through the mediation of the Only-Begotten who has the Father's shining Face and radiant Body.

This is confirmed by the fact that Theodotus associates this figure with the tradition of God's many-named intermediary, a heavenly angel who shared God's nature because he had been given God's Name and thus was connected with the *Kavod*.[16] Philo of Alexandria, for instance, enumerates the multiple names for this figure to include "Son of God," "God's Firstborn," "Logos, who holds the eldership among the angels," "Beginning," "the Name of God," "Man after His Image," "He that sees, that is Israel" (*De conf. ling.* 146), "eldest Son," and "the Begotten One" (*Ibid.* 62f.). J. Fossum has demonstrated in his comprehensive study, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord*, that Jewish-Christianity was heavily indebted to this tradition, identifying Christ with this figure.[17] Justin Martyr offers one of the most comprehensive of the Christian lists, including names such as "Glory" and "Power":

> God has begotten as Beginning before all his creatures a kind of rational Power from himself, that is also called by the Holy Spirit "The Glory of the Lord" and sometimes "Son," and sometimes "Wisdom," or "Angel," or "God," and "Lord" and "Word" (*Dial.* 61.1).

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15 Theodotus seems to interpret this text correctly to refer to Christ as the *Kavod*. See now Fossum extensive analysis of the transfiguration story in his forthcoming book, *Image*, chapters "Ascensio, Metamorphosis: The 'Transfiguration' of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels" and "Partes posteriores dei: The 'Transfiguration' of Jesus in the *Acts of John*."

16 On this connection, see Fossum, *Name*, especially 307–321.

17 Fossum, *Name*, 160ff.

Theodotus's mythological construct of the Only-Begotten certainly belongs to this atmosphere. His figure takes on the aspects of the *Kavod*, God's manifestation. According to Theodotus, he is the many-named heavenly mediator who makes the Father known through a visionary experience. When the aeons gaze at his face, they are seeing the Father, and through this experience, they have gained "knowledge" of him.

This construct was familiar to other Christian circles which were influenced by Jewish mystical traditions just as Theodotus was. The *Pseudo-Clementines*, for instance, interpret Matthew 5:8 and 18:10 as referring to the vision of the Body of God. This Body is known to exist since "the angels of the least of the faithful amongst us" stand in heaven "continually beholding the face of the Father." Thus God has a "shape (μορφὴν)" or "body (σῶμα)" with "limbs," "eyes," and "ears" (17.7).[18]

According to *Homily* 17, there is no question that this Body is to be understood in anthropomorphic terms since the human is said to be moulded in God's own "shape as in the grandest seal (αὐτοῦ μορφῇ ὡς ἐν μεγίστῃ σφραγῖδι)" (17.7). Man is thus the visible "image (εἰκὼν)" of the "invisible (ἀόρατος)" God (17.7). Furthermore, the Body of God is "incomparably more brilliant" than "the visual spirit which is in us." Turning to Matthew 5:8, the author argues that God has this "most beautiful shape (τὴν καλλίστην μορφὴν)" because of man, "that the pure in heart may be able to see him" (*Hom.* 17.7). God, "possessing figure and shape and beauty (αὐτὸν ἐν σχήματι καὶ μορφῇ καὶ κάλλει ὄντα)," extends these qualities "infinitely" (*Hom.* 17.8). Thus God's Body is "a substance infinite in height, boundless in depth, immeasurable in breadth (οὐσία ἄπειρος εἰς ὕψος, ἀπέραντος εἰς βάθος, ἀμέτρητος εἰς πλάτος)" (*Hom.* 17.9).

Moreover, the *Pseudo-Clementines* insist that when a soul is "separated from the body" and is found to have a "longing" for God, it is taken up into his "bosom." This is compared to "the mists of the mountains" in the winter which are attracted to the sun and are carried along "immortal" to it. The author of this passage exclaims: "What affection ought therefore to arise within us if we gaze with our mind on his beautiful shape (ἐὰν τὴν εὐμορφίαν αὐτοῦ τῷ νῷ κατοπτεύσωμεν)" (*Hom.* 17.10)! His beauty proves that he has a shape "for beauty cannot exist apart from shape (ἀδύνατον κάλλος ἄνευ μορφῆς εἶναι); nor can one be attracted to the love of God, nor even deem that he can see him (δοκεῖν θεὸν ὁρᾶν), if God has no form (εἶδος οὐχ ἔχοντα)" (*Hom.* 17.10).

Traces of the theme of the Beautiful Body can be found in the *Hekhalot Rabbati* where God's appearance is overwhelmingly beautiful. This text derives its formulaic statement that the mystic desires "to behold the king in his beauty (יופיו)" (198, 248, 259) from Isaiah 33:17: "Your eyes shall see the King in his beauty."[19] The *Hekhalot Zutarti* also refers to this formula quite often (407–409, 411, 412; cf. 335, 346). In section 159 of *Hekhalot Rabbati*, the enthroned king has a lovely countenance of "beauty (יופי)" that the mystic who views it will be "poured out like a jug" (cf. 102, 104; *Hekhalot Zutarti* 356). The "radiance of the

18 For the Greek, refer to P. de Lagarde, *Clementina* (Leipzig, 1865; reprinted in Osnabrück, 1966).

19 For references to the Hekhalot texts, refer to P. Shäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 2 (Tübingen, 1981).

beauty (יופי) of their king" is unbearable to behold. According to a hymn in *Hekhalot Rabbati* 248, creation is kindled "from his Beauty (יופיו)," "his Stature (תארו)," "his Majesty," "his Crown," and "his Garment." These terms recur in a passage from the *Pesikta Rabbati* where God on Mount Sinai opens the seven heavens and reveals himself to Israel "in his Beauty (יופיו), his *Kavod* (כבודו), his Stature (תואר), and his Crown and the throne of his Glory."[20]

It is noteworthy that this notion also becomes incorporated in a Gnostic text and a Hermetic text both of which speak of the *Kavod* according to G. Quispel.[21] In the Gnostic Naassene Homily, the heavenly Adamas is called the "great and most beautiful and perfect Man" (Hippolytus, *Ref. omn. haer.* 5.7.7). Particularly important to this discussion is the celestial *Anthropos* in *Corpus Hermeticum* 1.12 who "was exceedingly beautiful (περικαλλὴς) and wore the Father's image (τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς εἰκόνα ἔχων), and God really loved his own Form (τῆς ἰδίας μορφῆς)."[22] When *Anthropos* peers down through the heavenly spheres, he reveals to Nature on the surface of the water "the beautiful Form of God (τήν καλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μορφήν)." When Nature sees "the appearance of the beautiful Form of Anthropos (τῆς καλλίστης μορφῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου)" reflected there, she is enamoured with it and becomes his lover (1.14).

Theodotus's use of Matthew 18:10 is comparable to that of his fellow Valentinian, Marcus. Both understand it to prove that God has a Body or Face which is looked upon by the angels or aeons. Marcus explains that God became "manifest as the Shape of the invisible" through sounding out particular letters of the alphabet. This manifestation was the primal *Anthropos* who is called the "Body of Truth (τὸ σῶμα τῆς Ἀληθείας)" (Iren., *Adv. haer.* 1.14.3)[23] and is said to be made up of the "letters" or "forms" of the alphabet. Marcus refers to Matthew 18:10 as his prooftext for this, explaining that these "forms (μορφὰς)" are actually the "angels" who are "continually beholding the Father's Face." Marcus concludes that, when these certain letters of the divine Name are pronounced, the invisible God becomes manifest as the Body of Truth (Iren., *Adv. haer.* 1.14.1; cf. Epiph., *Pan.* 34.4.7). Thus Marcus calls the Body the *Anthropos*, while Theodotus favors the Only-Begotten upon which the aeons gaze and through whom the Father is made known.

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20 M. Friedman, *Pesikta Rabbati* 1 (Vienna, 1880; second ed. Tel Aviv, 1963; trans. Braude, New Haven-London, 1968) fol. 98b.

21 G. Quispel, "Hermetism and the New Testament, Especially Paul," ANRW (forthcoming hopefully in the near future). His article, "Ezekiel 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis," *VC* 34 (1980) 1–13, is an abridgement of this work.

22 For Greek edition, see P. Festugière and A. D. Nock, *Hermès Trismégiste* 1. *Poimandrès. Traités I-XII* (Paris, 1938); for a solid English translation, refer to B. P. Copenhaver, *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius in a new English translation, with notes and introduction* (Cambridge, 1992).

23 For Greek, refer to W. Harvey, *Sancti Irenaei* 1 (Cambridge, 1857; republished in New Jersey, 1965).

II. Becoming the Divine Body

Theodotus further develops his mystical exegesis by explaining that the aeons' vision of the Only-Begotten which mediates the vision and knowledge of the Father is merely the *pattern* which the "elect" will copy when they have attained perfection in the End (11.1). They will be granted the great *visio dei* in the End just as the aeons have been granted this vision in the present. Theodotus prooftexts this by simply quoting Matthew 5:8: "Thus blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God" (11.2). Here, the "pure in heart" are equivocated with the "elect."

What does it mean to be "pure in heart" according to Theodotus? Not surprisingly, this is also described as the condition of the angels who are "intellectual fire and intellectual spirits (νοερὸν πῦρ καὶ πνεύματα νοερά)" and who thus have "purified natures (τὴν οὐσίαν ἀποκεκαθαρμένοι)" (12.2). Being purified completely, the angels advance from the "intellectual fire" which is their nature to "intellectual light (φῶς νοερὸν)" which is the Son's nature. It is into this "intellectual light" that the angels desire to look (cf. 1 Pet 1:12). Since the elect are derived from the same substance, they will attain to this same vision (13.4).

The main problem, according to Theodotus, is that the elect have human bodies now so they can not see God at the present moment. He prooftexts this by referring to Paul, that "we have borne the image of the earthly" (1 Cor 15:49). This earthly image is understood to be the material body. But Paul continues that one day "we will also bear the image of the heavenly" (1 Cor 15:49) which Theodotus interprets to mean spiritual bodies that are borne once the elect have attained perfection (15.1–2).

This situation is further compared to Paul's statement in 1 Corinthians 13:12: "For now we see in a mirror dimly but then face to face." This promise is reiterated in 23.4 where Theodotus reaffirms that even as "the angels of the little ones" or the angels of the "elect" behold the face of the Father, so will the elect themselves gaze on him since they will have the same inheritance and achieve the same perfection as the angels. Right now, since the Son is the Face, those elect who are being instructed by the Son are *beginning* to comprehend the Father. But the rest of the Father will remain unknown to them until the End (23.5).

Theodotus builds upon the motif that part of the Father is known and part unknown by explaining that the aeon Jesus put on the flesh and made the Father "visible" to this world through his Wisdom and the Church. For the time being, the part of the Father which is invisible to the human sphere is the Name, the Only-Begotten. Thus Theodotus constructs a mirror-world in which the Jesus aeon functions for the saved in this universe like the Only-Begotten functions for the aeons or angels in the Pleroma: as a mediator between them and the divine. Just as the Only-Begotten is the *Kavod* who concealed and revealed the Father to the aeons, so the aeon Jesus conceals and reveals the Pleroma to the human. He is the "door" through whom the saved or spiritual seed enters into the Pleroma and then is granted to see God face to face (26.1–27.6). The aeon Jesus, in the cosmic realm, is the mirror reflection of the Only-Begotten in the Pleroma. Thus the *Kavod* concept is applied to the aeon Jesus just as it was also applied to the

Only-Begotten. Like all other aspects of Gnosticism, even the notion of the *Kavod* has been bifurcated in Theodotus's system.

This is most clear in Theodotus's description of the two-step process of salvation. Salvation's first step is expounded in sections 37–38, the sections on which Scholem has already made comment about Merkabah mystical influence. He argues that the term ὁ τόπος, a Greek translation of a Jewish designation of God as MAQOM (המקום), is to be indentified with ὁ δημιουργός (בראשית יוצר), who was equated with the God of Israel in Gnosticism.[24] This seems to be the case, but only where the word takes on the connotation of agency such as we find in section 34 where the Powers "on the left" are formed "by the Place (ὑπὸ τοῦ τόπου)." In the future, "the Place (ὁ τόπος)" will receive the "power (ἐξουσίαν)" and the "position (τάξιν)" which the Mother now has.

But, there seem also to be instances where ὁ τόπος designates a specific heavenly location as it does in other Christian texts.[25] For instance, in section 28, it is said that the Valentinians interpret Deuteronomy 5:9, "God visiting the disobedient unto the third and fourth generations" to mean "the three places (τοὺς τρεῖς τόπους)" which are "on the left" while the "fourth generation" is their "own seed" which is "on the right." I would argue that this location may be referred to again in section 37 which explains that the righteous are held "at the Place (παρὰ τῷ τόπῳ)" after ascending at death through the created order, while "the others" are held at the place of darkness "on the left."

It would seem then that the appellation "the Place" in this text describes both the Demiurge and the heavenly realm in which he resides, specifically the Heptad. Similarly, the Mother, Sophia, is called by the name of her residence, the Ogdoad. And, at the same time, the archons are identified with their residences, the consecutive heavenly spheres. The use of the name of a place in the sense of the inhabitants of that place may resonate curiously with us, but it is actually common in Semitic languages as, for example, Genesis 11:1 indicates since it reads, "And the whole earth was of one language," instead of "the inhabitants of the earth were of one language" (cf. Gen 21:23, 1 Sam 5:12, 1 Macc 3:18).[26]

Thus, Theodotus, aware of the metonymy of the divine Name, Place, from the Semitic tradition, describes Place as a being, as well as his heavenly location which contains a throne surrounded by a veil. This veil is frequently described in the Hekhalot literature as the "Pargod of MAQOM," the curtain of Place (*3 Enoch* 45.1–6); *Alph. R. Akiba, BH.* 3.44; cf. *TB. Yoma* 77a; *Mekilta on Ex.* 19:9; *TB. Ber.* 18b; *Mass. Hek.* 7) which functions as the deity's shield, hiding the god even from

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24 Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 34–35; see also A. Spanier, "Die Gottesbezeichnungen המקום and ברוך הוא הקדוש in der frühtalmudischen Literatur," *MGWJ* 66 (1922) 309–314. Philo, *De Somniis* 1.63 and *De Fuga* 75 uses τόπος as an allegorical designation of God himself.

25 On this, see A. D. De Conick, *Seek to See Him: Ascent and Vision Mysticism in the Gospel of Thomas*, VCSup (forthcoming) chapter Four 1d.

E. Urbach, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs* 1 (trans. I. Abrahams; Jerusalem, 1987), discusses the Rabbinic employment of MAQOM which in these sources "has no abstract, transcendental character, but, on the contrary, expresses the nearness of man to God" and was the complement title for God in contrast to "Heaven" (74).

26 For a complete list of examples, refer to E. Landau, *Die dem Raume entnommenen Synonyma für Gott in der neu-hebräischen Literatur* (Zurich, 1888). On this subject, see also Urbach, *Sages* 1, 69ff.

the angels.[27] So it is not surprising that Theodotus claims that the veil protects those who come here so that they "may not be destroyed by the sight" of the deity (38.2). Therefore, when the psychic elements ascend to the Place, they can remain unharmed with Jesus until the End when he will "subdue the Place and provide the seed with a passage into the Pleroma" (38.3; cf. 26.2–3; 61.8; 63.1–64; 80.1–2).

In Theodotus's descriptions of the Place, we find that his accounts reflect those found in the Jewish apocalyptic and mystical texts. He describes highest heaven where the *Kavod* is enthroned as the place of fire (ὁ τόπος πύρινός ἐστι) (38.2) with a river of fire flowing under "the throne of the Place (τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ τόπου)."[28] Whether or not this genitive construction "the throne of the Place (τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ τόπου)" intends to convey the meaning "the throne of the Demiurge himself" or "the throne which stands in the Place" is ambiguous most likely due to the metonymy itself.

But, it is noteworthy that, in chapter 62.1, we find that the Demiurge is seated with Christ at his right hand. This would suggest that the throne is not only found in the Place but is also to be understood as the possession of the Demiurge himself. This also would mean that we can render the ambigious dative τῷ τόπῳ in 38.3 as "Jesus sits with the Place (ὁ Ἰησοῦς συνεκαθέσθη τῷ τόπῳ)" as well as "Jesus sits in the Place."

This is complemented by another Gnostic treatise, *On the Origin of the World*, which has a similar framework.[29] The Demiurge Sabaoth created a "dwelling-place (ⲟⲩⲏⲁ)" for himself (104.31–32). Thus: "It is a large place which is very excellent, sevenfold greater than all those who exist in the seven heavens." His Place (ⲉⲫⲏⲁ) is described after the fashion of Ezekiel 1, having "a great throne (ⲟⲩⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ) on a four-faced chariot called 'cherubin'. And the cherubin had eight forms...lion forms, and bull forms, and human forms, and eagle forms...And on that throne he created some other dragon-shaped angels called 'seraphin', who glorify him continually" (104.35–105.20).

None other than Jesus Christ sits "at his right hand upon an excellent throne (ⲉⲫϩⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲓ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ ϩⲓϫⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲫⲧⲁⲉⲓⲏⲩ)" (105.26–30). As he sits on his throne next to the Demiurge, he is surrounded by "a great light-cloud" which acts as the cosmic veil concealing him from direct vision (ⲉⲫϩⲟⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ϩⲓϫⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛ̄‹ⲟⲩ›ⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲉϫϫⲕⲉⲡⲁⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ) (106.3–5).

Certainly what we have in *Excerpt* 38 is an example of Theodotus's mirror-world where the enthroned Demiurge is a reflection of the Father while Jesus who sits on his right hand is the reflection of the Only-Begotten. This is borne out by Theodotus's insistence that the Demiurge was put forth by Sophia as "a god, the image of the Father" (47.2). This "image of the Father" became a Father by generating the "psychic Christ" which Jesus later puts on in his descent

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27 Scholem, *Major Trends*, 72 and 367 nn. 113 and 114; idem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 34 n. 12; A. Marmorstein, *Jahrbuch für Jüdische Volkskunde* 2 (1925) 379; Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, on c. 45 of the text, p. 141–142.

28 For references, see H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch* (Cambridge, 1928) 60 n. 19, 112 n. 4.

29 For Coptic, see B. Layton, *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2–7 together with XIII,2*, Brit. Lib. Or. 4926 (1), and P. Oxy. 1, 654, 655* 2, *On the Origin of the World, Expository Treatise On the Soul, Book of Thomas the Contender* NHS 21 (Leiden, 1989).

through the Place to earth (59.1–3). This Christ was "an image of the Son." Futhermore, the archangels are made "as images of the Aeons," and so on (47.3). Thus the Demiurge was produced by the Mother as "a type of him who had deserted her." He was "a type of the Father of the universe" (33.3). In this system, the Demiurge certainly has been rehabilitated.

Theodotus also uses Temple imagery when describing this heavenly Place. This imagery is not uncommon to Jewish literature when it depicts mystical visions of God's heavenly Throneroom (cf. Ps 11:4; Isa 6:1–4; 1 En 14:8–25; Philo, *Con. Special Laws* 1.66).[30] Of particular interest to our study is the Qumran literature, some of the earliest literature applying the term *merkabah* to God's Throne. C. Newsom amply has demonstrated that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* describe the Throneroom of God as a heavenly Temple and the angels as God's priests. The intent of the Qumranites was to establish and maintain a state of purity so that they could engage in the heavenly worship service before God's *Merkabah*, communing with the angels and sharing in their priestly duties.[31]

In the *Excerpts*, the Place, the Throneroom of the Demiurge, is compared to the Holy of Holies into which only the High Priest can enter. Like the High Priest who strips off his ritual robe when he enters the Holy of Holies, the spiritual seed which ascends here must first be purified before it can ascend.[32] In order for this to happen the Name must be engraved upon his "body" and "heart" (27.1–2; cf. 86.2). This reference to Name engraving is probably an allusion to the ritual of unction followed by baptism when the divine Name was conferred on the individual, first as a seal on the body during the anointing process and then on the heart during the baptism itself (cf. 22.5).[33]

Once this has occurred, it makes it possible for the soul to ascend and the body to be laid aside at death since it has been purified with the stamp of the Name and is recognizable by this brand to the Powers as belonging to the Pleroma. Thus Theodotus states that the sealing symbolizes "the laying aside of the body which has become pure like the golden plate and bright through purification, as it were, the body stripped from the soul (τοῦ ὥσπερ σώματος τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπόθεσιν), [the body] on which was stamped the lustre of piety, by which he was recognized by the Principalities and Powers as having the Name" (27.1–2).[34]

Thus the body is removed (ἀποτίθεται τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα). Then the soul is stripped by the Power of God and the spiritual element, "passes into the spiritual realm and becomes now truly rational and high-priestly" (27.3). This stripping of the soul by the Power of God is described as the transformative process by which

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30 On this subject, see the recent work of M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford, 1993).

31 C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*, HSS 27 (Atlanta, 1985).

32 The analogy in itself may be part of the Jewish mystical tradition as E. R. Dodds noted in his classic work *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety* (Cambridge, 1965; reprint 1970) 94–95.

33 For a detailed analysis of investiture of the Name and ritual procedures, see Fossum, *Name*, 95–106.

34 For a discussion of the metaphor "stripping" and its relationship to ascent, refer to A. D. De Conick and J. Fossum, "Stripped Before God: A New Interpretation of Logion 37 in the Gospel of Thomas," *VC* 45 (1991) 123–150; A. D. De Conick, "The *Dialogue of the Savior* and the Mystical Sayings of Jesus," *VC* 49 (1995) 000–000.

"man becomes the bearer of God (τὸ θεοφόρον γίνεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον), being controlled directly by the Lord and becoming, as it were, his Body (σῶμα αὐτοῦ γινόμενον)" (27.6).

This scheme most certainly shares a common nexus of ideas with that found in the Qumran literature: the Throneroom as a Temple, the necessity for purification before entry, and the priestly status that is gained. But Theodotus surpasses this by further describing the nature of the mystical encounter as a transformation into a "bearer of God (θεοφόρον)." It is well-known that θεοφόρος is a commonly used word in Greek literature to refer to a person who is inspired by a god, who bears the divine spirit within himself.[35] Thus it is not unusual that Theodotus understands this to mean that the person is controlled directly by God.

Theodotus, however, pushes the envelop of the concept of θεοφόρος with his interpretation that this transformation is an actual metamorphosis into God's Body itself! Such a transformation is not new to esoteric Jewish traditions. Accounts of Enoch's transformation, for instance, hold that after ascending, he was transformed into an angelic figure who was enthroned as God's vice-regent, the Son of Man (*1 Enoch* 71) or Metatron, an angel closely associated with the *Kavod*, God's Bodily manifestation (*3 Enoch* 7–15).[36] Descriptions of this in *3 Enoch* are particularly illuminating since they detail the transformation into God's Body. Reminiscent of *Shuir Komah* descriptions, Enoch says that "I was enlarged and increased in size till I matched the world in length and breadth" (9.2). His flesh turns to flame and his body to blazing fire (15.1–2). He is even called "the Little Yahweh" (12.1–5).

The notion is comparable to ascent traditions associated with Moses. W. Meeks has demonstrated that the rabbinic works which deal with Moses' ascent preserve remnants of an early tradition that promoted the enthronement of Moses and his investiture with God's Name, garment, and crown.[37] His transformation also is characterized as a fiery ordeal where his flesh is transfigured into a divine body of flames (Midrash Gedullath Mosheh section 2; Midrash Tehillim 90.1; Deut. R. 11.4; *3 Enoch* 15b).

C. Morray-Jones has argued convincingly that these traditions do not simply represent the unique experiences associated with Judaism's heros. He enumerates and analyzes several texts which demonstrate that Judaism also contains a developed tradition that exceptionally worthy human beings, "men of righteousness," anticipated a similar transformation into God's likeness. Heros such as Moses and Enoch served as model mystics whose transformative experiences were the ultimate aspiration of the righteous person.[38]

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35 See W. Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (trans. W. Arndt and F. Gingrich; revised and augmented by F. Gingrich nad F. Danker; second ed., 1979) 358b where the following texts are mentioned: Aeschyl., fgm. 225; Philod. 1 col. 4, 12 Diels; Leontios 12 p. 22, 14; 15 p. 30, 15; American Journal of Archaeology 37, 244 [inscription 2 CE; Bacchic mysteries]; Heraclitus, Ep. 8,2.

36 See J. Fossum, *The Name*; C. Morray-Jones, "Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkavah Tradition," *JJS* 48 (1992) 7–11.

37 W. Meeks, "Moses as God and King," *Religions in Antiquity, E. R. Goodenough Memorial Volume* (ed. J. Neusner; Leiden, 1968) 334–371; idem, *The Prophet-King* (Leiden, 1967).

38 Morray-Jones, "Transformational Mysticism," 17–21.

It is clear that Theodotus's concept of "becoming God's Body" reflects his knowledge of these esoteric Jewish ideas. It must be acknowledged, however, that Theodotus would have found fertile ground for this theology in the writings of earlier Christians since such a concept was not uncommon in Christian circles at large which also developed these Jewish ideas when they taught that the believers already belong to Christ's Body.

I would argue that this is the proper context for Paul's first letter to the Corinthians in which he remarks "you are the Body of Christ (Ὑμεῖς ἐστε σῶμα Χριστοῦ) and individually members of it" (1 Cor 12:27). Once the person has converted, he becomes God's Body. This is interpreted by Paul to mean becoming an individual member of the Church which he equated with God's Body. Paul argues against the dissidence experienced by the Corinthian Christians by affirming that Christ can not be divided because he is one Body (1:13). The believers are not only united with his Mind (1:10, 2:16), but even their very bodies are said to be members of Christ's Body, united to the Lord (6:15). They have become one spirit with him through this unifying experience of their bodies (6:17). He actually compares this experience to Genesis 2:24, "the two shall become one flesh," and associates this transformation with Temple imagery. Thus he questions the believers: "Do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you, which you have from God?" (6:19; cf. 3:16–17).

Even the breaking of bread is associated with Body mysticism. The ritual is said to bring about "a participation (κοινωνία) in the Body of Christ (τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ)" (10:16). Paul explains that "because there is one bread, we who are many are one body (ἓν σῶμα οἱ πολλοί ἐσμεν), for we all partake of the one bread" (10:17). This is done in remembrance of Jesus' words "this is my Body which is for you (Τοῦτό μού ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν)" (11:24). Therefore, Paul warns the believers that whoever eats of the bread of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be guilty of profaning the Body of the Lord (11:27).

Becoming unified with the Body of Christ appears to have resulted from the baptismal experience, according to Paul. Thus he explains that just as the human body has many parts, and these parts constitute a single body, so it is with Christ's Body (12:12). "For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one Body (γὰρ ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι ὑμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν)," Paul comments (12:13). He expands on this analogy, insisting that even though the human body consists of a plurality of members like eyes, ears, and other organs, it still is a singular body (12:14–26). In his climatic statement on this subject, he compares this situation to Christ's Body and the Christians. Thus: "You are the Body of Christ and individually members of it" (12:27).

This certainly must be associated with another of Paul's teaching: that, at the Eschaton, once our material bodies are shed (2 Cor 5:3),[39] we will put on a "heavenly dwelling (τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ)" (2 Cor 5:2), a "spiritual body (σῶμα πνευματικόν)" (1 Cor 15:44). This body is in contrast to

[39] M. E. Thrall, "'Putting on' or 'Stripping off' in 2 Corinthians 5:3," *New Testament Textual Criticisms: Its Significance for Exegesis, Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger* (eds. E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee; Oxford, 1981) 221–237, has argued that the evidence favors the reading ἐνδυσάμενοι in 2 Corinthians 5:3 rather than ἐκδυσάμενοι as the third edition of the *Greek New Testament* (United Bible Societies) has printed.

the physical body which cannot enter the Kingdom of God (1 Cor 15:50). So, according to Paul, at the sound of the trumpet, we will be completely transformed from a body of flesh and blood to a body of spirit, from a body of "mortality" to a body of "immortality" (1 Cor 15:52–54). It is plausible that Paul understood this eschatological transformation to be only the climatic realization of his assertation that as a Christian, one is the Body of Christ. This understanding illuminates 2 Corinthians 3:18, where Paul claims that Christians are experiencing already a metamorphosis into God's Image (τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα).

The author of Ephesians also seems to have appropriated divine Body mysticism in his extensive analogies of the Church as the Body of Christ (1:22–23; 4:7–16; 5:21–33). Christ is said to have a cosmic Body which is the Church, filling everything (1:22–23). All believers must become mature in their knowledge and faith. This maturation enables them to attain to "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ (μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ)" (4:13), which builds up "the Body of Christ (τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ)" (4:12) and helps it to function through love in a healthy manner (4:15–16).

This maturation and growth in love should be associated with 3:18–19 where the author prays that the believer may have power "to comprehend with all the holy ones what is the breadth and length and height and depth (τὸ πλάτος καὶ μῆκος καὶ ὕψος καὶ βάθος), and to know the love of Christ which surpasses knowledge." In so doing, the believer will be filled with all the "fullness of God (τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ θεοῦ)." The reference to "the breadth and length and height and depth" can only be an allusion to the immeasurable cosmic Body of Christ which will fill the believer, or which, in other words, will unite with the believer.[40] Thus the author insists that all Christians are "members of his Body (τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ)" (5:30).

III. Conclusion

Theodotus's teachings unmistakably belong to the Jewish tradition of Body mysticism. In his system, once the person has been stripped of his material body, he is in a state of purity and is housed initially with the aeon Jesus in the "Place" until all the saved elements have been collected. Then the second step of the salvation process can occur. After they have removed the psychic body, Jesus provides them safe passage into the Pleroma (38.3).

This is explained in another passage, where Theodotus tells us that immediately before entering the Pleroma, the saved elements strip off their soul bodies. This is the same state that Theodotus describes as "becoming God's Body." Only after being transformed into God's Body can these spiritual elements, devoid of their material and soul bodies, and together with Jesus, Sophia, and their angelic entourage, pass into the Pleroma and attain their long-anticipated vision of the Father (εἰσίασι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ὄψιν) (64)! And the beginning of this exalted vision is mediated through the bifurcated gnostic *Kavod* known as the Only-Begotten, the Body of God which bears the Father's Face. Thus the lost

40 Cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 4.19.2; N. A. Dahl, "Cosmic Dimensions and Religious Knowledge (Eph. 3:18)," *Jesus und Paulus. Festschrift für W. G. Kümmel* (ed. E. Earle Ellis and E. Grässner; Göttingen, 1975) 57–75.

spiritual elements are returned to their primal home, reunified with the Body of God, embraced by the bosom of the Father.

The Gospels and the Mishnah, The Church Fathers and the Talmud: If Christianity Were Written Down by Rabbis . . .[1]

Jacob Neusner
University of South Florida and Bard College

If Christianity were written down in the way in which Judaism is, what should we know about Christianity, and how should we know it? In order for New Testament scholars to find out what they need to know about the rabbinic literature in order to use it for New Testament studies, they require a clear picture of the character of the rabbinic literature. What better way to provide such a picture, than to translate "Judaic" into "Christian"? As a kind of bilingual interpreter, I mean to give a picture of the kind of evidence scholars of earliest Christianity would face, if the New Testament and Patristic writings were truly comparable to the Mishnah and rabbinic literature.

What I wish to do is to paint a picture of our problem in studying early Christianity, if the sources of early Christianity had reached us in the way, and in the condition, in which those of early rabbinic Judaism come down to us. That is to say, what should we know, and how should we know it, if the records of early Christianity were like the rabbinic literature of late antiquity?

(1) What could we know, if all the literature of early Christianity had reached us in a fully homogenized and intellectually seamless form? Not only the New Testament, but all the works of the church fathers, from Justin to Augustine, now would be represented as expressions of one communal mind, dismembered and built into a single harmonious logical structure on various themes. True, they would be shown constantly to disagree with one another. But the range of permissible disagreement would define a vast area of consensus on all basic matters, so that a superficial contentiousness would convey something quite different: one mind on most things, beginning to end. The names of the fathers would be attached to some of their utterances. But all would have gone through a second medium of tradents and redactors — the editors of the compendium (the Patristic Talmud, so to speak, and these editors picked and chose what they wanted of Justin, and what of Origen, what of Tertullian, and what of Augustine, in line with what the editors themselves found interesting. In the end, the picture

[1] This paper is taken from my *Rabbinic Literature and the New Testament. What We Cannot Show, We Do Not Know.* Philadelphia, 1993: Trinity Press International. It is reproduced by permission. The book is on sale at the TPI Booth here in Philadelphia. The earliest version of this paper was given as a plenary address at the Society of Biblical Literature Meeting in New York City in November, 1979. It has been abbreviated and refocused for the present discussion.

of the first six centuries of early Christianity would be the creation of people of the sixth century, out of the sherds and remnants of people of the first five. Our work then would be to uncover what happened before the end through studying a document which portrays a timeless world.

Not only would the document be so framed as implicitly to deny historical development of ideas, but the framers also would gloss over diverse and contradictory sources of thought. I do not mean only that Justin, Irenaeus, and Tertullian would be presented as individual authors in a single, timeless continuum. I mean that all Gnostic and Catholic sources would be broken up into sense-units and their fragments rearranged in a structure presented as representative of a single Christianity, with a single, unitary theology. This synthesized ecumenical body of Christian thought would be constructed so as to set out judgments on the principal theological topics of the day, and these judgments would have been accepted as normative from that day to this. So the first thing we must try to imagine is a Christianity which reaches us fully harmonized and whole — a Christianity of Nicaea and Chalcedon, but not of Arians, Nestorians, monophysites and the rest, so there is no distinctive Justin nor Augustine, no Irenaeus and no Gnostics, and surely no Nag Hammadi, but all are one "in Christ Jesus," so to speak.

(2) Let me emphasize that this would be not merely a matter of early Christian literature's reaching us without the names of the authors of its individual documents. The thing we must try to imagine is that there would be no individual documents at all. Everything would have gone through a process of formation and redaction which obliterated the marks of individuality. Just as the theology would be one, so would the form and style of the documents which preserved it. Indeed, what would be striking about this picture of Christianity would be not that the tractate of Mark lacks the name of Mark, but that all of the tractates of the Gospels would be written in precisely the same style and resort to exactly the same rhetorical and redactional devices. Stylistic unity so pervasive as to eliminate all traces of individual authorship, even of most preserved sayings, would now characterize the writings of the first Christians. The sarcasm of Irenaeus, the majesty of Augustine, and the exegetical ingenuity of Origen, the lucid historicism of Aphrahat — all are homogenized. Everyone talks in the same way about the same things.

(3) And now to come to a principal task of the study of early Christianity: what should we know about Jesus, and how should we know it, if sayings assigned to Jesus in one book were given to Paul in a second, to John in a third, and to "They said," or, "He said to them," in a fourth. Can we imagine trying to discover the historical Jesus on this turf? If even the provenance of a saying could not be established on the basis of all those to whom it is attributed, if, often, even a single *Vorlage* and *Urtext* could not be postulated? Then what sort of work on the biography and thought of any of the early figures of Christianity would be credible?

(4) This brings me to the most difficult act of imagination which I must ask readers to perform: a supererogatory work of social imagination. Can we imagine a corner of the modern world in which this state of interpretation — of total confusion, of harmonies, homologies, homogenies, is not found confusing but reassuring? Can we mentally conjure up a social setting for learning in which differentiation is avoided and credulity rewarded? in which analysis is heresy,

dismissed as worthless or attacked as "full of mistakes"? Can we conceive of a world in which repetition, in one's own words, of what the sources say is labelled scholarship, and anthologizing is labelled learning? In New Testament scholarship, we must imagine, the principal task now is to write harmonies of the Gospels, and, in Patristic studies, to align the Catholic with the Gnostic, the second century with the fifth, the Arian and the Athanasian, monophysite and Nestorian.[2] In a word, we speak of a world in which the Diatesseron is the last word in scholarship, and in which contentiousness about trivial things masks a firm and iron consensus. In this imagined world, scholars further hold that all the sources are historical, and merely alluding to them suffices to establish facts of history.

If readers can envision such a state of affairs, then we have entered the world of sources and scholarly orthodoxies confronted by us who study the ancient Judaism emergent from the rabbinic literature. And, it follows, scholars of New Testament history and exegesis will grasp the fact that rabbinic literature is simply not homologous to the writings on which they work and cannot be used in anything like the same way. Not only so, but that literature deals with different types of problems and answers altogether different questions, with the result that we cannot present to rabbinic literature questions deemed appropriate for address to another kind of writing altogether. A life of Jesus or of Augustine is plausible; a life of Aqiba or Hillel is not. An account of the intellectual biography of Paul and his theology is entirely a propos, the sources answering precisely the questions that are asked. A counterpart picture of Judah the Patriarch, who wrote up the Mishnah, or of Rabbah, Abbayye or Raba, the greatest geniuses of the Talmud, is not. Then to use one type of writing to address questions appropriate to another type of writing is surely a dubious operation. Or — it would be, if it were not entirely routine, as the second part of this book will demonstrate.

(1) I can spell out matters now very simply and very rapidly. First, as to the axioms of scholarship, all the rabbinic sources are treated as representatives of a single, seamless world view and as expressions of a single, essentially united group, either the views as a whole, or, among the enlightened, *the* rabbis as a roup. While some more critical souls concede there may have been distinctions between the first century rabbis' thought and that of the fourth, the distinctions make no material difference in accounts of "the rabbis" and their thought. Whether anthologies or anthological essays (Moore, Montefiore and Loewe, Bonsirven, Urbach), *the* rabbis are represented in their views on God, world, and redemption, as though all rabbis for seven hundred ears had the same thing to say as all others.

Now this representation of the rabbis is subject to an important, commonplace qualification. Everyone knows that the Talmuds abound in the recognition of differences between the teachings of different rabbis in different periods on

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2 I wrote this in 1979 and could not foresee that E. P. Sanders would present precisely such a picture of a single, homogeneous Judaism, joining the Judaic counterpart of monophysites and Nestorians into a single conflation. In the book out of which this paper comes, I show that he has done precisely that. Sanders really exhibits an infirm grasp of the entire critical agenda in the study of the Judaic sources, and an examination of his presentation of them in his *Judaism* and in his *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah* shows an essentially uninformed, or half-informed, intellect at work. My reply to him is in *Judaic Law from Jesus to the Mishnah. A Systematic Reply to Professor E. P. Sanders*. Atlanta, 1993: Scholars Press for South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism.

different points in discussions of which traditions or source was followed by the proponent of this or that opinion. But the recorded differences are about particular, trivial points. The Talmudic discussion, moreover, is directed normally towards reconciling them. What is particularly lacking in available accounts of "the rabbinic mind" is, first, recognition and delineation of different general positions or basic attitudes, of the characteristic make-up, and backgrounds of different schools; second, what is lacking is anything like adequate reporting of the change of teachings over the course of time and in relation to historical changes. Obviously, there is plenty of speculation on how an individual or group reacted to a particular historical situation or event. That is how people in "Talmudic history," particularly in the ghetto-academies of the State of Israel, make their living. But these random speculations are unsystematic and appear to be made up for the occasion. So these apparent exceptions to what I say have to be recognized — because they prove the accuracy of my description of the prevailing consensus.

(2) Second, as to the sources, the documents of earlier Rabbinic Judaism exhibit an internally uniform quality of style. So the scholars who represent a seamless world accurately replicate the literary traits of the sources of the portrait. It is exceedingly difficult to differentiate on formal or stylistic grounds among the layers of the Mishnah, which is the document of Rabbinic Judaism first brought to redaction. The two Talmuds then so lay matters out as to represent themselves as the logical continuity from the Mishnah. They do so by breaking up the Mishnah into minute units and then commenting on those discrete units of thought. Consequently, the Mishnah as a document, a document which presents its own world view and its own social system, is not preserved and confronted. Nor do the Talmuds present themselves as successive layers, built upon, but essentially distinct from the Mishnah. Rather, the Talmuds aim at completely harmonizing their own materials both with the Mishnah and among themselves, despite the self-evidently contradictory character of the materials. Once more we observe, there are limits to disagreement. The continuing contentiousness of the documents, their preservation of diverse viewpoints on single issues, underline the rigidly protected limits of permissible disagreement. Intense disagreement about trivialities powerfully reenforces basic unities and harmonies. The fact that, out there, were Jews who decorated synagogues in ways the Talmuds cannot have led us to anticipate, is mentioned only in passing, as if it is of no weight or concern. What matters to this literature is not how the Jews lived, nor even how they worshipped, but only the discussions of the rabbinical schools and courts. What the documents say is what we are supposed to think, within the range of allowed difference. Consequently, the intellectually unitary character of the sources is powerfully reinforced by the total success of the framers and redactors of the sources in securing stylistic unity within documents and in some measure even among them.

(3) These facts have not prevented scholars, myself included, from writing about history, biography, and theology, upon the basis of the unanalyzed and unchallenged allegations of the rabbinic sources. Just as people had arguments about what Jesus really said and did before the rise of form-criticism, so the rage and secure contentiousness of scholars in this field mask the uncertainty of their

entire structure.[3] It is as if, as in the Talmuds themselves, by arguing on essentially minor points, the colleagues may avoid paying attention to the epistemological abyss beneath them all. And those who — to shift the metaphor — ask where are the emperor's clothes are only rarely asked to make their views known in the forum controlled by the emperor's friends; and the know-nothings, the mediocrities, the unbelieving alumni of yeshivas all competed to please the emperors of the moment, rulers of the corner where politics substituted for persuasion, and ad hominem slander, for serious scholarship. Only on that basis

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[3] And, it should finally be said in public, in the setting of the SBL in 1995, the utter inability of the generality of scholars in rabbinic literature to conduct a civil argument, their insistence that the purpose of scholarly debate is not to refute the position of the other party but to discredit him or her — these testify to the weakness of the existing structure. E. E. Urbach, for example, denied any hearing at all to positions other than his own, so far as he could control the Jerusalem market. His control was absolute, he was the Stalin of Jewish studies in the State of Israel until his death. He surrounded himself with Lysenkos. That explains why, at the Hebrew University Library, my books were kept under lock and key, not accessible to ordinary readers, for twenty years. None was reviewed in the State of Israel in the first quarter-century of my work. And only one of my five hundred books has ever been reviewed there in a normal academic way, the Hebrew edition of *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah.* I think by now it has become apparent to many that Israeli scholarship on ancient Judaism has paid a woeful price for the dominance of Urbach, Scholem, and Lieberman; it forms the counterpart to Soviet genetics. Once Lysenko won, genetics ended in the USSR of that time; the field as practiced there simply lost all plausibility in the world at large. In the study of Judaism in antiquity on the basis of the rabbinic literature, I cannot point to a single article or book published in the past quarter-century that meets the normal, international standard, and the use of that evidence for New Testament studies strikes the world at large as bizarre, as shown by the contrast between the celebration of the work of David Flusser in Jerusalem, and the utter disinterest elsewhere in anything he has to say. When the locals celebrate whom outsiders ignore, something is awry. The self-proclaimed "Jerusalem school in New Testament studies" enjoys a hearing in Jerusalem, but not much beyond. If truth be told, I didn't even know there was a Jerusalem school until some fundamentalist journal asked me for an article on "the Jerusalem school," and I sent them something on the Jerusalem school of "Jewish history in the period of the Mishnah and the Talmud," as they call it; they sent it back, quite properly saying that is not "the Jerusalem school" they had in mind! So Jerusalem is a ghetto, but it has a number of neighborhoods beyond its intellectual walls. I think it fair to say, after thirty-five years the Jerusalem boycott against me has proved no more effective than the Arab boycott of the State of Israel; but there is this difference, the Arab states negotiate with the State of Israel and, if grudgingly, recognize it as a fact in the world, but the Israeli scholars who play Arab to my State of Israel are still in the mode of the three nos of 1967: no negotiation, no recognition, no peace. That is not a mark of confidence or strength on their part. What the story of the last three deades in this field proves, of course, is that ideas cannot be suppressed or scholars boycotted. My books were published, reviewed, used, and responded to, and Israeli scholarship in this area lost its plausibility and burrowed itself deep into its own ghetto, protected by high walls of what became pathological hatred of others and their ideas. The great names of Jerusalem steadily lost plausibility outside, and the great books of Jerusalem in this area — reprints, in English, of work forty and fifty years old! as in the case of the Harvard University Press's reprint of G. Alon's work, great in its time but long since superannuated and out of date at every point — elicited only mild amusement elsewhere. That Harvard University Press published the work without updating it in an introduction or indicating how it is now seriously misleading as to the state of knowledge tells us what we need to know about Harvard University Press. So far as I know, Alon in Harvard's reproduction of a forty-year-old book did not receive a single review in a journal not controlled by the true believers. The story of the self-serving abuse of power on the part of the Jerusalem scholars is now clear to all. Few are persuaded that the actual scholarly results of the Jerusalem school conform to the prevailing standards of critical learning. That does not mean they should be ignored — that would be the Jerusalem way. It means they should be read and analyzed and seen for what they are, and the "Jerusalem school" in both "Jewish history in the Mishnah and the Talmud" and "the Jerusalem school of New Testament studies" is to be carefully studied, along with the final collapse of Communism, as examples of how thought control does not work.

could the silly notion, "believe unless you have to doubt," gain a hearing, alongside the implausibilities set forth by professors at the Hebrew University and Bar Ilan University alike, (Hebrew University: "Believe unless you can prove it isn't so;" Bar Ilan: "Would our holy rabbis lie?" — there being no substantive difference between the two theological dogmas).

So there are agreed-upon solutions to the problems of diverse authorities behind the same saying and amplification and variation of details in a single story. These commonly lead to very felicitous conclusions. If the same saying is in three mouths, it is because they agreed to say it. True, "we cannot be sure that they were not talking simultaneously in different places (thanks to the holy spirit)." Or, if there are three versions of essentially the same story, like the Sermon on the Mount and the Sermon on the Plain, it is because, in the wonderful ways of Providence, it happened two times. Every time the text says, "One time," that was, indeed, one event. On that basis, Israeli Talmudic historians presenting themselves as academic scholars, not believers at all, tell us "he often said . . . ," and expect us not to laugh.

(4) Finally, as I have already hinted, these serendipitous facts, these happy agreements, these assured and unquestioned results of a hundred years of critical scholarship following upon fifteen hundred years of uncritical scholarship which produced the same results, enjoy the powerful support of the three great communities which read the rabbinical literature at all. I mean, Orthodox Jews in Yeshivas, scholarly Jews in rabbinical seminaries and Israeli universities, and the generality of Christian scholars of New Testament, as we see in Part Two of this book. To the Orthodox, the rabbinic sources are part of the whole Torah of Moses our rabbi, the revealed word of God. For them, "our holy rabbis" cannot deceive. To the scholars in rabbinical schools and Israeli universities, the critical program of scholarship on early Christianity is perceived from a distance. In their books and articles they settle complex questions of literary analysis and historical epistemology with an array of two assumptions, three logical arguments, and four "probative" examples. They do not perceive the immense, detailed work which stands, for example, behind debates on Q and the Synoptic problem. Indeed, the work of analysis of sources bores them. Whether work is original or dull, the bulk of it simply dismisses as settled, questions that would be deemed urgent in biblical and patristic literature and in the history of early Christianity. As to the New Testament scholars, their view is that things go better when we read rabbinical literature as a set of facts which speak for themselves, rather than complex problems requiring solutions. For them, the rabbinic literature as it stands, unanalyzed and uncriticized, tells us all about Jerusalem and Galilee in the time of Jesus. Billerbeck is a dictionary of facts, and the beginning of sound exegesis. Or, to put matters in a more theological way, in Gospels' research, salvation is of the Jews.

Now that I have described the state of the evidence in terms accessible to colleagues in biblical studies, I wish to outline some of the solutions to some of the problems, as I have seen them and worked them out. If I dwell on my own work, it is because, in matters of method and theory, there is no other work that in a systematic and fundamental has addressed the issues of the historical study and use of the rabbinic literature. Others substitute arguments for hard work, examples and anecdotes for systematic and thorough examination of the sources. None has troubled to reread and retranslate (or translate for the first time)

entire documents on which historical work is supposedly based; I have reread and translated for the first time or for the second every rabbinic document I have adduced in evidence for the study of Rabbinic Judaic religion and theology and of the history of the formation of Judaism.

The part of the work of special concern to New Testament scholars defines my focus. Among the many problems of analysis and description left to me by the kindness of earlier scholars, two first attracted my attention. One I solved. one I did not solve, in the first critical work of the lot, which was *Development of a Legend: Studies on the Traditions Concerning Yohanan ben Zakkai.* The first was how to deal with diverse versions of a story, the second, the analysis of the blatantly formalized character of much of the rabbinic literature. There is a reason for both the success and the failure. The choice of Yohanan ben Zakkai for the first break with the established way of doing things was dictated by the simple fact that, eight years earlier, I had written a biography in the accepted manner, organizing all the stories about, and sayings attributed to, the man, in the order and categories indicated by their content. I had further assembled pretty much everything everyone else had said about the same stories and sayings in the same believing spirit, thinking of course that that was scholarship. Then my friend and teacher, Brevard Childs, asked me, Is it possible that you are doing history too soon, and might you be asking the wrong questions? Since I didn't know the answer, I determined to find out.

I thought it best to begin again from my own beginning. Since I had written Yohanan's life without analyzing the sources but, essentially, by merely alluding to or just citing them, I realized that the new beginning had to start with the specification, translation, and analysis of all relevant materials. Laying all the cards on the table seemed the right way. That explains *Development of a Legend.* Uncomprehending colleagues ask, why not just paraphrase or summarize? But that is the very point. The source is not the answer but the question, not the solution but the problem. So it is an act of scholarly honesty and responsibility, and I do not mind being criticized for it. These are not sources which people widely know, and those who claim to know them have not analyzed them and made explicit what they believe hey understand about them. That accounts for the state of learning today, the necessity for writing this book, as Part Two demonstrates through ipsissima verba of people who claim to know how to use these writings for the study of the New Testament. So the paramount trait of my scholarship, beginning with *Development* and onward to the present, was going to be a massive labor of new translation, and, of more importance, totally fresh exegesis. But back to the main point.

When confronting the same story running through Mishnah, Tosefta, the Talmuds, and the Tannaitic and other Midrashic compilations, I decided to see whether there were fixed relationships as the story moved from one document to another, and, if so, how I might account for them. Chapter Three of this book shows one such study. What made matters difficult is that there is some doubt about the relative priority of the various documents. What I found, to sidestep that difficulty, was that relationships tend to be fixed, no matter the priority or posteriority of the documents. The general result is that the simplest version would be the Mishnah's, then, details omitted would be given by Tosefta, usually further enriched by the Palestinian Talmud, and, at the end, by the Babylonian one. Since I was able to show that details added in a given version dealt with

questions left open, or even generated, by another version, I showed that what we have are not several incidents, each of which happened on yet another another and gaining or losing weight in its peregrinations. So we bid adieu to rabbinical equivalent of the Sermon on the Mount and the Sermon on the Plain. A second point which struck me then was that it was possible to make sense of the sorts of materials occurring in one document and not in some other.

That leads me to the whole issue of forms. I specifically wanted to know whether there really were fixed literary forms and rhetorical devices in the rabbinic literature. What I found was that while there clearly are highly formalized traits attached to sayings and stories of Yohanan ben Zakkai, they form no coherent unit associated distinctively with his name. They conformed to the formal preferences of the documents in which they occur, and that suggests that documents form the basic and definitive literary category, and not the name of a given authority that is tied to a story or saying. So documents, not historical personages or events, formed the first line of inquiry. I had reached the end of the historical road, and the beginning of a different path altogether.

At this point I had already reached what I would come to understand as the pivot of all further work, but I did not see it as such. I had stumbled across the simple fact that all analytical and critical work in rabbinical literature must begin in the study of specific documents, their formal traits, redactional preferences, and substantive interests. Now before I expand on that simple and obvious proposition, I have to say it did not even impress or occur to me for two more, sizable projects, *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70* and *Eliezer ben Hyrcanus. The Tradition and the Man.* Both of these lengthy projects continued to ask essentially historical questions. That is to say, they continued to treat topics which carried me through the far reaches of diverse collections. The former turned out to be wildly influential, much to my surprise. I dealt in enormous detail with the character of what rabbinic literature had to say about the Pharisees; in volume III I made some tentative remarks about who and what the historical Pharisees might have been, and, in a companion text-book, *From Politics to Piety*, I summarized these results and speculations for a broader readership. The academic statement went into more printings, and the text-book one found its way into footnotes in scholarly articles, no less. So people interpreted as historical study what I meant as literary analysis, though, admittedly, I bear responsibility for making some off-hand remarks along the way, wrong signals of a right course.

What I wanted to know in *Rabbinic Traditions* — as the title of the work said in so many words — was what the later rabbis had to tell us about the Pharisees, how they tell it to us, and whether it is so. What I found out — as distinct from what I wanted to know — was a great deal about the use of form-criticism as a rather sharp tool for literary analysis, about the mnemonic traits of important strata of the rabbinic literature, about the overall shape of the rabbinic traditions about the Pharisees, and about the difficulty of interpreting materials assigned to a given name or set of names when approached totally outside of the documents — that is to say, the systems — in which they occur.

What I wanted to know about Eliezer ben Hyrcanus was what in fact we can say about the man. What I found out was a great deal about the history of a tradition associated with a given name. Not all of that history called into question the possibility of speaking of the man, as distinct from the tradition about him.

But most did, and from that point onward, I regarded as a waste of time sustained work on rabbinic biography. In the interim, my students of that period and I had accomplished the examination of the sayings and stories assigned to or told about all the major figures of Yavneh, down to Aqiba. The results proved marginally interesting in the study of the history of traditions, since, over all, the kind of materials in a given document about various names proved uniform, different from the kind of materials in other documents about those same various names. That result, achieved with much hard work (we were still imagining at some point biography might be possible), underlined the centrality of the document, the peripherality of attributions, in the formation and presentation of the rabbinic literature. Quite what that meant about documents, how they were to be studied and interpreted, was slowly becoming clear. What was emerging was a new episteme: the systematic analysis of documents and their traits, the systems they set forth one by one, on a long path toward the analysis of the writings aimed at a synthesis, properly set forth, of the same writings. That accounted for the title toward which I then aimed, and ultimately achieved: *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah.* That meant, what Judaic system is set forth by this document. It did not mean, what was Judaism. But one can always count on some oafs to misread the obvious and botch up their work, and some did. Readers will see much more obtuseness in Part Two of the book than the mere misrepresentation of a perfectly clear program, explicit in the title of that book and its four systematic sequels (e.g., *Judaism and Scripture: The Evidence of Leviticus Rabbah; Judaism: The Classical Statement. The Evidence of the Bavli; Judaism and Story: The Evidence of The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan; Judaism and Scripture: The Evidence of Leviticus Rabbah; Judaism: The Classical Statement. The Evidence of the Bavli*).

Three problems in my procedures to this point irritated me. First, I found that I covered a wide range of topics, but each one superficially. By that I mean one thing: I never saw the law in its terms, which, in the nature of things meant, in its literary context, only the law in the episodic setting of this item and that item tied to a particular name. Accordingly, I concluded I never really grasped the law in its own terms — but it was to present the law in its own terms that the principal documents were formulated. The counterpart for scholarship on early Christianity would be to read Augustine for everything but his theology, or Aphrahat for everything but his polemic. The inner logic of a given ruling and its place in the unfolding frame of the chapter of law in which it found its place never fully revealed themselves. Consequently I could not find entire satisfaction in my results.

Second, I could not even in theory explain how to deal with sayings lacking attributions. So the state of a law at a given point in time could not be ascertained. The monotonous mantra held, "If it's unattributed, it's old." But I could not grasp, and still cannot understand, why repeating obscurity yields clarity. First of all, how old? Second, why old at all? To the contrary, in the Mishnah, studded as it is with disputes, we have unattributed sayings alongside contrary sayings assigned to named masters. In the context of the Mishnah — everyone who knows the literature recognizes — the purpose of leaving a saying without attribution is to signal that it represents the consensus of sages. That is said in so many words in the Talmuds. And, further, in the context of the dispute, if the named saying is young and the anonymous saying old, then how is

it possible that Meir or Judah should take a position contrary to an old, received legal tradition? The same good folk who repeat the mantra also describe "Judaism" as a tradition, so we are asked to believe that the authorities of the tradition are not traditional. Finally, in the context of a dispute, the unassigned saying and the assigned one match in every respect: form, wording, topic and problematic, and the literary evidence invariably tells us that the sentences, unattributed and attributed, belong to the same authorship, the same period, and so on. How the dogma of the "antiquity" of the unassigned saying got going need not detain us; why people take at face value a claim so utterly at variance with the literary evidence they purport to interpret "historically" leads us out of scholarship and into murky corners of personal preference and private, idiosyncratic belief.

Third, I recognized that, when all was said and done, I relied for my periodization of materials on attributions of sayings to specific figures and on that alone. What I saw in *Eliezer* was that while I did not take for granted everything in the name of Eliezer really was said by him, I did tend to assume that everything said about Eliezer in the name of some later authority really was said by that later authority. So it was a case of postponing the act of gullibility, not abandoning it. Thus, a growing, unsolved dilemma no longer could be avoided. I found myself on that same slippery turf which I had many times thought to have abandoned, because the only grounds I had for assigning a saying to a given man or period was that the sources said he had said so. I had not moved far from the world in which the traditionalists would say that our sages would not lie, and the modernists — without even the merit of piety — would say that they would not have assigned a saying to a given man if they did not have a reason (which is precisely what the old timers were telling us in their quaint way). When I was at work on the history of the Jews in Babylonia, as I said just now, Brevard Childs had told me that I might be asking the historical question too soon. He certainly was right. But I now realized, not only was it a premature historical question. It also was a question meant to precipitate the writing of the wrong kind of history to begin with.

These several irritants goaded me to attempt something other than, and preparatory to, social and religious history, namely, a fresh look at a single document and its history. I had no difficulty choosing which one. It had to be the first in the rabbinic canon, so it was the Mishnah. But from the Mishnah, I proceeded systematically outward through the rest of the canon of Judaism in antiquity, so that I finally translated every document, the Tosefta, Avot, both Talmuds, all the Midrash-compilations, beginning to end. But my original plan (which at the time I assumed would take up the rest of my life and which did yield forty-three volumes) addressed the Mishnah, so let me focus on that.

The work on Mishnah has several facets, of which four are of widest general interest: exegesis, form, the use of attributions, and the issue of anonymous materials. Each may be briefly stated.

(1) Exegesis: I found that all earlier exegetes took as their problem the placing of Mishnah's laws into relationship with all other laws, of all documents and all periods, so forming a single, urgent construct: *the* law, *the* halakhah. An account of what Mishnah means when seen by itself and in its own context could not be expected under such conditions. This I have provided. I return to this matter in a moment.

(2) Forms: To determine the Mishnah's meaning to its original authors, I decided to ask whether Mishnah's language provided guidance. What I learned is that the Mishnah provides its own first and best commentary through its highly formalized rhetoric and syntax. Analysis of the large-scale formal traits shows, moreover, that forms as we have them are mostly imposed within the processes of redaction. There is little formulation anterior to redaction of the Mishnah itself, and redaction proves in the end to constitute an act — the governing and commanding forms themselves reveal little or no history. form-history, strictly speaking, is not possible. The thesis of New Testament form-history may be sound, but it cannot find any support whatsoever in the earliest document of Judaism. Since form historians have commonly invoked Jewish procedures of oral formulation and oral transmission, I have to give them the sad news that these procedures, so far as they are indicated in the Mishnah, do not go back much before ad 200. As I said earlier, — as is the message of this book — salvation is not of the Jews.

(3) Of what good are attributions? To repeat my mantra: what we cannot show we do not know. It follows that we have to find out what we can demonstrate so as to define what we can also falsify. Let me define with some precision the problem of attributions. There are in fact two separate questions. One is the question of the reliability of the exact quotation of ipsissima verba. I know no way to show that any rabbinic attribution contains *ipsissima verba* of the rabbi to whom the words are assigned. In fact the opposite is the case whenever we can conduct a sustained inquiry. For it is easy to show that most of what is attributed takes on the formal traits and adheres to the redactional requirement of the document in which the attribution appears. So it is uncommon to have anything like *ipsissima verba.*

(4) The second question, which is much more important, concerns the reliability of an attribution of the essential content of a statement. If we could show that the gist, if not the exact wording, of what is attributed to Hillel actually was said by him, then we should have information on how one person either in the age in which Hillel lived or afterward, summed up what Hillel had said and we should be able to relate what that person thought he had said to what others of roughly the same time and place may have had on their minds. This is the important matter, not the wording of what is assigned. And here there has been some progress, if not enough. I am able to show whether a fair number of statements belong in the periods in which the men to whom these statements are attributed flourished. Let me now explain.

We can ask whether there are correlations among groups of sayings given in the names of authorities generally supposed to have lived in successive periods, intersecting sayings, dealing with a single topic. What I mean is this: If a saying is in the name of an earlier authority, is its principle or conception prior in logic, more primitive in principle or conception, than an intersecting saying given in the name of a later authority? If there is a correlation between temporal attribution and traits of logic or conception, so that what is claimed in the attribution to be early is shown in the character of what is attributed to be relatively primitive, then that saying may be shown to be prior to another — because a saying may also be shown to be posterior. I did this work for the entire Mishnah and found the results mildly interesting. It ceased to interest me as the full weight of the documentary approach to the study of the rabbinic literature

made itself felt. I realized that the history of ideas is yielded by the comparison of documents.

(5) This matter of testing the value of attributions for the study of history, biography, law, and theology brings us to the much vexed matter of what is not attributed at all. I have already alluded to the matter of the unattributed saying; in this context, only a few words are needed to close the question. In the case of Mishnah, I was startled to be unable to find the problem. The reason is in two parts.

First, we have to know that a Mishnah tractate usually is not merely a collection of information but a careful essay about a set of problems concerning a given topic. A ruling lacking an attribution nonetheless finds its place within the Intellectual framework of the tractate which contains it. There are very few which are so totally out of context as to be Insusceptible to location or situation within an established framework.

Second, when we work with the known, the pericope which can be located and reliably situated, we normally are able to relate the unknown to the known. It follows that an anonymous ruling containing an idea otherwise first attested in named materials, is not apt to go back to a time a hundred or two hundred years earlier. In fact, the really interesting thing is not what the tractates of the Mishnah contain but what they assume. I have already described the ideas held by people ultimately represented in the Mishnah at various stages in the Mishnah's history. I have now completed controlled speculation on the origins of some ideas and facts which lie deep in the Mishnah's substructure, and which do not appear in Scripture. This controlled speculation I call my method of hypothetical exegetical reconstruction through a series of contrastive or analogical processes. But that is fully in print and need not detain us at this late date.

Rather, I wish now to specify the single most interesting thing contributed in my history of Mishnaic law. That is to remove Mishnah from the context of a whole transtemporal legal system and to insist that the document be read as a statement of a single system, a single world view, produced at a given moment by a group of people who addressed a distinct and distinctive set of problems. In this I have corrected what I believe to be the principal error in earlier work, which has been to treat all sayings and all stories, wherever they occur, as part of a single "rabbinic" corpus of materials, of pretty much identical origin and provenance, all to be handled atomistically and out of documentary context. Let me explain this point. When Mishnah is read in a larger framework than Mishnah, we are prevented from seeing Mishnah's materials as a coherent corpus on their own. This latter approach to Mishnah is absolutely opposite to our purpose. For I have stated and historically accounted for the unfolding of, the law of Mishnah in *particular*. If we assume that Mishnah constitutes a single document — and the internal harmonious formal and intellectual traits of Mishnah require that we make that assumption — then we have no choice but to honor the limits of the document when attempting to describe and interpret it.

My work has differed from that of all earlier exegetes and many that have come along since then and passed their opinion on matters on which they have worked only superficially or anecdotally, as we shall see in Part Two. Others in the past read and interpreted Mishnah in a different context, as part of a large, unitary corpus of law, *the halakhah*. It is the purpose of nearly all exegetes to

relate each of the parts to the transcendent whole, and to force the whole to encompass all of the parts. It is not, as I originally thought, the ahistorical (or, anti-historical) and harmonistic purpose of the earlier exegetes which made their Mishnah-commentaries so intellectually prolix, indeed, indifferent and irrelevant to the text under discussion. That is a misunderstanding which it has taken me many years to recognize. It is, rather, that the earlier exegetes presuppose something much more profound, much less susceptible to articulation. This is the construct, "Jewish law," or *"halakhah."* To them Mishnah constitutes an important component of this construct. In their mind the correct approach to Mishnah's interpretation is to relate its *halakhah* to other *halakhah,* that is, to *"the* law." This harmonistic, atomistic and yet encompassing approach is natural for people who keep the law and who take for granted their audience wants to know *the* law, even though not all of the law of a given document is practical and practiced. But the point of interest is clear, and it explains to them what is relevant and what is not. Since social context and intellectual framework define what is relevant, their essays — to us, total chaos — to them are orderly and reliable. But the fact remains that in a different world, their language of exegesis is puzzling, just as is ours to them. So, in all, what I contributeed in my history of Mishnaic law is to state clearly what Mishnah wishes to say, in its own setting, within the limits of *its* own redactional framework, upon the subjects chosen by it, and for purposes defined within the mind of those specific people, its authors, who flourished in one concrete social setting. Reading the document by itself, in its historical context and therefore outside of its atemporal, *halakhic* context, requires a different approach. That approach is represented, I firmly believe, in the pages of my books.

We have come a long way from that mental experiment I asked us to perform at the outset, to imagine what we should know about the first Christians, and how we should know it, if New Testament and Patristic literature, indeed all of the literary remains of the first five or six Christian centuries, reached us in the form of the Talmudic and Midrashic literature. So let me turn toward my conclusion by referring once more to the state of the field.

(1) No longer is it possible to treat the diverse corpus of rabbinical literature as a uniform whole. Once one document, principal one, is shown to bear its distinctive formal and intellectual characteristics as I have shown in the case of the Mishnah, then all others must be subjected to appropriate analysis, to determine the characteristics of each.

(2) No longer are the anonymity and the collective character of documents to be allowed to prevent differentiation and discrimination within a document and between documents. The work of harmonization is in ruins. The work of history may begin.

(3) No longer are we left to cope with all sayings, whatever document contains them, and to treat each as of equivalent weight to all others. Diverse attributions of a given saying in different documents are to be examined in the context of the preferences and tendencies of the several documents themselves. True, biography of the principal authorities of the Mishnah is not going to yield a rich account of someone's life and thought. The historical Meir is not going to be fully delineated. But the place of an authority such as Meir in the unfolding of the law most assuredly is to be delineated.

(4) To be sure, the institutional supports for what I regard as a credulous and gullible reading and use of the sources remain somewhat more than negligible. There never will be progress in the yeshivas; the rabbinical seminaries are not fertile ground for historical scholarship anyhow; and the Christian believers will to believe. But what should be heartening to the enlightened is not the darkness but the light. Most of the work of history, biography, and the law and theology which has been published in this country, Canada, Britain, Germany, and Holland in recent years has taken full and ample account of the program I have outlined. So I think on the whole there has been truly amazing progress even in the institutions and politics of scholarship, a diffusion of new viewpoints far more rapid and complete than anyone could have dreamed ten years ago.

To conclude, I revert, for one last time, to the point of departure. At the outset I emphasized the importance of trying to allow the literary and historical situation of early Christianity to serve as a metaphor for the problem of nascent Rabbinic Judaism. At the end I must construct the opposite of a simile, for at the foundations, the two are essentially opposite to one another

The work of studying early Christianity requires us to put together distinct individuals, systems of thought, institutions, and to find out how these diverse expressions of Christian experience form something coherent and say something cogent. In a word, the work of Nicaea and Chalcedon also defines the labor of learning. The task of studying nascent Rabbinic Judaism is the opposite. In the Talmuds and midrashic compilations we have the result of centuries of harmonization and cogent construction. But understanding these documents and the world which they portray requires us to unpack them and see how they function. It is as if from the Nicene Creed, we had to find our way back into the intellectual and theological issues of the earlier generations of Christians.

For in the end, knowing what people thought, without understanding the world about which they reflected, does not help us either to understand the people who did the thinking or to interpret the result of their reflection. While, without such understanding, we may take the results of their thinking — their theology, their exegesis of Scripture, and their law — and we may build on it for one purpose or another, we essentially know nothing of the inner structure of that building which we ourselves propose to construct. Not knowing the points of stress and places of tension in the building, not knowing the main lines of the foundation of the structure, not knowing the places at which the builder put the strongest joints and beams, we add to the building in total ignorance. It is not building. It is destruction — making things up as we go along. To state matters more generally, in front of us is a labor of description and interpretation, establishing context and providing exegesis. We have a sizable corpus of texts which clearly express a world view and propose to create a society and a way of life for a distinctive group of people. In order to describe that world view and to understand the society and way of life shaped by the ancient rabbis, we have to interpret texts. In order to interpret those texts, we have to do three things.

First, we have to read the texts one by one, which I have now done, and which not one of my critics has ever done for even a single text in its entirety, as the blatant errors and superficialities of their purported critics of my work on only one document, the Mishnah, shows for all who care to see. No wonder these critics resort to either vile ad hominem remarks, on the one side, or a campaign of discrediting and boycott, on the other. The Christian critics print the one, the

Israeli ones conduct the other, each in accord with his métier, each set of critics learning the skills required by their political environment to survive.

Second, we have establish context and setting. We have to describe the world in which the texts took shape and to offer a theory of the questions which seemed urgent and compelling to the people who made the texts as they are and not in some other way. So the work of exegesis depends upon establishing the appropriate context of exegesis. At the same time, to describe the context we have to read the texts. Of such a program my critics cannot even conceive.

Third, we have to move from description and analysis, now complete so far as I am concerned, to the work of synthesis and interpretation of the whole, in which work I am now engaged. Once we have read the documents one by one, we have the further task of reading them all together. This should tell us, first, what they take for granted — the Judaism beyond the texts that remains to be critically investigated; second, how they fit together, the Judaism that holds the texts together that, in the end, will show us what was truly normative and definitive, therefore theological. And of this further program, in which I am now taking the earliest steps, my critics cannot imagine. For they all know to begin with what to me is the work that comes at the end. Never having done the work, they cannot understand its stages or how it must be conducted; politics and polemics are not the same thing as hard work and publication, which I have done and they have not.

To conclude: Just as there is no exegesis out of context, so there is no description of setting and without appeal to the evidence of the texts. And yet, beyond text and context, lies yet another fact, which is the inner cogency and continuity of the texts, beyond their original context. For Judaism as we know it emerges from the documents under study, and its claim from ancient times to the present is to constitute the logically necessary spinning out of the principles contained in the ancient Torah of Moses "our rabbi" and of the rabbis of olden times. That inner logic which precipitates and governs the unfolding of the theology and law of the rabbis has itself to be discerned. There is then this threefold task, a triple cord not to be separated: text, context, inner logic. When we have discerned the threads of the cord and shown how they are interwoven, we shall perceive what holds together and imparts meaning to an ancient world which yet is with us.

If we ask ourselves why people should want to know about these things, we need not fall back upon the bankrupt claim that they merely are intrinsically interesting. Nor yet, in this setting, do we have to offer historical salvation to scholars of early Christianity and say they cannot understand their subject without also knowing this one. The formation of Judaism by itself is a compelling social and intellectual phenomenon, for among other such phenomena, it teaches us how to describe and interpret the interplay between the historical situation of a distinct society, on the one side, and the world view brought into being to explain and shape that historical situation, on the other. When we can relate the religious world view and way of life of the ancient Talmudic rabbis to the society whose vision they chose to shape and whose conduct and institutions they wished to govern, we can report much about what it is that religion, as a mode of constructing reality and explaining the world, is and what religion does.

Here, before our eyes, is the literature made by a particular group of men, in a particular time, for a particular society. That literature of antiquity defined

what would happen for all time. In unpacking the end-product, in taking it apart to see how it works, we can tell our own times more than a few things about this remarkable *thing*. For this was a world view and way of life capable of bringing order to the chaotic world of ancient times and it remains capable of preserving a stable and enduring world from antiquity to the present. Given the world's potentialities for disorder and the difficulty of holding together any group of people subject to those ongoing disruptive forces affecting any continuing historical society, we should find more than merely interesting the story of Judaism's formative centuries. In a world of disintegration and an age of disorder, we should find urgent that story, indeed any story, of restraint, order, balance and continuity — all in the name of the sacred.

Early Rabbinic Sources and Jesus Research

Craig A. Evans
Trinity Western University

For years Jacob Neusner has criticized New Testament and Judaic scholars alike who have in his estimation made uncritical use of rabbinic literature. He finds Jewish scholarship largely uncritical, while he observes that New Testament scholarship tends to abandon its critical methods—finely honed in its treatment of the New Testament—when it comes to its use of rabbinic materials. In his recent book, *Rabbinic Literature and the New Testament*,[1] Neusner speaks directly to the problem faced by New Testament scholars in their attempts to make historical and exegetical use of rabbinic literature. He tries to show where and how New Testament scholars frequently go wrong (and along the way underscores deficiencies in much of modern Jewish scholarship).

The problems that Neusner has identified are serious and his criticisms disturbingly pertinent. These problems are not only relevant for comparative work in rabbinic literature but for comparative work in other bodies of literature (such as the Targumim and certain pseudepigraphal writings) that post-date the writings of the New Testament. I would like to join Neusner in addressing this problem, particularly as it pertains to Jesus research.

Neusner's theses fall into two broad categories. The first deals with the issue of rabbinic literature as a historical source; the second deals with the issue of the attributions of the sayings themselves. I summarize these categories as follows:

First, rabbinic literature provides us with very few facts about the way things were in the first century. Rabbinic literature does not offer the kind of source material needed for critical historiography. Stories are rich with legend; they are poetic, hyperbolic, polemical, and didactic. Extraction of historical details from this literature must be done with the greatest of care, and always with external and ancient corroboration.

Second, attributions to various authorities cannot be taken at face value, because (1) there is a uniformity of style that suggests literary invention and extensive editing, (2) there are contradictions, where Rabbi so-and-so is reported to have said one thing and then in another place he says the exact opposite, (3) there are redundancies, where Rabbi so-and-so is reported to have said something and in another place Rabbi somebody-else is reported to have said it, and (4) in most cases the rabbinic literature was committed to writing centuries after the rabbinic authorities lived.

[1] J. Neusner, *Rabbinic Literature and the New Testament* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1994).

The extent of the problem is highlighted when comparison is made with the New Testament Gospels. Unlike the rabbinic writings, the Gospels were written within one or two generations of the time of Jesus. Indeed, some of Jesus' sayings may very well have been committed to writing during his ministry or shortly after his death. Unlike the rabbinic writings, the Gospels focus on one authoritative teacher—Jesus of Nazareth. Yet, despite the Gospels' temporal proximity to Jesus and their concentration on his teachings and his teachings only, form and redaction critics do not assume that everything attributed to him was in fact spoken by him or spoken in the context presented in the Gospels. Many suspect that much of the tradition originated in the early Church or at least has been edited by early Christians, with the evangelists themselves supplying most of the narrative settings. If Gospel critics take such a stance toward these writings, then on what bases, other than ones deriving from theological dogma, do Jewish scholars accept without hesitation the attributions and stories in rabbinic literature? If the Jesus Seminar took up the question of the authenticity of the rabbinic tradition, I suspect that very, very little would receive "red" and "pink" ratings.[2]

Neusner's statement of the problematical nature of rabbinic literature is right on target. As an example of the first category, one thinks of Joachim Jeremias's popular and oft-cited *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*.[3] Without denying the value of this book and its general usefulness, it is nevertheless open to criticism for affirming time and again that such-and-such was the practice in pre-70 CE Jerusalem, and then citing as proof a passage from the Talmud or one of the midrashim. Particularly illuminating is Jeremias's chapter on "Despised Trades and Jewish Slaves."[4] Jeremias provides lists of "despised trades" that are mentioned in the Mishnah and the Babylonian Talmud. The earliest authorities that are cited are the second-century rabbis Abba Saul (or Guria) and Judah. The only despised trade for which Jeremias offers first-century documentation is that of tax (or toll) collecting. In this instance the New Testament Gospels provide the documentation. When one reads the anecdotal discussion in *m. Qidd.* 4:14, one is left with the impression that the rabbis concerned are at best expressing their own opinions as to which trades amount to "robbery." We do not know how widely held these opinions were (and the rabbis mentioned in this passage in Mishnah do not in fact agree among themselves) and we do not know if these opinions were held by anyone in the first century, that is, in Jerusalem in the time of Jesus. Ironically, the trade of tax collecting, the one trade for which there is first-century evidence of negative attitudes, is not included in the discussion in *m. Qidd.* 4:14.

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[2] See R. W. Funk and R. W. Hoover (eds.), *The Five Gospels: The Search for the Authentic Words of Jesus* (New York: Macmillan, 1993) 34–38. A "red" rating means that Jesus said it; a "pink" rating means something close to what Jesus said; a "gray" rating expresses grave doubts (or sharp disagreement among members of the Seminar) that Jesus said it; a "black" rating means Jesus did not say it.

[3] J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962; rev. ed., 1967); ET: *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969).

[4] Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 303–16.

Elsewhere Jeremias attempts to explain what Jesus meant when he spoke of the "sign of Jonah" (Matt 12:39–40 = Luke 11:29–30). Jeremias believes that the sign must refer to Jonah's deliverance from the belly of the fish, because *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer* §10 speaks of "signs" in reference to this event.[5] But is it prudent to appeal to a ninth-century pseudepigraphon to clarify the interpretation of a first-century text?

I cite these two examples, not in order to discredit Jeremias, who in my opinion was a brilliant New Testament scholar and one of the few of his time who understood well the importance of the Jewish sources for New Testament interpretation, but to exemplify how otherwise critical scholars sometimes make uncritical use of rabbinic sources. It is true that rabbinic literature has relevance for New Testament interpretation, but this general fact does not thereby make relevant every formal parallel.[6] Parallels must be carefully analyzed and anecdotes purporting to tell us about people and events dating to the second Temple period must be corroborated.

In my judgment the following four criteria are useful for establishing the relevance of rabbinic parallels for Jesus research: (1) It is helpful if the alleged rabbinic parallel is supported by *antecedent documentation*, i.e. there should be some indications of an early, pre-rabbinic history of the opinion or story. (2) It is important that there be no indication of *contamination* from the New Testament itself, i.e. the parallel should be a genuine parallel and not an allusion to a tradition that originated in Jesus or in subsequent Christianity. (3) The alleged rabbinic parallel should derive from Palestine, i.e. it should reflect the *provenance* of Jesus. Finally, (4) there must be *coherence* between the alleged rabbinic parallel and the saying or action of Jesus under consideration, i.e. the parallel should be meaningful.

Common sense should quide the application of these criteria. They should not be applied negatively or exclusively, for example, the way Jesus researchers have in the past applied the criterion of dissimilarity (if a given saying attributed to Jesus is not dissimilar to known tendencies in early Judaism and in the early Church, then it cannot be regarded as having originated with Jesus): If the rabbinic tradition does not pass all four tests, it has no relevance for comparison. Rather, these criteria provide guidelines and prompt the investigator to ask important and necessary questions.

Common sense, furthermore, should foster in the scholar a healthy suspicion of "coincidences." If a given Old Testament passage is interpreted in the New Testament in a distinctive way, only to (re)appear in a later rabbinic source, one must wonder if the New Testament is in this instance an early witness to an interpretive stream of tradition that outside of the New Testament finds itself attested only in the later rabbinic materials.[7]

The investigator, moreover, should also take into account the nature of the rabbinic material that offers either a parallel to some-thing in the New Testament or an item of tradition that in some way might shed light on first-century

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5 J. Jeremias, "Ἰωνᾶς," TDNT 3 (1965) 409.

6 One does well to recall S. Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81 (1962) 2–13.

7 For helpful examples of this phenomenon, see G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism* (SPB 4; Leiden: Brill, 1973); idem, *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies* (SJLA 8; Leiden: Brill, 1975).

Palestine. One might reasonably expect liturgical material (such as prayers) to remain more fixed than, say, exegetical traditions. Theological and conceptual traditions (or "patterns of religion," as E. P. Sanders puts it) may also remain relatively consistent. Anecdotal material is, in my view, the most problematic, in that its chronology and provenance are notoriously difficult to determine. Also, this material frequently is overlaid with layers of fanciful legends and embellishments. (One thinks here of the graphic descriptions of the horrors Rome inflicted on Israel following the defeat of Simon ben Kosiba.)

Finally, rabbinic parallels are useful in providing analogies and examples; much less so in providing "hard" facts. The following selections will propose historical critical, form critical, and tradition critical approaches to Rabbinic sources. The examples chosen may have relevance for Jesus research.

Rabbinic Sources and Historical Criticism

What rabbinic literature tells us about Jesus tells us a lot about fourth, fifth, and sixth century polemic directed against Christians; it tells us virtually nothing, perhaps nothing at all, about Jesus himself. We are told that Jesus' mother played the harlot either with carpenters or with Roman soldiers, that Jesus himself was an evil disciple who learned magic in Egypt, that he had five disciples whose names hinted at their ruin, and that he was stoned and/or hanged for practicing magic and leading Israel astray.[8]

There is, however, one rabbinic tradition that may contain some-thing independent and possibly even authentic. The story relates that following his arrest for "heresy" (*minuth*) Rabbi Eliezer conversed with Rabbi Aqiba. The conversation supposedly went as follows:

> R. Aqiba said to him, "Permit me to tell you one thing of what you have taught me." (Eliezer) agreed. He said, "Perhaps heresy came upon you and it pleased you and therefore you were arrested [Tosefta reads: Perhaps one of the heretics (i.e. Christians) said a word of heresy to you and it pleased you]." He answered, "Aqiba, you have reminded me! Once I was walking along the upper market of Sepphoris and found a man, one of the disciples of Yeshu ha-Noṣri whose name was Jacob of Kefar Sekania. He said to me, 'It is written in your Law, "Thou shalt not bring the wages of a harlot, (or the wages of a dog, into the house of the Lord your God in payment for any vow)" [Deut 23:18]. What may be done with it? (May) a latrine for the High Priest (be built with it)?' But I said nothing to him. He said to me, 'Thus has Yeshu ha-Noṣri [Tosefta reads: Yeshu ben Pantiri] taught me, "'For of the wages of a harlot has she gathered them, and to the wages of a harlot shall they return' [Mic 1:7]. From the place of filth they come, and to the place of filth they shall go."' And the saying pleased me, and because of this I was arrested for heresy. I transgressed what is written in the Law: "Keep thy way far from her"—this is heresy—

[8] For a review of these traditions, see C. A. Evans, "Jesus in Non-Christian Sources," in B. D. Chilton and C. A. Evans (eds.), *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research* (NTTS 19; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 443–78, esp. 443–50.

"and do not come near the door of her house" [Prov 5:8]—this is the (Roman) government."

This passage is found in *b. 'Abod. Zar.* 16b–17a, with a shorter and somewhat different version in *t. Ḥull.* 2.24 (cf. *Eccl. Rab.* 1:8 §3; *Yal. Šim.* on Mic 1:7 and Prov 5:8). Josephus Klausner attached importance to this tradition, arguing, contrary to Heinrich Laible and Travers Herford,[9] that Eliezer's exchange may actually have been with one of Jesus' original disciples, indeed with "James the Lord's brother," who was put to death by Ananus (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 20.9.1 §197–203).[10] Klausner speculated that this saying attributed to Jesus, which coheres with early tradition of James' devotion to the Temple[11] and to Jesus' concern with purity (Mark 11:15–17),[12] may be authentic and is probably related to his sayings about what defiles (cf. Matt 15:17; Mark 7:18–19). Even if this were true (and there are those who dispute it[13]), little is actually gained by way of new information about the teaching of Jesus.[14]

It is more prudent to treat this saying as one more agraphon and so subject it to the kind of rigorous evaluation given to other agrapha. Otfried Hofius's recent work, which in my view is much more critical than Jeremias's earlier work, concludes that most agrapha are little more than variations of the dominical tradition found in the canonical Gospels.[15] The agraphon found in *b. 'Abod. Zar.* 16b–17a is probably another example of this.

Rabbinic literature may provide us with no historically reliable data directly concerned with Jesus, but it may preserve fragments of first-century criticisms of the Temple establishment, fragments that may in turn shed some light on the general circumstances surround-ing Jesus' fatal encounter with the ruling priests.

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9 H. Laible, *Jesus Christus im Thalmud* (SIJB 10; Berlin: Reuther, 1891) 60–71; R. T. Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1903) 106, 143–45.

10 J. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth: His Life, Times, and Teaching* (London and New York: George Allen & Unwin, 1925) 38–46.

11 According to Hegesippus, as reported by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.6–7: "(James) alone was allowed to enter into the sanctuary, for he did not wear wool but linen, and he used to enter alone into the Temple and be found kneeling and praying for forgiveness for the people, so that his knees grew hard like a camel's because of his constant worship of God, kneeling and asking forgiveness for the people. So from his excessive righteousness he was called the Just and Oblias, that is in Greek, 'Rampart of the people and righteousness,' as the prophets declare concerning him." Cf. Gal 2:9: "James and Cephas and John, who were reputed to be pillars."

12 See B. D. Chilton, *The Temple of Jesus: His Sacrificial Program Within a Cultural History of Sacrifice* (University Park: Penn State Press, 1992) 91–111.

13 See, for example, M. Goldstein, *Jesus in the Jewish Tradition* (New York: Macmillan, 1950) 39–51.

14 For a critical discussion of this complicated and widely attested tradition, see J. Maier, *Jesus von Nazareth in der talmudischen Überlieferung* (ErFor 82; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978) 144–81.

15 O. Hofius, "Unbekannte Jesusworte," in P. Stuhlmacher (ed.), *Das Evangelium und die Evangelien* (WUNT 28; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1983) 355–82; ET: "Unknown Sayings of Jesus," in P. Stuhlmacher (ed.), *The Gospel and the Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991). For a more optimistic assessment of the agrapha, see the older work of J. Jeremias, *Unbekannte Jesusworte* (Zurich: Zwingli, 1947; 2nd ed., Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1951; 3rd ed., 1961); ET: *The Unknown Sayings of Jesus* (London: SPCK, 1957; 2nd ed., 1964).

The exact nature of Jesus' dispute with the ruling authorities of Jerusalem has been an item of debate throughout the present century. Making analysis more difficult is the fact that at every stage in its development, from early tradents to the later evangelists, the passion story bears the marks of scriptural and political apologetic. But certain elements nonetheless appear relatively certain. That Jesus entered the Temple precincts and disputed with the religious authorities, that he spoke of the Kingdom of God and implied that major changes in Jewish society would take place, that he spoke of the possible destruction of the Temple and/or city, that the Temple authorities took part in eliminating Jesus, and that the Romans crucified him as "king of the Jews" are among the details of the passion narratives that I think should be regarded as fairly certain.[16]

What occasioned this critical stance on the part of Jesus? E. P. Sanders has proposed that Jesus only meant to signify the Temple's obsolescence, in view of the impending appearance of the eschatolog-ical Temple, the one not made with hands.[17] But this view is problematical.[18] It is more likely that a dispute of some sort occasioned Jesus' Temple action.[19]

The rabbinic literature may shed some significant light on this question. We find in it allegations of corruption in the first-century priesthood. Some of these traditions are corroborated in first-century sources. We shall examine four areas of alleged corruption: (1) overcharging for sacrificial animals, (2) the controversial Temple tax, (3) bribery, and (4) accusations of theft, oppression, greed, and violence.

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16 E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985) 11. Sanders lists most of these elements, as well as others relating to Jesus' activities before his final visit to Jerusalem.

17 Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 61–76; idem, *The Historical Figure of Jesus* (London: Penguin, 1993) 255–62.

18 C. A. Evans, "Jesus' Action in the Temple: Cleansing or Portent of Destruction?" *CBQ* 51 (1989) 237–70. Other problems are raised in M. D. Hooker, "Traditions about the Temple in the Sayings of Jesus," *BJRL* 70 (1988) 7–19; Chilton, *The Temple of Jesus*, 98–100; J. Ådna, *Jesu Kritik am Tempel: Eine Untersuchung zum Verlauf und Sinn der sogenannten Tempelreinigung Jesu, Markus 11,15–17 und Parallelen* (dissertation, University of Stavanger, 1993) 451–58.

19 I have suggested that Jesus' criticism was occasioned by what he perceived as corruption. The allusion to Jer 7:11 (Mark 11:17) and the Parable of the Wicked Vineyard Tenants (Mark 12:1–12) constitute the most direct and important evidence. One should take into consideration the warning about the scribes (Mark 12:38–40) and the lament over the poor widow's offering (Mark 12:41–44). I have deliberately remained vague as to precisely what form this corruption may have taken. Chilton (*The Temple of Jesus*, 91–154) has suggested that disagreement over questions of purity and ownership of sacrificial animals was the principal factor.

It is significant to observe that in both of the above examples Jesus applies Scripture narrowly, against the ruling priests. In the Temple action Jesus alludes to Jer 7:11, which originally was addressed against the people of Judah as a whole who through their violence and idolatry polluted the Temple and so made it a "cave of robbers." In the Parable of the Wicked Tenants Jesus alludes to Isa 5:1–7, which originally was also addressed to the "inhabitants of Jerusalem and men of Judah." Jesus' narrowing of the application to the ruling priests apparently did not originate with him, for it is attested in the targumic tradition. In *Tg.* Isa 5:1–7 the tower and the wine vat are replaced with "sanctuary" and "altar." Thoughout the Jeremiah Targum complaints against the priesthood are accentuated.

Overcharging for sacrificial animals. The Mishnah relates that on one occasion Simeon ben Gamaliel (*ca.* 10–80 CE) vigorously protested within the Temple precincts, because the price of a pair of doves had been raised to one golden denar, a price some twenty-five times the proper charge (*m. Ker.* 1:7). It should be remembered that the dove was the poor man's sacrifice (Lev 5:7; 12:8; cf. Luke 2:22–24; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.9.3 §230). Accordingly, such a charge would have been deeply resented. In this instance, however, the mishnaic story tells us that Simeon's protest brought about an immediate reduction in the charge.

Now in this particular case I know of no first-century evidence that would corroborate either the specific incident itself or the more general complaint of overcharging for sacrificial animals. Of course, the saying attributed to Jesus, "You have made (the Temple) a cave of robbers" (Mark 11:17b), could provide such corroboration, but it could apply to various forms of corruption, such as overcharging for the animals, charging excessive commissions in money-changing, or something else.

The potential value of the mishnaic story is twofold. First, it provides a plausible explanation of the motivation behind Jesus' action in the Temple precincts. We are left with the distinct possibility that Jesus encountered an abuse similar to what Simeon encountered. Second, it offers us an analogy. Evidently Jesus was not the only rabbi ever to protest within the Temple against official Temple polity.[20]

Temple tax controversy. Another mishnaic tradition tells us that Yoḥanan ben Zakkai (first century CE) condemned the priests' claim that they were exempt from paying the half-shekel temple tax: "If a priest did not pay the shekel he committed sin; but the priests used to expound this scripture [i.e. Lev 6:23] to their advantage . . ." (*m. Šeq.* 1:4).[21] It was "in the interests of peace" that no one insisted that the priests pay the tax (*m. Šeq.* 1:3). This statement probably alludes to the violence sometimes suffered by those who opposed the ruling priests (which will be taken up shortly). Richard Horsley avers that the "half-shekel tax was almost certainly a late development in second Temple times, and its payment was controversial at the time of Jesus."[22] Such controversy is likely what lies behind Matt 17:24–27, and perhaps also 4QOrd^a (= 4Q159) 1 ii 6–7.

The Matthean pericope reads:

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20 Other examples include the incident in which the Pharisees incited a crowd to pelt Jannaeus with lemons (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.13.5 §372–373), the incident in which teachers persuade several young men to damage an eagle that Herod had placed over one of the Temple's gates (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.33.2–4 §648–655), and the story in which a teaching of Hillel leads a student of the house of Shammai to bring three thousand animals to the Temple precincts and give them to those who will follow Hillel's teaching (*b. Beṣa* 20a-b). For discussion of these examples, see Chilton, *The Temple of Jesus*, 73, 100–103.

21 Trans. based on H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933) 152.

22 R. A. Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence: Popular Jewish Resistance in Roman Palestine* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987) 280, and 345 n. 7. See also S. Freyne, *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian* (Wilmington: Glazier, 1980) 277–81; W. Horbury, "The Temple Tax," in E. Bammel and C. F. D. Moule (eds.), *Jesus and the Politics of His Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 265–86.

> When they had entered Capernaum, those who collect the didrachma approached Peter and said: "Does not your teacher pay the didrachma?" He says, "Yes." And when he had come home, Jesus spoke first to him, saying, "What do you think, Simon? From whom do the kings of the earth receive tax or tribute? From their sons or from others?" And when he said, "From others," Jesus said to him, "Then the sons are free."[23]

The relevant part of the fragmentary text from Qumran reads:[24]

> ע]ל [כפר] כסף הערכים אשר נתנו איש כפר נפשו מחצית [שקל
> רק פ[עם] אחת יתננו כול ימיו עשרים גרה השקל ב[שקל הקודש

> Concerning [ransom:] The money of the valuations that one gives as a ransom for himself will be half [a shekel.] Only once will he give it in all his days. The shekel is twenty gerahs according to [the shekel of the Sanctuary.

The passages from Matthew and 4QOrd^a do not directly comment on ben Zakkai's complaint, but they do cohere with it. While Jesus' teaching appears to be in disagreement with the official polity of the Temple authorities,[25] the teaching in 4QOrd^a flatly contradicts it, as seen in Philo, who says that "it is ordained that everyone, beginning at his twentieth year, should make an annual [πᾶν ἔτος] contribution of first-fruits. These contributions are called 'ransom money'" (*Spec. Leg.* 1.14 §77). Philo's assertion is confirmed by Josephus (*J.W.* 6.6.2 §335; 7.6.6 §218; *Ant.* 14.7.2 §110; 16.2.3 §28; 16.6.2–7 §163–173; 18.9.1 §312–313).[26]

Once again the rabbinic tradition makes a useful contribution in that it may explain certain features of a controversy about which we possess only a small amount of information. A saying attributed to Jesus and a halakhic teaching found at Qumran oppose the annual Temple tax, while a tradition in the Mishnah tells us that the priests themselves did not pay it. Our sources here may be providing us with three related fragments of a large and more involved dispute. If this mishnaic tradition is reliable, then it is not difficult to perceive how a combination of overcharging for sacrificial animals and declining from

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[23] The final verse, which has been omitted, is likely a later embellishment designed to explain why Jesus pays the tax, even though he believes God does not require it. For convincing arguments in favor of the authenticity of Matt 17:24–26, see R. Bauckham, "The Coin in the Fish's Mouth," in D. Wenham and C. L. Blomberg (eds.), *The Miracles of Jesus* (Gospel Perspectives 6; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986) 219–52; and D. C. Allison and W. D. Davies, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (3 vols., ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988–) 2.737–42.

[24] For text and restorations of 4QOrd^a, see J. M. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4: I (4Q158–4Q186)* (DJD 5; Oxford; Clarendon, 1968) 7.

[25] See B. D. Chilton, "A Coin of Three Realms (Matthew 17.24–27)," in D. J. A. Clines et al. (eds.), *The Bible in Three Dimensions: Essays in Celebration of Forty Years of Biblical Studies in the University of Sheffield* (JSOTSup 87; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990) 269–82.

[26] For more on the Temple tax, see Exod 30:13; 2 Chr 24:5; Neh 10:32; Philo, *Rer. Div. Her.* 38 §186; *m. Šeq.* 1:3; 4:1–2.

paying the annual Temple tax would have offended many of the laity and could have occasioned criticisms from Jesus.[27]

Bribery. The Tannaitic rabbis also preserve tradition that the office of High Priest was often secured through bribery. Commenting on Lev 16:3 ("with this shall Aaron come"), Rabbi Berekiah (second century CE) is reported to have said: "But the verse [i.e. Lev 16:3] does not apply to the Second Temple [as it does to the First Temple], because in its time the priests used to outbid one another for the office of High Priest, so that there were eighty High Priests who served (in disorderly succession) in the Temple. Hence the first part of the verse, 'The fear of the Lord prolongs days' (Prov 10:27a), applies to the priests of the First Temple, and the conclusion of the verse, 'the years of the wicked shall be shortened' (Prov 10:27b), applies to the priests of the Second Temple" (*Pesiq. R.* 47.4).[28] The same tradition also appears in *Lev. Rab.* 21.9 (on Lev 16:3), with a slight variation: "In the Second Temple, however, because they used to obtain the office of High Priest for money, or, as some say, because they used to kill each other by means of witchcraft . . . ."[29] It is likely that this tradition particularly has in mind the Herodian/Roman period, for some twenty-eight High Priests (only two of which were from families that had any legitimate claim) held office in little more than one century (from 37 BCE to 70 CE).

This rabbinical tradition is marked by exaggeration and fancy. I doubt seriously if any of the High Priests assassinated rivals through witchcraft or that as a rule the office was secured through bribery. Josephus provides corroborating evidence that some High Priests did in fact resort to bribery, when the occasion required it (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.9.4 §213; *Life* 39 §195–196). Because this corroboration comes from Josephus, who tends to put the ruling priests and Jewish aristocracy in a favorable light, we may suspect that bribery was not unusual, even if it was not as routine as the rabbinic traditions would have us believe.

The potential relevance of this datum lies in the passion account, in which we are told that the ruling priests offered a bribe to Judas Iscariot (Matt 26:14–16 = Mark 14:10–11 = Luke 22:3–6). The authent-icity of this grim bit of passion tradition is virtually guaranteed by the improbability of early Christians inventing a story about one of the disciples betraying Jesus.[30] To be sure, the story has been

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[27] There is also Tannaitic tradition claiming that the family of Annas did not tithe their produce, and for this reason their property was destroyed three years before the rest of Israel. Their refusal to tithe was apparently based on an exegesis of Deut 14:22–23, an exegesis for which some rabbis had little sympathy (*Sipre Deut.* §105 [on 14:22]). A similar tradition is found in *y. Pe'a* 1.6 and *b. B. Meṣ.* 88a-b. It is possible that the addition in *Tg.* Isa 5:10 ("because of the sin that they did not give the tithes") alludes to this failure to tithe.

[28] Trans. based on W. G. Braude, *Pesikta Rabbati* (2 vols., YJS 18; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968) 2.808.

[29] Trans. based on J. J. Slotki, "Leviticus," in H. Freedman and M. Simon (eds.), *Midrash Rabbah* (10 vols., London and New York: Soncino, 1983) 4.272. In this version R. Aha (third century CE) is given credit for the interpretation of Prov 10:27.

[30] Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 98–101; R. Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium* (2 vols., HTKNT 2.1–2; Freiburg: Herder, 1991) 2.339. J. A. Fitzmyer (*The Gospel According to Luke* [2 vols., AB 28, 28A; Garden City: Doubleday, 1981–85] 2.1374) speaks of the "horror which early Christians associated with" Judas' name.

embellished. Matthew appends the later story of Judas' attempt to return the money and of the purchase of the potter's field (all of this in fulfillment of Scripture). Luke tries to explain Judas' villainy by resorting to Satanic influence. John does the same thing, adding that Judas pilfered from the money box. But the story of the bribery itself comports with (though admittedly is not identical to) criticisms of the priesthood found in rabbinic tradition, a tradition partially corroborated by Josephus.

Theft, oppression, and violence. Although they are accused of many cultic violations, one of the most serious charges is that the High Priests took more than what was lawfully required. This is seen in a discussion of the distribution of the hides of the sacrificed animals. "At first did they bring the hides of Holy Things to the room of *bet happarvah* and divide them in the evening to each [priestly] household which served on that day. But the powerful men of the priesthood would come and take them by force. They ordained that they should divide it on Fridays to each and every watch. But still did violent men of the priesthood come and take it away by force . . . Beams of sycamore were in Jericho. And strong-fisted men would come and take them by force" (*t. Menaḥ.* 13.18–19; cf. *t. Zebaḥ.* 11.16–17; *b. Pesaḥ.* 57a).[31] Apparently the ruling priests (i.e. the "powerful men of the priesthood") were stealing the tithes (hides, in this case) to which the lower-ranking priests were entitled.[32] Because of this practice, it was not long "before the priests covered the face of the entire porch [of the Temple] with golden trays, a hundred by a hundred [handbreadths], with the thickness of a golden denar" (*t. Menaḥ.* 13.18–19; cf. *b. Pesaḥ.* 57a: "they covered the whole Temple with gold plaques a cubit square of the thickness of a gold denar"; *m. Šeq.* 4:4: "What did they do with the surplus of the heave offering? Golden plating for bedecking the Holy of Holies").[33]

The passage from the Tosefta goes on to recite four sets of "woes" concerning three of the four principal high-priestly families of the first century: "Concerning these and people like them . . . did Abba Saul ben Bithnith [first century CE] and Abba Yose ben Yoḥanan [first century CE?] of Jerusalem say, 'Woe is me because of the house of Boethus. Woe is me because of their staves. Woe is me because of the house of Qatros. Woe is me because of their pen. Woe is me because of the house of Hanin. Woe is me because of their whispering. Woe is me because of the house of Ishmael ben Phabi. For they are High Priests, and their sons [are] treasurers, and their sons-in-law [are] supervisors, and their servants come and beat us with staves" (*t. Menaḥ.* 13.21; cf. *b. Pesaḥ.* 57a; see also *t. Zebaḥ.* 11.16–17; *y.*

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31 Trans. by J. Neusner, *The Tosefta* (6 vols., New York: Ktav, 1977–81) 5.161.

32 It is probably against this inequity that *t. Yoma* 1.5 speaks: "But in the case of Holy Things . . . the High Priest and the ordinary priest are the same: each receives an equal portion." Trans. based on Neusner, *Tosefta*, 2.186. Although the laws of the Pentateuch did not, with regard to the offerings and tithes, favor the ruling priests over the lower-ranking priests, from the time of Roman control such inequity was the rule (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.10.6 § 202–203 [44 BCE]).

33 Trans. by Neusner, *Tosefta*, 5.161. The talmudic quotation is from H. Freedman, "Pesahim," in I. Epstein (ed.), *The Babylonian Talmud* (17 vols., London: Soncino, 1935–48) 3.284; the mishnaic quotation is from Danby, *Mishnah*, 156.

Maʿas. Š 5.15).[34] Greed, nepotism,[35] oppression, and violence, according to these rabbinic traditions, characterized the leading aristocratic priestly families. Are these allegations based on fact, or are they part of a rabbinic vendetta against Sadducean rivals and the ruling priesthood? There is probably some truth in both.

Josephus corroborates this tradition in three important ways. First, he mentions these priestly families by name (*Ant.* 15.9.3 §320 [Boethus]; *Ant.* 19.6.2 §297 [Cantheras = Qatros]; *Ant.* 20.9.1 §198 [Hanin = Annas]; *Ant.* 18.2.2 §34 [Ishmael ben Phabi]), thus at the very least confirming the names given in the rabbinic literature.[36] Second, as does the rabbinic tradition, he refers to the priests taking the skins of the sacrificial animals (*Ant.* 3.9.1 §227; 3.9.3 §231). This is an important point, for Lev 1:1–13, the principal passage that Josephus has followed, says nothing about the skins of the sacrificial animals being taken by the priests. Although Josephus provides no hint that anything was amiss, the rabbinic tradition accuses the ruling priests of stealing these skins and profitting from them. Third, Josephus tells of episodes in the first century, where servants in the employ of the ruling priests beat lower-ranking priests and stole their share of the tithes.

The latter feature may be reflected in the story of Jesus' arrest (Mark 14:43, 46), in which we are told that a group of officers and servants, armed with swords and clubs, approach Jesus:

> Judas came, one of the twelve, and with him a crowd with swords and clubs, from the ruling priests and the scribes and the elders. . . . And they laid hands on him and seized him. But one of those who stood by drew his sword, and struck the servant of the High Priest and cut off his ear.

The incident described here coheres with what we are told by Josephus and the rabbinic sources. Armed servants worked for the ruling priests and on occasion used violence. There is nothing in Mark's account that lacks verisimilitude.

Josephus tends to exonerate the Jewish aristocracy and the ruling priesthood, while at the same time he villifies the rebels and mocks their installation of one Phanni son of Samuel as High Priest (*J.W.* 5.3.8 §155–157; *Ant.* 20.10.1 §227). At this point Josephus is significantly at variance with the rabbinic tradition. But I suspect that given Josephus' obvious bias, it is probably the wiser course in this instance to regard the rabbinic tradition as more reliable in general, with Josephus the more reliable source for specific details.

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34 Trans. based on Neusner, *Tosefta*, 5.161–62. The reading is modified slightly in light of the parallel passage in *b. Pesaḥ.* 57a.

35 The Temple treasurer and supervisor (or "captain") were second and third in authority to the High Priest himself. Tosefta's claim that these posts were awarded to relatives is confirmed by Josephus (*Ant.* 20.6.2 §131; 20.9.3 §208; cf. Acts 4:6).

36 The burned out ruins of a mansion and servants' quarters that belonged to "Qatros" (= Cantheras) may have been found in Jerusalem. Within the ruins of the servants' quarters a stone weight was found bearing the inscription: דבר קתרס ("of the son of Qatros"). While in *t. Menaḥ.* 13.21 Qatros is spelled קדרוס, in *b. Pesaḥ.* 57a it is spelled קתרוס (Κανθηρᾶς in Josephus). In rabbinic literature Boethus is usually spelled ביתוס (Βοηθός in Josephus), Hanin is spelled חנין ("Ανανος in Josephus; "Αννας in the New Testament), and Ishmael ben Phabi usually appears as ישמעאל בן פיאבי ('Ισμάηλος τοῦ Φαβί in Josephus).

Criticism of the first-century ruling priests is found in other early sources as well. The late first-century pseudepigraphon *Life of Adam and Eve* prophesies (in several MSS following 29:3) that "iniquity will surpass equity" in the second Temple. 4 Ezra, written ca. 100 CE blames all Israel for the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple (6:19; 7:72; 8:26–31; 9:32; 14:31), while *2 Baruch*, composed in the early second century CE, specifically blames the priesthood: "You, priests, take the keys of the sanctuary, and cast them to the highest heaven, and give them to the Lord and say, 'Guard your house yourself, because, behold, we have been found to be false stewards'" (10:18). This interesting tradition is repeated in *4 Bar.* 4:4–5 and *ʾAbot R. Nat.* A 4.5.[37]

Charges of theft, greed, and violence are leveled against the ruling priests in sources dating to the first half of the first century CE and earlier. The author of 1QpHabakkuk refers to the High Priest as the "Wicked Priest" (1:13; 8:9; 9:9; 11:4) and accuses him of robbing "the poor" and amassing wealth (8:8–12; 9:4–5; 10:1; 12:10). Of course, it could be argued that these charges were made against a Hasmonean High Priest from a much earlier period, and so they do not constitute evidence of attitudes toward the priesthood in the time of Jesus. But similar criticisms are found in the *Testament of Moses*, which probably dates to 30 CE or a little earlier. The author of this writing charges that the priests

> consume the goods of the (poor), saying their acts are according to justice, (while in fact they are simply) exterminators, deceitfully seeking to conceal themselves so that they will not be known as completely godless because of their criminal deeds (committed) all the day long, saying, "We shall have feasts, even luxurious winings and dinings. Indeed, we shall behave ourselves as princes." They, with hand and mind, touch impure things, yet their mouths will speak enormous things, and they will even say, "Do not touch me, lest you pollute me in the position I occupy . . .[38]

It is apparent that rabbinic sources have in this instance provided some useful, general information concerning first-century criticism of the ruling priests. Several items are corroborated, such as controversy over the Temple tax, allegations of occasional bribery, taking the skins of sacrificial animals, nepotism, and instances of violence. A few are not corroborated, such as some of the crimes associated with specific high priestly families (i.e. the "pen," whereby the house of Qatros wrote its evil decrees; the whispering, whereby the house of Hanin brought the ruin of its opponents),[39] as well as the allegation of overcharging for pigeons. The corroborated items have some value for Jesus research in that they

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[37] It is interesting to observe in these writings that the Roman destruction of the Herodian Temple is fictively portrayed as the Babylonian destruction of the Solomonic Temple, thus possibly implying that the sins of the second Temple priests were in some ways comparable to those of the priests of the first Temple.

[38] Trans. by J. Priest, "Testament of Moses," in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols., Garden City: Doubleday, 1983–85) 1.930. On the date of the *Testament of Moses*, see pp. 920–21, as well as the more recent discussion offered by J. Tromp, *The Assumption of Moses: A Critical Edition with Commentary* (SVTP 10; Leiden: Brill, 1993) 116–17.

[39] The imagined purpose of the pen and whispering is part of the speculative tradition, and is no more than that; cf. H. Freedman, "Pesahim," in I. Epstein (ed.), *The Babylonian Talmud* (17 vols., London: Soncino, 1978) 3.285 nn. 2 and 4.

add a measure of detail to our background knowledge and in a few cases suggest plausible explanations for details that otherwise remain unclear.[40]

Rabbinic Sources and Form Criticism

Recognition of the form and function of specific, self-contained units of tradition is an important aid to exegesis. Knowing how a given form functions gives the interpreter an idea of what to look for and what to expect. It helps the interpreter place the item under consideration into its proper ideological and hermeneutical context. It can also help explain the meaning of various details, themes, and figures.

Rabbinic sources provide us with large numbers of parables, proverbs, and prayers. Although nearly all of these traditions date to periods well after the time of Jesus, the parallels with the dominical tradition are so close and so numerous that it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the dominical tradition provides early documentation of the language and themes preserved in the later rabbinic sources. It is still necessary, of course, to proceed with caution. We should not assume that the specific parables, proverbs, and prayers attributed to the rabbis were current in the time of Jesus, although some probably were. We should rather assume that many of the formal features, stock phrases, and themes were current in the time of Jesus and that Jesus' parables, proverbs, and prayers exhibit his own version of them.[41] In saying this I hasten to add that the mere demonstration that parables, proverbs, and prayers attributed to Jesus parallel those preserved in rabbinic sources is not in itself a guarantee of authenticity. Parallels with rabbinic parables, proverbs, and prayers do suggest a Jewish milieu (as opposed, in many instances, to a Greco-Roman milieu), but they do not prove that the tradition in question necessarily derives from Jesus.

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40 Ten years ago Sanders (*Jesus and Judaism*, 66, 367 n. 39) did not consider corruption in the Temple establishment a factor that might explain Jesus' action in the Temple precincts. Indeed, Sanders stated that he did not know of any evidence of corruption. I supply this evidence in two publications: "Jesus' Action in the Temple: Cleansing or Portent of Destruction," *CBQ* 51 (1989) 237–70; "Jesus' Action in the Temple and Evidence of Corruption in the First-Century Temple," in D. J. Lull (ed.), *Society of Biblical Literature 1989 Seminar Papers* (SBLSP 28; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 522–39; rev. and repr. in C. A. Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries: Comparative Studies* (AGJU 25; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 319–44. In more recent publications Sanders now acknowledges that there may have been some corruption and that it may have played a part in the Temple controversies; cf. Sanders, *The Historical Figure of Jesus*, 26–27, 42, 255; idem, *Judaism: Practice and Belief: 63 BCE–66 CE* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992) 323: "Of the high priests during the period 6–66 CE, some were corrupt, out for their own gain and that of their sycophants . . . ." Sanders rightly emphasizes that not all high priests were corrupt; he is also correct in maintaining that however Jesus' action is understood, it was not directed against the practice of sacrifice.

41 See Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries*, 251–97.

Parables

For most of this century the parables of Jesus have been compared to the parables of the rabbis.[42] There are four aspects that call for comparison: (1) The rabbinic parables frequently speak of a king, (2) "kingdom" is sometimes defined as God's dominion, (3) the characters of the parables often behave in illogical ways, and (4) the parables employ terminology and themes found in parables attributed to Jesus.

1. The king of the rabbinic parables. There are some 325 tannaitic parables, more than half of which feature a king, who almost always represents God.[43] Among these we have the Parable of the Forgiving King (*b. Roš Haš.* 17b; attributed to Rabbi Yose the priest, ca. 90–100 CE; cf. Matt 5:23–24; 18:21–35), the Parable of the King's Wise and Foolish Servants (*b. Šabb.* 153a; cf. *Eccl. Rab.* 9:8 §1; *Midr. Prov.* 16:11; attributed to Rabbi Yoḥanan ben Zakkai, ca. 70–80 CE; cf. Matt 24:45–51; Luke 17:7–10), the Parable of the King's Banquet Guests (*Sem.* 8.10; attributed to Rabbi Meir, ca. 150 CE; cf. Matt 22:1–10; Luke 14:15–24), the Parable of the King's Steward (*ʾAbot R. Nat.* A 14.6; attributed to Rabbi Eleazar ben Arak, ca. 90 CE; cf. Matt 25:14–30 = Luke 19:12–27), and the King's Two Administrators (*Mek.* on Exod 20:2 [*Baḥodeš* §5]; attributed to Rabbi Simon ben Eleazar, ca. 170 CE; cf. Matt 25:21 = Luke 19:17).

More than one half of Jesus' parables speak of the "kingdom of God," which Jesus seemed to have understood in terms of God's powerful presence. Although the rabbinic parables usually speak of God as king and Jesus' parables speak of the kingdom of God, I believe these expressions are closely related and merit comparison.[44] The next point should make this evident.

2. Kingdom as God's dominion. Years ago T. W. Manson noted that in a few rabbinic passages "kingdom" (מלכות) sometimes means God's dominion,[45] the

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[42] P. Fiebig, *Altjüdische Gleichnisse und die Gleichnisse Jesu* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1904); idem, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu im lichte der rabbinischen Gleichnisse des neutestamentlichen Zeitalters* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1912); W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Gospel Parables in the Light of Their Jewish Background* (London: Macmillan, 1936); J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (London: SCM; New York: Scribner's, 1963); D. Flusser, *Die rabbinischen Gleichnisse und der Gleichniserzähler Jesus* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1981); B. H. Young, *Jesus and His Jewish Parables* (New York: Paulist, 1989). For criticism of Young's work, see Neusner, *Rabbinic Literature and the New Testament*, 185–90.

[43] R. Pautrel, "Les canons du Mashal rabbinique," *RSR* 26 (1936) 6–45; 28 (1938) 264–81. For a selective list of tannaitic parables, see Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries*, 252–62.

[44] Only three of Jesus' parables present God as king, and all three are found in Matthew (18:23–35; 22:1–14; 25:31–46). The first and third are unique to Matthew and probably derive from the Church, while the second appears to be a heavily redacted version of a parable from Q (cf. Luke 14:15–24). Note that in the Lucan version the principal character is simply a "man." The Parable of the King Who Goes to War (Luke 14:31–33) does not belong to this category. It is therefore a strong possibility that in his parables Jesus never spoke of God as "king," choosing instead always to speak of the "kingdom of God."

[45] T. W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus: Studies of Its Form and Content* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948) 130–32. See also B. B. Scott, *Hear Then the Parable: A Commentary on the Parables of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989) 56–62; C. L. Blomberg, "The Parables of Jesus: Current Trends and Needs in Research," in B. D. Chilton and C. A. Evans (eds.), *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research* (NTTS 19; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 231–54.

meaning that the term probably has in Jesus' parables. A parable found in *Mek.* on Exod 20:2 (*Baḥodeš* §5) is illustrative:

> Why were the Ten Commandments not said at the beginning of the Torah? They give a parable. To what may this be compared? To the following: A king [מֶלֶךְ] who entered a province said to the people: "May I rule [אֶמְלוֹךְ] over you?" But the people said to him: "Have you done anything good for us that you should rule over us?" What did he do then? He built the city wall for them, he brought in the water supply for them, and he fought their battles. Then when he said to them: "May I rule [אֶמְלוֹךְ] over you?" They said to him: "Yes, yes." So it is with God. He brought the Israelites out of Egypt, divided the sea for them, sent down manna for them, brought up the well for them, brought the quails for them. He fought for them the battle with Amalek. Then he said to them: "May I rule [אֶמְלוֹךְ] over you?" And they said to him: "Yes, yes."[46]

Another illustrative passage is found in *Sipra Lev.* §194 (on Lev. 18:1–30). It is not formally introduced as a parable, but its fictive conversation between God and the wilderness generation is parable-like. In all probability this material is related to the above parable.

> "The Lord spoke to Moses saying, 'Speak to the sons of Israel and say to them: "I am the Lord your God"'" [Lev 18:1–2]. Rabbi Simeon ben Yoḥai says, "This is in line with what is said elsewhere: 'I am the Lord your God (who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage)' [Exod 20:2]. 'Am I the Lord, whose sovereignty [מלכות] you took upon yourself in Egypt?' They said to him, 'Yes, yes.' 'Indeed you have accepted my dominion [מלכותי]. They accepted my decrees: "You will have no other gods before" [Exod 20:3].' That is what is said here: 'I am the Lord your God,' meaning, 'Am I the one whose dominion [מלכות] you accepted at Sinai?' They said to him, 'Yes, yes.' 'Indeed you have accepted my dominion [מלכותי].' They accepted my decrees: 'You shall not copy the practices of the land of Egypt where you dwelt, or of the land of Canaan to which I am taking you; nor shall you follow their laws' [Lev 18:3]."[47]

On the meaning of "kingdom of God" in Jesus' proclamation, see B. D. Chilton, "Regnum Dei Deus Est," *SJT* 31 (1978) 261–70; idem, *God in Strength: Jesus' Announcement of the Kingdom* (SNTU 1; Freistadt: Plöchl, 1979); idem, "The Kingdom of God in Recent Discussion," in Chilton and Evans (eds.), *Studying the Historical Jesus*, 255–80; and J. P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus. Volume Two: Mentor, Message, and Miracles* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1994) 237–506. Though disagreeing in places Meier (p. 287 n. 113) comments that Chilton "is correct in maintaining that 'the kingdom of God' basically means 'God come in strength' to save his people. The effects of the kingdom's coming cannot be separated from the person of God who comes as king."

46 The translation, with some modification, is based on J. Z. Lauterbach, *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael* (3 vols., Philadelphia: JPSA, 1933) 2. 229–30.

47 Translation is based on J. Neusner, *Sifra: An Analytical Translation* (3 vols., BJS 138–40; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 3.76–77.

The definition of מלכות as God's kingly rule is quite clear. (Note how Neusner translates "sovereignty" and "dominion.") The second passage coheres with the first one, in which God rules over Israel as a king. The second passage understands the acceptance of Torah as acceptance of God's royal sovereignty. In my judgment this idea of God as kingdom approximates Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God.

3. Illogical characters in the rabbinic parables. Tannaitic parables present their characters as sometimes acting in illogical ways. This observation tells against those who have argued that the Parable of the Wicked Vineyard Tenants (Mark 12:1–12) is inauthentic (at least as contextualized in the canonical Gospels) because the owner would not have been so stupid as to send his son to the vineyard, after his servants had been maltreated, even murdered.

The following parable, found in *Seder Elijah Rabba* §28 (p. 150), describes a remarkably foolish and incautious king who, against the sensible advice of his friends, entrusted his city, palace, and young son to a guardian who was an utter rascal. The parable reads.

> The parable, as told by Rabbi Yose the Galilean, concerned a mortal king who had set out for a city far across the sea. As he was about to entrust his son to the care of a wicked guardian, his friends and servants said to him: "My lord king, do not entrust your son to this wicked guardian." Nevertheless the king, ignoring the counsel of his friends and servants, entrusted his son to the wicked guardian. What did the guardian do? He proceeded to destroy the king's city, have his house consumed by fire, and slay his son with the sword. After a while the king returned. When he saw his city destroyed and desolate, his house consumed by fire, his son slain with the sword, he pulled out the hair of his head and his beard and broke out into wild weeping, saying: "Woe is me! How <foolish> I have been, how senselessly I acted in this kingdom of mine in entrusting my son to a wicked guardian!"[48]

In Yose's parable we have a man who appears utterly to lack common sense. Against the advice of friends and counselors he entrusts his son to a man known to be a "wicked guardian." But the actions of the guardian are just as difficult to comprehend. We are not told that he stole anything or profitted in any way by his actions. He destroys the king's city, burns down his house, and murders his son. What could he possibly have hoped to gain? Did he imagine that he could get away with these crimes? Would not every hearer of this parable suppose that the king would send troops after the guardian and have him executed? These are the same kinds of questions some critics have from time to time raised against the authenticity of the Parable of the Vineyard Tenants, as well as other parables.[49] How could the owner of the vineyard be so foolish and so reckless with the lives of his servants and especially with the life of his son? What could the tenants

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[48] Trans. by W. G. Braude and I. Kapstein, *Tanna Dĕbe Eliyyahu: The Lore of the School of Elijah* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1981) 369. The translation has been slightly modified.

[49] As seen, for example, in C. E. Carlston, *The Parables of the Triple Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) 183–84. Carlston cites others who have argued against the authenticity of the parable on the basis that the actions of the characters are so unreasonable.

realistically have hoped to gain? Did they not know that the owner had the power to come and destroy them? Did they really imagine that they could inherit the vineyard? One may ask similar questions with respect to the rude behavior of the invited guests of the Parable of the Great Banquet (Luke 14:15–24) or the eccentric behavior of the vineyard owner in the Parable of the Laborers (Matt 20:1–15).

Questions such as these do not constitute valid objections against the authenticity of parables. The incomprehensible folly of the king in Yose's parable should not cast doubt on the question of its authenticity (note too that Yose applies the parable to God's trusting Nebuchadnezzar!). Nor should the folly of the vineyard owner and the vineyard tenants cast doubt on the authenticity of Jesus' parable. These parables do indeed provoke these kinds of questions—for ancient hearers as well as modern. But the shocking details and the questions they raise are supposed to lead the hearers to grasp and apply the intended lesson.

Sometimes objections are raised against the authenticity of certain parables of Jesus, again most notably the Parable of the Wicked Vineyard Tenants, because they appear to be allegories based on the fate of Jesus or, it is alleged, the experience of the early Church. But the rabbinic parables also are sometimes allegorical. The presence of allegory should not alone decide the question of authenticity.

4. The terminology and themes of the rabbinic parables. The parables of Jesus and those of the rabbis employ significant common terminology. These include מָשַׁל (= παραβολὴν παρατιθέναι), מָשָׁל (= παραβολή) and דּוֹמֶה (= ὁμοιοῦν or ὁμοία εἶναι), the vocabulary of comparison, לְמָה (= τίνι), the interrogatory pronoun that calls for comparison, and כָּךְ (= οὕτως), the adverb that applies the parable:

אמשול לך משל: למה הדבר דומה: לאדם שנושה בחבירו מנה – "I will give you a parable. To what does this matter compare? To a man who lent his neighbor a mina . . ." (*b. Roš Haš.* 17b)

משל למלך שזימן את עבדיו לסעודה – "It compares to a king who summoned his servants to a banquet . . ." (*b. Šabb.* 153a)

ἄλλην παραβολὴν παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, ὡμοιώθη ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνθρώπῳ σπείραντι καλὸν σπέρμα . . . – "He set before them another parable, saying, 'The kingdom of Heaven may be likened to a man who sowed good seed . . .'" (Matt 13:24)

τίνι ὁμοία ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τίνι ὁμοιώσω αὐτήν ὁμοία ἐστιν κόκκῳ σινάπεως . . . – "What is the kingdom of God like and to what shall I compare it? It is like a mustard seed . . ." (Luke 13:18)

כך נעשה למצרים – "Thus it happened to the Egyptians . . ." (*Mek.* on Exod 14:5 [*Bešallaḥ* §2])

כך אמר להם משה לישראל – "Thus did Moses speak to Israel . . ." (*Sipre Deut.* §53 [on Deut 11:26])

οὕτως ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ – "Thus is the kingdom of God" (Mark 4:26)

οὕτως ἔσται καὶ τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ τῇ πονηρᾷ – "Thus it will be also with this evil generation" (Matt 12:45)

Many of Jesus' parables contain vocabulary and themes that are paralleled in rabbinic literature. For example, the Parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11–32) contains many of these features.

"And he sent him into his fields to feed swine" (Luke 15:15b): "No Israelite may raise swine anywhere" (*m. B. Qam.* 7:7); "Cursed is the man who raises swine" (*b. Qam.* 82b).

"And he longed to be filled with the pods which the swine were eating" (Luke 15:16a): "When Israelites are reduced to eating carob-pods, they repent" (*Lev. Rab.* 13.4 [on Lev 11:2]).

"'How many of my father's hired servants have bread enough and to spare, but I perish here with hunger! I will arise and go to my father . . .' '. . . put . . . shoes on his feet!'" (Luke 15:17): "When a son (abroad) goes barefoot (through poverty), he remembers the comfort of his father's house" (*Lam. Rab.* 1:7 §34).

"I am no longer worthy to be called your son" (Luke 15:19): "I (the son) am ashamed to come before you (the father)" (*Deut. Rab.* 2.24 [on Deut 4:30]); "I am not worthy" (*Tg. Neof.* Gen 32:11).

"This my son was dead, and is now alive again" (Luke 15:24): "Four are regarded as dead: the leper, the blind, he who is childless, and he who has become impoverished" (*Gen. Rab.* 71.6 [on Gen 30:1]).

The Parable of the Prodigal Son gives expression to several themes commonly found in rabbinic parables. One thinks of the Parable of the King's Errant Son (*Deut. Rab.* 2.24 [on Deut 4:30]; attributed to Rabbi Meir, ca. 150 CE), the Parable of the King's Youngest Son (*Sipre Deut.* §352 [on Deut 33:12]; anonymous), the Parable of the King's Twelve Sons, one of whom the king loved more (*Gen. Rab.* 98.6 [on Gen 49:8]; anonymous), the Parable of the Repatriated Prince, who according to one version returned to his "inheritance" (*Sipre Deut.* §345 [on Deut 33:4]; anonymous) and according to another version was met halfway by his father (*Pesiq. R.* 44.9; anonymous), and finally the Parable of the Father who divided his inheritance among his sons (*b. Qidd.* 61b; attributed to Rabbi Hanina ben Gamaliel, ca. 120 CE).

Proverbs

There are numerous parallels, some of them verbatim, between the proverbs and wisdom sayings of Jesus and those of the rabbis.[50] In some instances the point that Jesus (or an early Christian tradent, as the case may be) was attempting to make may be clarified by these parallel rabbinic proverbs. In commenting on the widow's gift of two *lepta*, Jesus declares that she gave more than the wealthy who had given large gifts. Parallels to this sentiment are found in the rabbinic literature. For example, we read: "Said the Holy One, blessed be he: 'More dear to me is the handful of flour brought by a poor man as a voluntary cereal offering than the two handfuls of incense offered by the High Priest'" (*Qoh. Rab.* 4:6 §1 [with appeal to Lev 2:1]).

Jesus explains that the poor widow's gift is of greater value, because "out of her poverty she put in all that she had, even her own life [βίος]" (Mark 12:44 = Luke 21:4). The saying has been variously interpreted,[51] but commentators usually conclude that Jesus has in some way commended the widow for her sacrificial giving. Addison Wright, however, has recently suggested that Jesus' word was one of lament, not one of commendation.[52] The context supports Wright's interpretation, where Jesus warns of the scribes who "devour the houses (or estates) of widows" (Mark 12:38–40). A parallel proverbial statement in rabbinic literature potentially supports Wright's interpretation and may add to the implied element of rebuke: "Once a woman brought a handful of fine flour, and the priest despised her, saying, 'See what she offers! What is there in this to offer up?' It was shown to him in a dream: 'Do not despise her! It is regarded as if she had sacrificed her own life [נפש]'" (*Lev. Rab.* 3.5 [on Lev 1:17 and 2:1] = *Midr. Ps.* 22.31 [on Ps 22:25]).[53] The widow of Mark 12 contributes two *lepta*, which is very little money, just enough to buy a small amount of flour. In other words, her gift approximated that of the woman in the rabbinic anecdote. It is possible, if we follow the lead of this anecdote, that Jesus' point in Mark 12:41–44 is that after the Temple establishment bleeds the widow dry (as in Mark 12:38–40), it despises her tiny gifts.

A few parallel proverbs attributed to Hillel, which are especially noteworthy, may be cited:

"So whatever you wish that men would do to you, do so to them; for this is the law and the prophets" (Matt 7:12 = Luke 6:31): "What is hateful to

50 See G. Dalman, *Jesus-Jeshua: Studies in the Gospels* (London: SPCK; repr. New York: Ktav, 1971) 225–32; W. A. Beardslee, "Uses of Proverbs in the Synoptic Gospels," *Int* 24 (1970) 61–73; Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries*, 269–76.

51 See the survey of opinions in Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1320–21.

52 A. G. Wright, "The Widow's Mites: Praise or Lament?—A Matter of Context," *CBQ* 44 (1982) 256–65. Fitzmyer follows Wright.

53 Jesus' statement that the widow gave her whole life coheres with rabbinic interpretation of Lev 2:1 (lit. "When a soul [נפש] brings a cereal offering . . ."). In addition to the rabbinic passages cited above, see also *Lev. Rab.* 3.1–2 (on Lev 2:1). Jesus' statement may very well be an early witness to this exegetical tradition.

> you, do not do it to your neighbor. This is the whole law and the rest is the interpretation of it. Go learn" (*b. Šabb.* 31a).[54]

> "Whoever has, to him more will be given, and he will have an abundance; but whoever does not have, from him will be taken away even what he does have" (Mark 4:25): "He who does not increase will decrease" (*ʾAbot* 1:13).

> "He who does not gather with me scatters" (Matt 12:30 = Luke 11:23): "At the time when one gathers—scatter; and at the time when one scatters—gather" (*t. Ber.* 6.24).

> "For whoever exalts himself will be humbled; and he who humbles himself will be exalted" (Luke 14:11): "Hillel used to say: 'My humiliation is my exaltation; my self-exaltation is my humiliation'" (*Lev. Rab.* 1.5 [on Lev 1:1]).

Prayers

The Qaddish is of special interest and is often compared with the Lord's Prayer (Matt 6:9b-13 = Luke 11:2b-4).[55] The first part of the Qaddish reads:

> May his great name be glorified and sanctified in the world which he created according to his will. May he establish his kingdom in your lifetime and during your days, and during the lifetime of the whole house of Israel, speedily and soon; and say, "Amen."

The parallels are interesting. The principal petitions of the prayer are (1) the sanctification of God's name and (2) the establishment of his kingdom. Concerning the latter point, a saying credited to Rabbi Yoḥanan (late 2nd century CE) is of some interest: "Every blessing in which there is no (reference to the) kingdom is not a blessing" (*b. Ber.* 40b). One should also note the opinion attributed to Rabbi Eliezer (early 2nd century CE): "Whoever does not mention the kingdom of the house of David in the benediction, 'Builder of Jerusalem' [*Amidah* §14], has not discharged his duty" (*b. Ber.* 48b). The potential relevance that these opinions may have for Jesus' kingdom hopes should be taken into consideration.

Other Jewish prayers contain eschatological elements, which in some instances may have some relevance for Jesus research. The tenth benediction of

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54 The concluding injunction, "Go learn [זיל גמור]," is also found in Matt 9:13: "Go learn [πορευθέντες δὲ μάθετε]."

55 For discussion of the various forms of the Qaddish, see I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (3rd ed., Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann, 1931; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1962) 92–98; J. Heinemann and J. J. Petuchowski, *Literature of the Synagogue* (New York: Behrman House, 1975) 81–84; B. Graubard, "The Kaddish Prayer," in Petuchowski and Brocke (eds.), *The Lord's Prayer and Jewish Liturgy*, 59–72. For comparison of the Qaddish and other Jewish prayers with those of Jesus, see D. Flusser, "Sanktus und Gloria," in O. Betz, M. Hengel, and P. Schmidt (eds.), *Abraham unser Vater: Juden und Christen im Gespräch über die Bibel* (O. Michel Festschrift; Leiden: Brill, 1963) 129–52; P. Sigal, "Early Christian and Rabbinic Liturgical Affinities: Exploring Liturgical Acculturation," *NTS* 30 (1984) 63–90.

the *Amidah* petitions God for freedom and the gathering of Israel's exiles. Allusion to this benediction in the Hebrew version of Yeshua ben Sirach (at 51:12[f]) may support its antiquity.[56] The prayer for the blessing of Jerusalem, whose antiquity may be inferred from the prayer's assumption that the Temple still stands, has a pronounced eschatological orientation:

> Have mercy, O Lord our God, on your people Israel, and on Jerusalem your city, and on Zion, the dwelling place of your glory, and on the kingdom of the house of David your Messiah, and on the great house, even the Temple that is called by your Name. Our God, our Father, tend us, feed us, sustain us, maintain us, and comfort us. Grant us speedy relief, O Lord our God, from all our troubles.

Rabbinic Sources and Tradition Criticism

Soṭa 9:15 describes various calamities and signs of social decay that will attend the advent of the Messiah. This passage constitutes the Mishnah's only significant reference to this eschatological figure. As scriptural clarification of this troubled time Mic 7:6 is quoted: "For the son dishonors the father and the daughter rises up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; a man's enemies are the men of his own house." The quotation is preceded by descriptions of famine, war, and inhumanity.

The messianic dimension of this mishnaic tradition is heightened in later rabbinic writings (cf. *Song Rab.* 2:13 §4; *Pesiq. R.* 15.14/15; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 5.9), as Neusner has pointed out.[57] But there is also evidence that these elements were understood in a messianic sense prior to the composition of the Mishnah. The best evidence is found in Mark 13 and parallels. There are four noteworthy points of coherence: (1) According to the mishnaic tradition, wine will become very expensive and people will go about from town to town (in search of food). Similarly, in Mark 13:8 there will be famines. (2) In the mishnaic tradition "Galilee will be laid waste and the Gablan will be made desolate." According to Mark 13:7, there will be "wars and rumors of wars." This manner of speaking seems to be paralleled in the expanded version of the mishnaic tradition found in *Pesiq. R.* 15.14/15 and *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 5.9. Both of these texts speak of "rumors (of war)" and "wars." (3) According to the mishnaic tradition, "no one will take pity" on the homeless and the hungry. Similarly, in Matt 24:12 (no parallel in Mark 13), because of the increase of lawlessness, "the love of many will grow cold." (4) Finally, as has already been noted, *m. Soṭa* 9:15 quotes Mic 7:6 in

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56 For text of Hebrew Sirach 51, see I. Lévi, *The Hebrew Text of the Book of Ecclesiasticus* (SSS 3; Leiden: Brill, 1904) 73–74. For an English translation of the psalm found in the expanded 12th verse of this chapter, see Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries*, 282–83. A. A. Di Lella (*The Hebrew Text of Sirach* [Studies in Classical Literature 1; The Hague: Mouton, 1966] 92) has concluded that this short psalm "dates from pre-Christian times" (see also his discussion on pp. 101–105). Y. Yadin (*The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada* [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Shrine of the Book, 1965] 4) dates the Ben Sira scroll from Masada to the late Hasmonean period; but Sir 51:12 is not among the surviving fragments.

57 J. Neusner, *Messiah in Context: Israel's History and Destiny in Formative Judaism* (Philadephia: Fortress, 1984) 151.

description of this "dog-faced generation." This prophetic passage also appears, with the same understanding, paraphrased in Mark 13:12 and quoted but relocated (along with other material from Mark 13) in Matt 10:35–36.[58]

The material gathered in Mark 13 and parallels, some of which probably derives from Jesus, appears to attest a stream of interpretive tradition concerned with eschatology and the appearance of the Messiah (who is referred to as the "Son of Man" in the Gospels). In this case, I believe that the later rabbinic traditions that heighten the messianic dimension of *m. Soṭa* 9:15 have only made explicit what had already been understood as implicit.

There may be more rabbinic tradition that clarifies messianic ideas in the Gospels. The interpretation of Dan 7:9 ("until thrones were set up") that is attributed to Rabbi Aqiba (d. ca. 135 CE) in *b. Sanh.* 38b could be of some help in understanding the exchange between Jesus and Caiaphas, as it is found in Mark 14:61–63. What is not clear is in what sense Jesus' words constituted blasphemy. In previous publications I have suggested that Jesus' combination of material from Dan 7:13 and Ps 110:1 implied that he would appear as Caiaphas' judge seated on God's very chariot throne.[59] Sympathetic to this interpretation Darrell Bock has recently added that Jesus' claim also constituted an encroachment on the High Priest's exclusive privilege to enter the presence of God and thus it could be viewed as a usurpation of the High Priest's status as intercessor.[60]

The passage in *b. Sanh.* 38b (which comments on *m. Sanh.* 4:5, "that the heretics should not say, 'There are many ruling powers in heaven'—again to proclaim the greatness of the Holy One") finds itself in an interesting context. The tradition is repeated almost verbatim in *b. Ḥag.* 14a, with Isa 66:1 appended as scriptural support for the interpretation offered by Rabbi Eleazar ben Azariah. The shorter and more original version in *b. Sanh.* 38b is as follows:

> "'Till thrones were placed' [Dan 7:9]—what is there to say? One (throne) for him and one for David, even as has been taught: 'One was for him and one was for David'—the words of Rabbi Aqiba. Rabbi Yose said to him, 'Aqiba, how long will you profane the Shekinah? Rather, one (throne) is for justice and one for mercy.' Did he accept (this answer) from him or not accept it from him? Come (and) hear what has been taught: 'One (throne) is for justice and the other for mercy'—the words (now) of Rabbi Aqiba. Rabbi Eleazar ben Azariah said to him, 'Aqiba, what do you have to do with Aggada? Occupy yourself with Nega'im and Ohaloth—but one as a throne and one as a footstool: a throne for a seat and a footstool for support of his feet.'"

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58 For further discussion, see C. A. Evans, "Mishna and Messiah 'in Context': Some Comments on Jacob Neusner's Proposals," *JBL* 112 (1993) 267–89.

59 C. A. Evans, "In What Sense 'Blasphemy'? Jesus before Caiaphas in Mark 14:61–64," in E. H. Lovering (ed.), *Society of Biblical Literature 1991 Seminar Papers* (SBLSP 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991) 215–34. This essay has been revised and reprinted in Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries*, 407–34.

60 D. L. Bock, "The Son of Man and the Debate over Jesus' 'Blasphemy,'" in J. B. Green and M. Turner (eds.), *Jesus of Nazareth: Lord and Christ. Essays on the Historical Jesus and New Testament Christology* (I. H. Marshall Festschrift; Carlisle: Paternoster; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994) 181–91.

I suspect that this tradition, along with the messianic recognition of Simon ben Kosiba as *bar kokhba* (the "son of the star," alluding to Num 24:17), may actually reflect Aqiba's messianic views. I think this primarily because the view is so controversial. We see the controversy in the interpretation of Dan 7:9, an interpretation that is viewed as a profanation of God's sanctity (on such an order that it is placed in the context of heretical exegeses). We see it in its placement in a discussion of the "two powers" heresies. And we see it in the Simon passage, where Aqiba's application of Num 24:17 to Simon is met with a rebuke attributed to Yoḥanan ben Torta: "Aqiba, grass will grow on your cheeks and still the son of David does not come!" (*y. Taʿan.* 4.5).

Given the evident controversial nature of this messianic exegesis, one must ask why it was preserved and, even more importantly, why it was attributed to such a famous and respected rabbinic authority such as Aqiba, unless it was genuine and widely known? That it goes back to Aqiba is not a certainty, of course, but it does seem probable. The reasoning here is similar to the criterion of "embarrassment," which Jesus researchers have invoked. This criterion identifies material that in various ways proved awkward or embarrassing for the early Church. It may also include material that is contrary to the editorial tendencies of the evangelists themselves. Despite the awkwardness and the potential embarrassment of the material, it is preserved. It is reasoned, and I think cogently, that this material is preserved because it is ancient and widespread.[61]

Aqiba's interpretation of Dan 7:9 may have some relevance for understanding the history of interpretation of Ps 110:1 in early Christianity, a history that I suspect began with Jesus himself. That Aqiba's interpretation may have primitive antecedents is witnessed primarily by early Christian interpretation of Daniel 7, Psalm 110, and Numbers 24. And yet, Aqiba's interpretation gives no indication of being a reaction to Christian utilization of these texts. Given Aqiba's Palestinian provenance and the apparent coherence between his messianic ideas and those attributed to Jesus, it would appear that our criteria for making use of rabbinic material for Jesus research have been met. The question of the authenticity of Mark 14:61–64 has not been resolved in this essay.

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61 As John Meier (*A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus. Volume One: The Roots of the Problem and the Person* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1991] 169) has put it: "It is highly unlikely that the Church went out of its way to create the cause of its own embarrassment." See also D. G. A. Calvert, "An Examination of the Criteria for Distinguishing the Authentic Words of Jesus," *NTS* 18 (1972) 209–19. Calvert comments: "The Inclusion of material which does not especially serve his purpose may well be taken as a testimony to the authenticity of that material, or at least to the inclusion of it in the tradition of the Church in such a clear and consistent way that the evangelist was loath to omit it" (p. 219). This criterion is not precisely the same as that of the criterion of embarrassment, but it is cognate. In the case of the former, authenticity is supported when the tradition cannot easily be explained as the creation of the Church in general; in the case of the latter, authenticity is supported when the tradition cannot easily be explained as the creation of a given evangelist or his community.

Conclusion

All of the examples treated above enjoy the support of two or more of the criteria (often all four) that have been proposed for establishing the relevance of rabbinic materials for Jesus research. Degrees of certainty vary from passage to passage, but on the whole it seems clear that rabbinic literature contains a variety of traditions that can potentially shed light on different aspects of Jesus' teachings and the world of first-century Palestine, in which he lived. Parallels with rabbinic literature do not in themselves, of course, establish the authenticity of sayings or activities credited to Jesus. The question of authenticity entails a series of other questions. Parallels with rabbinic literature, however, do assist investigators in the effort to identify and define the cultural and ideological context in which Jesus and the early tradents of the Jesus tradition lived and expressed themselves.

Reference to the Targumim in the Exegesis of the New Testament

Bruce Chilton
Bard College

The work of an international project, aimed at translating all extant Targumim into English, is now complete.[1] Targumim to the Pentateuch and to the Latter Prophets are of special interest, and are today available for study in a way which makes the use of these sources of early and Rabbinic Judaism far more likely. For nearly forty years, since the late Alejandro Díez Macho identified a previously unappreciated Targum of the Pentateuch,[2] Aramaists and a small group of scholars of the New Testament have been grappling afresh with Targumic study, but now the documents are accessible more generally, for purposes both critical and less than critical. The questions emerge: what might be done with them, and what should not be done with them? The history of interpretation is littered with instances both of citing Targumim, as if they were uniformly pre-Christian, and of ignoring them, as if they were utterly unreflective of that Judaism which is the milieu of the New Testament in its earliest phase.[3]

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[1] Publication is in a series entitled "The Aramaic Bible," which was first produced by Michael Glazier, Inc., under the general editorship of Martin McNamara. The Liturgical Press later acquired Mr. Glazier's imprint. By way of general introduction, see Chilton, "Targums," *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, ed. J. B. Green and S. McKnight (Downers Grove: Inter Varsity, 1992), 800–04.

[2] Cf. his own description of the discovery in *Neophyti 1. Targum Palestinense Ms de la Biblioteca Vaticana I* (1968) 19, 20. Among the first of a new generation of scholars which was influenced by the discovery was Martin McNamara, who has produced a lucid and compact history of research in *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch:* Analecta Biblica (1966).

[3] Examples of the former tendency are evident in the work of B. F. Westcott, cf. his *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels* (1896) 134–139. It must, however, be stressed that Westcott responded critically to the subject, within the bibliographical terms of reference then available. The latter tendency is implicit in the jejune dismissal of the Targumic understanding of *memra* as a possible antecedent of *logos* in the fourth Gospel by C. K. Barrett in *The Gospel according to St John* (1978) 153. Barrett refers to only a narrowly conceived usage of *memra* as a possible antecedent of *logos* in John, in coming to the global judgment that "*Memra* is a blind alley in the study of the biblical background of John's logos doctrine." His index of Rabbinic literature (pp. 619–621) refers to works later than the Targumim, but not to any Targumic work. That the literature is programmatically ignored is a conclusion that it is difficult to resist. An arguably more egregious failure is that scholars of the Hebrew Bible who have elaborated theories of its textual history on the strength of the relationship between the MT and the LXX do so without reference to Targumic evidence, cf. D. J. A. Clines, *The Esther Scroll. The Story of the Story*: JSOTS (1984) in comparison to the valuable material available in Grossfeld's study of the Targum (cited in n. 11).

The only and obvious way to avoid those pitfalls, and others, is to become familiar with the documents themselves, and their use among critical exegetes. As an aid and incentive within that process, the following eight theses are offered.

(1) The Targums generally were composed after, and without reference to the paramount concerns of, the New Testament. Because the Targums are, among other things, renderings of the Hebrew Bible, their distinctive concern is to convey and illuminate Scripture among those for whom Torah was the sole guarantor of the integrity of Israel. The destruction of the Temple (definitively, in 135/136 CE) and the consequent crisis of eschatological hope in the restoration of Israel, caused the Aramaic interpreters, as representatives of Rabbinic Judaism, to confront afresh what the choice of Israel, the Davidic promise, the Temple itself, the coming of the messiah, the predictions of the prophets, and the commands of Torah might mean.[4] Some of the Targumim partially represent the concerns of early Judaism, as preceding and contemporary with Jesus and his first followers, but on the whole they address the distinctive agenda of a later period.[5]

(2) The Targumic agenda is essentially Rabbinic. Rabbis were concerned with how Scripture was rendered in synagogues, and they were in the end responsible for the Targums as they can be read today.[6]

Sometimes, Targumic renderings are at variance with an expressed Rabbinic preference,[7] and such tensions may be taken to evidence the folk provenience of Targumic traditions, but allowance must be made for the influence, and even the direct composition, of the Rabbis within the extant witnesses.[8]

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4 The exegetical vocabulary of the Targumim, particularly the more expansive instances of the genre, is geared to precisely such issues, as has been shown in *The Glory of Israel. The Theology and Provenience of the Isaiah Targum* (1982). The cessation of cultic sacrifice was a particularly painful reality for the meturgemanin, as is shown by the following passage from the Isaiah Targum (53:5):

> And he will build the sanctuary which was profaned for our sins, handed over for our iniquities; and by his teaching his peace will increase upon us, and in that we attach ourselves to his words our sins will be forgiven us.

5 Cf. McNamara's later book, *Targum and Testament. Aramaic Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible: A New Light on the New Testament* (1972).

6 Cf. B. Grossfeld, "Bible. Translations. Ancient Versions. Aramaic: the Targumim," *Encyclopedia Judaica* 4 (1971) 841–851, 841, 842. The presentation of Genesis 22 in the Palestinian Targumim provides an instance of exegesis comparable to the Rabbinic understanding of the passage, cf. S. Spiegel (tr. J. Goldin), *The Last Trial. On the legends and lore of the command to Abraham to offer Isaac as a sacrifice: the Akedah* (1967) and B. D. Chilton, "Recent Discussion of the Aqedah," *Targumic Approaches to the Gospels. Essays in the Mutual Definition of Judaism and Christianity:* Studies in Judaism (1986) 39. To give but one example, Genesis Rabbah 55:4 and Pseudo-Jonathan 22:1 agree that, in a dispute over priority between Ishmael and Isaac, the latter volunteered to yield all his members to God.

7 A notorious instance is the contradiction between Megillah 4:10, prohibiting the rendering of Genesis 35:22 (which speaks of Reuben's taking his father's concubine), and all the extant Targumim of the verse, which render it. The truncated version of the Hebrew presented in Neophyti 1 may represent an attempted accommodation with the Mishnaic proscription.

8 Codex Reuchlianus particularly must be watched for this tendency. At Isaiah 33:7, for example, a version of the Aqedah is appended (cf. Chilton, "Recent Discussion of the Aqedah," *Targumic Approaches* (1986) 39–49. The connection between that verse and Genesis 22 might seem

(3) Within early and Rabbinic Judaism, the provenience and programme of the Targumim are variegated. There are Targumim such as Onqelos, which for the most part correspond formally to their Hebrew *Vorlagen*, once allowance is made for their reverential periphrases in speaking of God, and of his revelation to his people.[9] Others, such as Neophyti I,[10] are more globally paraphrastic and expansionistic. Still others, such as the Targum to Esther, present a markedly mixed character.[11] There is no general tendency over time towards either correspondence or expansion: both Onqelos and Neophyti are commonly dated within the third century, and the later Targumim, such as those to Esther, represent both tendencies. Although the Targums in their initial purpose are directed to liturgical, popular usage, in the end they were preserved after Aramaic was no longer the Jewish *lingua franca*. In the case of marginalia in the Codex Reuchlianus (cf. n. 8), we find Rabbis of the medieval period engaged in an exercise of esoteric play.[12] The myth of the Targums as the Bible of the people has been exploded.

(4) There is no "Palestinian," "pre-Christian" Targum. Elements within the Targumim may arguably antedate, or be contemporaneous with, documents of the New Testament, but such a case remains always to be made, and may not be assumed. Discoveries at Qumran, Naḥal Ḥever, and Murraba'at make it quite clear that the Aramaic of the Targumin is not that of the first century.[13] Each Targum remains to be dated relative to Rabbinic, early Judaic, and Christian sources, and characterized by its style of interpretation, so that elements which might illuminate that New Testament can be shown to be plausibly related to it. Apart from such analysis, serious, comparative work is not possible, and any other comparison is uncritical.

(5) A Targumic approach to the New Testament is to be distinguished from an Aramaic approach. In view of their history, the Targums are of less moment for reconstructing the dialect of Jesus than are the finds mentioned under the fourth thesis.[14] What distinguishes the Targumim from such finds is that they

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inexplicable, until it is borne in mind that the lectionary by the medieval period associates the two passages (cf. Spiegel, *op. cit.*, 149 n. 68 and Genesis Rabbah 56:5).

9 For ease of a comparison between Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan, and the Fragmentary Targum, recourse might still be made to J. W. Etheridge, *The Targums of Onqelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch with the Fragments of the Jerusalem Targum* (1968).

10 Cf. Díez Macho, *op. cit.*

11 B. Grossfeld characterizes *The First Targum to Esther* (1983, p. iv) as alternatively correspondent and expansive. Cf. his comments in respect of the Targum Sheni and the text of the Antwerp Polyglot on pp. iv–vi.

12 Cf. also B. D. Chilton, "Sennacherib: a Synoptic Problem in Targumim of Isaiah," *Targumic Approaches* (1986) 163–177.

13 Cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Phases of the Aramaic Language," *A Wandering Aramean. Collected Aramaic Essays*: SBLMS 25 (1979) 57–84.

14 Precisely this fact to some degree vitiates M. Black's *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (1967). With Paul Kahle, Black takes "the Palestinian Targum" as representative of Aramaic as spoken in the time of Jesus, and therefore as the most appropriate instrument for reconstructing the words of Jesus. Subsequent research has not validated the linguistic thesis implicit under such a usage of the sources. A critique of Black's method precisely on those grounds is offered in J. A. Fitzmyer's review in *CBQ* 30 (1968) 417–428. Moreover, the operative assumption in respect of the message of Jesus under Black's approach is that individual words of

offer understandings of the Hebrew Bible which may (or may not) shed light on the Judaism of the first century.

(6) A Targum of a date later than the New Testament might, on occasion, represent a tradition which was current in the period of the New Testament, albeit not in a Targumic context. The Pentateuchal Targum called Pseudo-Jonathan, which is no earlier than the seventh century, provides a near analogy to Luke 6:36 at Leviticus 22:18.[15] But the injunction to be merciful, as our heavenly father is merciful, has no necessary connection with the passage in Leviticus, and the understanding that such a connection was traditional at the time Luke 6:36 was created does nothing whatever to illuminate its meaning. (On the other hand, the Lukan passage does not explain the Targumic passage: the logical possibility of Targumic dependence on the Gospel does not appear to be plausible in this case.) In such instances, the Targums are merely accessible sources of certain materials of early Judaism; they are useful heuristically, and instances of this kind prove nothing in respect of the dating of Targumim.

(7) On more rare occasions, a Targum might provide us with a tradition which was—at the time of the New Testament—already of an exegetical nature. The most obvious instance of this kind is provided by the Targum of Isaiah 6:9, 10, in relation to Mark 4:12. The apparent peculiarity of the Markan citation of Isaiah, in reference to people being forgiven, rather than healed (as in the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint) is explained by the Targumic rendering.[16] Apparently, the Targum shows us that, in this respect, the understanding of Scripture attributed to Jesus was conventional. Generalization is only possible, however, to the extent of agreement with the New Testament in both wording and Scriptural contextualization.

(8) The Targums instance not only traditions which may be reflected in the New Testament, but a process of conveying those traditions which might be illuminating. Once the history of Targumic development is reckoned with, it becomes obvious that their greatest use for the student of the New Testament lies in their provision, not of antecedents, but analogies. It has long been recognized

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Jesus were handed on verbatim at the stage of transmission in Aramaic, and that substantive development of an interpretative nature awaited translation into Greek. If the Gospels developed at all analogously to Rabbinic sources, however, we should expect to encounter interpretative activity from the very beginning. Moreover, if Luke is to be taken at the word of the Gospel's opening, *some* historical interest apparently grew as the traditions concerning Jesus developed.

15 Cf. McNamara, *The New Testament* (1966) 133–138. The *terminus post quem* of the document as a whole is given by its reading at Genesis 21:21, where the wife and daughter of Muhammed are mentioned.

16 Cf. Chilton, *A Galilean Rabbi and His Bible. Jesus' Own Interpretation of Isaiah* (1984) 90–98. A recent review of the work by Morna Hooker provides a classic instance of the attempt to trivialize the import of Targumic analogies within the Gospels (cf. *New Blackfriars 66* [1985] 550–552). She complains that such analogies are "only to be expected," although she herself made no reference to the Targumim in investigating the phrase "the son of man," as attributed to Jesus (cf. *The Son of Man in Mark* [1967]). Having made her dismissive comment, she then complains at the observation that Jesus appears to have departed as far from the Targum of Isaiah as he did from any other extant version. But if his usage of Targumic traditions is "only to be expected," how is any evidence of his non-usage of such traditions anything other than notable? It is evident that there is a tendency within the discipline to bridle at recourse to early Judaism, even if the evasion requires self-contradictory logic.

that there is something of a synoptic relationship among the Pentateuchal Targumim styled as Palestinian, [17] and that may be a clue that the Gospels and the Targumim are mutually illuminating textual phenomena. Only comparative study can determine the extent to which this comparability is a function of their mutual matrix in early Judaism, along with other texts of that provenience.[18]

But while that determination is being made, we will become more familiar with specific examples from antiquity of how sacred texts and revered traditions together intersected, in the instance of Targumim, to provide a continuing construal of the meaning of Scripture. It may be that the properly religious function of Scripture within, and after, the period of the New Testament will become plainer and more explicable in the light of the Targumim.

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17 Cf. Chilton, *Targumic Approaches* (1986) 113–135, 137–149, 163–177.

18 Cf. B. Gerhardsson (tr. E. J. Sharpe), *Memory and Manuscript. Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity* (1961); (tr. E. J. Sharpe), *Tradition and Transmission in Early Christianity* (1964); (J. Toy), *The Testing of God's Son (Matt 4:1–11 & Par)* (1966); *The Origins of the Gospel Traditions* (1979); Chilton, *Profiles of a Rabbi. Synoptic Opportunities in Reading About Jesus*: BJS 177 (1989).

Lord, God, and Father: Theological Language in Luke-Acts

Robert L. Mowery
Illinois Wesleyan University

Although many scholars have studied various theological questions in Luke-Acts, most have neglected the language for God in these books. When surveying thirty-three years of research on Luke the theologian, Bovon devoted his lengthy first chapter to the plan of God, salvation history and eschatology but virtually ignored the Lukan language for God.[1] In an other-wise magisterial 127-page survey of Lukan theology, Fitzmyer has no section on "God" and no discussion of the Lukan ways of referring to God.[2] While Brawley has included a section entitled "God" in the fifth chapter of his *Centering on God: Method and Message in Luke-Acts*, he has limited himself to comparatively brief comments concerning the language for God.[3] No one has systematically surveyed the Lukan language for God.[4]

This paper offers three interrelated studies of the theological (theo-logical) language of Luke-Acts. The first section surveys the occurrences of the divine titles "Lord," "God" and "Father" in Luke-Acts in an attempt to discern how these titles are used in these books. The second section examines the occurrences of these titles that serve as subjects of clauses in Luke-Acts, especially the occurrences that serve as subjects of clauses in Jesus' words and the speeches in

[1] F. Bovon, *Luke the Theologian: Thirty-Three Years of Research (1950–1983)* (PTMS 12; Allison Park, PA: Pickwick, 1987) 1–77.

[2] J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (2 vols.; AB 28–28A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981–85) 1.143–270.

[3] R. L. Brawley, *Centering on God: Method and Message in Luke-Acts* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1990) 107–24.

[4] For other studies of God in Luke-Acts, see F. van Segbroeck, *The Gospel of Luke: A Cumulative Bibliography 1973–1988* (BETL 88; Leuven: University Press, 1989), under the index entry "God." See also F. Bovon, "Le dieu de Luc," *RSR* 69 (1981) 279–300; R. L. Mowery, "God the Father in Luke-Acts," *New Views on Luke and Acts* (ed. E. Richard; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1990) 124–32; R. L. Mowery, "Direct Statements Concerning God's Activity in Acts," *SBLSP* (ed. D. J. Lull; Atlanta: Scholars, 1990) 196–211; L. M. Maloney, *"All that God had Done with Them": The Narration of the Works of God in the Early Christian Community as Described in the Acts of the Apostles* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991); R. L. Mowery, "The Divine Hand and the Divine Plan in the Lukan Passion," *SBLSP* (ed. E. H. Lovering, Jr.; Atlanta: Scholars, 1991) 558–75; M. L. Soards, *The Speeches in Acts: Their Content, Context, and Concerns* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994) 184–89; R. L. Mowery, "The Disappearance of the Father: The References to God the Father in Luke-Acts," *Encounter* 55 (1994) 353–58.

Acts. The third section compares the language of the speeches that refer to events narrated earlier in Luke-Acts with the language of the narratives of these events and the language of the other references to these events in these books. All three of these sections focus on the finished form of the Third Gospel and Acts, though source and redactional questions are raised regarding some of the passages in Luke 3–24.

Several conventions should be noted. To avoid having to indicate whether the term "Lord" refers to the Greek noun *kyrios* ("Lord") or the Greek noun *despotēs* ("Lord, Master"), "Lord" will be reserved for *kyrios* while "Lord/Master" will be used for *despotēs*. The word "God" will be reserved for occurrences of the Greek noun *theos*, while the term "the Deity" will be used for general references to the Deity. All of the references to Jesus will be references to the Lukan Jesus; none will refer to the historical Jesus.

I. The Divine Titles in Luke-Acts

The three principal titles for the Deity in Luke-Acts are "Lord," "God" and "Father." This section will review the occurrences of these titles in Luke 1–2, Luke 3–24 and Acts.

A. Luke 1–2

As indicated by Table 1, the first two chapters of the Gospel contain twenty-five references to the Lord[5] and twenty references to God[6] but only one reference to the Father (2:49).

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5 Luke 1:6, 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 25, 28, 32, 38, 45, 46, 58, 66, 68, 76 (?); 2:9ab, 15, 22, 23ab, 24, 26, 39. It is unclear if the reference to the Lord in 1:76 refers to the Deity (C. F. Evans, *Saint Luke* [London: SCM; Philadelphia: Trinity, 1990] 186; D. L. Bock, *Luke: Volume 1: 1:1–9:50* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994] 188) or to Jesus (Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.385–86; S. Farris, *The Hymns of Luke's Infancy Narratives* [JSNTSup 9; Sheffield: JSOT, 1985] 139).

6 Luke 1:6, 8, 16, 19, 26, 30, 32, 35, 37, 47, 64, 68, 78; 2:13, 14, 20, 28, 38, 40, 52.

Table 1
References to the Lord, God and Father in Luke-Acts

	Lord	God	Father
Luke 1–2			
Poetic material	8	7	0
Words of Jesus	0	0	1
Other prose material	17	13	0
Totals for Luke 1–2	25	20	1
Luke 3–24			
Words of Jesus	10	62	16
Other direct discourse	2	16	0
Narrative descriptions and other material	1	24	0
Totals for Luke 3–24	13	102	16
Acts			
Speeches	12	88	1
Words of Jesus	0	0	2
Other direct discourse	11	24	0
Narrative descriptions and other material	8	47	0
Totals for Acts	31	159	3

Lord. Most of the references to the Lord in Luke 1–2 are in passages that explicitly or implicitly identify the Lord as the Lord of Israel. The first reference to the Lord is in the statement that Zechariah and Elizabeth were walking blamelessly in "all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord" (1:6). The context identifies the Lord as the Lord of Israel, for the preceding verse had introduced Zechariah as a member of the priestly division of Abijah and Elizabeth as a descendant of Aaron (1:5). After entering the sanctuary of the Lord (1:9), Zechariah met an angel of the Lord (1:11) who announced that John would be "great before the Lord" (1:15) and would turn many of the people of "Israel" to "the Lord their God" (1:16) to prepare a people for the Lord (1:17). Note that 1:9–17 contain five references to the Lord, and that 1:16 identifies the Deity as the Lord God of the people of "Israel." The angel Gabriel greeted Mary with the words, "The Lord is with you" (1:28), and announced that the Lord God would give the throne of David to Mary's child (1:32). The latter verse alludes to "the word of the Lord" that came to Nathan (2 Sam 7:4, 12–13). Following the stories of John's birth and circumcision, both of which refer to the Lord (1:58, 66), Zechariah blessed "the Lord God of Israel" who had visited and redeemed the Lord's people (1:68). Like the angel's words in 1:16, Zechariah's canticle links the Lord God with Israel. The story of Jesus' presentation "to the Lord" (2:22) in Jerusalem includes a scriptural reference to the Lord (2:23b) and two references to the law of the Lord (2:23a, 24). The law of the Lord, which Jesus' parents carefully observed (2:39), was the law of Moses (2:22).

By repeatedly associating the Lord with the heritage of Israel, Luke 1–2 identifies the Lord who acted during the infancy events as the Lord of Israel.[7] There is even a formal parallel between the wording of the references to the Lord in Luke 1–2 and the wording of the references to the Lord in the LXX, for the majority of both groups of references are anarthrous.[8]

The twenty-five references to the Lord in the infancy narratives represent two-thirds of the references to the Lord in the Third Gospel. Luke 1–2 is the only section of Luke-Acts that refers more frequently to the Lord than to God.

God. Though recognizing that the term *theos* could be used to refer to Zeus and Hermes (Acts 14:11–12), Artemis (Acts 19:37), and other deities, Luke introduced *theos* in the infancy narratives as an alternative way of referring to the Lord of Israel. The first references to both God and the Lord are in the report that Zechariah and Elizabeth "were both righteous before *God*, walking blamelessly in all the commandments and ordinances of the *Lord*" (Luke 1:6). The titles "God" and "Lord" appear to be essentially interchangeable in this passage. The second Lukan reference to God is in the statement that Zechariah was serving as a priest "before God" (1:8). This statement is followed by the report that Zechariah entered "the sanctuary of the Lord" (1:9); once again, the terms "God" and "Lord" appear to be essentially interchangeable. After Gabriel declared that "nothing will be impossible with God" (1:37), Mary responded, "Behold, the servant of the Lord" (1:38); though Gabriel had spoken about God, Mary referred to the Lord. The infancy narratives contain several other alternations between "Lord" and "God"[9] as well as several multi-word titles containing both terms, including the titles "the Lord their God" (1:16), "the Lord God" (1:32) and "the Lord God of Israel" (1:68). None of the references to God in 1:6–2:40 is more than a few verses from a reference to the Lord.

Although some of the references to God in Luke 1–2 are articular while others are anarthrous,[10] all refer to the same God. The LXX also has many examples of both articular and anarthrous forms.[11]

Father. The lone reference to the Father in Luke 1–2 is in Jesus' question, "Did you not know that I must be in my Father's house?" (2:49). The phrase "in my Father's house" represents a common translation of the ambiguous phrase "in the people/things of my Father" which, as Fitzmyer notes, could mean

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7 D. L. Tiede (*Luke* [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988] 29, 38) gives Luke 1:5–2:52 the heading "The Visitation of the Lord God of Israel."

8 Concerning the many anarthrous references to the Lord in the LXX, see W. W. Graf Baudissin, *KYRIOS als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte: Erster Teil: Der Gebrauch des Gottesnamens Kyrios in Septuaginta* (ed. O. Eissfeldt; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1929). Though most of the references to the Lord in Luke 1–2 are anarthrous, seven are articular (1:6, 9, 28, 46; 2:15, 22, 23b). The status of one reference (1:15) is textually uncertain.

9 Cf. 1:26 and 1:28; 1:46 and 1:47; 2:26 and 2:28; and possibly 1:76 and 1:78. Comparable patterns frequently occur in the LXX; cf., e.g., Isa 40:3.

10 The fifteen articular occurrences include both of the nominative forms (1:32, 68), all eight of the objects of prepositions (1:6, 8, 16, 19, 26, 30, 37, 47), all four of the direct objects (1:64; 2:13, 20, 28) and one of the indirect objects (2:38). The five anarthrous forms include all three of the genitives (1:35, 78; 2:40) and two of the datives (2:14, 52).

11 Baudissin, *KYRIOS als Gottesname*, passim.

"among those people belonging to my Father" or "(involved) in my Father's affairs."[12] Though earlier verses call Jesus "Son of the Most High" (1:32) and "Son of God" (1:35), no earlier verse refers to the Father. The first reference to the Father does not occur until the Lukan Jesus speaks his first words.

The poetic material in Luke 1–2 contains a more diverse collection of titles than the prose material. Besides referring to the Lord (1:15, 17, 45, 46, 76) and God (1:35, 78; 2:14), the poetic passages speak of "the Lord their God" (1:16), "the Lord God" (1:32), "the Most High" (1:32, 35, 76), "God my Savior" (1:47), "the Mighty One" (1:49), "the Lord God of Israel" (1:68) and "Lord/Master" (2:29).[13] With the exception of Jesus' reference to "my Father," the prose material refers only to the Lord[14] and God.[15]

B. Luke 3–24

Although Luke 3–24 contains 102 references to God, these chapters have only sixteen references to the Father and only thirteen references to the Lord. These titles tend to appear in different settings.

Lord. Five references to the Lord appear in Luke 4–5.[16] When confronting the devil, Jesus quoted two Deuteronomic texts that refer to "the Lord your God" (4:8, 12). Though both of these quotations are in Q material, the other references to the Lord in Luke 4–5 are in material found only in the Third Gospel. When Jesus came to Nazareth, he read a text from Isaiah that refers to both "the Spirit of the Lord" (4:18) and "the year of the Lord's favor" (4:19). These references to the Lord are in a programmatic episode (4:16–30) that stands at the beginning of Jesus' ministry. The next reference to the Lord is in the redactional[17] report that "the power of the Lord was that he (Jesus) might heal" (5:17).[18] The noun "power" recalls Luke's summary statement that Jesus came into Galilee "in the power of the Spirit" (4:14), while the title "Lord" recalls Isaiah's words that "the Spirit of the Lord is upon me" (4:18). The reader learns from 4:18–19 and 5:17 that the Lord who empowered Jesus' ministry was the same Lord (the Lord of Israel) who empowered the miraculous events narrated in Luke 1–2. It should be noted, however, that there are more references to God than to the Lord in Luke 4–5.[19]

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12 Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.443.

13 We are defining the poetic material as the passages printed as poetic material by R. E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* (2d ed.; New York: Doubleday, 1993) 256–57, 286, 330, et al. The passages printed as poetic material in the 26th edition of Nestle-Aland contain virtually the same titles, differing only in the addition of one reference to God (1:30) and the omission of one reference to the Lord (1:45).

14 Luke 1:6, 9, 11, 25, 28, 38, 58, 66; 2:9ab, 15, 22, 23ab, 24, 26, 39.

15 Luke 1:6, 8, 19, 26, 30, 37, 64; 2:13, 20, 28, 38, 40, 52.

16 In addition to these references, Bock (*Luke*, 293) argues that "Lord" in 3:4 refers to the Deity. Most commentators (e.g., F. Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas: 1. Teilband: Lk 1,1–9,50* [EKKNT 3/1; Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1989] 170) assume that this occurrence of "Lord" refers to Jesus.

17 Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.582; Bovon, *Evangelium nach Lukas*, 243; Evans, *Luke*, 300.

18 Concerning the translation of this passage, see Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.581–82.

19 "God" occurs in these chapters in 4:3, 8, 9, 12, 34, 41, 43; 5:1, 21, 25, 26.

The title "Lord" declines in relative importance after 5:17. Only eight references to the Lord occur after this verse, and all eight are from Mark (Luke 10:27; 19:38; 20:15, 37, 42) or the Q material (10:2, 21; 13:35). Five of these eight are in scriptural quotations or allusions (10:27; 13:35; 19:38; 20:37, 42), and the other three are in phrases in which "Lord" is followed by a genitive ("the Lord of the harvest," 10:2; "Lord of heaven and earth," 10:21; "the Lord of the vineyard," 20:15).

While ten of the thirteen references to the Lord in Luke 3–24 are in Jesus' words,[20] many of these words were spoken in conflict settings (4:8, 12; 13:35; 20:15, 37, 42).[21] Only one reference to the Lord is in Jesus' prayers (10:21), and only one is in his words to his disciples (10:2). When praying or teaching his disciples, the Lukan Jesus preferred the titles "God" and "Father."

Father. Though occurring only sixteen times in Luke 3–24, "Father" is a distinctive title in these chapters. *All* of these references to the Father are in Jesus' words, and all are in his prayers to his Father (10:21bc, 22abc; 11:2; 22:42; 23:34 [textually uncertain]; 23:46) or his words to his disciples (6:36; 9:26; 11:2, 13; 12:30, 32; 22:29; 24:49).[22] This usage pattern represents a narrative portrayal of Jesus' claim that he alone knows "who the Father is" (10:22c) and reveals the Father to whom he chooses (10:22c).

Jesus' references to the Father appear in a variety of phrases, including "my Father" (10:22a; 22:29; 24:49), "your (pl.) Father" (6:36; 12:30, 32), "the Father" (9:26; 10:22bc), "the Father from heaven" (11:13) and the vocative "Father" (10:21bc; 11:2; 22:42; 23:34 [?], 46). This terminological variation suggests that a fixed form had not yet emerged.[23] While nine of these references to the Father are from the Q material (6:36; 10:21bc, 22abc; 11:2, 13; 12:30), others are from Mark (Luke 9:26; 22:42) and special Lukan material (12:32; 22:29). The final two references to the Father appear to be redactional (23:46; 24:49).[24]

Jesus voiced the title "Father" at prominent points in the Third Gospel. Besides referring to the Father in his first Lukan words (2:49), he spoke of the Father in such significant passages as his joyous prayer to the Father (10:21–22), his Lord's Prayer (11:2), his prayer on the Mount of Olives (22:42), his final words on the cross (23:46) and his final words in the Gospel (24:49).[25]

God. We have noted above that the infancy narratives use "Lord" and "God" as essentially interchangeable titles. Though "Lord" occurs more frequently than

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[20] Two of the exceptions are in scriptural material quoted by other speakers (10:27; 19:38), while the third is in 5:17.

[21] In addition, the two references to the Lord in 4:18–19 are in a story with a violent conclusion.

[22] Concerning the audience to whom Jesus spoke 6:36, see Mowery, "God the Father in Luke-Acts," 129.

[23] Besides these variations, the references to "your Father" occur in two different word orders. Though most of the vocatives are anarthrous, the vocative in 10:21c is articular.

[24] Mowery, "God the Father in Luke-Acts," 124–30. The textually uncertain reference in 23:34 is of uncertain origin.

[25] Note also the figure of the father in the parable of the prodigal son (15:11–32), a parable that should be called the parable of the forgiving father.

"God" in the infancy narratives, "God" emerges as the numerically dominant title in Luke 3–24, where it occurs 102 times. Besides appearing much more frequently than "Lord" or "Father" in these chapters,[26] "God" appears in Jesus' words to a wider range of audiences and in the discourse of a wider range of speakers than do these other titles. "God" may be characterized as the widely used title in these chapters.

Jesus spoke the title "God" 62 times in Luke 3–24. He referred to God when speaking to such diverse audiences as the devil (4:8, 12), the crowds (e.g., 4:43; 7:28; 13:18), the disciples (e.g., 6:20; 8:10, 11), a demoniac (8:39), would-be disciples (9:60, 62), Pharisees (e.g., 11:42, 16:15, 16), lawyers (11:45, 46, 52), self-righteous persons (18:11, 13), Sadducees (20:36, 37, 38) and the assembled religious leaders (22:69). Jesus even referred more frequently to God than to the Father when instructing his disciples, due in large measure to his many references to "the reign of God."[27]

When other speakers voiced a divine title in Luke 3–24, they usually referred to God. These speakers include such diverse characters as John the Baptist (3:8), the devil (4:3, 9), the demons (4:34, 41; 8:28), the scribes and Pharisees (5:21), a crowd of onlookers (7:16), Peter (9:20), a lawyer (10:27), an unidentified person (14:15), spies (20:21), the chief priests and scribes (22:70), the rulers (23:35), a criminal (23:40), and Cleopas and his companion (24:19). The only other divine titles that are spoken by characters other than Jesus in Luke 3–24 are the titles "the Lord your God" (10:27) and "Lord" (19:38), both of which are in scriptural material.

Virtually all of the divine titles in the narrative descriptions in Luke 3–24 are references to God (e.g., 3:2; 5:1, 25, 26; 6:12; 7:16, 29, 30). The only exception is the important reference to "the power of the Lord" in 5:17.

Twenty-three of the references to God in Luke 3–24 are from Mark[28] and at least nine others are from the Q material,[29] though as many as seventeen others may be from the Q material.[30] But more than fifty of the references to God in these chapters are in special Lukan material or redactional material.[31] Several of the references to God in Luke 3–24 are in scriptural quotations or allusions (3:6; 4:8, 12; 10:27; 20:37abc).

Despite the numerical prominence of the title "God" in Luke 3–24, this title lacks the distinctiveness of the title "Father." The closing verses of Luke 24 offer a

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26 The references to God greatly outnumber the references to the Lord and Father in not only the verses that precede the Gospel's central section (3:1–9:50) but also the central section (9:51–19:44) and the verses that follow the central section (19:45–24:53).

27 Jesus referred to "the reign of God" when teaching his disciples in 6:20; 8:10; 9:27; 10:9, 11; 18:16, 17, 29; 22:16, 18. Jesus' other references to God when instructing his disciples are in 8:11; 12:6, 8, 9, 24, 28; 16:13; 17:18; 18:2, 4, 7.

28 Luke 4:34, 41; 5:21, 26; 6:4; 8:10, 28; 9:27; 10:27; 18:16, 17, 19, 24, 25, 27; 20:21, 25de, 37abc, 38; 23:51.

29 Luke 3:8; 4:3, 8, 9, 12; 11:20ab; 12:28; 16:13.

30 Luke 6:20; 7:28; 9:2 (?), 60 (?); 10:9 (?), 11 (?); 11:42, 49; 12:6, 8, 9, 24; 13:18 (?), 20, 28, 29; 16:16.

31 Luke 3:2, 6, 38; 4:43; 5:1, 25; 6:12; 7:16ab, 29, 30; 8:1, 11, 21, 39; 9:11, 20, 43, 62; 11:28; 12:20, 21; 13:13; 14:15; 15:10; 16:15ab; 17:15, 18, 20ab, 21; 18:2, 4, 7, 11, 13, 29, 43ab; 19:11, 37; 20:36; 21:31; 22:16, 18, 69, 70; 23:35, 40, 47; 24:19, 53.

striking illustration. Though the Gospel's final word is "God" (24:53), the phrase "the promise of my Father" in 24:49 provides a more significant link between the Gospel and Acts than this reference to God provides.

C. Acts

Lord. Table 1 indicates that Acts contains 159 references to God and 31 references to the Lord but only three references to the Father. The number of references to the Lord cannot be determined with certainty, for the task of identifying these references is burdened with the problem of deciding which occurrences of *kyrios* refer to the Deity and which refer to Jesus. The Gospel is not free of this problem, for the referents of *kyrios* in Luke 1:76 and 3:4 are debated; however, the reader of the Gospel can determine the referents of the other occurrences of this title from their contexts. The reader of Acts faces a more daunting task.

O'Neill, Jeremias, Schneider and Fitzmyer have each identified the occurrences of *kyrios* in Acts that, in their judgment, refer to the Deity.[32] Though these scholars reach different conclusions concerning many of these occurrences, their combined judgments can provide a helpful pathway through the jungle of conflicting opinions. Fifteen occurrences of *kyrios* have been identified as references to the Deity by all four of these scholars,[33] and sixteen others have been similarly identified by three of these scholars.[34] To avoid prolonged debate regarding these and the other occurrences of *kyrios* in Acts,[35] this study will accept these judgments and will designate these thirty-one occurrences of *kyrios* as the occurrences that refer to the Deity.

Most of these thirty-one references to the Lord are in passages that record the words of Jewish Christians or describe events set in Palestine. Twelve of these references are in material that is identified as speeches by Dibelius,[36] and eleven of these twelve are in speeches delivered in Jerusalem (2:20, 25, 34, 39; 3:20, 22; 7:31, 33, 49; 15:17a, 17c).[37] Eleven other references to the Lord are in direct discourse outside of the speeches, and nine of these eleven are in the discourse

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[32] J. C. O'Neill, "The Use of *kyrios* in the Book of Acts," *SJT* 8 (1955) 155–74; J. Jeremias, *Die Sprache des Lukasevangeliums: Redaktion und Tradition im Nicht-Markusstoff des dritten Evangeliums* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980) 23–24; G. Schneider, "Gott und Christus als KYRIOS nach der Apostelgeschichte," *Begegnung mit dem Wort: Festschrift für Heinrich Zimmermann* (ed. J. Zmijewski and E. Nellessen; BBB 53; Bonn: Hanstein, 1980) 161–74; J. A. Fitzmyer, "*kyrios*," *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* (3 vols.; ed. H. Balz and G. Schneider; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990–93) 2.329–30.

[33] Acts 2:20, 25, 34, 39; 3:20, 22; 4:26, 29; 7:31, 33, 49; 11:21; 13:47; 15:17a, 17c.

[34] Acts 1:24; 5:9, 19; 8:22, 26, 39; 10:33; 12:7, 11, 17, 23; 13:10, 11; 16:14; 17:24; 21:14.

[35] Eight other occurrences of *kyrios* have been classified by two scholars as references to the Deity (2:21, 47; 5:14; 8:24; 9:31; 13:2, 44; 15:40).

[36] M. Dibelius, "The Speeches in Acts and Ancient Historiography," *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (ed. H. Greeven; New York: Scribner's, 1956) 138–85, esp. 150. G. Schneider (*Die Apostelgeschichte* [2 vols.; HTKNT 5; Freiburg: Herder, 1980–82] 1.95–97) has accepted Dibelius' list of the speeches, but Soards (*Speeches in Acts*, 20–22) has recently proposed a more extensive list.

[37] The exception is in Paul's speech in Athens (17:24).

of Jewish Christians (1:24; 4:26, 29; 5:9; 8:22; 12:11; 13:10, 11, 47).[38] Eight other references to the Lord are in narrative descriptions, and six of these eight are in stories set in Palestine (5:19; 8:26, 39; 12:7, 17, 23).[39]

Twenty-eight of the 31 references to the Lord are in Acts 1:1–15:35, the verses that tell the story of the Christian movement from the beginnings through the aftermath of the Jerusalem council. Only three references (16:14; 17:24; 21:14) stand after 15:35.

Father. Acts contains only three references to the Father, and all three are in the first two chapters of the book. The first reference is in a report of Jesus' words (1:4), while the second is in his direct discourse (1:7). The third reference, which is in Peter's Pentecost speech (2:33), is the only reference to the Father in Luke-Acts that is not spoken by Jesus. This reference is in a passage that confirms that the gift of the Spirit was the Father's "promise" to which Jesus had referred in Luke 24:49 and Acts 1:4. Since virtually all of the references to the Father in Luke-Acts are in Jesus' words, the virtual absence of his words from Acts 3–28 provides the ostensible reason for the disappearance of this title from these twenty-six chapters.[40]

God. "God" is the numerically dominant title in Acts, occurring 159 times.[41] Though a few of these references to God are in multi-word titles like "the Lord our God" (2:39) and "the God of this people Israel" (13:17),[42] most are simple articular or anarthrous references to God.[43]

The speeches contain 88 references to God but only twelve references to the Lord and one reference to the Father. Since most of the references to the Lord are in scriptural quotations (2:20, 25, 34; 3:22; 7:49; 15:17a, 17c) or introductions to scriptural quotations (7:31, 33),[44] virtually all of the speeches' references to the Deity that are not in scriptural material are references to God.[45] "God" is the dominant title in speech after speech.

The direct discourse outside of the speeches has about twice as many references to God (24) as to the Lord (11). While all of the references to the Lord are spoken by believers[46] or Cornelius (10:33), the references to God are spoken by not only believers (e.g., 5:4; 7:56; 8:20, 21) and Cornelius (10:31, 33) but also a Jewish multitude (2:11), Jewish opponents in Jerusalem (6:11), the people of Samaria (8:10), an angel (10:4), a heavenly voice (10:15), the

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38 The exceptions are in 10:33; 21:14.

39 The exceptions are in 11:21; 16:14.

40 Mowery, "The Disappearance of the Father," 353–58.

41 This total includes three textually uncertain references (3:13bc; 18:26) but excludes the eight occurrences of *theos* that refer to other deities (7:40, 43; 12:22; 14:11; 17:23; 19:26, 37; 28:6).

42 See also 3:13, 22; 5:30; 7:2, 32; 15:8; 16:17; 22:14; 24:14.

43 Acts contains five anarthrous references to God, including a dative object (5:29), a genitive qualifier (7:55) and three objects of prepositions (5:39; 14:15; 20:21).

44 The exceptions are in 2:39; 3:20; 17:24.

45 Only a few of the speeches' references to God are in scriptural material (3:13abcd, 22; 7:32ab, 37).

46 Nine of these references are spoken by Jewish Christians, as noted above, while the tenth is spoken by unidentified believers ("we," 21:14).

emissaries of Cornelius (10:22), Jewish opponents in Corinth (18:13) and bystanders in Jerusalem (23:4). As in the Gospel, "God" appears on the lips of a broader spectrum of speakers than do the other divine titles. "God" is also the most common title in narrative descriptions (e.g., 1:3; 2:47; 3:8, 9; 4:21, 24, 31). The same tendency occurs in the Gospel.

D. Overview

By repeatedly associating the Lord with Israel, Luke 1–2 identifies the Lord who acted during the infancy events as the Lord of Israel. The references to the Lord in 4:18–19 and 5:17 confirm that the same Lord empowered Jesus' ministry. Nine of the thirteen references to the Lord in Luke 3–24 are in scriptural quotations or allusions, and most of the references to the Lord in Acts are in the discourse of Jewish Christians or narrative descriptions of events set in Palestine.

The title "Father" occurs in the Gospel only in Jesus' prayers and his words to his disciples. This pattern represents a narrative portrayal of Jesus' claim that he alone knows "who the Father is" and reveals the Father to whom he chooses (Luke 10:22c). Acts contains only three references to the Father, and all three are in the first two chapters of the book. Peter's reference to the Father in Acts 2:33 is the only reference that is not spoken by Jesus.

"God" is the numerically dominant title in both Luke 3–24 and Acts. After being introduced during the infancy narratives as an alternative way of referring to the Lord, this title appears in Jesus' words addressed to all types of audiences. This title also appears in the words of a larger circle of speakers and in more narrative descriptions than the other titles in Luke 3–24 and Acts. "God" is the widely used title in both books.

II. Nominative Third Person Divine Subjects in Luke-Acts

The references to the Lord, God and Father in Luke-Acts perform various grammatical functions. Some are subjects, others are direct or indirect objects, others are objects of prepositions, and others perform other grammatical functions. This section focuses on one group of these references, the references that are nominative third person subjects of active or deponent verbs. We will call these references "divine subjects." Other possible divine subjects, such as the phrases "the hand of the Lord" and "the voice of the Lord," were excluded from consideration so that the focus could be maintained on the references to the Lord, God and Father that serve as divine subjects.

Table 2
Nominative Third Person Divine Subjects in Luke-Acts

	Lord	Lord God	God	Father
Luke 1–2	4	2	0	0
Luke 3–24				
Words of Jesus	2	0	7	6
Other material	0	0	3	0
Acts				
Speeches	4	2	46	0
Other material	5	0	10	1

Distribution. As Table 2 indicates, Luke 1–2 has comparatively few divine subjects. Four references to the Lord are divine subjects in prose material (1:25, 28, 58; 2:15), and two references to the Lord God are divine subjects in poetic material (1:32, 68).[47] Most of the divine subjects in Luke 3–24 are in Jesus' words. These divine subjects include seven references to God (8:39; 12:20, 24, 28; 16:15; 18:7, 19),[48] six references to the Father (6:36; 10:22b; 11:13; 12:30, 32; 22:29)[49] and two references to the Lord (20:15, 42). The three other divine subjects in Luke 3–24 are in the discourse of other speakers.[50]

The fifty-two divine subjects in the speeches in Acts represent more than half of the divine subjects in Luke-Acts. These divine subjects include forty-six references to God,[51] four references to the Lord (2:34; 7:33, 49; 15:17c) and two references to "the Lord our/your God" (2:39; 3:22).[52] The other divine subjects in Acts include ten references to God (10:15, 28; 11:18; 14:27; 15:4, 12; 16:10; 19:11; 21:19; 23:3), five references to the Lord (2:47; 12:11, 17; 13:47; 16:14) and one reference to the Father, the latter in a saying of the risen Jesus (1:7).

Speeches. It is instructive to compare the clauses in Acts that have divine subjects with the clauses in Jesus' words that have divine subjects, for these two groups of clauses tend to be quite different. Most of the divine subjects in the speeches are in statements that identify the divine role in events in the plan of salvation. More than a dozen of these statements refer to past events in the story of Israel from Abraham to David,[53] and more than twenty others refer to past events in the story of Jesus, including his advent (3:22 [?]; 7:37; 13:23), ministry (2:22; 10:38ab), passion (3:18), resurrection (2:24, 32; 3:15, 22 [?], 26 [?]; 4:10; 5:30; 10:40; 13:30, 33–34, 37; 17:31) and exaltation (2:30, 34, 36; 3:13 [?];

47 A reference to the Mighty One is a divine subject in 1:49. Most commentators assume that the enigmatic reference to the Dawn/dawn in 1:78 refers to the Messiah rather than the Deity.

48 This list includes the reference to "no one ... but One, God" in 18:19.

49 This list includes the reference to "no one ... except the Father" in 10:22b.

50 These divine subjects are spoken by John the Baptist (3:8), the scribes and the Pharisees ("who ... but God," 5:21), and unnamed onlookers (7:16).

51 Acts 2:17, 22, 24, 30, 32, 36; 3:13, 15, 18, 21, 25, 26; 4:10; 5:30, 31, 32; 7:2, 6, 7, 9, 17, 25, 35, 37, 42, 45; 10:34, 38ab, 40; 11:9, 17; 13:17, 21, 23, 30, 33, 37; 15:7, 8, 14; 17:24, 30; 22:14; 26:8; 27:24. The four (or two?) references to God in 3:13 were counted as a single reference.

52 A reference to the Most High is a divine subject in 7:48.

53 Acts 3:25; 7:2, 6, 7, 9, 17, 25, 33, 35, 37, 42, 45; 13:17, 21.

5:31).[54] Other divine subjects in the speeches are in statements that refer to events narrated in Acts 2–28, especially the giving of the Spirit (2:17; 5:32; 11:17; 15:8) and the Christian mission to Jews and Gentiles (2:39; 10:34; 11:17; 15:7, 8, 14, 17; 17:30). Some of these statements also refer to past events, for they refer to events that preceded the events that occasioned the speeches in which they stand (esp. 5:32; 11:17; 15:8). More than two-thirds of the speeches' divine subjects are in references to past events.

More than three dozen divine subjects are the subjects of one or more aorist indicative verbs,[55] and a few others are the subjects of imperfect verbs (7:9; 10:38b) or perfect verbs in references to past events (7:35; 13:33). Only nine divine subjects are the subjects of one or more present indicative verbs. Two of these nine are the subjects of negative statements that say what the Deity is *not* doing (10:34; 17:24),[56] another is in a clause that refers to a past event (7:25), and four others are the subjects of the verb "says" (*legei*) in scriptural quotations or introductions to scriptural quotations (2:17; 7:49; 13:35; 15:17). The other present indicatives are in Paul's statements that God "commands" people to repent (17:30), "is about" to judge the world (17:31) and "raises" the dead (26:8). Paul also used a perfect verb when claiming that God had granted safety to him and his shipmates during their "current" emergency (27:24). But more than two-thirds of the divine subjects in the speeches are the subjects of one or more aorist verbs, and most of these aorist verbs indicate what the Deity did in past events.

Outside of the speeches. Most of the sixteen divine subjects in Acts that are outside of the speeches are in statements about divine activity in the story of the Christian movement. Some of these statements refer to specific events, including the statements that the Lord sent out an angel (12:11), led Peter out of prison (12:17) and opened Lydia's heart (16:14). Others are summary statements that proclaim what God "did" during Paul's mission (14:27; 15:4, 12; 19:11; 21:19).[57] A few statements, such as Jesus' reference to the times and periods that the Father had established (1:7) and the heavenly voice's reference to "what God has made clean" (10:15), refer to divine actions that occurred "off stage." Like the divine subjects in the speeches, most of the divine subjects outside of the speeches are the subjects of one or more aorist indicative verbs.[58] None of these divine subjects is the subject of a future verb, and only one is the subject of a present verb (23:3).

Jesus' words. In contrast, half of the divine subjects in Jesus' words are the subjects of present verbs. These divine subjects are in Jesus' assertions that the Deity is merciful (Luke 6:36), knows who the Son is (10:22b), feeds the ravens

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54 Concerning the interpretation of 3:13, 3:22 and 3:26, see the literature cited by Mowery, "Direct Statements Concerning God's Activity in Acts," 199–200.

55 Acts 2:22, 24, 30, 32, 34, 36; 3:13, 15, 18, 21, 25, 26; 4:10; 5:30, 31, 32; 7:2, 6, 7, 17, 33, 42, 45; 10:38a, 40; 11:9, 17; 13:17, 21, 23, 30, 33–34, 37; 15:7, 8, 14; 17:30–31; 22:14.

56 Note also 7:48.

57 For a detailed examination of these passages, see Maloney, *"All that God Had Done with Them."*

58 Acts 1:7; 10:15, 28; 11:18; 12:11, 17; 14:27; 15:4, 12; 16:14; 21:19.

(12:24), clothes the grass (12:28), knows human needs (12:30),[59] knows human hearts (16:15), is patient (18:7b) and is good (18:19).[60] These sayings tend to be timeless theological statements rather than references to divine activity in specific events. None of these sayings has an exact parallel in Acts, though the themes of most of them reappear in some form in Acts.[61]

Only five of the divine subjects in Jesus' words are the subjects of aorist indicative verbs. Jesus' claim that God had empowered one of his exorcisms (8:39)[62] refers to an event narrated in the preceding story (8:26–38), and his citation of Psalm 110:1 (Luke 20:42) anticipates his exaltation. Jesus stated that the Father was pleased to give the kingdom to the little flock (12:32) and had conferred a kingdom on him (22:29), and these sayings have the form of statements about the divine role in events.[63] The fifth aorist verb is in the words "God said" in a parable (12:20).[64] Other divine subjects in Jesus' words are the subjects of future verbs (11:13; 20:15; cf. 18:7a, 8).

The speeches have more than three times as many divine subjects as Jesus' words. While more than fifty of the 101 references to the Lord, God and Father in the speeches are divine subjects, only 15 of the 88 references to the Lord, God and Father in Jesus' words are divine subjects (see Tables 1 and 2). This disparity is partially offset by the fact that the phrase "the reign of God" is the subject of eleven clauses in Jesus' words.[65]

Besides the divine subjects examined in this section, Luke-Acts contains several oblique-case divine titles that supply subjects for subsequent verbs (e.g., Luke 10:2c) and several explicitly-named divine agents in passive statements (e.g., 10:22a) and other statements (e.g., 18:27). Luke-Acts also contains a number of first person (e.g., Acts 2:17–19) and second person (e.g., Luke 10:21b) divine subjects. These books also contain many indirect references to divine activity, as will be discussed in the next section. But the nominative third person divine subjects examined in this section provide the subjects for a significant

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59 Though the verb *oiden* ("knows") is perfect in form, it is present in meaning.

60 Most of these statements are from Luke's sources, including five statements from the Q material (6:36; 10:22b; 12:24, 28, 30) and one (18:19) from Mark.

61 Jesus' assertion that the Father knows who the Son is (Luke 10:22b) is implicit in Acts 13:33 (cf. 9:20). Concerning the themes of Luke 12:24, 12:28 and 12:30, compare Acts 14:17 and 17:25. Concerning Luke 16:15, note the noun "heart-knower" in Acts 1:24 and 15:8 (cf. 8:21). Concerning Luke 18:19, note the participle "doing good" in Acts 14:17 (cf. 10:38). While the statement that the Deity is merciful (Luke 6:36) does not occur in Acts, various events narrated in Acts offer examples of divine mercy.

62 Less likely is the assumption that the noun "God" in 8:39 refers to Jesus. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.810; J. T. Carroll, "Jesus as Healer in Luke-Acts," *SBLSP* (ed. E. H. Lovering, Jr.; Atlanta: Scholars, 1994) 277.

63 None of the speeches mentions the conferral of a kingdom on either Jesus or his disciples, even though two speeches proclaim Jesus' exaltation.

64 Four of these five statements are in passages that have no Synoptic parallels. The exception (20:42) is from Mark.

65 Luke 6:20; 10:9, 11; 11:20; 13:18; 16:16; 17:20, 21; 18:16; 21:31; 22:18. While 38 of the 62 occurrences of "God" in Jesus' words are genitives, only nine of the 88 occurrences of "God" in the speeches are genitives.

group of theological statements, for these statements announce in a strikingly direct manner what the Deity did, is doing and will do.

III. Narratives and Speeches

During his speech on Pentecost, Peter claimed that God had acted during Jesus' ministry, passion, resurrection and exaltation. After God did mighty works through Jesus (Acts 2:22), Jesus was "delivered up" in accordance with God's plan (2:23). God then raised Jesus (2:24, 32) and exalted him, making him Lord and Christ (2:33–36). These theological statements point to events narrated earlier in Luke-Acts, for stories about Jesus' mighty works are recorded in Luke 4–18, the story of the passion events is recounted in Luke 22–23, stories concerning the empty tomb and the risen Jesus are reported in Luke 24 and Acts 1:1–8, and stories about Jesus' departure from his followers are told in Luke 24:51 and Acts 1:9–11. Other references to these events appear elsewhere in Luke-Acts; various references to Jesus' passion, for example, appear in the Gospel prior to the story of Jesus' arrest.

How do these passages refer to the divine role in Jesus' mighty works, passion, resurrection and exaltation? How does the language of the speeches in Acts that refer to these events compare with 1) the language of the narratives of these events and 2) the language of the other references to these events in Luke-Acts? This section will explore these questions.

A. Jesus' Passion

Although several passages in Luke 1:1–22:38 indirectly refer to the divine role in the passion events, none of them explicitly refers to the Deity. In the first passion announcement, Jesus asserted that "it is necessary (*dei*) for the Son of Man to suffer many things and to be rejected . . . and to be killed" (9:22). The verb *dei*, which indicates the divine necessity behind Jesus' passion, also appears in several other passion passages prior to his arrest (13:33; 17:25; 22:37). The transfiguration story contains the report that Moses and Elijah were talking with Jesus about "his exodus which he was about (*ēmellen*) to fulfill in Jerusalem" (9:31). The verb *mellō*, which expresses the certainty that Jesus' "exodus" was about to take place, also appears in the second passion announcement (9:44; cf. 22:23). After declaring in the third passion announcement that "everything that is written through the prophets about the Son of Man will be accomplished" (18:31), Jesus prophesied that the Son of Man would be handed over to the Gentiles to be mocked, insulted, spat upon, scourged and killed (18:32–33). The construction "everything that is written through the prophets" refers to the scriptural words spoken through the prophets by the Deity, while the verb "will be accomplished" is a divine passive. Other passion passages in Luke 1:1–22:38 contain other references to the scriptures (20:17; 22:37) and other divine passives (5:35 [?]; 9:44; 13:32 [?], 34; 22:22, 37); however, none of these passages explicitly names the Deity.[66]

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66 For a detailed discussion of these and the other passion references in Luke-Acts, see Mowery, "The Divine Hand and the Divine Plan," 558–75.

When praying on the Mount of Olives prior to his arrest, Jesus said, "Father, if you are willing, take this cup from me; nevertheless, not my will but your (will) be done" (22:42). This passage is the only passion passage in the Gospel that explicitly refers to the Deity. Learning from the subsequent narrative (22:47–23:56) that the "cup" was not taken from Jesus, the reader infers that Jesus' suffering and death were part of the Father's will. The passion passages in Luke 1:1–22:38 had already pointed to the same conclusion. But our task is to examine the *language* of Jesus' prayer in 22:42, and this prayer consists of a conditional clause ("if you are willing") and two petitions addressed *to* the Father rather than a direct theological statement (such as a statement with a nominative divine subject) that explicitly says what the Father willed. Direct theological statements regarding the divine role in Jesus' passion do not occur until Acts.

Luke 22:43 states that an angel from heaven strengthened Jesus. If this verse is authentic, it can perhaps be read as the Father's response to Jesus' prayer.[67] Note, however, that this verse does not explicitly name the Deity.[68] Many scholars doubt the authenticity of this verse.[69]

The story of the passion events from Jesus' arrest to his burial (22:47–23:56) emphasizes the actions of the high priest, the chief priests and Jesus' other adversaries rather than the activity of the Deity. Though both 23:34b and 23:46 contain scriptural language, Luke did not state that the passion events had fulfilled these scriptures and did not even openly acknowledge the scriptural basis of this language. While Jesus addressed his textually uncertain prayer in 23:34a and his prayer in 23:46 to the Father, he did not overtly refer to the divine will in either prayer. None of the other passages in 22:47–23:56 declares that God was executing the divine plan through the events narrated in these verses.

Although various passion passages in Luke 24 contain *dei* (24:7, 26, 44) and/or refer to the scriptures (24:25–27, 32, 44–46), none of them mentions the Deity. In contrast, four passages in Acts explicitly associate the Deity with Jesus' passion. Peter declared in his Pentecost speech that Jesus had been "delivered up" in accordance with "the determined plan and foreknowledge of God" (2:23), and he asserted in his Temple speech that God had "fulfilled" what God had "foretold" regarding the suffering of the Christ (3:18). The nominative divine subject "God" is the subject of the aorist verbs "foretold" and "fulfilled" in the latter verse. The community prayer in Acts 4 claims that Herod, Pilate, and Jesus' other adversaries had done what the divine "hand and plan had predestined to occur" (4:28). The divine "hand and plan" is the compound subject of the aorist verb "predestined." Paul declared in his speech at Miletus that God had

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67 I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) 833. This reading is rejected by Evans, *Luke*, 813.

68 Contrast the explicit language of Luke 1:26 and Acts 12:11.

69 Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1443–44; B. Ehrmann and M. Plunkett, "The Angel and the Agony: The Textual Problem of Luke 22:43–44," *CBQ* 45 (1983) 401–16; G. Schneider, *Lukas, Theologe der Heilsgeschichte* (BBB 59; Königstein/Ts.: Peter Hanstein, 1985) 153–57; Evans, *Luke*, 812–13; J. Nolland, *Luke 18:35–24:53* (WBC 35C; Dallas: Word, 1993) 1080–81. The authenticity of 22:43–44 is defended by J. Neyrey, *The Passion According to Luke* (New York: Paulist, 1985) 55–57; L. T. Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke* (Sacra Pagina 3; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1991) 351.

"obtained" the church through the blood of Jesus (20:28).[70] In this instance, a genitive reference to God supplies the subject for the aorist verb "obtained." The other passion passages in Acts mimic patterns found in the Gospel's passion passages. While one of these passages contains *dei* (Acts 17:3) and several refer to the scriptures (3:18; 4:25–28; 13:27–29; 17:2–3; 26:22–23; cf. 4:11; 8:32–33, 35), none mentions the Deity.

The verbs in the theological statements in Acts 3:18, 4:28 and 20:28 are quite different from the verbs in the statements that describe the human role in Jesus' passion. Though various passages in Acts bluntly say that Jesus' adversaries "fastened" him to the cross (2:23), "laid violent hands" on him (5:30), "hung" him on a tree (5:30; 10:39), "crucified" him (2:36; 4:10) and "killed" him (2:23; 3:15; 10:39; cf. 5:28; 7:52), the theological statements say that the Deity "foretold" (3:18b) and "fulfilled" (3:18c) the suffering of the Christ, "predestined" the passion events (4:28) and "obtained" the church (20:28). These verbs are very different from the graphic verbs that report the human role in crucifying Jesus.

When identifying the divine role in Jesus' passion, Luke never wrote a subject-verb-object theological statement possessing the form "God-verb-Jesus" in which the subject is a nominative divine subject, the verb is an active transitive verb, and the direct object is Jesus. When referring to Jesus' resurrection, however, Luke wrote many subject-verb-object theological statements like "the God of our ancestors raised Jesus" (Acts 5:30) and "God raised him from the dead" (13:30) in which the subject is "God," the verb is the transitive verb "raised," and the direct object is "Jesus" (or a pronominal reference to Jesus). But, as will be seen below, such statements occur only in Acts.

B. Jesus' Resurrection

Although several passages in Luke 1–23 indirectly refer to the divine role in Jesus' resurrection, none says that God will raise Jesus. The passion announcement in 9:22 declares that "it is necessary (*dei*) for the Son of Man . . . to be killed and on the third day to be raised (*egerthēnai*)." While the verb *dei* points to divine necessity and the passive infinitive "to be raised" appears to be a divine passive,[71] this passage does not directly refer to God. The reference to Jesus' "exodus" (9:31), which may include his resurrection and exaltation,[72] also fails to mention God. The third passion announcement, which concludes with the words "on the third day he will rise" (18:33), associates Jesus' resurrection with "everything that is written through the prophets" (18:31) and contains a divine passive (18:31) but does not explicitly mention God.

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70 Concerning the interpretation of this verse, see W. E. Pilgrim, *The Death of Jesus in Lukan Soteriology* (diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1971) 167–77; H.-J. Michel, *Die Abschiedsrede des Paulus an die Kirche Apg 20,17–38* (SANT 35; München: Kösel, 1973) 24–25, 88–89; G. A. Krodel, *Acts* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986) 389.

71 F. Neirynck and T. A. Friedrichsen, "Note on Luke 9,22: A Response to M. D. Goulder," *ETL* 65 (1989) 393–94; Evans, *Luke*, 408; C. H. Talbert, "The Place of the Resurrection in the Theology of Luke," *Int* 46 (1992) 20.

72 Pilgrim, *Death of Jesus*, 197–204; A. Büchele, *Der Tod Jesu im Lukasevangelium* (Frankfurter Theologische Studien 26; Frankfurt am Main: Knecht, 1978) 140–41; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.800. Evans (*Luke*, 418) defines Jesus' "exodus" as his death.

Even though Luke 24 contains stories about the empty tomb and the risen Jesus, this chapter never states that God raised Jesus.[73] Two "men" in dazzling clothes proclaimed Jesus' resurrection to the women who had discovered the empty tomb,[74] and their proclamation includes the textually uncertain verb *ēgerthē* (24:6). If this passive verb possesses a passive sense ("he has been raised"), it is probably a divine passive.[75] The two "men" also reminded the women about Jesus' prophecy, "it is necessary (*dei*) for the Son of Man . . . to rise" (24:7); this prophecy emphasizes divine necessity. After Cleopas and his companion told the story of Jesus' death and the discovery of the empty tomb, the risen Jesus related these events to the scriptures (24:25, 27) and referred to divine necessity (24:26). The Emmaus travelers later claimed that "the Lord *ēgerthē*" (24:34). If, once again, this passive verb possesses a passive sense, it is probably a divine passive.[76] The risen Jesus also related his resurrection to divine necessity and the scriptures in 24:44–46. None of these passages directly refers to God.

While the Gospel never states that God raised Jesus, Peter and Paul repeatedly pressed this claim in their speeches in Acts (2:24, 32; 3:15, 22 [?], 26 [?]; 4:10; 5:30; 10:40; 13:30, 33, 34, 37; 17:31; cf. 26:8).[77] Unlike the Gospel's indirect references, these passages explicitly identify God as the divine actor who raised Jesus. Peter and Paul quoted various scriptures to support this claim, and several of these scriptures contain first person (13:33, 34) and second person (2:27–28; 13:35) divine subjects.

Acts has many more statements that proclaim the divine act of raising Jesus than statements concerning the divine role in any other event in the story of Jesus. Most of these statements are in 1) formulas that contrast the human responsibility for Jesus' death with God's act in raising Jesus (2:23–24; 3:14–15; 4:10; 5:30; 10:39–40; 13:27–30) or 2) passages that follow one of these contrast formulas (2:27–28, 32; 3:22, 26; 13:33, 34, 35, 37).[78] Though several passages in the Gospel refer to both Jesus' human adversaries and his resurrection (9:22; 18:31–33; 24:7), none of them explicitly contrasts the human responsibility for

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73 A parallel phenomenon should be noted. Though various passages in Luke 1–23 refer to people who were raised or will be raised (7:14, 22; 8:54; 9:7; 11:31, 32; 16:31; 20:37), none of these passages states that God had raised or will raise these people.

74 Luke 24:23 identifies these "men" as angels.

75 I. H. Marshall, "The Resurrection in the Acts of the Apostles," *Apostolic History and the Gospel* (ed. W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970) 101–03; J. A. Fitzmyer, *To Advance the Gospel: New Testament Studies* (New York: Crossroad, 1981) 205, 214 n. 8; idem, *Luke*, 2.1545. For a dissenting view, see J. Kremer, *Das älteste Zeugnis von der Auferstehung Christi* (SBS 17; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1966) 42–44; idem, "Auferstanden–auferweckt," *BZ* 23 (1979) 97–98; idem, "*egeirō*," *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*, 1.374–75. Concerning the textual question, see B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London: United Bible Societies, 1971) 183–84. Curiously enough, D. Kendall and G. O'Collins ("Christ's Resurrection and the Aorist Passive of *egeirō*," *Gregorianum* 74 [1993] 725–35) never enter into this debate.

76 Besides the literature cited in the previous note, see J.-M. Guillaume, *Luc interprète des anciennes traditions sur la résurrection de Jésus* (EBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1979) 113, 116.

77 See note 54.

78 The statement in 17:31 is an exception.

Jesus' death with the divine act of raising Jesus. The contrast formulas in Acts represent a type of statement that is not found in the Gospel.[79]

C. Jesus' Exaltation

Though Luke did not narrate Jesus' exaltation, he twice narrated Jesus' departure from his followers. The Gospel's final pericope reports that Jesus "withdrew" from his followers, and a textually uncertain clause adds that he "was carried up into heaven" (24:51). This passage does not mention the Deity. Three verses in the first chapter of Acts tell the story of Jesus' ascension. The first of these verses reports that Jesus "was lifted up, and a cloud took him from their eyes" (1:9), the second describes the arrival of two heavenly messengers (1:10) and the third records their announcement that Jesus had been "taken up into heaven" (1:11).[80] Written from a human perspective rather than a theological perspective, these passages report what human observers saw and heard. None of these passages refers to the Deity.[81]

In contrast, two speeches in Acts explicitly identify God as the divine agent who exalted Jesus. Peter argued on Pentecost that God had sworn to place one of David's descendants on his throne (2:30). After claiming that Jesus had been exalted (divine passive) to God's right hand (2:33),[82] Peter cited Psalm 110:1 as evidence that "the Lord" (the Deity) had spoken "to my Lord" (Jesus) about his enthronement (2:34b–35). Peter also stressed that God had made Jesus "Lord and Christ" (2:36). When addressing the Jewish council, Peter and the other apostles declared that God had exalted Jesus to God's right hand (5:31). Certain other theological statements in Acts may view Jesus' resurrection and exaltation as a single event.[83]

Thus far the discussion has a familiar ring. While various speeches in Acts explicitly associate the Deity with Jesus' passion, resurrection and exaltation, the narratives of these events in the Gospel and Acts 1 do not speak of the divine role in these events. But the parallelism ends at this point. Though no passage in the Gospel explicitly says that the Deity willed Jesus' passion or raised Jesus, several passages name the divine agent in Jesus' exaltation. During the infancy narratives, the angel Gabriel promised Mary that the Lord God would give Jesus the throne of David (Luke 1:32). As noted above, Peter also emphasized God's promise regarding David's throne in Acts 2:30. Jesus quoted Psalm 110:1 in Luke

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79 M. Rese ("Die Aussagen über Jesu Tod und Auferstehung in der Apostelgeschichte—Ältestes Kerygma oder lukanische Theologumena?" *NTS* 30 [1984] 335–53) argues that these contrast formulas are Lukan theologoumena. For a different view, see L. Schenke, "Die Kontrastformel Apg 4,10b," *BZ* 26 (1982) 1–20.

80 Concerning the texts of Luke 24:51 and Acts 1:9–11 and the relationship between them, see G. Lohfink, *Die Himmelfahrt Jesu* (SANT 26; München: Kösel, 1971) 147–210; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1586–89; M. C. Parsons, *The Departure of Jesus in Luke-Acts* (JSNTSup 21; Sheffield: JSOT, 1987) 29–52, 117–35, 189–99.

81 The reports that Jesus "was taken up" in Acts 1:2 and 1:22 also fail to name the divine agent.

82 The words "the right hand" probably represent a dative of place rather than an instrumental. Cf. Lohfink, *Himmelfahrt*, 226–27.

83 Cf. M. F.-J. Buss, *Die Missionspredigt des Apostels Paulus im Pisidischen Antiochien* (FB 38; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1980) 93–94; R. C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation. Volume 2: The Acts of the Apostles* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990) 53, 170–71.

20:42–43, and Peter quoted the same scripture in Acts 2:34b–35. Jesus also claimed that his Father had conferred a kingdom on him (22:29), and this statement points to his royal rule.[84] These theological statements in the Gospel anticipate the theological statements in the speeches.

D. Jesus' Mighty Works

Peter twice declared that God had empowered Jesus' mighty works. He claimed in his speech on Pentecost that Jesus had been "attested by God . . . with deeds of power and wonders and signs that God did through him" (Acts 2:22), and he asserted in his speech in Cornelius' house that God had anointed Jesus "with the holy Spirit and with power" and that Jesus "went about doing good and healing . . . , because God was with him" (10:38).

Peter was not the only character who perceived the divine hand behind Jesus' works. Jesus affirmed in the Gospel that God was working through him (8:39; 11:20), and many characters praised God after witnessing one of Jesus' mighty works or being healed by Jesus. These characters include a paralytic (5:25), a bent woman (13:13), a leper (17:15), a blind beggar (18:43a), crowds of onlookers (5:26; 7:16; 9:43; 18:43b) and "the whole multitude of the disciples" (19:37). A crowd of bystanders even uttered a theological statement ("God has visited God's people") after witnessing Jesus raise a widow's son at Nain (7:16). By placing words of praise on the lips of a large circle of observers, Luke suggested that even minor characters could perceive that God was empowering Jesus' mighty works. Luke even included a verb of "seeing" in several of these passages (5:26; 17:15; 18:43b; 19:37; cf. 23:8). There is an important step between "seeing" a mighty work and ascribing it to God, and some onlookers ascribed Jesus' exorcisms to the power of Beelzebul rather than the power of God (11:15, 18). But Luke was confident that Jesus had accomplished his mighty works through "the power of the Lord" (5:17), and he indicated that many of the Gospel's "little people" had reached the same conclusion.[85]

Luke did not suggest that such a large circle of observers had perceived the divine role in Jesus' passion, resurrection and exaltation. Though Cleopas and his companion knew that Jesus was "a prophet mighty in work and word before God" (Luke 24:19), they did not understand his death and were puzzled by reports about the empty tomb (24:20–24). While even mere onlookers could "see" the divine hand behind Jesus' mighty works, only selected speakers (principally Gabriel, Jesus, Peter, the praying community and Paul) were able to "see" the divine hand behind Jesus' passion, resurrection and exaltation.

We began Section III by noting that Peter's Pentecost speech contains a cluster of theological statements that testify to the divine role in Jesus' ministry, passion, resurrection and exaltation. This sermon is not the only speech in Acts

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84 Nolland, *Luke 18:35–24:53*, 1066. While the Gospel contains several other references or possible references to Jesus' exaltation (9:31; 22:69; 24:26; cf. 19:11–27, 29–40; 23:42), none of these references is in a passage that names the divine agent who exalted him.

85 Cf. P. J. Achtemeier, "The Lucan Perspective on the Miracles of Jesus: A Preliminary Sketch," *JBL* 94 (1975) 552–56; U. Busse, *Die Wunder des Propheten Jesus: Die Rezeption, Komposition und Interpretation der Wundertradition im Evangelium des Lukas* (2d ed.; FB 24; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1979) 423–27; L. O'Reilly, *Word and Sign in the Acts of the Apostles: A Study of Lucan Theology* (Analecta Gregoriana 243; Rome: Gregorian University, 1987) 195–200.

that has a cluster of theological statements, for clusters of such statements also appear in Peter's Temple speech (3:12b–26), Stephen's speech (7:2b–53), Peter's speech in Cornelius' house (10:34b–43) and several other speeches. Though the Gospel has a few clusters of theological statements, it does not have any clusters that parallel the speeches' focus on a series of events in the story of Jesus.[86]

86 Three Gospel clusters should be mentioned. The title "the Mighty One" (1:49) supplies the subject for a series of aorist verbs in 1:49 and 1:51–55, and the title "the Lord God of Israel" (1:68) supplies the subject for a series of aorist verbs in 1:68–73. Jesus' words in 12:20–32 contain five theological statements that have nominative divine subjects (12:20, 24, 28, 30, 32); however, these statements stress very different themes than the theological statements in the speeches.

The Davidic Messiah and Matthew's Jewish Christianity

Donald J. Verseput
Freie Theologische Akademie, Gießen

Of all the New Testament documents, the Gospel of Matthew most emphasizes the royal Davidic messiahship of Jesus. Seemingly unaffected by the inevitable political implications, the First Evangelist opens his narrative by establishing the indefeasible right of Jesus Messiah to the throne of Israel. In so doing, he even juxtaposes the legitimate child-heir with the house of Herod, so that comparisons with an earlier protest against the Hasmonian dynasty in *Ps. Sol.* 17 are difficult to avoid. Proceeding from that dramatic beginning, the evangelist continues to bring the issue of Davidic messiahship to the fore in key places throughout the story. Each time he does so, it consistently fans the flames of opposition from the Jews (9:27–34; 12:22–24). At the apex of the confrontation, Jesus enters Jerusalem wrapped in the unmistakable colors of the "Son of David" (20:29–21:17), is challenged regarding his authority (21:23–22:14), and is hung on the cross under the charge which reads "This is Jesus the King of the Jews" (27:37 cf. 2:2). Given the clarity of the Davidic contours to the Matthean picture of Jesus, there can be little doubt that with the recognition of this motif we have detected an important dimension of the evangelist's christological reflection.

This assertion, however, has not been entirely unproblematic for Christian interpreters due to the earthly and nationalistic tones typically associated with the Davidic hope. Indeed, the conclusion that Matthew has expurgated the political profile of traditional Jewish expectation in favor of an individual and spiritual salvation has become a widely accepted axiom of Matthean scholarship. It hardly comes as a surprise, therefore, that two of the most recent summaries of Matthean christology, penned by U. Luz and I. Broer, have both dutifully acknowledged the significance of the royal Davidic messiahship for the narrative of the First Gospel, only to declare the peculiar Matthean content of this symbol to be ultimately of Christian derivation, owing more to Mark 10:46–52 than it does to the living hope of the evangelist's Jewish contemporaries.[1] Speaking for

[1] U. Luz, "Eine thetische Skizze der matthäischen Christologie," *Anfänge der Christologie: FS für F. Hahn* (ed. C. Breytenbach and H. Paulsen; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991) 221–235; I. Broer, "Versuch zur Christologie des ersten Evangeliums," *The Four Gospels 1992: FS F. Neirynck* (ed. F. van Seybroeck *et al.*; Leuven: University Press, 1992) 2.125–82. In reaching this conclusion, both authors rely heavily on the earlier work of C. Burger, *Jesus als Davidssohn: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (FRLANT 98; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970) 72–106, a study which has enjoyed great influence: see also D. Duling, "The Therapeutic Son of David: An Element in Matthew's Christological Apologetic," *NTS* 24 (1977–78) 392–410.

both scholars, I. Broer insists, "daß die Füllung des Davidssohn-Begriffes durch Mt im Sinne eines heilenden Wundertäters nicht aus dem Judentum abzuleiten ist, Mt hat sie vielmehr im Markus-Evangelium gefunden und weiter ausgebaut."[2] Thus, while Matthew deliberately employs the language of the Davidic hope to capture the heritage of the Jewish synagogue, he radically subverts traditional expectations in order to present the Christian image of a therapeutic "Son of David" who becomes Lord of the entire world.

In what follows, I purpose to lay out in brief format a contrary hypothesis. I shall suggest that the royal Davidic theme of the First Gospel is not in fact a wholly Christian development formulated in isolation from its Jewish origins. For that, the boundaries between Matthew's group and the larger Jewish community were still too porous, even granted the probable thesis that the Matthean group had already gained a clear and separate identity in the variegated landscape of first century Judaism.[3] While Matthew does indeed appear to offer a sustained apologetic for a crucified Messiah who had obediently accepted the fate dictated by his heavenly Father, he nonetheless adheres closely to the paradigm of salvation anticipated by at least a significant segment of his devout Jewish compatriots and hence to the hopes and dreams that were the fertile soil of messianic yearnings. In Matthew's portrait of Jesus, enough traditional themes regarding the awaited future remain to have provided the Evangelist's Jewish Christian communities with a message of sufficient aesthetic appeal within the sectarian context of first century Judaism.

I.

In view of past tendencies in modern scholarship, it would be prudent to begin our discussion with J. H. Charlesworth's earnest warning that "Early Jewish literature cannot be mined to produce anything like a checklist of what the Messiah shall do."[4] Although Prof. Charlesworth may perhaps be guilty of occasionally transforming the silence of the ancient documents into a lack of coherency or even disagreement, his point is nevertheless well taken. We can no longer fairly suppose that the divided Judaism of the first century could possibly have agreed upon a fixed messianic script against which Matthew's Gospel might have been read. Even the kingly messianic tradition remained frustratingly divergent in the details, concurring on little more than the vague notion that the

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[2] Broer, "Versuch," 1261.

[3] This same objection can be raised against the interpretative tradition of J. M. Gibbs ("Purpose and Pattern in Matthew's Use of the Title 'Son of David,'" *NTS* 10 (1963–64) 446–64), J. Kingsbury ("The Title 'Son of David' in Matthew's Gospel," *JBL* 95 [1976] 591–602) and W. R. G. Loader ("Son of David, Blindness, Possession, and Duality in Matthew," *CBQ* 44 [1982] 570–85) who suggest that although Matthew has—in Kingsbury's words (p. 592)—"outgrown" the Son of David title, he nonetheless deploys it in healing contexts to demonstrate Israel's guilt and blindness in rejecting Jesus. But if Matthew's community had indeed "outgrown" the Davidic christology, why does the evangelist make so much of it?

[4] H. Charlesworth, "From Messianology to Christology: Problems and Prospects," *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 6. Charlesworth was certainly not the first scholar to make this observation; indeed, the statement itself could be labeled truistic were it not for the frequent tendency of Matthean scholars to overlook the fact.

royal Messiah would in some manner be used of God to overcome Israel's grievances against its most recent history.[5]

The taproot of Israel's future hope lay in the painful incongruity between belief and historical reality. If the heavenly King over the gods of the nations had created the world on behalf of Israel and entered into a covenant with her, why then was she still suffering under the yoke of the Gentile peoples? Why was Israel not experiencing the glory vividly portrayed by the prophets? Where the question was most acutely felt, the answer was frequently found in the deuteronomic conception of Israel's history. Time and time again, a strikingly consistent pattern emerges from the literature of the Second Temple period, as O. H. Steck has convincingly demonstrated in his monumental study on the fate of the prophets.[6] The history of Israel is the story of disobedience and rebellion. God sent his messengers, the prophets, to exhort the nation to repentance, but Israel remained obdurate. For this reason, God sent judgment upon them in the catastrophes of 722 and 587/6 BCE, driving his people from their inheritance and scattering them among the nations until the time of repentance and restoration should come. Although, in some cases, this deuteronomic pattern of sin, exile and eventual return appears to have maintained a cyclical validity, it nonetheless remained for many an unfinished story.[7] The continued dispersion of the Jews and the failure of history to bring about the vindication of Israel's divine election led frequently to the conclusion that, at least in some sense, the affliction of the exile had not yet reached a proper end. The closing words of a letter purportedly sent by the Jerusalem gerusia to the Egyptian Jews lucidly reflect this widespread sentiment:

> It is God who has saved all his people, and has returned the inheritance to all, and the kingship and the priesthood and the consecration, as he promised through the law. We have hope in God that he will soon have mercy on us and will gather us from everywhere under heaven into his holy place, for he has rescued us from great evils and has purified the place.[8]

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5 Cf. e.g. the strictly royal figure culminating the Davidic dynasty in 4Q*252* 1 v 1–6, the righteous shepherd-king of *Ps. Sol.* 17 who is free from sin, the judge of 4Q*161* 8–10 iii 15–29 who will "rule over all the peoples" and judge according to the standards of judgment learned from his priestly tutors, the warrior-Messiah of 4 Ezra 12:31–34 of whom no "rule" is predicated and the regal teacher of *Tg. Isa.* 52:13–53:12.

6 O. H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* (WMANT 23; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1967) 110–89.

7 In addition to O. H. Steck, *Geschick*, 184–89, see M. A. Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," *HeyJ* 17 (1976) 253–79; D. E. Gowan, "The Exile in Jewish Apocalyptic," *Scripture in History and Theology: FS J. C. Rylaarsdam* (ed. A. L. Merrill and T. W. Overholt; Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1977) 205–223. Although the prevalence of a sense that at the time of the exile Israel had lost a glory which was still missing but would one day be restored has been convincingly demonstrated by the above authors, this was not the only pattern of expression in Second Temple Judaism. For passages in which the tragedies of 722 and 587/6 BCE appear to be mere illustrations of a repetitive cycle of closed events devoid of lasting consequences, see e.g. Jdt 8:18–23; *Ps. Sol.* 9; Josephus, *J.W.* 5 375–419.

8 2 Macc 2:17–18. Note particularly the discussion in J. A. Goldstein, "How the Authors of 1 and 2 Maccabees Treated the 'Messianic' Promises," *Judaisms and their Messiahs at the Turn of the*

In the eyes of the authors, God had already begun his work of restoration in the accomplishments of the Maccabaean revolt, giving every reason for confidence that a full return of the Jewish dispersion would shortly come to pass.[9] Naturally, other groups within Second Temple Judaism were less charitable regarding the achievements of the Jerusalem leadership. From the standpoint of the Damascus Document, for example, the national disaster of the exile commenced its conclusion not with the successes of the Hasmonian family but with the emergence of the sectarian community:

> For when they were unfaithful in forsaking him, he hid his face from Israel and from his sanctuary and delivered them up to the sword. However, when he remembered the covenant of the very first, he saved a remnant for Israel and did not deliver them up to destruction. And at the moment of wrath, three hundred and ninety years after having delivered them up into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, he visited them and caused to sprout from Israel and from Aaron a shoot of the planting, in order to possess his land and to become fat with the good things of his soil.[10]

Whatever their claims for their own particular role in the drama of history, numerous groups in Second Temple Judaism appear to share a similar persuasion that Israel had not yet fully recovered from the exile in the way which God had promised.[11] The struggle to harmonize Israel's painful experience in

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Christian Era (ed. J. Neusner *et al.*; Cambridge: University Press, 1987) 69–96. The authenticity of the epistle is not a crucial issue here, since we only seek to establish the existence of the hope which is therein expressed.

9 Note the close association of the ingathering of the Jewish dispersion with the end of Israel's captivity in deuternomic texts, e.g. Deut 30:3; Bar 2:27–35.

10 CD 1:3–7. English translations of Qumran documents are taken from F. G. Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

11 Further examples of the conviction expressed in CD 1:3–7 that the rise of a particular reform movement marked the beginning of the recovery from the exile can be detected e.g. in *1 Enoch* 85–90; 93:1–10 + 91:11–17 and *Jub.* 1:7–18 together with 23:26. In the so called "Animal Apocalypse" the sheep remain blind and abandoned by their owner into the hands of derelict shepherds until the rise of the pious group (90:6–7) whose valiant stand results in restoration to the owner's care. Similarly, the "Apocalypse of Weeks" depicts the appearance of an apostate generation immediately following the dispersion, whereupon an elect group emerges to whom the victory is given (93:9–10 [4Q*212* 4:12–14]). Other texts, such as Tob 14:5–7; *As. Mos.* 4:8–9; and *2 Apoc. Bar.* 68:5–7, reveal a consciousness of the incomplete character of the restoration under Nehemiah by disparaging the glory of the Second Temple (contrast *Adam and Eve* 29:8; *Sib. Or.* 3:291–94). Both of the latter two works indicate a second disaster yet greater than that of 587/6 BCE which will precede the end (*As. Mos.* 9:2; *2 Apoc. Bar.* 32). Even Sir 36:16 petitions, "Gather all the tribes of Jacob and give them their inheritance, as at the beginning," signifying that the reality of the continued dispersion contradicted the idea of the restoration. Regarding apocryphal work of Baruch, O. H. Steck (*Das apokryphe Baruchbuch: Studien zu Rezeption und Konzentration 'kanonischer' Überlieferung* [Göttingen: Vandehoeck & Ruprecht, 1993] 265–66) has cogently argued that the book was written during the Maccabean period "die anhaltende Zerstreuung des Gottesvolkes als das wesentliche Existenzdefizit vor Augen zu stellen und ihr (die Leserschaft) für das Ziel einer von Fremden freien Wiedervereinigung aller Israeliten im Verheißungslande Wegweisung zu geben." Indeed, the relevance of the work is rooted in this message: "Das gegenwärtige Israel soll sich immer noch im Exilzustand sehen und zu dessen Überwindung finden" (p. 267). Worthy of mention are also 4Q*504* 1–2 v-vi, the expression of a repentant group which continues to atone for "our sin and the sin of our fathers" (vi 5–6) in the

the so-called postexilic period with expectations aroused by the glorious images of the prophets inevitably evoked the conviction that God's disciplining hand had not yet been lifted from his people.

Typical of the postexilic period was, furthermore, the staunch belief in many quarters that only the devout would experience the eagerly awaited vindication. The simple pattern of sin, exile and return gave way to the settled judgment that divine chastisement would ultimately purge Abraham's descendants of the sinners who defiled the nation with their lawless deeds, and hence to an individual eschatology. The rod of God's wrath was raised against the wicked, but his mercy would preserve the humble, righteous ones for the day of his visitation.[12] This steadfast conviction led to a natural hermeneutical shift in which the prophetic language regarding the restoration of the afflicted remnant was applied to the community of the devout. Nowhere is this move more profoundly evident than in a recently published Qumran fragment known as 4Q*521* 2:

> [1][for the heav]ens and the earth will listen to his Messiah, [2][and all] that is in them will not turn away from the holy precepts. [3]Be encouraged, you who are seeking the Lord in his service! [4]Will you not, perhaps, encounter the Lord in it, all those who hope in their heart? [5]For the Lord will observe the devout and call the just by name, [6]and upon the poor he will place his spirit, and the faithful he will renew with his strength. [7]For he will honour the devout upon the throne of eternal royalty, [8]freeing prisoners, giving sight to the blind, straightening out the twisted. [9]Ever I shall cling to those who hope. In his mercy he will jud[ge], [10]and from no-one shall the fruit of good [deeds] be delayed, [11]and the Lord will perform marvellous acts such as have not existed, just as he sa[id] [12]for he will heal the badly wounded and will make the dead live, he will proclaim good news to the meek . . . .[13]

The relevance of this text for the study of the Gospel of Matthew certainly extends beyond its close verbal correspondence to Matt 11:5 par Luke 7:22. Not only does the heralded Messiah of the Qumran fragment appear to be a royal figure who exercises authority over the heavens and the earth;[14] it is the

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hope of deliverance from oppression and the exile, and 4Q*372* 1, which appears to concentrate upon the continued exile of the northern tribes (see E. Schuller, "4Q 372 1: A Text About Joseph," *RQ* 14 [1991–92] 349–76). In any case, the tendency to see the exile as a unfinished story was by no means an isolated phenomena.

12 See e.g. the succinct summary in J. A. Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990) 30–34.

13 For occasionally divergent reconstructions, see E. Puech, "Une Apocalypse Messianique (4Q521)," *RQ* 15 (1992) 475–519; J. D. Tabor and M. O. Wise, "4Q521 'On Resurrection' and the Synoptic Gospel Tradition: A Preliminary Study," *JSP* 10 (1992) 149–162. The reconstruction of line 11 by Tabor and Wise—"and as for the wonders that are not the work of the Lord"—which leads them to the conclusion that the Messiah is the subject of line 12 is to be rejected in favor of the above translation. J. J. Collins (*The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* [ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995] 132 n. 83) appropriately notes, "To suggest that the works of the messiah are 'not the works of the Lord' . . . makes no sense."

14 On the royal character of the messianic figure in 4Q*521* see E. Peuch, "Une Apocalypse Messianique," 487. J. J. Collins (*Scepter*, 118–20) bases his suggestion that the Messiah whom heaven and earth will obey is an annointed eschatological prophet upon the allusion to Isa 61:1

anticipated activity of this Messiah which evokes the call to courage in lines 3–4 leading to the description of the Lord's deliverance in lines 5–14. Thus, the salvation depicted in the latter portion of the fragment, although directly attributed to אדני (lines 5 and 11), is nonetheless an amplification of the hope intimately associated with the Lord's "Messiah" (משיחו) in lines 1–2. As a result of the Messiah's righteous rule, the faithful pious will be delivered from affliction in accordance with the confident expectation of Ps 146:7–8, a passage outlining the reign of God in Zion which is artfully woven into the fabric of the text alongside various prophetic motifs relating to the restoration of Israel from the exile (Isa 29:19; 40:31; 42:7; 61:1; Ezek 34:11–12). Although the design emerging from the author's loom is original in its details, it would be a mistake to assume that we are here confronted with a completely unique configuration of themes. The consciousness of awaiting vindication at the hands of God was certainly not limited to the Qumran sect, but extended, rather, across a broad spectrum of pious groups in Second Temple Judaism. For more than just a few, Israel was still suffering under the withdrawal of God's mercy because of its sins. Although a small portion of Israel had returned from Babylon, the returnees still labored under a succession of unrighteous rulers while at the same time vast numbers of Jews continued to live in the Dispersion. In the eyes of the pious ones, only they themselves would escape the period of judgment to experience divine redemption. Where it occurs, the royal messianic expectation—whether conceiving of a warrior-prince or a righteous regent—appears to have been a convenient vehicle for this cherished hope.

II.

Turning our attention to the Gospel of Matthew, we discover that the basic contours of the messianic hope do not change much. The First Evangelist appears to portray Jesus as the Davidic Messiah who, although unique in his filial submission to the cross, nevertheless awakens traditional expectations of a divine visitation upon the oppressed and downtrodden laboring under the curses of the covenant. In so doing, Matthew seemingly represents his own religious group as the penitent community whose appearance marks the beginning of the end of the period of humiliation and whose divinely ordained destiny is to inherit the glory prepared for God's people—a stance in many respects not unlike that of various other pious groups in the history of Second Temple Judaism. In what follows, then, I will endeavor to trace with the broad brushwork demanded by the present format the narrative development of Matthean Davidic messianism viewed in this light.

a) The deuteronomic framework of Jesus' ministry in its Matthean setting has already been pointed out by N. T. Wright.[15] The genealogy with which Matthew begins his work is certainly more than a pedantic effort to establish the royal legitimacy of the narrative's protagonist. The carefully ordered scheme of the generational sequence, which is reiterated by the concluding comment of 1:17,

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in col. 2, l. 12, but does not account for the mention of ואת שבטו in col. 3, l. 6.

[15] N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 385–86.

deliberately confronts the reader with the interruption of the Davidic dynasty caused by the Babylonian exile. The heirs of David, "the king" (1:6), no longer sat on their ancestral throne due to the tragedy of 587/6 BCE which, according to Jewish consensus opinion, was brought about by Israel's apostasy and sin. As Matthew represents the story, the people of Israel remained without a divinely appointed shepherd from the exile onward until the appearance of "Jesus, who is called the Christ." Following in the wake of this genealogical review of history, the explanation of Jesus' mission offered by the angel in 1:21 takes on an especially pointed meaning. The Messiah, whose appearance marked the end of the Age of Wrath and the renewal of God's presence with Israel, would deliver the nation from the sins that had caused God to turn his face from his people (cf. e.g. Deut 30:3; Isa 40:2; 43:25; 44:22; Dan 9:16; Bar 3:1–5; 4Q*504* 1–2 vi).[16] The key position of this angelic revelation at the outset of the story forbids us to underplay its importance for deciphering the remainder of the narrative.[17] In the world erected by Matthew's story, the Davidic Messiah is, above all else, the one who brings hope to a people suffering under the pain and disgrace of divine retribution.

b) Illuminated by the deuternomic significance of Matt 1:21, the ensuing plot of the First Gospel sparkles with a new intensity. My purpose here is not to examine individual passages in depth, but simply to point out the interplay of Davidic and restoration motifs at crucial junctures in the narrative. The infancy account in Matt 2 continues the evangelist's distinctive interest in the royal dimension of Jesus' messiahship. Herod "the king" (2:1) receives the magi who inquire into the birth of the "King of the Jews" (2:2). The Judean political and theological elite immediately recognize that the strangers from the East were referring to "the Christ" (2:4), the expected Davidic ruler "who will shepherd my people Israel" (2:6). This juxtaposition of the two kings, one false and one appointed of God, not only delegitimizes by contrast the claims of the Herodian family, it shows surprisingly little reticence in associating Jesus' Davidic right with an earthly political agenda. The subsequent persecution of the Christ child is not depicted by Matthew to be the result of an unfortunate misunderstanding regarding the true meaning of messiahship, but is portrayed, rather, as a shocking display of hostility and apathy towards God's chosen king.

As has been frequently noted, the account of Jesus' childhood reflects a number of parallels to the story of Moses (Exod 1–4; *LAB* 9:9–15; Josephus, *Ant.* 2 §205–37).[18] The significance of this observation for the interpretation of the First Gospel's christological profile cannot, however, be adequately addressed here. Presumably, the typological image of Jesus returning from Egypt as God's Son (2:15) while living out an experience parallel to that of Moses was Matthew's

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16 In CD XIV 19, the role of atoning for sin is explicitly assigned to the משיח אהרון וישראל which in all probablity is a reference to two individuals—that is, both the royal and the priestly Messiahs—although the atoning function would have been preeminently a priestly one (cf. 4Q541 9 i 2–3). In the Matthean context where there is only one messianic figure, the task of atonement is taken up by Jesus (cf. *Tg. Isa.* 53:4).

17 The remarks of M. A. Powell ("The Plots and Subplots of Matthew's Gospel," *NTS* 38 (1992) 195) are helpful in this regard.

18 Most recently, by D. C. Allison, *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993) 140–65.

innovative attempt to signify a new beginning, a reconstitution of God's people. In any case, it is the fulfillment quotation of 2:18 which most attracts our attention for obvious reasons. In citing Jer 31:15, Matthew has chosen a verse which originally referred to the destruction of the exile—whether to the deportation of the Northern Kingdom by the Assyrians in 722–721 BCE or to the fate of the Southern Kingdom at the hands of the Babylonians is immaterial. In the text of Jeremiah, Rachel is told to stop her weeping because her children are returning from captivity. While Matthew's use of this passage to describe Herod's slaughter of the infants in the vicinity of Bethlehem may have been occasioned by a repetitive view of Israel's history, it is more probable that, for Matthew, the tears of Bethlehem were themselves an integral part of the anguish which had begun at the exile and continued unabated under the tyranny of Israel's false shepherds. In massacring the children, Herod proved the spurious nature of his right to rule and illustrated the tragic plight of Israel this side of its salvation. The departure of divine mercy which had taken place in the removal of the Davidic shepherds and Israel's abandonment into the hands of the nations still continued to inflict the nation under Herod, the usurper king.[19] In quoting Jer 31:15, which W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison have termed "the only gloomy verse in all of Jer 31,"[20] Matthew can be suspected of alluding to the implicit promise: Rachel may now cease to weep, for her deliverer has at last arrived.

c) The theme of deliverance from the state of divine abandonment extending from the time of the exile is continued in the parallel Isaianic quotations adorning the ministries of John and Jesus in chaps. 3–4. Following the account of Jesus' birth and escape from Herod, John the Baptist makes his debut (3:1–12). Although Matthew relies heavily upon traditional sources in shaping the story of John's ministry, he nonetheless endows the activity of the Baptist with a significance unique to himself by assimilating John to Jesus.[21] United in a common effort, both were sent by God with the same message: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (3:2; 4:17; cf. 10:7). The import of this adjuration on the lips of John is signaled to the reader by the immediately following quotation from the prophet Isaiah. In the light of what we have observed in chap. 1, it is certainly not improper to suggest that Matthew perceived a more direct relevance of the Isaianic passage to the preparatory ministry of John than has hitherto been noted. With the throne of David deserted and the nation of Israel still under the scourge of the Gentiles, the promised consolation of the exiles remained outstanding.[22] Thus, the full and complete restoration from the

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19 Interestingly enough, the author *As. Mos.* 6:2–6 refers to the suffering during Herod's reign in a similar connection, viz. to demonstrate divine wrath upon Israel's intractable wickedness following the exile.

20 W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988/91) 1.269.

21 See e.g. J. P. Meier, "John the Baptist in Matthew's Gospel," *JBL* 99 (1980) 383–405; J. Ernst, *Johannes der Täufer: Interpretation—Geschichte—Wirkungsgeschichte* (BZNW 53; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989) 155–85.

22 It might be worth considering whether the idea of a protracted period of estrangement from God beginning with the exile as evidenced in CD 1:3–7 also lay behind the usage of Isa 40:3 in 1QS 8:12–16 and 9:17–20. Texts such as Bar 5:7; 1 En 1:6; *As. Mos.* 10:4 appear to freely associate Isa 40:4 with eschatological expectation.

humiliation of divine retribution did not arrive until God again visited his people with the appearance of John and Jesus. Only then did God truly return to the Land. If this suggestion is indeed correct, the cry for repentance in the mouth of both John and Jesus is more than a simple protest against the complacency of covenantal nomism; it assumes, rather, a significant, salvation historical dimension. In Matthew's mind, the nation of Israel had never repented of her sins as Moses had implored despite the years spent under divine discipline (Deut 30:1–10; cf. Bar 2:8). The covenant people of God were still existing in obstinate noncompliance with the divine law. Nonetheless, in the persons of John and Jesus, God was about to demonstrate his deliverance. And so, the call went forth to join the penitent community which would inherit the lot of the final, purified remnant of Israel (3:11–12).[23] Those who heeded the call would escape the judgment reserved for the wicked.

d) The formal parallelism between the story of the Baptist in chap. 3 and the introduction of Jesus' public ministry in 4:12–17 cannot escape notice. In both cases the call to repentance is attached to a quotation from the prophet Isaiah indicating the historical purport of the message. Nonetheless, when considered in its narrative sequence, the citation of Isa 9:1–2 in Matt 4:15–16 assumes a pivotal importance for the plot of the First Gospel by laying a foundation for the whole Galilean ministry of Jesus. As I have endeavored to show elsewhere, a pronounced geographical symmetry is discernible in the framework of Matthew's story.[24] Driven out of Judea at the outset of the narrative, the Davidic Messiah remains a displaced person in the environs of Galilee until he undertakes his final journey to Jerusalem, a pilgrimage which is announced in 16:21, prepared in 17:22 and commenced in 19:1. By positioning 4:12–16 immediately before the opening summary of Jesus' message in 4:17, the entire succeeding period of public ministry from 4:20 to 16:20 is placed under the heading of the Messiah's sojourn in Capernaum and hence under the superscription of Isa 9:1–2.[25] In view of what we have thus far seen, Matthew's reference to this prophecy regarding the reversal of the Assyrian annexation of northern and eastern Galilee in 732 BCE appears to be based upon the conviction that Israel's recovery from the humiliation of having been abandoned by God to the Gentiles did not begin until the appearance of Jesus. When he was forced by the opposition to take up residency in Galilee, Jesus' presence in that region reversed the national disaster which had commenced with initial defeat at the hands of the Assyrians.

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[23] At this point it would perhaps be helpful to recall the images of a repentant community/generation given in CD 1:1–11 and *Jub.* 23:26–31.

[24] D. J. Verseput, "Jesus' Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Encounter in the Temple: A Geographical Motif in Matthew's Gospel," *NovT* 36 (1994) 105–21.

[25] In contrast to the language of 4:13 (ἐλθὼν κατῴκησεν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ), neither the peripatetic ministry of Jesus in Matt 4:23, 9:35 and 11:1 nor the withdrawals of Matt 12:15; 14:13; 15:21; and 16:4 seem to indicate any permanent geographical shift in the narrative—despite the fact that Jesus does leave Galilee briefly in 15:21 and 16:4 (cf. 16:13). The consistency of Matthew's presentation is seen in the remark of 9:1 (ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν), which is without parallel in the other Synoptic Gospels where Jesus is seemingly no more tied to Capernaum than he is to Nazareth. I do not, it may be noted, view the discussion regarding the nature of the caesura preceding 4:17 (esp. F. Neirynck, "Απο τοτε ηρχατο and the Structure of Matthew," *ETL* 64 [1988] 21–59) as much more than scholarly shadow boxing. Matt 4:12–26 prepares for the new movement of 4:17, which does indeed have structural significance.

And so, he brought hope to those dwelling in the Land darkened by the removal of divine hand of mercy.

e) Immediately following the summary of 4:17 and the call of the disciples in 4:18–22, Jesus delivers his first and most impressive discourse, the Sermon on the Mount. Here we need only to pause for a few remarks on the beatitudes to grasp the progress of the story. Although the crowds hover in the background (7:28), the disciples who gather around Jesus are the primary recipients of his message (5:1–2).[26] Hence, they and not the crowds are the poor in spirit, the mourners and the meek (5:3–12). The echoes of Isa 61, enriched by the resonances of Ps 37 (cf. 1QH 17:14–15; 4Q*171* 1–10 ii 9–12), continue Matthew's theme of Israel's restoration. The community of the penitent is unmistakably identified with the prophetic *persones miserabiles* who will join in the triumph of God when he again dispatches his kindness to Israel. Insofar as this community is marked by a righteousness which "surpasses that of the scribes and Pharisees" (5:20), it is clearly identified as a return to a new beginning, the crystallization point around which the obedient heirs of the restoration would gather.

f) Coming down from the mountain, Jesus is accompanied by great multitudes. In what follows, chaps. 8–9, Matthew allows his readers a closer look at Jesus' activities among the people. As we approach the end of this carefully composed section, the messianic character of the whole is placed into a distinctly Davidic garb by the final two pericopae (9:27–34). In the first of these, Jesus is accosted by two blind men who cry out, "Have mercy on us, Son of David." The following incident takes place, then, without pause or change of setting. A dumb demoniac approaches Jesus as the two men who have received their sight are departing. Upon witnessing the healing of both the blind men and the demoniac, the crowds enthusiastically marvel, "Nothing like this was ever seen in Israel" (cf. 4Q*521* 2 ii 11), while the Pharisees react to the Son of David appellation with the sullen complaint, "He casts out demons by the prince of demons" (cf. 12:22–24). This dual response draws the Matthean presentation of Jesus' activity in chaps. 8–9 to a fitting conclusion and provides a suitable transition to what happens next.

In 9:35, Matthew discharges Jesus once again to tour the towns and villages of Galilee in a manner similar to 4:23. Encountering the multitudes, he takes pity on them, "because they were harassed and discarded like sheep without a shepherd." Thereupon he summons "his twelve disciples"—the Matthean emphasis upon the number twelve in 10:1, 2, 5 and 11:1 recalls the reconstituted nation after God's wrath is exhausted[27]—and sends them out to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (10:6). As most commentators have duly noted, the exclusively Matthean expression, "lost sheep of the house of Israel," refers to all

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[26] G. Lohfink, "Wem gilt die Bergpredigt? Eine redaktionskritische Untersuchung von Mt 4, 23–5, 2 und 7, 28," *ThQ* 163 (1983) 279.

[27] Cf. the twelve men who join the three priests in 1QS 8:1–6, which K. Berger (*Theologiegeschichte des Urchristentums* [UTB für Wissenschaft; Tübingen: Francke, 1994] 131) terms "eine der auffallendsten Übereinstimmungen zwischen einigen Texten aus Qumran und dem frühen Christentum."

Israel, not simply one group within its ethnic boundaries.[28] While the phrase "like sheep without a shepherd" was a commonplace expression (cf. 1 Kgs 22:17; Jdt 11:19), the composite picture emerging from 9:35 and 10:6 is unmistakably reminiscent of the prophetic imagery used in Ezek 34 and Jer 23:1–3 to describe the destruction of the exile. Tempting as it might be to imagine a specifically antipharisaic polemic behind the Matthean metaphor of sheep without a shepherd, this tendency must be resisted.[29] The context allows no such narrowing of the focus. On the contrary, the carefully traced motif of a harried flock deliberately recalls the first appearance of the shepherd theme on the christological canvas in 2:6. Israel is, for Matthew, a people whose pre-exilic leadership has been cut off and who is still wandering about leaderless, oppressed and discarded by God. Jesus is the divinely ordained Davidic regent who would once again bring compassion to the bruised and scattered flock.

g) The resumption of the narrative movement following Matthew's Missionary Discourse in chap. 10 remains intimately connected to the Davidic character of the preceding context. By means of the Baptist's inquiry in 11:2–5, Matthew invites the reader to pause to reflect upon the messianic nature of Jesus' works. Having heard in prison about "the deeds of the Christ," John inquires whether Jesus was indeed "the one who is to come," thereby provoking the reader to join in an evaluation of all that has taken place in the preceding chapters. The strategic position of this story in the plot of the First Gospel indicates that the evangelist is keenly aware that not all persons would or had accepted his own conviction that Jesus was the Messiah-king sent by God. He therefore hastens to provide a crucially placed justification for the messianic claim. There is, however, no valid reason to suppose that the evangelist has deployed this pericope deliberately to subvert the military-political ideology frequently attached to the messianic ideals of his Jewish contemporaries.[30] On the contrary, Matthew has hitherto shown no particular inclination to repudiate the image of the Messiah as a royal figure who would restore God's people to their rightful place of blessing under the covenant. Strains of the widespread Jewish hope for divine intervention on behalf of the penitent who are suffering under the weight of their sins have accompanied us throughout the narrative. With the creative talent of an accomplished musician, Matthew arranges his material so that Jesus' answer in 11:5 recapitulates this leitmotif in a swelling crescendo. Jesus was indeed the promised deliverer, Matthew tells us, for in his

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28 E.g. J. Gnilka, *Das Matthäusevangelium* (HTKNT 1/1–2; Freiburg: Herder, 1986/88) 1.362; W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *Matthew*, 2.167; D. A. Hagner, *Matthew 1–13* (WBC 33A; Dallas: Word, 1993) 270.

29 *Pace* W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *Matthew*, 2.148

30 To name but a few examples: D. J. Harrington (*The Gospel of Matthew* [Sacra Pagina 1; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991] 159–60) toys with the suggestion that this passage "deliberately contrasts with the kind of messianic expectations expressed in circles such as those that produced the *Psalms of Solomon*," while G. MacRae ("Messiah and Gospel," *Judaisms and their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* [ed. J. Neusner, W. Green and E. Frerichs; Cambridge: University Press, 1987] 180) uses this pericope to argue that Matthew "interprets the role of the Messiah without reference to the liberation of the Jewish people from foreign domination but only with reference to spiritual qualities." Such attempts to set up a sharp alternative between Matthean and Jewish messianic conceptions do not appear to do justice to Matthew's christological understanding.

words and deeds familiar prophetic images of divine liberation which would follow on the heels of judgment were abundantly evident (see especially Isa 35:5–6; 61:1; cf. 4Q*521* 2). Seen in this light, the characteristic tendency of Matthew's Gospel to depict Jesus as the "therapeutic Son of David" can hardly be represented as an unreflected extrapolation from an earlier Gospel. By means of his unique arrangement of the material, Matthew has carefully endowed the healing ministry of Jesus with an explicit rationale: the Davidic deliverer alleviates the suffering of the afflicted as evidence of God's offer of mercy to his forsaken and dejected people, sorely wounded because of their sins.

h) The remainder of Matt 11 continues to stimulate reflection on the nature of Jesus' deeds. Consisting of disparate discourse material, the chapter is soldered together by means of the *Stichwort* sequence, τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ (11:2; cf. 11:19)—δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ (11:20)—ταῦτα (11:25). The obdurate behavior of "this generation" (11:16–19) reaps the threat of judgment because it would not repent despite the wondrous quality of Jesus' works (11:20–24). Explaining that the Father "has hidden these things from the wise and intelligent and revealed them to the babes" (11:25–26), Jesus suddenly lifts his voice in 11:28–30 to call the "weary and heavy laden" to come to him to find the promised "rest." Given the close contextual continuity with the sick and the poor of 11:5 as well as with the "harassed and discarded sheep" of 9:35, it is difficult not to agree with B. Charette that Matthew intends this logion to allude to prophetic expectations of a release from captivity and a return to the rest spoken of in deuteronomic tradition (Deut 5:32–33; 12:9–10; 28:64–65; Jer 6:16).[31] Although for the most part Jesus' contemporaries reacted obstinately to his call for repentance, he nonetheless continues to offer hope to those wearied by the punishment of the pentateuchal curses (cf. Bar 2:18).

i) The Davidic preoccupation of the evangelist reemerges with new intensity in the story of Jesus' final approach to Jerusalem. The narrative unit effectively begins already in 20:29–34 with the healing of two blind men on the road leading up from Jericho. Crying out to Jesus as the "Son of David," the men receive their sight at his compassionate hand and join the great multitude following him. By means of this brief incident Matthew recalls the significance of Jesus' earlier deeds and uses the attendant Davidic tones as a prelude to what happens next.

The story of Jesus' arrival in Jerusalem is divided into two parts: the tumultuous events before the gates (21:1–9), and the subsequent reaction of the city's inhabitants (21:10–11). The first scene portrays the entrance procession in a manner deliberately emphasizing the appropriateness of Jesus' royal status. As Jesus draws near the holy city, the crowds who accompany him—being clearly distinguished from the residents of Jerusalem[32]—take up the Davidic appellation voiced by the blind men in a cry of acclamation derived from Ps 118:25a, 26a: "Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the

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31 B. Charette, "'To Proclaim Liberty to the Captives': Matthew 11.28–30 in the Light of OT Prophetic Expectation," *NTS* 38 (1992) 290–97. While it is difficult to sort out the deliberate allusions in the logion, W. Grimm (*Weil ich dich liebe: Die Verkündigung Jesu und Deuterojesaja* [Frankfurt: Lang, 1976] 102–11) endeavors to make a case for the influence of Isa 55:3 on our text, an attempt which complements Charette's reading.

32 Note the sharply drawn distinction between οἱ ὄχλοι in 21:9, 11 and ἡ πόλις in 21:10.

Lord!" In so doing, the pilgrim crowds boisterously proclaim to the inhabitants of the holy city the ascent of its kingly Messiah in accordance with Matthew's carefully reformulated fulfillment quotation: "Say to the daughter of Zion, `Behold your king is coming to you'" (21:5; cf. Isa 62:11 and Zech 9:9). It remains, then, for the city of Jerusalem to react. And that it does in the second scene, vv. 10–11, where we read that the city is "stirred" (ἐσείσθη) and inquires regarding Jesus' identity. But a welcoming response from those inside the city in response to the proclamation of the crowds at the gates is conspicuously absent. Zion spurns the Messiah-king who was sent by God.

Undeterred, Jesus passes into the temple precincts. In contrast to either of the other synoptic writers, Matthew makes a seamless transition to what follows so that the whole of 21:1–17 may be perceived as a single episode. The action of vv. 12–14 is marked by a unique symmetry. Entering the temple of God, Jesus "expelled" the merchants and money changers (21:12–13), whereupon the blind and the lame "came to him and he healed them" (21:14) in what N. Lohfink has aptly termed an "eschatologischer Austausch der Tempelgemeinde."[33] By composing the account in this manner, the evangelist reiterates the substantive basis for the Davidic claim at the climax of the story. Through Jesus, God once again visits his people, purifying the nation and restoring those whose afflictions were—in the language of the prophets—reminiscent of Israel's own burdened condition. Yet in the face of this transparent demonstration of divine mercy, the temple authorities belligerently confront Jesus in an effort to silence the shouts of the children heralding the Son of David (21:15–17). By way of reply, Jesus acknowledges the children's cries to be the "perfect praise" placed by God in the mouths of babes in accordance with Ps 8:2. There is certainly no attempt upon Matthew's part to distance Jesus from the Davidic hope. Nor does he in any way emphasize a discrepancy between Jesus and the Jews regarding the Davidic agenda. The central point of the pericope lies, rather, in the stubborn refusal of Jerusalem and its representatives to heed the veracious testimony of the pilgrims entering through the gates and of the children playing in the temple courts.

The ensuing controversy between Jesus and the leaders of the city extends through chap. 23 where Matthew draws the entire temple encounter to a close with the poignant lament of 23:37–39. The placement of this latter passage immediately before Jesus' departure from the temple (cf. Luke 13:34–35), clearly indicates its narrative function. The reference to Jerusalem's abandoned house in 23:38, which may indeed echo Jer 22:5, serves as Jesus' final resignation of Jerusalem and its temple to their impending doom. The explanation for this tragic withdrawal is given in the culminating remark of v. 39: "For (γάρ) I say to you, from now on you shall not see me until you say, `Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.'" Jerusalem, which had refused to join in homage to the Son of David as the pilgrims had approached its gates (21:9), would now be laid waste in much the same manner as the city had earlier been destroyed, only this time its fate would be, in Matthew's estimation, yet worse (cf. 12:43–45). The restoration to divine blessing was to become a reality only for the few who joined the penitent communities, while the nation as a whole must suffer a second,

[33] N. Lohfink, "Der Messiaskönig und seine Armen kommen zum Zion: Beobachtungen zu Mt 21, 1–17," *Studien zum Matthäusevangelium: FS für W. Pesch* (SBS; ed. L. Schenk; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1988) 193.

more fearsome judgment. Thus, at the time of the Gospel's composition, Jerusalem lay in ruins, the greater part of Israel was still in rebellion, and only the final "return" was expected to bring relief from the second destruction—viz., a renewed edition of the covenantal curse.[34]

III.

In summary, I would like to suggest that the First Gospel's keen interest in Davidic messianism is not in fact a result of having vacuously imported an incongruous epithet from Mark 10:47–48. Rather, in a convincing display of creative control over the material at his disposal, Matthew has presented his readers with a coherent likeness of a regal deliverer whose claim rested upon the hopes that one day the covenant people of God would be restored from the affliction of divine retribution imposed since the time of the exile. Seen from the dissident perspective of the post-70 Matthean communities, the repentance and restoration of Israel following the first destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BCE had never materialized. Even the righteousness of the most pious religious groups was easily passed over by Matthew as if it were naught. Therefore, to the mind of the evangelist, the wrath of God still rested upon the nation of Israel because of its continued sin and, as a result, the people still awaited the promised blessings. Not until the appearance of John and Jesus did God began to act, sending his messengers to announce the time of reconciliation. Those who heeded the call to repentance were accorded divine favor and were promised a share in the coming deliverance. Nevertheless, the contumacy of "this generation" resulted in a renewed catastrophe which would not be revoked until Jerusalem echoed the homage to the Son of David placed by God into the mouths of the children. In this way, Matthew understood his communities to be the germ cell of the expected renewal of Israel, whose message included hope not only for Jewish sinners but for their Gentile counterparts as well.

To this conclusion must be appended a final observation which, I believe, is necessary in order to complete the picture. Despite the apparent fact that Matthew perceived Jesus to be the fulfillment of hopes for a renewal of the Davidic dynasty, it is still appropriate to speak in some sense of a Matthean "redefinition" of traditional expectations. To be sure, the reality of Israel's overwhelming rejection of Jesus was for Matthew no insurmountable problem. The pain of Jerusalem's destruction in 587/6 BCE had resulted in a self-critical understanding of history that made bitter recriminations against fellow Jews a constant refrain among Matthew's contemporaries. One only has to peruse the *Psalms of Solomon* or Josephus' impeachment of the rebel forces walled up in

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[34] I am constrained to agree with both D. C. Allison ("Matt 23:39 = Luke 13:35b as a Conditional Prophecy," *JSNT* 18 [1983] 75–84) and G. N. Stanton (*A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew* [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1992] 247–55) that Matt 23:39 anticipates a time of Jerusalem's future repentence. The retrospective reference to the divinely approved cries of the pilgrim multitudes at the city gates (21:9) is simply too distinct to be overheard. The result is a S.E.-S.E.R. pattern not unlike that of the Christian text of *T. Asher* 7, where the first dispersion lasts "until such a time as the Most High visits the earth" (v. 3) and the second, resulting from disobedience to the earthly Jesus, is ended when the tribe is finally gathered "in faith" (v. 7). See M. de Jonge, "The Future of Israel in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *JSJ* 17 (1986) 196–211.

Jerusalem to experience the climate of the times (*J.W.* 5 §375–419). Thus, the obduracy of his compatriots was for the evangelist less of an argument against the messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth than it was a continuation of the deteuronomic pattern. The single most significant aspect in which Matthew's Messiah-king differed from the traditional image was not therefore the impenitence of the great number of Jews, but Jesus' willing submission to the cross. The task of saving Israel from its sins (1:21) led inexorably to a sacrificial death (20:28; 26:28). To justify this movement towards the place called Golgotha, Matthew unfolds the story of a Messiah who was not only the obedient Son of God, he also shared the attribute of humble submission with the poor and afflicted he came to deliver. Thus, he cries out, "Come to me, . . . for I am gentle and humble in heart," withdraws before the opposition in accordance with Isa 42:1–4 (see Matt 12:15–21; 14:13; 15:21; 16:4), and finally marches to his death in Jerusalem where he is announced by God to be the "gentle" king in the fulfillment quotation of Zech 9:9 (Matt 21:5). Nevertheless, although this "gentle" Messiah is the result of a new configuration of traditional hopes, it was not one which would have lacked for familiar motifs attractive to the Jewish ear.

Paul's Rhetoric of Mutuality: A Rhetorical Reading of Romans

Marty L. Reid
Charlotte, NC

During the past few decades, the traditional interpretation of Romans has fallen under a great deal of scrutiny because of two major developments. For one, the "new perspective on Paul" has provided a reappraisal that does not depict him as an angry rhetor, frustrated and distanced from his own Jewish heritage and beliefs.[1] Second, the emergence of rhetorical criticism has clarified Paul's social context by reading his letters in light of rhetorical and literary patterns from his first century setting.[2] George Kennedy explains that

> New Testament writers chose Greek as their vehicle of communication with the world and in doing so tacitly accepted some conventions of Greek rhetoric. When early Christians spoke, wrote, heard, or read religious discourse in Greek, even if relatively uneducated, they had expectations of the form the message would take and of what would be persuasive.[3]

Kennedy estimates that Paul, as a well educated person, was familiar with some Greek literature and employed classical rhetoric freely. Some of his epistles even resemble rhetorical speeches.[4] While some critics have questioned the validity of this assumption, Duane Watson clarifies the rhetorical nature of Paul's letters:

> If Paul's epistles were to be read in the churches, a logical assumption is that they were fashioned in a way closely akin to a speech. It is conceded that since the body of the ancient letter was dictated by the needs of the author, one cannot rule out the use of rhetorical theory here. Paul, needing to communicate over vast distances [sic] has a rhetorical need to be persuasive and has used rhetorical theory in his letters.[5]

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1 See James D. G. Dunn, "The New Perspective on Paul," in *Jesus, Paul and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1990) 183–214.

2 Consult Stanley Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jew, and Gentiles* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1994) 6–21.

3 *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1994) 258.

4 Ibid.

5 *Rhetorical Criticism of the Bible: A Comprehensive Bibliography with Notes on History & Method* (ed. Alan J. Houser and Duane F. Watson; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994) 125. For a significant group of essays devoted to the present methodological issues, see *Rhetoric and the New Testament: Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference* (ed. Stanley Porter and Thomas Olbricht; JSNTSup90; Sheffield:

This new understanding of the integral relation between rhetorical and epistolary theory has resulted in a reassessment of the standard approach to Paul's letters.[6]

The purpose of this paper is to offer a rhetorical reading of Romans by treating the epistle as an argumentative discourse.[7] We propose that rhetorical criticism can bring the interpretive task of determining its purpose and occasion into sharper focus and move us closer to a feasible solution for the Romans Debate.[8] Rhetorical criticism necessitates this procedure, since one establishes the rhetoric of large units from an understanding of the rhetoric of smaller units.[9] In order to identify the *amplificatio* in the overall composition of Romans, the paper analyzes the compositional structure of the letter. David Hellholm points out that

> The compositional macro-structure of a text is in all instances hierarchical in nature, that is, the text can be delimited into a hierarchy of sub-texts on different levels, which to a certain extent discloses the deep-structure of the text as a whole.[10]

Hence, the structure of the discourse determines the meaning of its parts.

As our basic thesis, we argue that the notion of *mutuality* provides a suitable rubric for describing Paul's rhetoric in Romans. Writing as a representative of Christ, Paul seeks to demonstrate that a mutual relationship existed between himself and the Roman congregation because of their covenant relationship in order to unify the community and to gain their support for his future endeavors. In sum, the rhetorical purpose of Romans was to elicit a mutual reciprocity. This concept of *mutuality* betrays close affinities with similar ideas found in both Greek and Jewish literature. Aristotle, for example, speaks of the importance of "exerting mutual influence."[11] Josephus emphasizes that a "mutual harmony"

Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), esp. Stanley E. Porter, "The Theoretical Justification for Application of Rhetorical Categories to Pauline Epistolary Literature," 100–22; Dennis L. Stamps, "Rethinking the Rhetorical Situation: The Entextualization of the Situation in New Testament Epistles," 193–210; C. Joachim Classen, "St. Paul's Epistles and Ancient Greek and Roman Rhetoric," 265–91; Jeffrey T. Reed, "Using Ancient Rhetorical Categories to Interpret Paul's Letters: A Question of Genre," 292–324," and Pieter J. J. Botha, "The Verbal Art of the Pauline Letters: Rhetoric, Performance and Presence," 409–28. Cf. also Jean-Noël Aletti, "La *dispositio* rhétorique dans les épîtres pauliniens: Proposition de méthode," *NTS* 38 (1992) 385–401.

6 Consult John L. White, *Light from Ancient Letters* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986); Abraham J. Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists* (SBLSBS 19; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988); M. Luther Stirewalt, *Studies in Ancient Greek Epistolography* (SBLRBS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993); Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer: His World, His Options, His Skills* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1995).

7 Burton Mack points out that the "turn toward rhetoric as argumentation is the single most important feature" of the new rhetorical criticism. Its second distinguishing feature "is an orientation to blocks or units of material rather than to occasional instances of figures, tropes, ideas, or themes" (*Rhetoric and the New Testament* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990] 21).

8 See *The Romans Debate* (rev. ed.; ed. Karl P. Donfried; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991).

9 George A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation Through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1984) 33.

10 David Hellholm, "*Amplificatio* in the Macro-Structure of Romans," in *Rhetoric and the New Testament*, 124.

11 *Phgn.* 808.19. See *LSJ*, 1680.

epitomized the members of the Jewish community.[12] E. P. Sanders states that the Jewish doctrine of election furnished a theological expression of the sense of community that solidified the Jews of the ancient world.[13] These cultural and social codes provided the conceptual framework for Paul's thinking. His rhetoric of mutuality gains textual grounding within the discourse particularly at Rom. 1:11–12. Aided by the technique of *insinuatio*, the *exordium* introduces his basic purpose in writing. The *peroratio* (15:14–33) later specifies what he intends to accomplish. While scholars have experienced difficulty in reconciling these two sections of Romans, we suggest that a rhetorical reading not only solves this dilemma but also establishes the coherency of the entire letter.

The paper includes three major sections. As a preliminary stage, we first identify Paul's letter to the Romans as a rhetorical unit. This is particularly important because of the nature of the text material. In the major portion of the study, we analyze Romans by examining how its discourse unfolds into its *partes orationis* according to the *dispositio* of the ancient rhetorical handbooks.[14] The paper concludes with some comments about the manner in which the text addresses the rhetorical situation.

Identification of the Rhetorical Unit

Any rhetorical unit is of such length that it includes a beginning, middle, and ending. In the case of an ancient epistle, these parts correspond to its introduction, body, and conclusion. At the same time, we must recognize the important distinction that a letter represents a *sermo absentis ad absentem.*[15] So we must first separate the epistolary frame from the body of the text. Apart from its

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[12] Josephus states "that Moses did not make religion a part of virtue, but he saw and he ordained other virtues to be parts of religion; I mean justice, and fortitude, and temperance, and a universal agreement of the members of the community with one another" (*Ag. Ap.* 2.170). Trans. William Whiston, *The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged* (new updated ed.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1982).

[13] *Judaism: Practice & Belief 63 BCE-66 CE* (London & Philadelphia: SCM Press & Trinity Press International, 1992) 264.

[14] For a similar approach, cf. Hellholm, "*Amplificatio* in Romans," 124–27. For further discussion concerning the relationship between epistolography and rhetoric, see Frank Witt Hughes, *Early Christian Rhetoric and 2 Thessalonians* (JSNTSup 30; Sheffield; Sheffield Academic Press, 1989) 19–50, 131–45; Stirewalt, *Studies in Ancient Epistolograpy*, 9–10; and Watson, *Rhetorical Criticism of the Bible*, 120–25. For its particular application to Romans, see Douglas Campbell, "Determining the Gospel Through Rhetorical Analysis in Paul's Letter to the Roman Christians," in *Gospel in Paul: Studies on Corinthians, Galatians and Romans for Richard N. Longenecker* (JSNTSup 108; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994) 318–20.

For a dissenting view, cf. Stanley Porter, "The Theoretical Justification for Application of Rhetorical Categories to Pauline Epistolary Literature," in *Rhetoric and the New Testament*, 100–22. Porter contends that we must limit the rhetorical analysis of the Pauline letters to the syntactical level, but this is a reversion to earlier practices of only analyzing style. Porter does not seem to consider that the distinguishing mark of the new rhetorical criticism is approaching the text holistically as argumentative and social discourse. To me this is the important contribution that it makes. For a similar assessment, consult Mack, *Rhetoric and the New Testament*, 14–17.

[15] Hellholm, "*Amplificatio* in Romans," 125. Seneca (*Ep. Morales* 75.1–2) states that "I prefer that my letters should be just what my conversation would be if you and I were sitting in one another's company or taking walks together" (trans. Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, 29). I owe this reference to Hellholm (ibid.).

epistolary prescript (1:1–7) and postscript (16:1–23), the text of Romans divides into a beginning (1:8–17), middle (1:18–15:13), and ending (15:14–33). In terms of the function of the rhetorical unit, George Kennedy stresses that it must have "a discernible beginning and ending, connected by some action or argument."[16] In the analysis that follows, we show that the major action which Paul's argument focuses upon is *mutuality*. He accomplishes this rhetorical intention by presenting a theological and christological argument.

The Macro-Structure of Romans

The major problem of the Romans Debate is identifying the occasion and purpose of the letter. Douglas Campbell suspects that the misappropriation of Romans mainly stems "from the failure of many scholars to grasp with sufficient clarity the concrete circumstances which gave rise to Romans."[17] We suggest that a rhetorical reading can clarify this problem. In discussing *dispositio*, Quintilian emphasizes that "not only what we say and how we say it is of importance, but also the circumstances under which we say it. It is here that the need of arrangement [*dispositione*] comes in."[18] Because of the integral relationship between speaker (ἦθος), audience (πάθος), and message (λόγος), a rhetorical reading of Romans must demonstrate the connection between these essential components.[19] Like most arguments, Paul's discourse in Romans involves a particular audience and

16 *Rhetorical Criticism*, 34.

17 "Paul's Letter to the Roman Christians," 313.

18 *Inst. orat.* 3.3.2. Trans. H. E. Butler, *LCL* 124 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1920).

19 For the relationship between these three elements, see Aristotle *Ars. rhet.* 1.2.4–6. For some helpful comments, see *Aristotle on Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse* (Newly translated with Introduction, Notes, and Appendixes by George A. Kennedy [Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1991] 37–39).

various key issues that are specifically in dispute.[20] Thus, he writes to persuade the readers of his position and modify the rhetorical exigency.[21]

Although the prescript (1:1–7) only frames the argument, it also serves a rhetorical purpose.[22] Paul begins to establish the desired ethos by giving a threefold description of his credentials (1:1). He then introduces the argument's basic topics with a summation of his gospel (1:2–6): It is rooted in the Hebrew scriptures (v 2), centers upon what God has accomplished through Jesus the Messiah (vv. 3–5), and available for all nations (v 5). In terms of the audience, the rhetoric underscores that they are beneficiaries of his gospel (v 6). Like Paul, they are "called by Jesus Christ" (v 6c), "God's beloved" (v 7a) and "called to be saints (v 7b)." The *adscriptio* places the audience in a Gentile setting.[23] The greeting (v 7c) completes the salutation with a chiastic *inclusio* for the letter opening, as it inverts the christological title in verse 1.[24]

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20 Campbell posits that Paul's argument involves real opponents and probably a number of disputed issues. He then attempts to revive the Tübingen hypothesis by postulating that the situation involved the intrusion of Jewish 'counter-missionaries' into the Gentile Christian communities (320–24). In my estimation it is difficult to build a substantial case from the internal evidence of the letter, although I recognize that it is very common to envision that Paul addresses such groups, as in 16:17–20. However, in the argument's literary and rhetorical context, it becomes more evident that Paul counters any reader who would have disagreed with his instruction in the preceding paraenesis (12:1–15:13). This exegesis provides another example of how a rhetorical reading furnishes a coherent interpretation of Romans.

Campbell's interpretation also rests upon the assumption that Romans represents an apologetic letter which attempts to defend Paul's gospel against a Jewish front. I would suggest that Paul's rhetoric is more ceremonial (epideictic) than defensive (judicial). Space does not permit me to develop this point any more fully. For further discussion concerning the *genus* of Romans, see Robert Jewett, "Romans as an Ambassadorial Letter," *Int* 36 (1982) 5–20; idem, "Following the Argument of Romans," in *The Romans Debate,* 263–67; David Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987) 219–21; A. H. Synman, "Style and the Rhetorical Function of Romans 8.31–39,"*NTS*34 (1988) 218–31; Wilhelm Wuellner, "Paul's Rhetoric of Argumentation in Romans: An Alternative to the Donfried-Karris Debate Over Romans," in *The Romans Debate,* 128–47. For some cautionary measures in determining rhetorical *genera,* see Frank Witt Hughes, "The Gospel and its Rhetoric in Galatians," in *Gospel in Paul,* 210–15.

21 Hans Hübner describes Romans as "ein rhetorisches Meisterstück theologischer Argumentation" ("Die Rhetorik und die Theologie: Der Römerbrief und die rhetorische Kompetenz des Paulus," in *Die Macht des Wortes: Aspekte gegenwärtiger Rhetorikforschung* [ed. C. J. Classen and H.-J. Müllenbrock; Ars rhetorica 4; Marburg: Hitzeroth, 1992] 169). See also C. J. Classen, "Paulus und die antike Rhetorik," *ZNW* 82 (1991) 1–33.

22 For this reason Duane Watson classifies the prescript as a *quasi-exordium,* explaining that, even though not technically recognized in rhetorical arrangement, it functions like the *exordium,* preparing the audience for the speech, establishing desired ethos, and introducing topics later developed in the *probatio* (*Invention, Arrangement, and Style: Rhetorical Criticism of Jude and 2 Peter* [SBLDS 104; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988] 41).

23 Cf. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans,* 289–91.

24 Heinrich Lausberg explains that the "Entsprechung der inneren Teile ergibt die Figur des Chiasmus." He cites the example of John 14:1: πιστεύετε εἰς τὸν θεόν, καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ πιστεύετε (*Elemente der Literarischen Rhetorik* [10th ed.; Munich: Max Hueber, 1990] sec. 261). For further discussion, consult Angelico-Salvatore Di Marco, "Rhetoric and Hermeneutic-On a Rhetorical Pattern: Chiasmus and Circularity," in *Rhetoric and the New Testament,* 479–91.

Exordium (1:8–15)

Functioning as the *exordium*, Rom. 1:8–15 continues to establish Paul's position with his audience and also prepares them for the rest of the speech. The overriding rhetorical problem for the need of *mutuality* also surfaces.[25] After praising the audience's faith, Paul informs them of his prayerful desire to visit them (1:8–10). Then his purpose for writing appears in 1:11–12. He seeks to establish a mutual relationship with his readers. Paul reaffirms this position by recalling his previous efforts to visit them and by professing his obligation to preach in Rome (1:13–15).[26]

For the most part, commentators have failed to grasp the rhetorical significance of Rom. 1:8–15.[27] However, as Stanley Stowers notes, "Rhetorically, the letter's opening is encoding a relation and attitude between author and reader."[28] In the *exordium* speakers could take one of two approaches: the *principium* and *prooimion*, or the *insinuatio* and *ephodos*.[29] The *principium* makes a direct petition to the audience's goodwill and attention,[30] while the *insinuatio*, as a more subtle form of entry, makes a gradual attempt to ingratiate the audience to the cause.[31] Rom. 1:11–12 explains that Paul's basic purpose was to extend a

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25 Kennedy explains that in rhetorical situations, the rhetor often faces one overriding problem, which often becomes visible at the very beginning of the argument, conditioning its introduction. The audience may hold prejudices against the speaker, and, consequently, may not be favorably disposed to his argument. A problem of authority may also be present, making it difficult for the speaker to advance his claims. Sometimes the argument encompasses a complicated situation (*Rhetorical Criticism*, 36).

26 Robert Jewett's suggestion that v 13 commences the *narratio* unnecessarily disrupts the rhetorical progression of vv. 8–15. Vv. 13–15 do not provide the statement of the facts; they establish Paul's position within the rhetorical situation ("Following the Argument of Romans," 267–73). Johannes Vorster agrees, stating that "the past events portrayed in 1.13.b and 13.c portray a hypothetical situation and function to establish an ethical appeal and cannot be described as a *narratio*" ("Strategies of Persuasion in Romans 1.16–17," in *Rhetoric and the New Testament*, 154). For epistolary analyses that sustain the unity of vv. 8–15, consult L. Ann Jervis, *The Purpose of Romans: A Comparative Letter Structure Investigation* (JSNTSup 55; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991) 104–107; James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*(Word Biblical Commentary 38a; Dallas: Word Books, 1988) 27; and Ulrich Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer* (3 vols.; EKK 6.1–3; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener-Verlag; Einsiedeln: Benziger, 1978–82) 1:75–92. For rhetorical analyses that view either 1:8–15 or 1:8–17 as the *exordium*, cf. Wuellner, "Paul's Rhetoric of Argumentation in Romans," 133–34; Neil Elliott, *The Rhetoric of Romans: Argumentative Constraint and Strategy and Paul's Dialogue with Judaism* (JSNTSup 45; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990) 80–84; F. Vouga, "Romains 1,18–3,20 comme *narratio*," in *La narration: Quand le recit devient communication* (ed. P. Bühler and J.-F. Habermacher; Lieux Theologiques 12; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1988) 146; and Kennedy, *Rhetorical Criticism*, 153.

27 For example, C. K. Barrett (*The Epistle to the Romans* [New York: Harper & Row, 1957] 24–25) and Ernst Käsemann (*Commentary on Romans* [Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1980] 18–19) find no significance in this text for understanding the purpose of Romans. For a detailed treatment of my arguments, see Marty L. Reid, "The Function of Rom. 1:8–15 in Light of Greco-Roman Rhetoric," *JETS* (forthcoming, 1995).

28 *A Rereading of Romans*, 44.

29 Cicero *Inv.* 1.15–17; *Inst. orat.* Quintilian 4.1.42–51; Her. 1.4–7. For further discussion, see Watson, *Invention, Arrangement, and Style*, 34–36.

30 Cicero *Inv.* 1.15.20; Her. 1.4.6; Quintilian *Inst. orat.* 4.1.41.

31 Cicero *Inv.* 1.15.20; Her. 1.7.11; Quintilian *Inst. orat.* 4.1.42. See Watson, *Invention, Arrangement, and Style*, 36.

hand of mutual encouragement (συμπαρακληθῆναι) that would elicit the audience's reciprocation.[32] While Paul's subtlety has posed problems for interpreters, the use of the *insinuatio* plausibly explains his rhetoric. His reticence for directness is necessary because he had never actually visited the church at Rome. The attempt to move the audience to a specific judgment appears most fully in the *peroratio* of the argument (15:14–33). This rhetorical strategy follows Quintilian's advice that certain aspects of the *exordium* require a fuller treatment in the *peroratio*.[33] He also cautions the rhetor to move cautiously and to impose self-restraint in the *exordium*.[34] Consequently, at this juncture of the argument, Paul only attempts to gain the goodwill and receptivity of the audience. This is necessary because of the rhetorical situation.[35]

Transitus (1:16–17)

When moving to the next section of the speech, the transition must be obvious. If a speech contains a *narratio* after the *exordium*, it instructs the audience about the nature of the case. According to Quintilian, the rhetor can fortify the case by a *preliminary summary*, from which he proceeds to the full *statement of facts*.[36] This rhetorical technique of *transitus* describes the rhetorical function of Rom. 1:16–17.[37] The preposition γάρ signals the transition from *exordium* to *narratio*.[38] 1:16–17 provides a theological basis for the rhetoric of mutuality Paul introduced in the *exordium* and establishes propositional elements of his argument. His Jewish convictions concerning the covenant undergird his rhetoric. The expectation of mutual reciprocity between himself and the audience is predicated upon the demonstration of God's faithfulness through Jesus. Thus Paul's συμπαράκλησις, which seeks to modify the rhetorical exigency of boasting and disunity, resides in the accomplishments of the gospel.

As a rhetorical unit, three major premises govern Rom. 1:16–17. The preposition γάρ subordinates each statement, and the argument progresses as a rhetorical syllogism:

v 16a Οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον,
v 16b δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ ἐστιν εἰς σωτηρίαν παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι,
'Ιουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ "Ελληνι.
v 17a δικαιοσύνη γὰρ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύπτεται ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν,

32 The explanatory γάρ in v 11 signals this subunit, giving the purpose for Paul's writing. As an epexegetical statement, v 12 elaborates the reason.

33 *Inst. orat.* 6.1.12.

34 Ibid. 4.1.59.

35 Kennedy explains that the two main rhetorical problems included the audience's lack of personal knowledge of Paul and the opposition to his message (*Rhetorical Criticism*, 152). In my understanding of the rhetorical situation, I view the opposition as internal, resulting from the Jewish nomistic tendencies within the congregation. For further discussion, see Jeffrey Crafton, "Paul's Rhetorical Vision and the Purpose of Romans: Towards a New Understanding," *NovT* 32 (1990) 317–39.

36 *Inst. orat.* 4.2.71.

37 Vorster also describes these verses as the *transitus* ("Romans 1.16–17,"154–56). For discussion see Lausberg, *Literarischen Rhetorik*, sec. 54.2.

38 Quintilian *Inst. orat.* 4.2.1, 31. See also Watson, *Invention, Arrangement, and Style*, 43.

v 17b καθὼς γέγραπται· ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.[39]

Verse 16a ("I am not ashamed of the gospel") sustains Paul's position as rhetor within the argumentative situation. Before presenting the facts of the case, he must establish the legitimacy of his gospel. Typical of an enthymeme, verse 16a presents Paul's weakest premise that actually provides the conclusion to the argument. The rhetoric of "unashamedness" echoes lament psalms and prophetic texts from which Paul derives his righteousness language.[40] Rom. 9:33 and 10:11 illustrate this intertextuality by employing Isa. 28:16 christologically: ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται. 1:16a thus provides an affirmation of God's faithfulness. This argument provides credence for Paul to extend his gospel to the situation of his audience. As Richard Hays concludes, "Paul is not ashamed in relation to the gospel precisely because the gospel is God's eschatological vindication of those who trust in him—and consequently of God's own faithfulness."[41] This interpretation demonstrates that the central theological issue for Romans is God's faithfulness and impartiality, not individual salvation. Paul's argument stresses that the gospel depicts the fulfillment, not the negation, of God's word to Israel.[42] From this conviction emerges his rhetoric of mutuality.

Introduced by γάρ, verse 16b explains that the gospel unleashes God's power for universal salvation. Paul emphasizes the mutuality of the covenant, describing its recipients as παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι.[43] As a theological expression that occurs throughout the argument, Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλληνι not only reinforces this idea, but also retains Israel's primary role within the covenant. The text also carries a pragmatic function, indicating that the gospel is universal and available to all who have faith. Thus, Paul seeks to obliterate social and ethnic and even positions of status within the Roman congregation.[44]

According to the traditional interpretation, verse 17a encompasses the *Mitte* of Paul's argument, since his primary aim is to present "justification by faith." Hence, Romans explicates individual salvation, or, in Augustinian terms, how one eradicates human guilt. However, rather than referring to individual imputed righteousness (the forensic view), verse 17a contends that "God's

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39 In its entirety, Rom 1:16–17 reveals a subordinate structure: 1) v 16a is subordinate either to vv. 13–15 or vv. 8–15, 2) v 16b is subordinate to v 16a, 3) v 17a is subordinate to v 16b, and 4) v 17b is subordinate to v 17a. The grammatical and syntactical structure of the unit clarifies its rhetorical function as a *transitus*.

40 For further explanation of this exegesis, see Richard Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1989) 36–41.

41 Ibid., 39.

42 Ibid., 34. This sounds forth most forcefully in Rom. 9:6 ("It is not as though the word of God [to Israel] has failed"), which functions as the leading proposition of 9:1–11:36.

43 The semantic group of πᾶς is an important arsenal in Paul's rhetoric, already occurring in 1:5, 7, 8.

44 The traditional reading misses the social and interpersonal aspects of the rhetorical situation due to its doctrinal interests. In his discussion Vorster captures the rhetorical intentions of 1:17a, asserting that it is not "a general assertion concerning the righteousness of God, but rather a generalization which explains the newly acquired status of the Gentiles; a generalization which intended to indicate why the good news also benefits the Gentiles; a generalization intended to substantiate the assessment of Paul's good news" ("Romans 1.16–17," 161–62).

covenantal faithfulness is (being) revealed in the gospel."[45] Against the anthropocentric reading, verse 17a describes the disclosure of God's righteousness in an eschatological and cosmic sense to the world through the gospel, not the disclosure of salvation from the gospel to the individual.[46] Given the text's rhetorical progression, not to mention Paul's Hebraic thinking, this exegesis is more plausible.

In Rom. 1:17a three prepositional phrases qualify the revelation of God's righteousness, all of which have an adverbial function (ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐκ πίστεως, εἰς πίστιν). The first explains that God's righteousness is revealed by means of the gospel, understanding the term εὐαγγέλιον in a dynamic sense to encompass the unveiling of God's cosmic and eschatological purpose.[47] The two other prepositional phrases represent another interpretive crux for Romans. Commentators suspect that the couplet is in some way rhetorical, but struggle to explain its exact nuance and meaning. After considering the various possibilities, John Ziesler estimates that the phrase emphasizes "that what counts is faith, faith, alone, faith all the way."[48] In his estimation "Paul is simply underlining the necessity and the sufficiency of faith. If any of the other options is correct, then Paul has not in the least made himself clear."[49] In the final analysis, Ziesler ends up repeating the Lutheran view of *sola fide*, leaving us with the impression that verse 17a is rhetorical simply because of there duplication in ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν.[50]

This interpretation, however, only offers a rather ambiguous explanation of Paul's rhetoric, and, as James Dunn asserts, "To take both ἐκ and εἰς as referring to man's appropriation of God's righteousness is somewhat odd."[51] The text's composition suggests that Paul employs πίστις with two different meanings. The use of different prepositions (ἐκ, εἰς) and different cases (genitive, accusative) syntactically supports this exegesis. The repetition of πίστις also resembles a class of rhetorical figures that excite attention by some resemblance, equality, or

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45 For the connection between "righteousness" and "covenant faithfulness," cf. Rom. 3:3–5, 25; 9:6; 10:3; and 15:8. For further discussion, see Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 41.

46 This understanding of Paul's language has been gaining significant momentum in recent discussion. For a defense of this view, see Campbell, "Romans 1:17," 272–73.

47 If we follow the forensic view, ἐν αὐτῷ could refer to the individual. In other words, "God's imputed righteousness is being revealed through the individual." But this interpretation neglects the theocentricity of Paul's rhetoric. In addition the antecedent for ἐν αὐτῷ is εὐαγγέλιον in 16a.

48 *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1989) 71. Joseph Fitzmyer also adopts this view on the basis of the double prepositional phrase with ἐκ and εἰς in Ps. 84:8, where the phrase expresses from one degree to another. He also finds this meaning in 2 Cor. 2:16; 3:18 (*Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [The Anchor Bible 33; New York: Doubleday, 1993] 263). Douglas Moo also draws from 2 Cor. 2:16, concluding that the combination of the prepositional phrases in v 17 is "rhetorical," but in what sense he does not explain (*Romans 1–8* [Chicago: Moody, 1991] 69). As the living tradition of rhetoric reveals, what is meant by "rhetorical" includes a variety of perspectives. For an excellent introduction to the nature of rhetoric, see Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 3–29.

49 *Romans*, 71.

50 Zeisler buttresses this exegesis by retaining the forensic understanding of δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ (ibid., 70–71).

51 *Romans 1–8*, 44.

contrast of words. According to Quintilian, *paronomasia* belongs to this class, which he calls *adnominatio*.[52] Under this classification, ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν resembles the technique of ἀντανάκλασις, a figure, as Quintilian explains, in which "the same word is used in two different meanings."[53]

Our rhetorical explanation raises the interpretive question of how the two occurrences of πίστις in 1:17a are different. We have suggested that Romans presents a theological and christological argument. If this is true, we should expect to find traces of this position in the *transitus* of 1:16–17, since it includes propositional elements for Paul's definition of God's gospel.[54] As the first part of the expression, ἐκ πίστεως provides the grounds from which God's righteousness is revealed. Rather than alluding to individual faith, Paul employs πίστις in a divine sense, much like Rom. 3:3, but with a christological emphasis. Even though the theocentric reading marshals strong proponents,[55] the christological interpretation of ἐκ πίστεως clarifies the logic of Paul's rhetoric: The faithfulness of Christ demonstrates God's righteousness. It also eliminates the nagging redundancy of finding a theocentric reference in δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ and ἐκ πίστεως simultaneously.[56] The purpose, then, of God's righteousness being revealed is to elicit individual faith, with εἰς πίστιν undoubtedly reiterating Paul's point in 16b.[57] Recognizing the presence of ἀντανάκλασις in 17a gives clarity to the uncertainty of previous interpretations. In support of our exegesis, Douglas Campbell asserts that Paul is contending

> that the eschatological salvation of God is actually being revealed now in the gospel, the substantive point of that revelation being the life and death of Christ. In particular, it was the faithful obedience of Christ through Calvary that revealed God's salvation and also created the possibility of individual salvation through belief and perseverance until the eschaton.[58]

Romans 1:17b buttresses Paul's position with a final argument from scriptural authority. Stanley Stowers explains that the "quotation serves as the scriptural warrant for the thematic sounding statement about the gospel in 1:16–17."[59] While commentators commonly interpret Paul's citation of Hab. 2:4 anthropocentrically, our rhetorical analysis brings this interpretation into serious question. For if Paul employs ἐκ πίστεως christologically in 1:17a, we should

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52 *Inst. orat.* 9.3.66.

53 Ibid. 9.3.68. For further discussion and examples of *paronomasia*, see Lausberg, *Literarischen Rhetorik*, sec. 292; and Edward P. J. Corbett, *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* (3d ed.; Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1990) 447–48.

54 At this point it is important to recall the first reference to the gospel (εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ) in 1:1.

55 See esp. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 43–44.

56 For similar arguments, though without reference to ἀντανάκλασις, see Campbell, "Romans 1:17," 277–81.

57 As an adverbial accusative, εἰς indicates goal, termination, or result. In this case εἰς πίστιν indicates the goal or purpose for the revelation of God's righteousness through the gospel, as Dunn explains in his exegesis (*Romans 1–8*, 44).

58 Campbell, "Romans 1:17," 281.

59 Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans*, 199.

anticipate a consistent reference in the immediate context of 17b. Evidence in fact supports this exegesis. ὁ δίκαιος may function in Hab. 2:4 as a stereotypical titular reference to Jesus as the Messiah. The use of this term in the New Testament as a Jewish-Christian christological title points to ὁ δίκαιος providing Jewish messianic nomenclature.[60] Also in Romans, Paul favors articular substantives as titles for Christ, especially seen in Rom. 5:15, 17, 18, and 19.[61] Furthermore, the use of the messianic form of Hab. 2:4 within the Septuagintal textual tradition found in Heb. 10:37–38 renders early evidence that this text functioned as a messianic testimonium for the early church.[62] Given the Jewishness of Paul's thinking, it is difficult to imagine that he would not have cashed in the messianic currency of Hab. 2:4 in his argument of Romans.[63] By employing this text, Paul's rhetoric relies upon Scripture itself rather than his own authorial comment. For his readers, Hab. 2:4 furnishes a mutual symbol of authority, providing scriptural support to his previous explanation of the gospel.[64]

To summarize our analysis, Rom. 1:16–17, as the *transitus* of Paul's argument, furnishes a persuasive theological basis for his rhetoric of mutuality introduced in the *exordium*. He establishes the premise that God's provision of salvation now becomes possible for everyone who believes because of Christ's faithful obedience. This provision is advantageous for both the Gentile and Jew. The text consequently dispels any basis for mutual intolerance and thereby prepares the readers for the ensuing argument.

Narratio (1:18–3:20)

With the *transitus* completed, Paul moves forward to explain the nature of his cause. In some situations, when the audience is fully aware of the facts, a *narratio* is not needed.[65] However, this is not the situation of Romans, since Paul is addressing an audience who did not actually know him. The ancient handbooks distinguish three types of *narratio*.[66] The first (διηγήσεις ἐπὶ κριτῶν λεγόμεναι) relates the facts of the case in a manner that sways every detail to the rhetor's advantage.[67] The second kind (παραδιήγησις), described as an incidental *narratio*,[68] transcends the strict limits of the case in order to draw a comparison, amuse the audience, amplify, win belief, incriminate an opponent, effect a

60 Campbell, "Romans 1:17," 282.

61 Ibid., 282–83.

62 For a summation of the various textual traditions (MT, LXX, Paul, Hebrews), see Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 44–46.

63 For further arguments and reasons for this position, cf. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans*, 200–201.

64 Cf. Vorster, "Romans 1.16–17," 166.

65 Quintilian *Inst. orat.* 4.2.1, 31.

66 My presentation basically follows Watson's helpful summary (*Invention, Arrangement, and Style*, 43–44). See also Hughes, *Early Christian Rhetoric*, 36–38.

67 Quintilian *Inst. orat.* 4.2.11; Cicero *Inv.* 1.19.27; Her. 1.8.12.

68 Watson, *Invention, Arrangement, and Style*, 44.

transition, or set the stage for what follows.[69] The third type (διηγήσεις καθ' ἑαυτάς) primarily provides amusement and practice.[70]

Since Paul had not visited the church in Rome, it would have been difficult for him to turn every detail of the case to his advantage. So it is less likely that he employed the first type of *narratio*. We can also rule out the appropriateness of amusement or practice used in διηγήσεις. This allows us to postulate that Paul employs the παραδιήγησις, since Rom. 1:18–3:20 furnishes amplification for his rhetoric of mutuality, and, as we shall see, sets the stage for what follows. While 1:17 seeks to ingratiate the audience by underscoring the inherent mutuality of the covenant, 1:18–3:20 focuses upon the mutuality of humanity's position outside of the covenant in order to eliminate any justification for boasting or status.

As Quintilian recommends, sometimes the rhetor must subdivide the *narratio* into parts.[71] Following this suggestion, the *narratio* of Romans falls into four sections: 1:18–32; 2:1–16;2:17–3:8; and 3:9–20. A major proposition controls each unit (1:18; 2:2; 2:17–21; 3:9).[72] The *narratio* advances the argument that God's judgment is universal and impartial. 1:18–32 explains that the gospel simultaneously reveals God's wrath with his righteousness. The argument reflects a Jewish indictment against Gentile (im)morality, and Paul's rhetoric banishes the possibility of boasting because of the Gentile's entrance into the covenant.

Romans 2:1–16 constructs the argument that God's judgment is just and impartial (2:1–16).[73] After the rhetorical introduction, in which Paul addresses

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69 Ibid. See Quintilian *Inst. orat.* 4.2.11; Cicero *Inv.* 1.19.27; Her. 1.8.12.

70 Cicero *Inv.* 1.9.27; Her. 1.8.12–13.

71 "For what is there to prevent us from amassing and producing a number of arguments in the *statement*, if that is likely to help our cause? Or from subdividing our statement of facts . . ." (*Inst. orat.* 4.2.82.)? Like the other parts to the speech, the *narratio* should exemplify lucidity and brevity. However, in this context (beginning in 4.2.79) Quintilian discusses instances when the statement of facts is longer and fuller than usual.

72 Kennedy identifies the narration in 1:18–2:26 (*Rhetorical Criticism*, 153). Cf. J.-N. Aletti, "Rm 1,18–3,20: Incohérence ou cohérence de l'argumentation paulinienne?" *Bib* 69 (1988) 55.

73 Although it is possible that 2:1 addresses anyone who takes pride in their moral superiority, most modern commentators agree that Paul is confronting a Jewish bias against Gentile morality. Francis Watson observes that 2:1–10 confronts the Jewish reliance upon their covenant status and upon God's grace with no regard to their own ethical conduct (*Paul, Judaism, and the Gentiles: A Sociological Approach* [SNTSMS 56; Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986] 110–22). For other proponents of this view, see Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 79; Ziesler, *Romans*, 80–81; Wilckens, *Römer*, 1:124–25; and C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans* (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975–79) 1:105–106; and Hendrikus Boers, *The Justification of the Gentiles: Paul's Letters to the Galatians and Romans* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994) 84.

Stowers, however, offers a different explanation of the dialogue in Romans 2, contending that a change in character disrupts the rhetorical sequence from 1:18–32 to 2:1–5. He credits the origin of this mistaken reading to Augustine, who depicted the Jew as the archetypal sinner and rebel against God's grace. As Stowers correctly observes, this portrayal is especially noticeable in Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings, which represent the *tour de force* of his understanding of Romans (*A Rereading of Romans*, 12–13). Stowers proposes that Paul's construction of the imaginary conversation in 2:1–5 as well as in other texts in Romans (3:1–9; 3:31–4:2; 7:7–8:2) follows the ancient rhetorical technique of speech-in-character (προσωποποιία), a literary and rhetorical technique taught by Cicero and Quintilian, and found in the *progymnasmata* of Theon, Hermogenes, and Aphthonius (ibid., 16–21). With this proposal Stowers argues that Paul speaks to an imaginary gentile in 2:1–16. Not until 2:17–4:22 does Paul begin his dialogue with a Jewish

an interlocutor, verse 2 cues the leading proposition: "We know that the judgment of God is according to the truth against those who practice such things." Verse 11 provides an important hinge for the two subunits (2:1–10, 12–16). As a key component to the entire argument, the notion of God's impartiality reinforces Paul's rhetoric of mutuality. 2:16 concludes that in light of his gospel, God judges everyone equally.

Romans 2:17–3:8 next addresses a Jewish interlocutor or teacher, contending that the Jews failed to live up to their covenantal privileges.[74] Rom. 2:17–24 harshly criticizes dependence upon the Jewish Torah and boasting because of the Jewish relation to God. Rom. 2:25–29 draws from the centrality of the rite of circumcision, refuting the principle that law keeping is necessary for covenant maintenance. In Paul's estimation this is futile. True Jewishness is determined inwardly and not outwardly. More than any other segment of the argument thus far, Rom. 2:17–25 implies that some divisiveness existed in the community over the advocation of Jewish nomistic traditions. However, this does not mean that the situation strictly encompassed a Jewish-Gentile debate. Gentiles could have just as easily adopted Jewish practices from their reading of the Hebrew Bible. Later in chapters 14–15, Paul addresses this issue more directly. For now, he establishes that law keeping is not necessary and consequently provides no grounds for boasting by anyone.

If Paul's case is true, he must answer the following objection: "What then is the advantage of the Jew, or what is the profit of circumcision" (3:1)? Paul answers by reaffirming that Israel still represents God's chosen people, even though some Jews have been unfaithful. Nevertheless, their downfall does not nullify God's faithfulness (3:2–4). Consequently, it is not unjust for the Jew's unfaithfulness and God's anger to play a role in his plan to treat the Jews and Gentiles equally.[75]

Romans 3:9–20 provides the closing summation of the *narratio*, signaled by a rhetorical question and its answer: "What then is the case? Do we have any advantage? Certainly not"(3:9a). Paul then justifies his position: "For we have already advanced [the thesis] that both Jews and Hellenes are under the power of sin" (3:9b). As a mutual symbol of authority, a catena of scriptural proofs substantiates the argument (3:10–18). Paul thus establishes the mutual status and position of humanity outside of the covenant. Since the power of sin has pervaded all people, God's judgment must be universal and impartial. The *conclusio* underscores this point, emphasizing that the world stands accountable

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teacher of the Gentiles. At this juncture the "readers thus overhear a debate between Paul and his Jewish competitors for gentile hearts and minds" (ibid., 37).

74 Against the traditional interpretation, we should not read this section as an anti-Jewish debate, supposing that Paul seeks to dismantle the notion of salvation by works. The argument concerns itself with how the inclusion of the Gentiles into the covenant actually fulfills what God began with Israel. Furthermore, Paul's rhetoric is pedagogical and protreptic rather than polemical. Even though the *narratio* was most commonly employed in the judicial speech, it could also occur in the other *genera*. Thus the presence of a *narratio* does not force us to characterize Paul's rhetoric as forensic. For some additional cautionary measures, see William Campbell, "Paul's Strategy in Writing Romans: His Understanding and Use of Israel's Role in Eschatological Salvation," in *Paul's Gospel in an Intercultural Context: Jew and Gentile in the Letter to the Romans* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1992) 136–41.

75 Cf. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans*, 37.

before God (3:19). It also stresses that the law cannot solve this problem. In fact, Paul argues, the law increases the pervasiveness of sin's power (3:20). Rhetorically, 3:19–20 moves the reader to the next stage of the argument: Apart from the law, God's covenant relationship with his people in the present rests upon Christ's faithfulness.

Propositio (3:21–31)

When employed, the *propositio* (or *partitio*) follows the *narratio*.[76] Quintilian estimates that its use is highly advantageous when the rhetor cannot defend the fact, and the question concerns the definition of fact.[77] A *propositio* is also appropriate in obscure or complicated cases, "not merely to make the case clearer, but sometimes also to make it more moving."[78] Propositions may be single, double, or many.[79] Quintilian explains that the rhetor can introduce his own proposition, a proposition that is common to both sides of the question in dispute, or sometimes even contradictory propositions.[80] Within the argument, the *propositio* sums up the content of the *narratio* by outlining the case and also provides a smooth transition to the *probatio*.[81]

Placed after the last section of the *narratio* (3:9–20), Rom. 3:21–31 resumes the question of humanity's ill-fated status outside of the covenant. Its *conclusio* (3:19–20) establishes this rhetorical link with an antithesis of the *propositio* that follows:

3:20a ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ

3:21a Νυνὶ δὲ χωρὶς νόμου δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ πεφανέρωται.

Most commentators agree upon the centrality of 3:21–31 in Romans.[82] However, contrary to the traditional view, its rhetorical function is not just to explicate individual salvation. 3:21–26 sets forth Paul's understanding of the gospel with a theological and christological proposition, rehearsing the points of agreement that he first introduces in 1:1–4.[83] 3:21–26 also unpacks the *transitus* (1:16–17)

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76 Quintilian employs the term *propositio* and provides a detailed discussion (*Inst. orat.* 4.4.1–4.5.28). Cicero refers to the *partitio* (*De inv.* 1.22.31–23.33), while Her. uses *divisio* (1.10.17). Quintilian also applies the term *partitio* to the enumeration of several propositions (4.5.1). For further discussion, see Josef Martin, *Antike Rhetorik: Technik und Methode* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft II.3; Munich: C. H. Beck, 1974) 91–95.

77 *Inst. orat.* 4.2.3.

78 Ibid. 4.4.4.

79 Ibid. 4.4.5.

80 Ibid. 4.4.8.

81 Ibid. 4.4.1. See also Hans Dieter Betz's helpful summary of the *propositio*'s function (*Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Hermeneia Series; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979) 114.

82 See, e.g., William Cambpell, "Romans III as a Key to the Structure and Thought of the Letter," in *Paul's Gospel in an Intercultural Context*, 25–42.

83 In 1:1–4 Paul's description of εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ, followed by a summation of its content is quite deliberate and strategic. It is hardly unlikely that he would have employed the preformed christological tradition of verses 2–4 at the beginning of the letter, if this did not represent the basic belief that he shared with his audience.

and summarizes the basic content of the *narratio*. 3:27–31 then corrects the points of disagreement.[84]

Rom. 3:21–26 presents a Jewish-Christian theology of the cross, providing Paul's christological interpretation of the Jewish covenantal view.[85] Its proposition in verses 21–22b chiefly draws from his rhetoric of righteousness.[86] Verse 21 first explains the manifestation of God's righteousness in relation to the law with an antithesis. God's saving righteousness is manifested apart from law, even though given witness by the Hebrew scriptures.[87] Paul stresses that the boundaries of the law no longer limit the demonstration of God's righteousness. At the same time its manifestation fulfills the law and the prophets. Rhetorically, the use of *paronomasia* controls the antithesis of 3:21. As Douglas Campbell explains, "Paul shifts his use of the word νόμος within the antithesis, between the senses of ethical code and inspired oracle."[88]

According to the traditional view, Rom. 3:21–26 presents Paul's doctrine of "justification by faith." As its two major pinnacles, this view asserts that δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ describes God's imputed righteousness (to the individual) and that πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ refers to the believer's faith in Jesus. However, this reading misconstrues Paul's rhetoric.[89] Rather than depicting God's acquittal of human guilt, 3:21–26 verifies how God's own righteousness has been demonstrated through Christ's faithful obedience on the cross, reiterating the points upon which Paul and his audience agree.[90] 3:22b explains that everyone enters into the covenant relationship through faith. 3:22c and 3:23 resume the

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84 Both the content and rhetorical structure of Rom. 3:21–31 and Gal. 2:15–21 are strikingly similar. According to Betz's analysis, Gal. 2:15–16 presents a single proposition. As in Rom. 3:27, Gal. 2:17 introduces the points of disagreement with a rhetorical question (*Galatians*, 114). In my estimation Betz's rhetorical analysis strengthens my interpretation.

85 Rom. 1:2 introduces Paul's hermeneutical orientation.

86 Space does not permit me to present a detailed exegesis. For further discussion, see Douglas A Campbell, *The Rhetoric of Righteousness in Romans 3.21–26* (JSNTSup 65; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992). For a summary and critique of Campbell's study, see my review in *Trinity Journal* (1993) 230–33.

87 μαρτυρουμένη, as an adverbial-concessive participle, accentuates the antithesis.

88 *Romans 3.21–26, 86.*

89 Luther's view hinges upon understanding Paul's rhetoric as legal terms in a judicial setting: "Through such faith He justifies us, that is, He declares us as righteous (*for Christ's sake*). This is the faith-righteousness and a truly divine righteousness, which He works (*in us*). . . . The Apostle therefore does not describe the righteousness of God, by which He is essentially righteous, but the righteousness (*by which a sinner is justified*), which they can obtain only by faith in Christ" (*Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* [Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1976] 68, 77). For discussion of Luther's exegesis, see Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 260–61.

90 πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is a theological formula that describes the faithfulness of Jesus Christ, faithfulness in the sense of his obedience and commitment to God's will, culminating on the cross (cf. Rom. 1:5; 3:25; 5:1,10, 18; 1 Cor. 1:18–25; and Phil. 2:5–11). Stowers agrees, stating that Paul's argument does not address "how the individual gets the gift (that is, by the believer's faith) but rather the gift itself (the benefits of Christ's faithfulness) and the giver of the gift (God)" (*A Rereading of Romans*, 194). Stowers's explanation provides further warrant for understanding Paul's rhetoric in Romans to encompass a theocentric and christological argument.

major arguments of the *narratio*. 3:24–26, then, offers an extended explanation of Christ's atonement that draws upon Jewish-cultic language.[91]

As the second part of the *propositio*, Rom. 3:27–31 addresses the points of disagreement, signaled by two rhetorical questions in verse 27a (Ποῦ οὖν ἡ καύχησις) and verse 29a (ἢ Ἰουδαίων ὁ θεὸς μόνον). Paul's dialogical rhetoric readdresses the Jewish interlocutor. He first confronts the problem of boasting, either pride in possessing the law or pride in accomplishing what the law requires.[92] Paul explains that it is excluded, not "by the practice of the law or of works, but by the law of faith" (διὰ νόμου πίστεως).[93] If we interpret the final prepositional phrase in verse 27 christologically, then the argument contends that Christ's faithfulness eliminates any grounds for boasting in terms of covenant status and obligation. 3:28 further explains the argument by recapitulating the major proposition: "For we reckon that a person is justified by faith apart from works of the law."[94] Verse 28 thus proves that "boasting" is excluded for everyone: for the Jew, even though they represent the chosen people, and for the Gentile, even though they now participate in the new covenant.

Romans 3:29 introduces a second point of disagreement. Based on the premise of Jewish creational monotheism (v 29), Paul stresses that God justifies the circumcised and the uncircumcised through faith (v 30).[95] Hence both objections in 3:27–30 make boasting invalid. They rehearse the circumstances of the *narratio* and consequently emphasize that God is impartial.[96] Verse 31 concludes the *propositio* with a *refutatio*, a sharp denial of the charge: "Do we then nullify the law through faith?"[97] Paul replies, "Of course not. We actually establish the law." Together the antitheses of 3:31 and 3:21 frame the *propositio* as a rhetorical unit and buttress Paul's position that God's provision of redemption through Christ's faithfulness supports the law.[98]

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91 The combination of ἀπολυτρώσεως (v 24) with αἵματι (v 25) depicts Calvary as Christ's atoning death. ἱλαστήριον (v 25) reinforces this interpretation. This association probably alludes to the Jewish festival of Yom Kippur. As a result of this association, Campbell explains that "Christ's death is semantically overlaid with the rich associations of the Jewish Day of Atonement—that is, with its legitimacy, its singularity and its forgiveness" (*Romans 3.21–26*, 137).

92 Dunn states that the allusion to 2:17, 23 is indisputable (*Romans 1–8*, 185).

93 3:27 is notoriously difficult to translate and interpret. English translations struggle with the meaning of νόμος, especially in the phrase διὰ νόμου πίστεως. I have retained a literal translation, as the NRSV. Stowers suggests translating "the divine teaching about faithfulness." Thus in this context, νόμος could encompass the entirety of scripture, portions of scripture, teachings, laws, and practices discovered in scripture, or simply the books of Moses (*Rereading Romans*, 236). See also Dunn, *Romans 1–8*,183–94.

94 The rhetoric retains God's action and Christ's action at the forefront with the divine passive of δικαιοῦσθαι and the christological reference of πίστει. Given the thrust of 3:21–26, it seems superfluous to interpret πίστει anthropologically.

95 Stowers explains that "Jews, Paul and the teacher, share fundamental assumptions about God's creation and rule over the whole world" (*A Rereading of Romans*, 236).

96 Stowers also notes that "God's impartiality forms the unstated premise" (ibid., 237).

97 See Betz's analysis of Galatians (*Galatians*, 114). He indicates that Quintilian provides such examples of refutations in the *propositio* (*Inst. orat.* 4.4.6–8; 4.5.11–13).

98 Occurring in the final proof (9:1–11:36) of the *probatio*, Rom. 10:4 gives warrant for interpreting 3:31 christologically, since it encapsulates the major topics of 3:21–31: τέλος γὰρ νόμου Χριστὸς εἰς δικαιοσύνη παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι. In my estimation the assertion by E. P. Sanders (*Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983] 3) and Heikki Räisänen

Probatio (4:1–11:36)

The *probatio* is the portion of the discourse that marshals propositions and corresponding proofs to lend authority and support to the case.[99] Rom. 4:1–11:36 presents a series of proofs, each introduced by its own proposition.[100] Paul seeks to substantiate his argument introduced in the *exordium*, sustained in the *propositio* (3:21–31), specified in the paraenesis (12:1–15:13), and recapitulated in the *peroratio* (15:14–33).

Throughout the history of interpretation, scholars have been unable to trace the flow of the argument in Romans 4–11 for two major reasons. First, why does Paul continue his dialogue with a Jewish teacher in chapter 4 and then seemingly turn in a totally different direction in chapter 5?[101] Furthermore, how do chapters 9–11 function? This last question becomes especially acute, since commentators have concluded that these chapters furnish nothing more than a *digressio* or even an appendage to the main argument.[102]

Basically speaking, Romans 4–11 present a series of christological proofs that substantiate the *propositio*. Paul links the two sections together with the *topos* of νόμος.[103] Romans 4 commences the *probatio* with an argument from Jewish tradition embedded in scriptural confirmation. Since Abraham was the father of the Jewish people, Rom. 4:1–25 retells the story of the Abrahamic covenant. Beginning the section in this way allows the *probatio* to unfold as a continuous narrative that depicts the fulfillment of God's covenant with his people. While scholars usually interpret Romans 4 to depict Abraham as the model of Christian faith, we suggest that Paul employs the Abrahamic tradition typologically to underscore the centrality of Christ's faith. In other words, christologically, Abraham's faith exemplifies the Messiah's faithfulness.[104]

Relying upon Paul's Jewish rhetoric, a striking coherency becomes apparent in this christological proof. In its immediate context, the argument strengthens 3:21–31. The rhetorical question in 4:1a furnishes the necessary rhetorical linkage: "what, then, shall we say about Abraham, our forefather according to the flesh?" The proof maintains that Abraham entered into a covenant relationship

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(*Paul and the Law* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986] 50, 69, 71) that Paul either broke with the law or abandoned the law is erroneous. For further discussion, cf. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans*, 237–41; and Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 190–91. For a recent treatment, see Frank Thielman, *A Contextual Approach: Paul and the Law* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1994).

99 Cf. Aristotle *Ars. rhet.* 3.17; *Rhet. ad Alex.* 32–33; Cicero *Inv.* 1.31.143; *Part. Or.* 9.33–14.51; Her. 3.9–10; Quintilian *Inst. orat.* 5.1–12; and Martin, *Antike Rhetorik*, 95–137.

100 Quintilian states that "it seems to me that the beginning of every proof is a proposition, such as often occurs in the demonstration of the main question and sometimes even in the enunciation of individual arguments" (*Inst. orat.* 4.4.1). Vouga also identifies 4:1–11:36 as the *probatio*, explaining that it "procede par amplification et par refutations" ("Romains 1,18 - 3,20 comme *narratio*," 148).

101 For a recent treatment of this classic problem in the interpretation of Romans, see Frank Thielman, "The Story of Israel and the Theology of Romans 5–8" (SBLSP 32; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993) 227–49. See also Elliott, *The Rhetoric of Romans*, 224–27.

102 See, e.g., the influential treatment of C. H. Dodd, *Romans* (The Moffatt Commentary; New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1932) 148–51.

103 See, e.g., 4:13–25; 5:12–21; 6:1–14, 15–23; 7:1–25; 8:1–25; 9:4, 31; 10:4; cf. also 13:8, 10.

104 Especially noticeable is Paul's consistent christological use of ἐκ πίστεως n 4:16, as in 1:17; 3:21, 25, 26, 30, 31; 5:1 et al.

by his response of faith—an event, Paul explains, that preceded God's gift of the Torah. In the same manner, a new covenant becomes established by Christ's faithfulness, thus making covenant membership possible for all who believe. 4:23–25 draws this conclusion and addresses the audience with the first person plural.[105] Romans 4 thus furnishes an opening proof which rhetorically and thematically coincides with the closing argument of Romans 9–11. Both sections depend upon Jewish forms of argumentation, lean heavily upon the Hebrew Bible, and entertain the question of God's dealing with the people of Israel and the inclusion of the Gentiles into the covenant. Consequently, to reduce Romans 4 to a paradigm of individual Christian faith obfuscates its rhetorical function.

If Romans 4 and 9–11 serve to frame the *probatio*, then chapters 5–8 comprise its centerpiece.[106] The christocentric rhetoric of 3:21–31 and 4:1–25 quite naturally leads to the christological argument of 5:1–21. In comparison to the rhetorical question in 4:1a, 5:1a signals a slight transition to the innermost portions of the *probatio* with the rhetorical figure of *transitio*, "the figure which briefly recalls what has been said, and likewise briefly sets forth what is to follow next."[107] Romans 5 intends to demonstrate how Christ's faithfulness brought about reconciliation, by restoring peace between God and humanity (5:1–11) and by overcoming the consequences of Adam's sin (5:12–21).[108] Rather than

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105 These verses read as follows: "It was not only written for his sake but also for *our* sake, to whom it will be reckoned, to *those* who believe in him who raised Jesus, *our* Lord, from the dead, who was given over because of *our* transgressions and was raised for *our* justification [emphasis mine]."

106 Although Hellholm's overall analysis with sophisticated text linguistics principles differs from my proposal, in a somewhat similar fashion he identifies 4:1–25 and 5:1–8:39 as sequential proofs. He suggests that 3:22b-31, 4:1–25, and 5:1–8:39 present a series of proofs, following an opening thesis in 3:21–22a. In its entirety 3:21–8:39 includes the *confirmatio* (3:21–8:39), which presents the positive proofs of the *probatio* (1:18–11:36), after the *refutatio/confutatio* (1:18–3:20). His designation of 5:1–8:39 as the *soteriological* proof seems to betray an undue dependence upon the traditional interpretation which argues that it outlines Paul's doctrine of sanctification ("*Amplificatio* in Romans," 140–41, 144–45). Nevertheless, Hellholm is correct in asserting that 5:1–8:39 constitutes a controversial section of Paul's argument (ibid., 145).

I prefer to designate 5:1–8:39 as christological proofs because of their emphases upon Christ's faithfulness and because of the manner in which they support the christological interpretation of the *propositio* (3:21–31). In my estimation this reading offers a corrective to the individualistic interpretation of Romans.

For the thematic unity of 5:1–8:1–39, apart from rhetorical analysis, see Nils Dahl, "Missionary Theology in Romans," in *Studies in Paul* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977) 70–94. See esp. Appendix I: "A Synopsis of Rom. 5:1–11 and 8:1–39," 88–90.

107 Her. 4.26.35. Trans. Harry Caplan, *LCL* 403 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1954). Caplan notes an important distinction between *transitio* and *transitus* (p. 318, n. e). Although Quintilian (9.3.98) does not actually define *transitio*, he classifies it as a figure of thought, while at the same time rejecting *transitus* as a figure (9.2.61). For further discussion, see Michael Cosby, "Paul's Persuasive Language in Romans 5," in *Persuasive Artistry: Studies in New Testament in Honor of George A. Kennedy* (ed. Duane F. Watson; JSNTSup 50; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991) 213.

108 Elliott's suggestion that "the direct statements of Romans 5 constitute the *propositio* of the letter" incorrectly assumes that chapters 1–4 present an *insinuatio*, "an extended and intentionally indirect approach to the subject" (*The Rhetoric of Romans*, 233). With this understanding, we are forced to take chapters 1–4 as an extended *exordium*, which hardly seems justified since its purpose is to provide a succinct introduction to the argument. Both Her.(1.9) and Cicero (*De Inv.* 1.20), whom Elliott cites (p. 233, n. 1), discuss the appropriateness of *insinuatio* in the

trying to solve the mystery of original sin, as the Augustinian view would have us believe, the argument persuasively demonstrates how Christ's faithfulness overcame the consequences of Adam's misdeed.[109]

Paul resumes his use of the rhetorical question in Rom. 6:1a to introduce an additional proof. Moving from the asserted charge in Rom. 5:20, Rom. 6:1–23 presents an argument concerning obligation, centering upon the case of sin and (the validity of) grace. The proof addresses two specific false inferences that one could have derived from Paul's argument: that believers are to continue in sin (6:1–14), and that sinful acts make no difference (6:15–23). Its final conclusion reiterates the rhetoric of previous *topoi*: "The wages of sin is death, but God's free gift is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord" (6:23).

Romans 7 takes the *probatio* to its next logical step, entertaining the case of sin and the law. It unfolds into two sections that are governed by their own proposition. 7:1–6 explains that the law is temporary and asserts that the gospel frees the community from the law's condemnation and obligation. 7:7–25 counters the view that the gospel renders the law invalid by refuting the false inference that the law is sin (7:7–12) and that the law, even though good, is responsible for humanity's death (7:13–25). This being the case, 8:1–39 underscores that believers in Christ do not fall under condemnation (8:1a). This is because the life of the Spirit in Jesus Christ liberates one from the law of sin and death. Thus, Paul argues, the believer's obligation is to the Spirit and not to the law (8:12–17), with existence being grounded in eschatological hope (8:18–30). Paul ultimately concludes that God's justification determines one's status and position, sealed by his love demonstrated through Christ's faithfulness (8:31–39). Rhetorically, then, Romans 5–8 reveals a concentric composition, beginning and ending with the *topos* of "God's love in Christ."[110]

Chapters 9–11 furnish the climax to the *probatio*.[111] If Paul's understanding of the gospel was correct, it could imply that God had been unfaithful to the people of Israel. If that were the case, then how could God's covenantal faithfulness revealed in the gospel be trusted? After the introduction (9:1–5), which presents Paul's lament for Israel, Rom. 9:6–29 develops an argument concerning the validity of God's election. 9:6 furnishes the section's *propositio* and reforms the conclusion of the *transitus* (1:16–17), namely that God's word to Israel had not failed. Hence, Romans 9–11 primarily addresses the problem of theodicy and the entrance of the Gentiles into the covenant. The proof continues with an argument concerning the righteousness of God in Christ (9:30–10:21), followed

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exordium. Furthermore, since Elliott previously identifies 1:1–17 as the *exordium* (70–85), his understanding of the macro-structure of Romans becomes somewhat confusing. For further discussion, see Marty L. Reid, "A Rhetorical Analysis of Romans 1:1–5:21 with Attention Given to the Rhetorical Function of 5:1–21," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 19 (1992) 255–72.

109 For further discussion of this matter and a detailed rhetorical analysis of this chapter, see Marty L. Reid, *Augustinian and Pauline Rhetoric in Romans Five: A Study of Early Christian Rhetoric* (Macon, GA: Mellen Biblical Press, forthcoming).

110 Cf. esp. Rom. 5:1 with 8:39.

111 In his rhetorical analysis of Romans, Melanchthon interpreted these chapters to unfold as question and answer, similar to the *confutatio*, a refutation of arguments made in objection. In a similar manner, I am suggesting that Romans 9–11 answers the final objection to Paul's position. For further discussion, see Philip Melanchthon, *Paul's Letter to the Colossians* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989) 20–21.

by a reaffirmation of Israel's place within the covenant (11:1–32). In this final section, it is important to note that Paul stresses the possibility of mercy through the gospel (11:11–24) and the eschatological restoration of Israel (11:25–32). The proof appropriately closes with hymnic praise toward God (11:33–36), based upon the Jewish acclamation of God as the creator.[112]

Paraenesis (12:1–15:13)

The hermeneutical temptation is to reduce the paraenesis of Romans to represent Paul's final reflection upon his previous experiences in social conflict.[113] However, Rom. 12:1–15:13 offers an important entry into the rhetorical situation of the letter in that it reveals that the primary exigency involved community relations and regulations.[114] Even though exhortation is not a traditional *pars orationis* from the rhetorical handbook tradition, Frank Witt Hughes has clarified its rhetorical function by identifying parallels between the exhortation sections of Paul's epistles and ancient 'literary' and 'nonliterary' letters.[115] For example, Hughes shows that Demosthenes' *Epistle* 1 contains an exhortation section at its closing very similar to the pattern in Paul's letters. Since paraenesis can have a rhetorical function, we must ascertain how chapters 12–15 tie in to the *dispositio* of Romans.

Rhetorically, Rom. 12:1–15:13 indicates how Paul expects his audience to participate within the argument, since the exhortations integrate belief with attitudes of social conduct and acceptance.[116] Working from the topics of honor and shame, Rom. 12:1–2 provides a heading for the entire section. Rom. 12:3–13:14 offers basic guidelines for establishing mutual relations. Chapters 14–15 more specifically confront the divisiveness that had erupted within the community between the "strong" and "weak" parties over dietary regulations and the observance of religious days.[117] Most commentators depict these two groups as distinctly Jewish and Gentile Christians, with the "strong" including the Gentiles and the "weak" describing the Jewish minority.[118] However, we should

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112 Dunn finds a parallel with Sir. 43:27: "Though we speak much we cannot reach the end, and the sum of our words is, 'He is the all'" (*Romans 9–16* [Word Biblical Commentary 38b; Dallas: Word Books, 1988] 704).

113 For further discussion, see Robert Karris, "Romans 14:1–15:13 and the Occasion of Romans," and Francis Watson, "The Two Roman Congregations: Romans 14:1–15:13," in *The Romans Debate*, 65–84, 203–15; and James Walters, *Ethnic Issues in Paul's Letter to the Romans: Changing Self-Definition in Earliest Roman Christianity* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1993) 84–92; and Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans*, 317.

114 For further discussion, see Crafton, "Rhetoric and the Purpose of Romans," 322–25. For a modern treatment, see Robert Jewett, *Christian Tolerance: Paul's Message to the Modern Church* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982).

115 *Early Christian Rhetoric*, 63–64.

116 Cf. Elliott, *The Rhetoric of Romans*, 278–80; Hellholm, "*Amplificatio* in Romans," 141; and Kennedy who explains that the pastoral headings of 12:1–15:13 "are largely concerned with belief and attitude, not with action. "He therefore suggests that the rhetorical *genus* of Romans is epideictic (*Rhetorical Criticism*, 154).

117 Rom. 14:1 and 15:1 specifically mention the two groups. For a similar passage where Paul employs the term ὁ ἀσθενῶν, see 1 Cor. 8:7–13.

118 E.g., Dunn explains that the situation of the Roman congregation involved the return of Jewish Christians who had been expelled by Claudius' edict in 49. As the minority, they resorted

be cautious in drawing the ethnic lines so sharply. We are on safer ground by viewing the "strong" and "weak" parties to represent two groups who held a different understanding of acceptable community social practices. Thus the "weak" included believers within the Roman community who thought that certain Jewish ethical and social requirements were essential for covenant maintenance.[119] However, we must not take Paul's rhetoric to imply that it is weak to be Jewish; this would be anti-Semitic and lessen the persuasiveness of his argument. Rather, he attempts to correct the tendency of mutual intolerance which seeks to impose unnecessary restraints upon individuals. He also wants to reinforce his view that law keeping does not enhance the position of the Gentile within the covenant. Likewise, Paul urges that the "strong" should not totally disregard others for the sake of their own position and liberality.[120] Both kinds of responses misappropriate the mutuality of the covenant established through Jesus. The final summation of the paraenesis (15:7–13) indicates the kind of response that Paul desires to elicit: "You should receive one another, just as Christ received us for God's glory" (15:7). Paul's rhetoric of mutuality thus defines the social reciprocity that exemplifies acceptable and honorable community conduct. Stanley Stowers's interpretation and employment of the "principle of faithfulness as adaptability to others" complements our reading and use of *mutuality* as a rhetorical rubric:

> If [Romans] 1–11 finds its focus on God's righteousness being made through Christ's faithfulness and understands Christ's faithfulness as his generative adaptation to the needs of others, then 12–15 sketches an ethic of community based on the principle of faithfulness as adaptability to others.[121]

One task remains for Paul's argument. He must mount his final appeal to the Roman Christians and clarify his argumentative position in light of his own situation.

Peroratio (15:14–33)

As the conclusion to the speech, the *peroratio* summarizes its major arguments in general terms, makes a closing appeal to the audience's emotions, and usually offers a final exhortation.[122] Since Paul only indirectly introduces his purpose in 1:11–12, he now stipulates the manner in which he anticipates mutual encouragement between himself and the audience. He appeals to their character and their ability to admonish one another (15:14). To reaffirm his own credibility, he narrates his faithfulness to the gospel ministry (15:15–29) and summons

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to reembracing the traditions of their old life. The temptation for the majority Gentile Christians was to respond in a condescending fashion (*Romans 9–16*, 798).

119 My point is to suggest that the "weak" could have just as easily included Gentile Christians who became attracted to Jewish nomistic tendencies.

120 Crafton explains "that charismatic ideas of spirituality and leadership had become prominent (8; 12:6–8), and that libertine ethics were a problem" ("Rhetoric and the Purpose of Romans," 324).

121 *A Rereading of Romans*, 318.

122 Cf. Aristotle *Ars. rhet.* 3.19.1419b.1–6; Quintilian *Inst. orat.* 6.1.; Cicero *Inv.* 1.52–56; *Or.* 34.122; *Part Or.* 15–17; Her. 2.30–31; and Martin, *Antike Rhetorik*, 147–66.

the audience's support with a final exhortation (15:30–33).[123] Their identity in Christ compels them to assist Paul in his further missionary endeavors. In short his rhetoric of mutuality simultaneously addresses the exigencies of the speaker and audience. It not only modifies the situation of the audience but also persuades them to participate in Paul's ministry. The epistolary postscript (16:1–23) reinforces his position, recalling actual experiences of mutuality and supplying a final warning to anyone who would question his position (16:17–20).

Conclusion

Although it becomes exceedingly difficult to define one particular reason for which Romans was written, we have proposed that the *topos* of *mutuality* furnishes a suitable rhetorical rubric for describing the argument of Romans. This notion becomes visible in Paul's covenantal language, in the rhetorical exigency of mutual intolerance, and in his desire to gain the Roman congregation's assistance. Our analysis thus establishes the integral relationship between the speaker, the message, and the audience, the three essential components of rhetorical argumentation.

Our interpretation also yields a different reading from the traditional understanding of Romans. Although we would not want to dismiss the role of individual faith in the scheme of Paul's argument, we have contended that his primary intention was not to explicate his doctrine of "justification by faith." There was no dispute over this question. Paul was seeking to reinforce belief in Jesus as the Messiah in order to clarify the nature and responsibilities of the Roman congregation. No one, Paul contended, had any ground for boasting. Position within the covenant was and is determined by what God has accomplished through Jesus' faithfulness. Thus Paul sought to establish a mutual reciprocity. As he explained, "I long to see you in order that I might impart a spiritual gift to you so as to strengthen you, that we may be mutually encouraged by each others faith, both yours and mine" (Rom. 1:11–12).

In defining the rhetorical situation of Romans, we limited our reconstruction to the literary and rhetorical boundaries of the actual letter. Certain points are without dispute. First, Paul specifically states that he neither founded nor had ever visited the Roman congregation. This aspect of Romans makes it very difficult to ascertain how informed Paul was about the audience's situation. Nevertheless, he was aware that unhealthy divisions existed among the community at Rome. At the period during which Romans was written, it is reasonable to assume that some questions still existed about the relationship between Judaism and Christianity. The manner in which the *topos* of the law runs throughout Paul's argument strongly suggests that the law's function as a social and cultural code created some tension within the Roman community. If Paul could reinforce their belief in what God had accomplished and provided through the gospel, then he could not only correct their internal problem but gain their future support. This understanding of the rhetorical situation, we assert, paints a very different picture from the view that Paul was defending his

[123] Παρακαλῶ δέ in 30a signals this appeal, similar to the introduction to the paraenesis in 12:1a; cf. also 16:17.

gospel against a Jewish polemic. Attention to his rhetorical strategies and argumentation bring this reading into serious question.

For this reason we conclude that Paul's Letter to the Romans is more closely akin to epideictic or demonstrative rhetoric than judicial or deliberative rhetoric. For Paul to have adopted judicial rhetoric in order to provide a critique of Judaism would not have accomplished his purpose in writing. In addition, the intent of dissuasion and persuasion, as employed in deliberative rhetoric, does not seem to characterize Paul's argument. Instead his presentation resembles a ceremonial speech that praises the audience's faith and belief in Jesus the Messiah. As a representative of Christ, Paul seeks to clarify the nature of the audience's convictions by showing them what is honorable and shameful.[124] George Kennedy explains that in epideictic speeches, "praise corrects, modifies, or strengthens an audience's belief about civic virtue or the reputation of an individual."[125] In Paul's case he wishes to strengthen the virtue of mutuality between himself and among the Roman congregation in light of what God has accomplished through Jesus. This purpose represented the extension of Paul's gospel to the rhetorical situation of Romans and provided the most appropriate rhetorical strategy for the occasion of the letter.

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124 See Aristotle's discussion of the final objective of epideictic (*Ars. rhet.* 1.3.5).

125 *Aristotle On Rhetoric*, p. 48, n. 77.

A Rhetorical Suggestion Concerning Romans 2

Douglas A. Campbell
University of Otago

Introduction

Rom 1:18–3:20 has traditionally comprised the scriptural foundation for the first half of a very influential model of salvation known in the theological trade as the Western *ordo salutis* or order of salvation[1] (but perhaps more familiar to NT scholars as the prior, preparatory phase of legalism or "works" that leads to "justification by faith"). Thus conceived, however, the passage is increasingly proving a thorn in the flesh for some interpreters of Paul (and especially for those considering his view of the law), leading scholars such as Heikki Räisänen to accuse Paul of inconsistency, while E. P. Sanders simply excludes the section from his consideration of Paul's views altogether.[2] Nevertheless, this building pressure has yet to generate a widely accepted alternative reading—and until it does so, one suspects that the traditional approach will hold its ground with little difficulty.

This study suggests that the critical dimension within the traditional reading and its problems, and hence also in the formulation of any plausible alternative, is rhetorical in the specific sense of argumentative. The traditional approach reads Rom 1–3 as an argument from a given premise to a specific conclusion that is meant to set up a second, more positive, argumentative phase, inaugurated in Rom 3:21. Paul is himself assumed to be committed to this initial major premise, along with all that it entails. NT scholars like Räisänen and Sanders, however, are increasingly questioning the sinister inferences of this premise, and the resulting argument's weaker links. That is, read in the traditional way, Rom 1–3 is looking more and more like a bad argument—in fact it is perhaps so bad that it is time to ask if the text is being correctly construed in these terms at all. However, even those dissatisfied scholars have generally yet to suggest a plausible alternative; merely new ways of living with a poor discussion (e.g., inconsistency or excision). While, unfortunately, those scholars that do suggest alternatives have, in my opinion, not yet produced new readings that are themselves convincingly coherent.

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[1] See James B. Torrance, "Covenant and Contract, a study of the theological background of worship in seventeenth-century Scotland," *SJT* 23 (1970) 51–76 (also informative is his "The Contribution of McLeod Campbell to Scottish Theology," *SJT* 26 [1973] 295–311).

[2] Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* (WUNT 29; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1983) esp. 94–109; Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) 123–35 (hereafter *PL&JP*).

I hope to show here that Paul is indeed making a different argument in Rom 1–3 from the line of reasoning traditionally attributed to him, and also to demonstrate that it is a coherent one, if less revealing of his own thought than is usually thought to be the case.[3] The primary evidence for this new reading will consequently be simply that the text reads well (or at least better than the alternatives) when construed from this new argumentative perspective. In particular, it is now a good argument (provided one accepts Paul's additional premises), rather than a bad one.

Such an approach is very much that of the "new" rhetoric—a movement especially (but not exclusively) associated with Chaim Perelman.[4] His approach suggests that much discourse is rhetorical in the fundamental sense that it is intended to persuade someone of something, and such a view clearly fits Paul's letters well. Following Perelman, the mechanics of any attempt at persuasion can be critically analyzed, although the repertoire of persuasive techniques includes far more than mere formal argument. The focus in what follows, however, will be on the argument itself, that is, on its construction and plausibility, rather than on the broader descriptive concerns Perelman and those like him often consider. NT scholars—perhaps because they are not usually philosophically trained—often seem to lose sight of actual arguments quite quickly, when to grasp them is sometimes to give the strongest proof of a reading's cogency, especially in an essentially argumentative text. Hence, in what follows I want primarily to ask if a given argument (rooted in Rom 1–3) actually "works," more than how it is situated descriptively in a broader context of ancient (or modern) argumentative practice, or how it appeals to emotion or character, and so on, although the latter questions of course remain interesting and important.

Our more detailed discussion will begin by describing and assessing the argument that more traditional exegetes perceive as operative within the text of Rom 1–3. Any problems we find here may then serve as indicators for alternative, more successful, argumentative construals.

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[3] Misidentifying the conclusion of someone's argument is a not uncommon problem in philosophical circles, but it does inevitably lead to significant problems in terms of construal: see Zachary Seech, *Logic in Everyday Life* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1988) 22–29.

[4] Chaim Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* (tr. J. Wilkinson and P. Weaver; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969 [1958]). The description "rhetorical" can be ambiguous, denoting one of a variety of methods: an excellent survey is W. Wuellner's "Where is Rhetorical Criticism Taking Us?" *CBQ* 49 (1987) 448–63; see also my *The Rhetoric of Righteousness in Romans 3:21–26* (JSNTS 65; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992) 70–77. It should be clear from my survey that I am suspicious of most such approaches, limiting the contribution of rhetoric largely to style (see also Stanley Porter, "The Theoretical Justification for Application of Rhetorical Categories to Pauline Epistolary Literature," in *Rhetoric and the New Testament: Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference* [ed. S. E. Porter and T. H. Olbricht; JSNTS 90; Sheffield: JSOT, 1993] 100–22). However, I would want to suggest now that, defined more broadly, *and using the ancient sources indirectly*, a rhetorical approach *in the strict (and different) sense of argumentative analysis* will also be helpful in ways that should shortly be more apparent: so my "Determining the Gospel through Rhetorical Analysis in Paul's letter to the Roman Christians" in *Gospel in Paul: Studies on Corinthians, Galatians and Romans for Richard N. Longenecker* (JSNTS 108; eds. G. P. Richardson and L. Ann Jervis; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994) 327–49.

1. The Traditional Reading

There is a monolithic aspect to the bulk of the commentary on Romans,[5] and especially to that on chapters one to three. Even the more original commentators, like Barth and Käsemann,[6] tend to reproduce, with superficial variations, a fundamental consensus on these chapters characterized by a single over-arching argumentative objective.[7] Paul is assumed to be establishing the premise in 1:18–3:20 of humanity's universal culpability. This rhetorical objective is supposedly found in 3:19 as the conclusion to his argument: "whatever the law [and, we might add, Paul in the preceding argument] says, it says . . . so that every mouth might be silenced and the whole world held accountable to God." The majority of interpreters of Romans hold that the entire discussion from 1:18 builds towards this conclusion (an objective which is also stated earlier in 3:9b, and perhaps anticipated in 1:32); a conclusion apparently reiterated in v. 20: "through works of law all flesh will not be justified before him."

Undergirding this widespread consensus is the assumption that Paul wishes to construct a suitable context for the gospel's proclamation that begins in the letter in 3:21 (although it is anticipated in 1:16–17)—a context specifically characterized by an awareness of sin and of consequent pending judgment, and hence ready to grasp eagerly an offer of forgiveness and salvation (hence one could say that Paul is engaged in "pre-evangelism"). In argumentative terms, before the discussion of salvation can begin, a conclusion concerning one's own need must have been established and independently argued from a notion of

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5 Robert Jewett speaks—with some cause—of an Anglo-apologetic consensus: see his "Major Impulses in the Theological Interpretation of Romans since Barth," *Int* 36 (1980) 17–31.

6 Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Tr. E. C. Hoskyns; London: Oxford University Press, 6th ed., 1952 [1933]); Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (4th ed. tr. Geoffrey W. Bromiley; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980). Of the other commentators see esp. C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (2 vols.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1975, 79); J. D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8* (WBC 38; Dallas, TE: Word, 1988); D. Moo, *Romans 1–8* (Chicago: Moody, 1991); Ulrich Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer* (3 vols.; Zürich: Benziger, 1978); P. Stuhlmacher, *Der Brief an die Römer* (Göttingen & Zürich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989); Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1993); and an older classic, O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer* (KEK; 11th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957). See also some of the more original, popular commentaries, viz., J. A. T. Robinson, *Wrestling with Romans* (London: SCM, 1970); J. C. O'Neill, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (London: Penguin, 1975); Brendan Byrne, *Reckoning with Romans: A Contemporary Reading of Paul's Gospel* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1986); and J. A. T. Ziesler, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (London: SCM, 1989). Other interesting, shorter studies on this section of Romans, dating up to 1987 (and there are many!) are listed by Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 51–52, 77, 93–94, 108, 18, 28, & 44. Particularly noteworthy of those I have read are K. P. Donfried, "Justification and Last Judgment in Paul," *ZNW* 67 (1976) 90–110; and Klyne Snodgrass, "Justification by Faith—to the Doers: An Analysis of the Place of Romans 2 in the Theology of Paul," *NTS* 32 (1986) 72–93. An outstandingly insightful study, however, is E. P. Sanders' "Appendix: Romans 2," in *PL&JP*, 123–35.

7 There are of course numerous differences between interpreters as to precisely how Paul achieves his objective, but if the objective itself is wrong, then disputes over specific instrumentality will not matter so much.

judgment to which one has become liable.[8] The specific assumptions of this reading in terms of an argumentative preparation for evangelism now need to be isolated carefully.

(1) The fundamental premise in this reading of Paul's argument is a coming judgment in accordance with desert, that is, in relation to works, which is elaborated particularly clearly in 2:6: "[God] will give to each according to their works."[9] That is, God will eventually judge humanity on the basis of performance in relation to a law: good deeds will merit salvation, and bad deeds condemnation. The traditionalist holds that Paul will go on to demonstrate, by introducing appropriate new premises, that all will in fact fail this judgment, presumably because all do sin. This in turn should create a mind-set open to an alternative, and far easier, route to salvation, namely, through a simple act of belief. For the progression to work, however, such a judgment must be accepted *before* any Christian proclamation takes place (and hence before any specifically Christian premises can be introduced into the discussion). In short, it must be *a priori* (and this may explain the remarkable absence of specifically Christian material from 1:18–3:20).

In the letter itself 1:18–32 prepares for the bald statement of this principle of judgment by a cunning rehearsal of standard Jewish propaganda dependent on, or at least analogous to, the *Wisdom of Solomon* (especially chapters 12–14). The endorsement of Gentile condemnation for their abominable idolatry and sexual immorality elicited by this section presupposes a judgment in accordance with works. Paul makes this premise explicit in 1:32, and then universalizes it on pain of hypocrisy in 2:1–4: if one has affirmed the criticism of Gentile depravity in chapter one, then one must either claim special treatment from God and a second type of judgment altogether—something Paul will not allow to enter the argument at this point (see below)—or submit to the same principle. This premise is then reinforced by the citation of a Jewish theologoumenon concerning God's impartiality (2:11): God does not show favouritism, and therefore will treat both Jew and Gentile similarly. Hence this slogan really makes the same point as 2:6 (and 7–8)—it is the same premise couched in different words.[10]

(2) For this basic premise of judgment by desert to be plausible, however, all humanity must have access to some sort of moral code by which they can actually be assessed, otherwise the judgment in accordance with deeds would not be fair: indeed, it would be impossible. In argumentative terms, the premise of a universal impartial judgment presupposes the premise of the presence of a universal moral criterion for that judgment. So Paul needs to introduce the

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8 I simply don't know of many commentators or shorter studies that depart fundamentally from this reading (so n. 6): for some that do, see ns. 30 and 31 below (and, to a lesser extent, the studies listed in n. 29).

9 A possible citation of Ps 62:12/Prov 24:12—and Sir 16:14?; note also the immediate elaboration in vv. 7–8, and the statement that "the doers of the law will be vindicated" in v. 13b.

10 The definitive study of this slogan is Jouette Bassler's *Divine Impartiality: Paul and a Theological Axiom* (SBLDS 59; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982); see also her "Divine Impartiality in Paul's Letter to the Romans," *NovT* 26 (1984) 43–58. My approach accepts all her suggestions specific to v. 11 and concerning the slogan's historical background, but construes the surrounding argument (and the function of the slogan within it) differently.

principles of natural theology into his discussion—which he certainly seems to do.[11] He states that Gentiles perceive God's divinity, power, and moral demands, both in the cosmos and internally ('in their hearts" and "consciences"; see 1:19–21a, 2:14–15). Implicit also is a natural sense of proper sexual relations (1:26b). These partial, innate revelations that take place everywhere (because they are written into the cosmos) are sufficient to establish a sense of appropriate behaviour for everyone, so that Gentiles are "without excuse" when they sin (1:20): "such people, know . . . the righteous judgments of God, that those practising such things are worthy of death . . ." (1:32). Of course, the Jews possess in the Torah the definitive revelation of God's demands (see esp. 2:17–20; also 2:12b), so they don't really need these comparatively dimmer disclosures from nature—and they will also, of course, be "without excuse."

(3) With these mutually reinforcing premises in place[12] Paul can then suggest that the Jew will not fare well at this judgment—that Gentiles will not fare well is really axiomatic, as 1:18–32 suggests (although there are mysterious righteous figures in 2:12–15 and 26–27, but see below). There are three main phases in this ensuing discussion, but these can all be seen as successive argumentative attempts to demonstrate (with the supply of additional premises) that everyone will fail the foregoing judgment of desert. That is, in argumentative terms, one is to be driven to the initial conclusion that all commit bad works consistently (the force of the new premises), and so to the further conclusion consequent on this that all will also merit (and no doubt receive) "wrath and anger . . . trouble and anguish" (2:8b, 9a) "on the day when God will judge the secrets of humanity . . ." (2:16a). By this stage the scene will have been well and truly set.

In more detail, in 2:21–23, Paul initially points out that Jews must practise what they preach: there must be no contradiction between hearing, speaking, and doing (see also 2:13). The specific sins that Paul mentions are rather lurid, namely, stealing, adultery, and temple-robbery, but this is perhaps consistent with the exaggerated nature of ancient polemic. Moreover, the point can easily be extrapolated (as it seems to be in 7:7–25, where the sin is simply covetousness). So this section seems to be Paul's first attempt to supply a premise, or argument, suggesting that people will fail this final judgment by committing bad deeds. If one steals, commits adultery, or violates temples, one is in trouble.

Paul's second set of suggestions in 2:25–29 seems more argumentatively defensive. He points out that the traditional badges of the covenant like circumcision, that is, the signs that Jews enjoy a special favour from God, will not actually count for much if the criterion of judgment in accordance with works is to hold. The latter overrules, and effectively redefines, the former. Indeed, a righteous Gentile could end up—scandalously—condemning an unrighteous Jew (v. 27), while the true Jew is one "in heart and spirit"—a state that doubtless leads

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[11] Giving rise to some famous debates, notably, "the Barth-Brunner controversy": see E. Brunner's "Nature and Grace" and Karl Barth's "No!", conveniently assembled in *Natural Theology* (tr. P. Fraenkel; London: Centenary Press, 1946), although the debate originally took place (significantly) in 1934. The traditional reading of Romans 1–3 supports Brunner's position, but the following criticisms and suggested new reading are decidedly in favour of Barth.

[12] Mutually reinforcing because one suspects that the psychological thrust is often "backwards"; a strong commitment to God's justice and the reality of a pending impartial judgment creating the prior argumentative commitment to natural theology.

to good deeds! (so v. 29). Note, in argumentative terms Paul has really begged the question here. That is, he has not supplied good reasons in refutation of circumcision as a sign of privilege: he has merely reasserted his original premise of judgment by desert, pointing out that, *if accepted consistently*, it will redefine circumcision. Some (circumcised) protesters would not of course be silenced by this.

Paul's diatribe in 3:1–9a, read in traditional terms,[13] seems to elicit the admission from the mouth of an interlocutor that the faithlessness and unrighteousness of Jews cannot undermine God's right to judge the cosmos, that is, Paul's basic premise of judgment by works (see esp. v. 4: "Let God be true and every person false"; and v. 6: "How then could God judge the cosmos? [which s/he will]"). Paul suggests here that the Jew will not be able to appeal to special privileges to avoid the judgment in accordance with works; indeed, to do so is to come perilously close to advocating outright libertinism in the name of glorifying God, and the condemnation of such is deserved! (so v. 8). In more formal terms, Paul seems to argue that there is a symmetry between libertinism and the Jewish appeal to privilege, so condemning the former excludes appeals to the latter (and such a condemnation may well have already been elicited by 1:18–32). One cannot pursue these two lines of argument simultaneously without contradiction.

Hence the approach of this diatribal section is still basically the defensive approach of the previous section: Paul seems to be attempting to counter argumentative ripostes from election or Jewish privilege to his own line of reasoning. At least Paul doesn't simply beg the question here (although just what he is doing continues to puzzle many), and, once again, the circumcised protester may not have too much trouble demonstrating the difference between a sinful Jew requesting God's forgiveness, and an outright libertine suggesting that sin pleases, or at least flatters, God.

The third stage in the discussion, traditionally conceived, is a powerful scriptural deployment stating that all are sinful: "there is *no-one* who is righteous . . . discerning . . . a seeker after God . . . a doer of the good, *not even one* [and so on]" (see 3:10–18).[14] This section therefore reinforces the first stage's suggestion that the Jew does not in fact do good works (or at least enough of them), and so will be judged negatively. Moreover, if the Jew is so judged, then by implication everyone is (although the texts can be read as suggesting this directly with their use of universal terms like "all" and "together"). This section consequently seems to be a reiteration of the critical additional premise that all in fact commit evil deeds, but it is asserted not empirically, but on the basis of an assembly of authoritative texts (and, needless to say, the authority of that textual reservoir must be accepted for the premise to have any force).

So, by this stage in the traditional construal of the argument, 2:17–24, especially vv. 21–22, and 3:9b-18, introduce the critical new premise that all commit evil deeds. 2:25–3:9b seems taken up with more defensive considerations, as Paul anticipates and rebuts any suggestion from Jewish privilege that his initial

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[13] A standard syntactical analysis of this section—although not overly traditional in its actual reading—is Stanley K. Stowers' "Paul's dialogue with a fellow-Jew in Romans 3.1–9," *CBQ* 46 (1984) 707–22; see also his *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1994) 159–75.

[14] Note also the "all" of v. 12 in "all turned aside . . . ."

major premise of judgment strictly by desert will not hold. Thus, in formal argumentative terms, Paul's engagement with "the Jew" seems quite clear—he refuses the implications (here!) of any influence in terms of Jewish privilege, which would modify the premise and implications of desert, allowing them to escape the implications of judgment.

3:19–20 then draws the argument's conclusion: "*every* mouth is closed and *all* the cosmos [Jews included] answerable to God." That is, there will be no eschatological rejoicing; merely an embarrassed if not shocked silence dramatising that no-one will pass the judgment in accordance with deeds spoken of in chapter two, not even Jews. Rather, through this putative scenario, all have become aware of their transgressions and their inability actually to do good deeds: "by works of law, *all flesh will not be justified* before him [hence] through law comes [in fact, simply] the knowledge of sin" (3:20).[15] All are therefore also exposed, quite justly, to God's wrathful judgment—and are simultaneously presumably interested in avoiding its consequences.

The detailed interaction with Jewish concerns in this preparatory argument is still a little puzzling, but is usually explained in terms of Paul "levelling the playing-field" between Jews and Gentiles. Paul is said to be establishing that, in terms of ultimate salvation, both groups are in need of the same basic remedy, namely, Christ, given their same basic plight—that "Jews need Christ too" seems a useful thing for Paul to say, while for him to fail to affirm this would seem to undermine both Christ's lordship and sufficiency, and the equal status of the Gentile mission. Of course, the implications of this (particularly apparent in the post-Auschwitz era) are deeply problematic. But in querying *why* Paul addresses Jews, rather than *how* he does so (which is reasonably obvious), we have actually moved to a different set of questions, namely, those of provenance, and to the explanation of the origin of the text and Paul's intention in composing it (along with the related question of its audience[s] and impact). There is simply not enough time to address these questions here—despite their importance and fascination.[16] Our discussion in what follows is limited to a rather narrow focus on how the argument works, rather than why Paul made it (although the latter concerns will always be a significant part of any overarching explanation of this text, and the letter as a whole)—it is to be hoped that an analysis merely of the "how" question will still be useful. This means that we cannot discuss *why* Paul

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15 This last remark is interesting. It follows from Paul's supposed reasoning here that the law is incapable of saving, because when allied with the commitment of wicked deeds, it can't. *If* all commit such deeds, then it follows automatically that the law will only give a knowledge of sin and its consequences. But this reading of the statement, and of the function of the law, presupposes all the premises of the prior argument, namely, judgment by desert, and both empirical and scriptural evidence that all in fact sin. If the premises don't hold, neither does the remark (unless it anticipates Paul's *later* discussion, that uses different premises).

16 Naturally it will strengthen a reading if plausible, integrated explanations can be given for its end as well as its means. At this point I find the traditional approach, in terms both of Rom 1–3 specifically, and in the broader context of the letter and its destination as a whole, sorely inadequate (hence, to a certain extent, the plethora of options given in *The Romans Debate* [rev. & expanded ed. ed. K. P. Donfried; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991]). Conversely, I think that a very plausible historical explanation of provenance lies to hand for my suggested new reading—these are particularly easy to supply when an argument is largely *ad hominem*: so my "Determining the Gospel," and the Romans commentators listed there; see also section 4 below.

addresses "the Jew" so extensively here—although soon even the *how* of that address, traditionally construed, will be severely criticized.

Irrespective of the exact motives for the salience of "the Jew," by 3:19–20 the scene seems to have been set for the proclamation of the gospel, which follows in the letter immediately (3:21–4:25). This proclamation will now take place in a context characterized by a clear awareness of the need for its cleansing and forgiveness, and presumably an eager desire to grasp its generous offer of salvation merely through belief.[17] Moreover, it is difficult to find interpreters of Romans—subtle nuances aside—who depart significantly from this basic reading of 1:18–3:20 (for those that do, see ns. 29 and 30 below). Unfortunately, however, this traditional reading, that so dominates commentary on the passage not to mention reconstructions of Paul's theology, contains a number of acute problems.

2. Pauline Inconsistencies

There are three main problems in the traditional reading: (1) the role of "the Jew" in Paul's argument; (2) the presence and function of "the righteous Gentile" (see 2:12–15 and 26–27); and (3) the basic approach of this preparatory argumentative strategy in the context of Paul's thought as a whole. The first two problems suggest that Rom 1–3 is a bad argument, while the third suggests that, traditionally conceived, it may not be "Paul's" argument at all.

(1) The attack on "the Jew": The how (not to mention the why) of Paul's characterisation and criticism of "the Jew" in Rom 1–3 is puzzling scholars more and more. The fundamental premise of Paul's discussion, judgment by desert, is appearing increasingly problematic, but also the ostensible final conclusion. Connecting these two propositions are, as we have seen, two argumentative strands, namely, that Jews sin (a suggestion made on empirical and scriptural grounds), and that Jewish privilege should not be allowed to count against the initial premise of desert. Both of these arguments, however, are also looking increasingly weak, if not incoherent. We will address these problems in turn.

Paul, as we have seen, premises his discussion on a judgment by works; however, it follows that for his argument against any Jew to hold, they must share this premise. The re-evaluation of late Second Temple Judaism taking place in NT scholarship today suggests increasingly that much of it didn't, and so wouldn't recognize this description.[18] Consequently the argument simply would

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17 Another aspect of this reading that cannot be further explored here is the fundamental perception that Christianity is appropriated by a decision, for which necessarily *a priori* rational grounds must then be given. To discuss this would take us especially into an analysis of 3:27–4:23, and the relation between this argument and the thrust of 1:18–3:20. But it should be noted that this perception is absolutely fundamental to the traditional reading of 1:18–3:20 as just this presentation of *a priori* considerations, and again alternatives to the traditional reading are increasing (see ns. 29, 30, and 31).

18 A shift associated particularly with Sanders' *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (published in 1977) but now commented on and multiplied many times over (not to mention significantly anticipated: see e.g. W. D. Davies' *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* [1st ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1948]). Note, the "works" in Paul's argument are those deserving salvation (or condemnation), hence a full-bodied or "hard" legalism. Sanders suggests that the basic approach of late Second Temple Judaism to "works" was slightly different, namely, as a means of "staying in" once one had

not apply to them. Even more significantly for our discussion here, as we will soon see, although Paul refuses to allow the alternative premise to enter the discussion at this point, he himself clearly understands election to play a central part in Judaism. Hence, the premise for his argument corresponds closely neither to Judaism's self-understanding nor to Paul's understanding. So what exactly is he attempting to describe, and to trap argumentatively, in 2:1–16, if it is not "a Jew'? Paul seems to be knocking down a straw man.

While we can extrapolate it for him, Paul's first assertion in 2:17–24 that "all sin" seems overdrawn as he tries to catch Jews in their hypocrisy, challenging them as to whether they have ever stolen, committed adultery, or robbed temples. The exaggeration of ancient polemic notwithstanding, most actual Jews would probably not have been moved by these queries (the polemic would perhaps only have carried weight if heard by Gentiles, but then what argumentative point is Paul making?).[19] The charges are so strong that they defeat Paul's apparent purpose. In argumentative terms, directly contrasting suggestions of subtle universal transgressions (like covetousness) are called for here; problems that, empirically speaking, most Jews would relate to and perhaps feel bound to confess.[20]

Paul's rejection of covenantal influences on salvation is even more problematic, however. If the basic premise of judgment by desert is applied consistently, it results in quite absurd consequences (which, once again, Paul seems to be aware of). If the final judgment really is simply in accordance with works, and all possess enough moral information to sense the criteria by which that judgment will be made, Israel has essentially been defined out of existence. Anything distinctive or special about the history of Israel has been theologically obliterated by definition: it cannot be allowed to interfere with an impartial evaluation based solely on works. "Jewishness," along with all that it entails (and however that is defined specifically) will count for nothing.[21] That Paul realizes this is apparent in his argument that circumcision will be irrelevant in the

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"got in" through election, that is, a "soft" legalism, or a contractualism. If true, it follows that Paul's argument in Rom 1–3 is not with the central soteriological premise of the Judaism of his time, but with some less representative, subordinate strand (and also presumably in some sense Christianized).

19 Both Räisänen and Sanders (amongst others!) are puzzled (*Paul and the Law*, 98, 107; "Appendix," 124–25).

20 Moreover, I am not sure that Paul's scriptural attempt to assert the same premise is much more successful. Although he assembles an impressive array of texts, one could easily challenge it for failing to present a more nuanced picture of what the OT really says about humanity, as well as about the covenant. A textual system as large and complex as the OT simply cannot be accurately reduced to such a thematically monolithic catena: obvious exceptions to Paul's theme abound, and any competent exegete could probably demonstrate this (so, e.g., Räisänen's observations in *Paul and the Law*, 99).

21 An inference the Muʿtazilites, the first philosophical school in Islam and one committed to exactly this premise (rooted in the justice or *ʿadl* of God) had to contend with, namely, that their system undermined the distinctiveness of being a Muslim, and of the special revelatory tradition of Islam centred in the Prophet Muhammad and the Qurʾan. Specifically, their rationalism led them to deny the very popular belief that the Qurʾan was uncreated: see D. Gimaret, "Muʿtazila" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed.; ed. C. E. Bosworth *et al.*; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993) 7: 783–93, esp. 789–93.

judgment (and that the uncircumcised righteous may consequently possibly condemn the circumcised wicked)—that is, he specifically notes and makes use of the idea. But any sign of special favour or privilege could be substituted for circumcision and the point would remain the same. As we have already noted, Paul himself regards Israel as historically real and privileged (see esp. 9:4–5). That is, he knows that the denial of privilege in his argument is false. So, once again, why is Paul actually doing it?

To make matters worse, the argument's conclusion also appears a little gratuitous. Paul seems to make his extensive case for universal sinfulness, including the Jew, so that he can conclude just prior to the proclamation of the gospel that all are under sin and silent before God. If both he and many of his contemporaries understand Israel to be elect, however, often accompanying this understanding was the admission that Israel is sinful: the very reason that Israel is elect, that is, sustained and helped freely by God, is precisely because of her inability to help herself. Moreover, Israel's literature abounds with this quite realistic self-understanding—and with the appropriate gratitude when God does respond (again!) to an undeserving people with forgiveness, faithfulness, and help.[22] We may put this succinctly: if Paul is seeking to drive Jews to a confession of their sinfulness in Rom 1–3, then this is largely unnecessary because many would freely have admitted this right away. (They may of course appeal to different means of help and atonement than those described from 3:21, namely, repentence, the temple cultus, and so on, but this does not alter the previous admission.) Has Paul really expended all this argumentative effort on an uncontentious conclusion?

The problems with Paul's apparent *a priori* attack on "the Jew," according to the traditional reading of Rom 1–3, can be summarised as follows: he seems to be attempting to force Jews (a constituency he isn't really authorized to deal with) from an extreme position many of them don't occupy, to a position many of them are in already, and in a way that is at times exaggerated and/ or absurd (moreover, we don't really know why he is doing this). In more formal argumentative terms, his premise is false, his two further arguments are ineffective if not simply invalid, while his conclusion is redundant. The more one considers these problems, the less clever Paul gets—or the less likely the reading. But the problems in the traditional reading do not end with these anomalous argumentative pressures on "the Jew."

(2) The "righteous Gentile(s)" (2:12–15, 26–27), and sinfulness of "all": At two stages in his discussion Paul discusses a righteous Gentile, who increases the indictment building against the Jew. In 2:12 Paul begins to elaborate an implication of his premise, given in v. 6, that both Jews and Gentiles will receive the same even-handed treatment at the judgment before God. In v. 12 he states that those sinning "lawless" will also be destroyed "lawless," while if they "do" the law they will be justified (v. 12). This is supported (as indeed it must be) by a principle of natural law, namely, that despite not having the Mosaic code Gentiles have an internal code "written on their hearts"; something they have "by nature." The origin of this argument need not detain us here. The important

22 Again, a point well documented by Sanders' classic study, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, and now widespread.

point is that Paul concedes clearly that this class of righteous but non-Jewish "doers" (so vv. 13 and 14) can be eschatologically vindicated or saved by their pursuit of good works, and this is clearly meant to embarrass "the Jew."

That this is the figure's argumentative function is confirmed by its reappearance in vv. 26–27. There the figure is effectively a Jew, says Paul, despite being uncircumcised (!), because it keeps the regulations of the law. This is little more than a pointed resharpening of the inference implicit in vv. 6–11, and explicit in vv. 12–16: if salvation is solely in accordance with works, then Gentile "doers" will be saved despite being outside the covenant. Paul, however, then adds in his immediately previous argument in vv. 17–24, namely, that Jews sin, as a consequence of which they are clearly vulnerable to the negative side of the judgement just outlined. If this inference is juxtaposed with the possibility of a righteous non-Jew, a powerfully ironic reversal of traditional salvation-historical roles is produced; so v. 27, where the uncircumcised but righteous person actually condemns the circumcised but unrighteous person at this judgment. Here the basic dynamic of Paul's argument is quite clear: "the righteous Gentile" mocks and embarrasses "the unrighteous Jew."

The traditional reading of Rom 1–3, and indeed interpreters in general, have struggled with the identity and role of this righteous, non-Jewish class. The basic problem for the traditionalist is that the figure seems to falsify Paul's overarching argumentative objective. If Paul is trying to elicit a universal confession of sinfulness, then by allowing for exceptions—and these, not even from within the privileged ranks of Judaism—he seems to have undermined his own conclusion. Anyone listening to the argument could feel positively encouraged to try the judgment according to works, and consequently not respond to the more desperate expedient of faith that follows, as Paul seems to admit that some in fact pass the eschatological muster in terms of desert. The figure's irritation of Jewish concerns is just another opaque facet of this broader incomprehensibility.

Aware of the contradictions here, several different interpretations of these figures have been offered but, as E. P. Sanders notes in an excellent survey, none are particularly convincing (and this contributes to his decision simply to overlook the section).[23] From the traditional point of view, Paul would have been better to have omitted their mention altogether—and yet they appear not once, but twice. Is Paul so argumentatively clumsy that, within an extended discussion (2:12–29), he allows a major exception to his conclusion (3:19, but see also 3:9b) less than twenty verses in advance of it? At bottom, neither the traditional interpreter nor the revisionist really knows what to do with these figures. Once again, however, it may be best to question the received reading before blaming Paul's logical abilities.

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23 "Appendix." Sanders engages particularly with the proposals of G. Bornkamm, E. Käsemann, and C. Bussmann, finding them all wanting. Sanders himself, however, does not really know what to do with the passage and, in view of its anomalies, simply decides to ignore it. Of course, this is highly unsatisfactory from an argumentative point of view but, ironically, this decision does result in an analysis that my suggestions here confirm—the argument in Rom 1–3 is not particularly reflective of Paul's own concerns, but more of different, Jewish Christian perspectives. We might say that, although the way Sanders achieves his objective here is curious, his instincts are absolutely correct. (Räisänen's discussion is also insightful: *Paul and the Law*, 101–9).

(3) Paul's preparatory strategy, and the premises of natural theology: The following considerations differ in their nature and implications from the two foregoing sets of concerns. Both "the Jew" and "the Gentile" are awkward argumentatively in the traditional reading, making Paul's attempt at persuasion in these terms essentially a poor one—but many scholars are used to living with an inept Paul. The following (unfortunately abbreviated) observations, however, highlight the significant differences between what Paul ostensibly argues and is committed to in the traditional reading of Rom 1–3, and his apparent commitments expressed elsewhere in Romans and in his other extant letters. Hence these observations force us to confront not merely a clumsy Paul, but a fundamentally contradictory or inconsistent one (and at times within the same "carefully crafted" letter!). Moreover, if another reading can be found that is not merely more powerful argumentatively, but which also eliminates these comparative tensions, its plausibility will be—to put it mildly—considerable.

Fundamentally, Paul's epistemology elsewhere (as has often been noted) seems in tension with the axioms of natural revelation that are tabled in Rom 1 and 2. In 1 Corinthians 1:17–2:17, for example, Paul criticizes the loftiest and most scholarly human speculation as incorrect, and even foolish, while the truth about God is an unconditional revelation. There the world "in its wisdom, does not know God" (1:21).[24] Intriguingly, even Paul himself, a zealous and well-educated member of Israel, did not know God correctly, but had to be apocalyptically re-oriented (Gal 1:15–16). In short, any theme of unconditional revealed knowledge in Paul elsewhere (that is, "the apocalyptic reading" of Paul[25]) is clearly in tension with his apparent endorsement of natural theology in Rom 1–2. These two approaches to divine knowledge and salvation are basically contradictory, but while one can find the unconditional approach throughout Paul's other letters (not to mention Romans), the premises of natural revelation seem limited to 1:19–20 and 2:14–15.

Corresponding to the theme of unconditional, divine revelation is the notion of human incapacity.[26] If this last theme is seen elsewhere in Paul it too will sit in some tension with his suggestions in Rom 1–3. In Romans 7 and 8, Paul speaks clearly of ethical incapacity apart from the Spirit (who is conspicuously absent

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24 One could respond that natural revelation only gives enough information to establish humanity's culpability in Romans (which is what the text says initially; so 1:18–32). But what is the point of such information if it is incapable of actually saving? This suggests that God gives humanity enough epistemological rope to hang itself—not a very Pauline view of God's character! (see esp. Rom 4:5, 5:6, 8). Such a view also fails to account for the positive emphasis of Paul's argument in 2:10–16 and 26–29 where people really are saved by this information, provided that they act on it.

25 So Albert Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (tr. W. Montgomery; New York: Seabury, 1968 [1931]); J. Christiaan Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (1st paperback ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984 [1980]) esp. xiii-xxi, 16–19, 135–81; and various insightful short studies by J. Louis Martyn: "Epistemology at the Turn of the Ages: 2 Corinthians 5.16," in *Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox* (eds. W. R. Farmer, C. F. D. Moule, R. R. Niebuhr; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) 269–87; idem, "From Paul to Flannery O'Connor with the Power of Grace," *Katallagete* 6 (1981) 10–17; and idem, "Apocalyptic Antinomies in Paul's Letter to the Galatians," *NTS* 31 (1985) 410–24.

26 Although one must distinguish carefully between an *a priori* and *a posteriori* establishment of this principle.

from 1:18–3:20, perhaps excepting 2:29, but see n. 40). If Paul holds to this view as well, then one half of his scenario in chapter two is definitely a chimera, a false alternative (while the righteous Gentiles become even more puzzling): clearly no innately debilitated humans will pass a judgment in accordance with works.

One can reply here that the two positions are formally compatible, but the redundancy of the initial premise and scenario of an offer of salvation to "do-gooders" persists in real terms: God seems to preside over an initial scenario of judgment that all will in fact fail. Will this still take place, despite being a foregone conclusion? Why does God, who knows everything, bother with a monkey trial before the real judgment that will take place with respect to a different criterion altogether? It seems very odd.

Moreover, the judgment scenario in Rom 2 is clearly independent of any salvation (or judgment) attained through Christ.[27] It is as if Paul believes that there are two ways to be saved, with faith admittedly the easier route, but another nevertheless existing over and above it (which no-one, mysterious righteous Gentiles excepted, will actually travel). Did Paul really think that salvation could be found apart from Christ?, and judgment effected without reference to him? Such a view also necessarily subordinates the gospel to this basic scenario, rather as a contingency plan rescues those falling through the cracks of another situation—the gospel inevitably becomes something of a Plan B, following the failure of Plan A. Once again, this seems curious, particularly alongside Paul's other statements that seem to equate Christ with God's cosmic (pre-existent?!) plan (see esp. Rom 8:28–30; also 1 Cor 1:30, 8:6).

In support of this point is the observation that no other Pauline texts seem to speak of an ultimate judgment in accordance with works as Rom 2:6 does. Admittedly, Paul does envisage a judgment, and one with some sort of assessment, however, in 1 Cor 3:12–15 he seems to state clearly that bad works will *not* necessarily lead to condemnation (but to an escape "through fire").

Finally, not only is comparative evidence lacking for Paul's strong judgment scenario, but he also never seems elsewhere to use a preparatory, "pre-evangelistic" strategy like this—and if the apocalyptic view is correct, neither would we expect it. Now in one sense this is not surprising because all Paul's letters were written to Christians.[28] Moreover, we don't have primary sources for his preaching. But these retorts amount to arguments from silence (or from secondary sources, if an appeal is made to Acts 17:22–31): the fact remains that we have a unique strategy on this reading in Romans 1–3, which can gather no comparative support from other Pauline texts. It is also not an inconsiderable discussion, that is, 111 verses, which makes it longer than most of the other Pauline letters. We must have good reasons for endorsing it.

By this stage it should be apparent that the traditional reading of Rom 1–3 is not as "smooth" as it first appears. Paul's engagement with "the Jew" is flawed at many points, while his deployment of a righteous Gentile to enhance this engagement contradicts his apparent conclusion that all are sinful (besides creating considerable tensions for his later presentation of Christian salvation in terms of the sinful being justified by faith alone). That is, his argument seems a

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27 See Rom 14:10b-12, where "lord" in context probably denotes Christ.

28 But then so is Romans!, which makes the tactic still more puzzling: why "prepare" the saved?

poor one. Moreover, his whole *a priori*, pre-evangelistic approach, along with its premises, seems strange, particularly when viewed alongside a discussion like 1 Cor 1–3. That is, neither does the traditional reading seem to be the usual way Paul argues: it is distinctly anomalous.

Several scholars have attempted to move beyond these difficulties, however, not merely by noting them but by trying to construct quite different readings of Rom 1–3 (often in the broader context of new approaches to Romans as a whole). Perhaps two trends can be discerned here: (1) an attempt, largely by English scholars, to read the discussion in terms of a critique of "covenantal theology," and here the influence of E. P. Sanders, but also more recently that of N. Thomas Wright and James D. G. Dunn, is apparent.[29] On the other hand (2) a group of mainly North American readings is emerging influenced more by rhetorical approaches (and to some extent also by the "dual covenant" approach to Paul associated with scholars like Lloyd Gaston), namely, Neil Elliott, Charles H. Cosgrove, Stanley K. Stowers, and Hendrikus Boers.[30]

While being excitingly innovative and impressively scholarly, however, (and in spite of frequent, isolated points of overlap with the following) these new interpretations ultimately fail to convince. Unfortunately, there is not enough time to detail such conclusions here (although where the following reading differs from these other experimental approaches will be reasonably obvious). The focus of the present study, with all its limitations, is on this new reading, which is really an argumentative reconstrual set in counter-point to the traditional one.

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29 Sanders, *PL&JP*; Dunn, *Romans 1–8*; Bruce Longenecker, *Eschatology and the Covenant: A Comparison of 4 Ezra and Romans 1–11* (JSNTS 57; Sheffield: JSOT, 1991); N. Thomas Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992); idem, *The New Testament and the People of God* (London: SPCK, 1992). As will be soon apparent, in my opinion, this view gets Paul's argument almost exactly the wrong way around: Paul is using covenantal ideas to suggest the implausibility of "works"; not the converse—which in any case creates a reading not far from the traditional approach with all its problems, in that it assumes a judgment by works to be presuppositional. Of course, there are also sophisticated counter-vailing defences of the traditional view: see, e.g., Glenn N. Davies, *Faith and Obedience in Romans: A Study in Romans 1–4* (JSNTS 39; Sheffield, JSOT Press, 1990); David B. Garlington, *The Obedience of Faith* (WUNT 38; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1991); and Mark Seifrid, *Justification by Faith* (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

30 Neil Elliott, *The Rhetoric of Romans: Argumentative Constraint and Strategy and Paul's Dialogue with Judaism* (JSNTS 45; Sheffield: JSOT, 1990); and Stowers, *A Rereading*, both attempt bold new configurations of the text. Hendrikus Boers describes an actantial reading, *The Justification of the Gentiles: Paul's Letters to the Galatians and Romans* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1994). Charles H. Cosgrove's approach is different again but, to my mind, particularly illuminating: his attempt to reconstruct the reception of Romans 1–4 by a more traditional Jewish audience demonstrates nicely some of the extraordinary difficulties of the traditional reading, as well as the contradictions between its analysis of Paul's argument and its explanation of the over-arching provenance of the letter ("The Justification of the Other: An Interpretation of Rom 1:18–4:25," SBLSP [ed. E. H. Lovering; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992] 613–634). The success of these readings (Cosgrove excepted) as integrated rhetorical arguments is methodologically vital. In my opinion, the following suggestion is more integrated argumentatively, while the foregoing all exhibit argumentative dislocations. This last point, however, admittedly requires a full-scale treatment; something these impressive new readings deserve, but that space precludes here (I hope to address this shortcoming soon in a separate study).

3. A New Reading

As we have seen, the traditional reading of Rom 1–3 is "forwards," on the assumption that a commitment to the premise of judgment by desert coupled with the presence of sinful deeds will drive the letter's audience rationally to the conclusion that they are in need of salvation (which is described in the following section of the letter, and to which they ought to progress by an act of faith). Furthermore, this conclusion was argued particularly stringently for Jews who were possibly shielded from it by some notion of privilege or election that would allow them to escape its strict implications. When we examined this reading more closely, however, it became apparent that at a number of points it was in considerable tension both with Paul's views expressed elsewhere (often in Romans itself), and to a large degree with the extant Jewish literature of Paul's time. Particularly obvious was the utter scandal implicit in Paul's redefinition of Judaism; his refusal to allow the privileges of Israel to count for anything substantial on the Day of Judgment. Also obvious, however, was the apparent concession by Paul that some would in fact be saved after such a judgment—and these not even Jews! That is, his conclusion that "all are sinful" was not strictly argued: at one point "all" seem to have been sinful, but at another stage in the argument there were important exceptions. Moreover, Paul's ultimate conclusion that all sinned only corresponded to one half of his judgment scenario, rendering the other—and best!—half redundant; a conclusion that seemed rather gratuitous in any case. Finally, the basic approach and premises of Paul's argument—natural revelation, *a priori* argument, and so on—also seemed in broad tension with what we know of him elsewhere.

Given then that all Paul's arguments subsequent to the establishment of his premise are in tension with it (and bearing in mind the care with which he establishes that premise in the first place), can we not reverse our understanding both of Paul's commitments within the argument, and of the flow and conclusion of the argument itself? Instead of holding that Paul endorses a scenario of judgment by works, then arguing to a conclusion of universal sinfulness (and subordinating the redefinition of the covenant to that aim, along with one half of the scenario itself—exceptions notwithstanding), does it not make more sense to hold that Paul believes in universal sinfulness, but sees this as *in tension with* the premise of judgment by works? Paul may also hold to the covenantal notions deployed in Rom 2 (and this is evidenced particularly clearly by Rom 9:6–23), which are again in strong tension with the premise of judgment by works. In short, could it be that Paul is deploying two lines of argument, one from the covenant and the other from the fact of human fallibility, *to undermine the validity of a putative judgment by works?*

The function of the basic premise of his discussion, judgment by works, is thereby precisely reversed: far from acting as the argumentative fundament that establishes a later conclusion, the later premises are all, while inferred from it, in notable tension with it, *leading to the conclusion that the earlier premise is false or invalid.* Indeed, now the usual tensions and contradictions within Paul's discussion make sense—they are its very point—while the contradictions outside the discussion (that is, between the premises of Paul's argument here, and also

his apparent denial of election, and his statements and approach elsewhere) disappear.[31]

Philosophers would recognize Paul's discussion thus construed immediately: it is a *reductio ad absurdum* (a particular sub-category of an *ad hominem*), that is, an attempt to undermine a particular premise by drawing unacceptable inferences from it.[32] The success of a *reductio* depends on the recognition by its audience that the inferences of the targetted premise are unpalatable, but that the additional premises introduced to generate them are themselves true. In order to avoid these distasteful consequences, the only course of action left open is then to abandon the initial premise. In Rom 1–3 the new premises that will prove difficult to abandon are a covenantal view of salvation in which Jews are especially favoured, and a somewhat pessimistic view of human capacity, including Jews (and possibly correlating to the foregoing), namely, that along with the rest of humanity Israel too is prone to sinful deeds.

Most intriguingly, if Paul is attempting a *reductio* in Rom 1–3 then the correct conclusion (i.e., the opposite of the targetted premise) *is* drawn at the end of the discussion, but the critical phrase is not usually emphasized by commentators: "Therefore, *through works of law* all flesh will *not* be justified before him!" (3:20a). But note that on this new reading Paul's point here is quite straightforward: the principle of salvation by "works" or in accordance with desert is simply false, and this is what he hopes to demonstrate on internal and comparative grounds in Rom 1–4.[33] The dynamics of this *reductio* now need to be described in more detail.

There are two broad phases within Paul's extended *reductio* in Rom 1–3: firstly, he cleverly isolates the central premise of judgment by desert that he will later undermine (1:18–2:5), finally articulating it clearly (2:6, and 7–8). Then,

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31 Such a reading—an attack on salvation by works—could also integrate well with a plausible rereading of Rom 3–4. This later discussion (specifically 3:27–4:22) can be viewed as a precisely parallel critique of the idea of judgment and justification by works, but this time using a new major premise, the principle of *pistis*, and argued of course primarily with respect to Abraham. Hence Rom 1–3 and 3–4 would be not plight and solution, but critique 1 (on internal grounds) and critique 2 (on external grounds, specifically, the witness of the Torah in relation to Abraham). 1:16–17, 3:21–26, and 4:23–25 would also have slightly different emphases from the traditional reading (for some tentative beginnings here see my "The Meaning of ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and ΝΟΜΟΣ in Paul: A Linguistic and Structural Investigation," *JBL* 111 [1992] 85–97; "Rom. 1:17 - A *crux interpretum* for the ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ dispute," *JBL* 113 [1994] 265–85; and *The Rhetoric of Righteousness in Romans 3:21–26*).

32 See Charles Pigden, "Appendix 1: Introductory Logic for Ethics," in *Introduction to Moral and Social Philosophy* (Dunedin: Department of Philosophy, University of Otago, 1994) 64–77, esp. 70–71; Peter A. Paciom and Donald Scherer, "The Indirect Proof Strategy" and "Proofs by Reduction to Contradiction, Vicious Regression, and Intuitive Absurdities," in *Logic and Logical Thinking: A Modular Approach* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978) 380–91; A. W. Sparkes, *Talking Philosophy: A Wordbook* (London & New York: Routledge, 1991) 219–221; and James D. Carney and Richard K. Scheer, *Fundamentals of Logic* (New York: Macmillan, 1964) 237–38 (my thanks to Timothy Bayne for his help here).

33 The traditional approach wants to grant this premise some validity, as a prior stage to Christianity (and hence also descriptive of Judaism), and out of which one progresses after moral reflection. This agenda has possibly obscured the aggression of Paul's argument here: he grants the view no legitimacy whatsoever (and this must have welcome results for our Jewish historiography in relation to the NT).

secondly, he moves to draw direct and increasingly unacceptable consequences from it. Hence, our suggested new reading of Rom 1–3 does not really alter the traditional reading of the first phase of Paul's discussion: it is the subsequent use and implications of the premise of judgment that we are attempting to reconfigure, not its establishment. So the traditional reading of 1:18–2:6 can essentially remain intact,[34] and our new reading takes effect from 2:6 onwards.[35]

With the premise of strict soteriological desert in place by 2:6, Paul goes on to try to embarrass it, first (i.e., in 2:9–3:20) by juxtaposing the premise with two further sets of premises and describing the awkward inferential consequeces. The first set of new premises derives from a particular understanding of salvation-history—we have dubbed them "covenantal" premises. The second set derives from universal sinfulness or incapacity. We will describe Paul's inferences from the first, rather more complex, set of covenantal premises first.

(1) The first inference, from a covenantal order of salvation (2:9–29): In 2:9 Paul immediately goes about setting up his first *reductio* from the covenant and its resultant view of salvation-history. Implicit in the new premises at this point (but quite explicit later on) are the ideas that God looks with special favour on Israel, and treats Jews accordingly. In some sense they are special and privileged (the cause[s] of this need not detain us here). It follows automatically of course that Gentiles are less privileged, so "[God saves] Jews first, then Gentiles." This special favour could be noted and celebrated by Jews in a variety of ways, but a significant mark of privilege was clearly circumcision (not to mention the figure first blessed with it, Abraham).

As Paul is well aware, however, a strict application of the principle of judgment in accordance with works will cut directly across this distinction (so 2:9–13): only Jews who "work" will be saved, while those who don't won't be, and the same will apply to Gentiles. Consequently, the premise of judgment by desert *could* have the effect of *exactly reversing* the expected covenantal order of salvation: Gentiles (who work) will be saved, while Jews (who don't) will be condemned (note, both inferences here are irritating). Paul will in fact draw these two inferences in 2:12–16 and 2:17–24 (and juxtapose them even more scandalously

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34 2:1–4 has recently proved troublesome to some scholars, because Paul can be read as accusing "the Jew" of judgment and hypocrisy, and thereby perpetrating an anti-semitic stereotype. Against this some urge that 2:1–4 be read simply with respect to "a judger"—and Jews are not specifically mentioned until v. 9 (see e.g. Stowers, *Rereading*, 100–109). The polarity here may, however, be somewhat artificial. Paul is interested in isolating a premise, as against an ethnic group. Those who have endorsed the premise of judgment in 1:18–32 are automatically committed (on pain of self-contradiction or, as Paul puts it, hypocrisy) to submitting to this as well. Hence, irrespective of identity, acceptance of the premise leads to acceptance of its consequences. Whether or not this includes Jews depends on their own particular beliefs, and whether they joined in the endorsement of Gentile punishment in 1:32. If they did, then they are committed to its implications: if they did not, then clearly they are not included within the ambit of Paul's argument. One suspects that, as a matter of historical fact, the responses here were quite varied—and we will also never know what they were! Essentially, Paul's point should be understood argumentatively, and not as a matter of ethnic description.

35 Note, some scholars have also tried to reconfigure Paul's argument more broadly here, seeing this as part of the traditional reading's problems (see, e.g., Elliott, *Rhetoric of Romans*, 105–27, 167–90; and Stowers, *Rereading*, 83–125). While fascinating, however, the reading presented here suggests that such attempts are unnecessary.

in 2:27!). Moreover, any markers of Jewish privilege like circumcision will also be rendered quite irrelevant, since privilege itself has ceased to exist and only works will count. In effect, and as Paul is once again well aware, the premise of works makes Jewish identity itself irrelevant. This suggestion amounts to a third (unacceptable) inference (although it is actually the basic issue), and Paul makes it in 2:25–29.

By 3:1 this particular inferential progress has run its course, and Paul anticipates an understandable objection: "What then *is* the advantage of the Jew or the advantage of [the] circumcision?!" The questioner has understood Paul's point exactly (which is hardly surprising). But the irritation and tension generated here is not an embarrassment that Paul must (at least at this stage) wriggle out of: it is exactly the argument's point, and the listener is meant to realize that the fault lies with the original premise—the new premises (in this case covenantal, or, "the advantage of Israel") clearly cannot be abandoned!, and one clearly cannot hold to both sets of premises at the same time! So the original premise is called into doubt by this juxtaposition and its inference, and hopefully will be jettisoned (and the function of this diatribe will be discussed shortly).

In more detail, in 2:7–8 Paul simply elaborates the basic, two-fold implications of a final judgment in accordance with works: good workers will be saved, while workers of the bad will not. In vv. 9–10, however (using a slogan found originally in 1:16), Paul introduces the covenantal premises that will prove so embarrassing, starting with (perhaps) the slightly less scandalous suggestion that those working wickedness will include Jews as well as Greeks, and following this with the observation that those working the good will also include Jews, and then Greeks. Note, in the succession here the awkward accent falls on the alternative member of these pairs: in the first category, the damned, it is the inclusion of the Jew that shocks; in the second, the saved, the presence of the Greek. Paul then continues his argument with this last embarrassing inclusion first (after citing a Jewish theologoumenon), after this moving to the first embarrassing omission.

In vv. 12a and 13 Paul emphasizes that those outside the law but doing good will be justified. At this point Paul also recapitulates the premise of natural revelation that was initially introduced in 1:19–20 (2:14–15). There the premise established the unremarkable notion that Gentiles had ignored any such guidance, lapsing into idolatry and immorality, and so meriting a judgment of death. Now, however, in accordance with the positive side of the soteriological equation, Paul wishes to stress the more awkward point that Gentiles may also be saved if they only obey the dictates they receive (and this independently of Judaism of course). And so he reiterates the premise, nuancing it in terms of a brief discussion of the inner moral debate many know so well (v. 15b).

This argumentative move is interesting for a number of reasons: firstly, it reinforces that Paul self-consciously and formally accompanies his premise of judgment by desert with premises derived from "natural theology" (that is, cosmological and moral arguments that suggest the nature and demands of God); secondly, it reinforces the model of even-handed divine and cosmic justice that Paul is working with here—a judgment in accordance with desert *must* presuppose access of all to some sort of criteria by means of which that judgment can be made (or it would not be just), so the advocate of this premise is really equally committed to some such natural revelation; but, thirdly, Paul also knows

that the further, quite logical, inference that good Gentiles may now be saved independently of Israel will shock, so he must reinforce the rationality of this conclusion by repeating and reinforcing its premises. It would seem then, if we are to take the premise of soteriological desert seriously, that untutored Gentiles could, and indeed will, be saved.[36]

In 2:17–24 Paul addresses the other side of the strict soteriological equation, namely condemnation, with reference to the embarrassing inclusion there, namely Jews. Despite possessing the Torah, the definitive revelation of the requirements of God (vv. 17–20), Paul challenges "the Jew" as to whether they have stolen, committed adultery, or robbed temples.

The extremity of Paul's charges at this point has puzzled some scholars, and seems only partially alleviated by the observation that much ancient polemic was this caricatured (Is Paul simply polemicising here?).[37] More helpful perhaps is the suggestion that the behaviour of certain Jewish charlatans at Rome is being alluded to: villains we are told about in Josephus's *Antiquities* (18.81–84).[38] Four Jews, the ring-leader "masquerading as a teacher of wisdom through the decrees of Moses," absconded with "gold and purple" obtained from an aristocratic Roman woman that was originally intended as a gift to the Jerusalem temple.[39] Hence the passage should perhaps be explained on two levels, with the second

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[36] The notion that the occasional righteous or good Gentile woud be saved was certainly not foreign to the Rabbis (although, characteristically, it was disputed) and the idea may well have had antecedents in the Judaism of Paul's time (see 4 Ezra 3:36; a book probably dating from around 100 CE). Paul, however, is perhaps the most ruthless in his exposure of the soteriological consequences implicit in any such concession. See George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927, 30) 1.279, 2.386.

[37] See n. 19; Stowers suggests that a figure analogous to the stock motif of the pretentious would-be philosopher is in view here, probably a Jewish "missionary" competitor to Paul (*Rereading*, 144–53). This elegantly worked suggestion is very close to (and I think reinforces) the following.

[38] Josephus links this incident of religious fraud with the expulsion of the Jews from Rome by Tiberias in 19 CE (*Ant.* 18.81–84); a connection other ancient historians do not make (see Suetonius, *Tib.* 36; Tacitus, *Ann.* 85, 4; and Cassius Dio, *Hist. Rom.* 57.18.5a). So scholars like E. M. Smallwood have concluded that Josephus's connection is apologetic (*The Jews Under Roman Rule* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976], 202–10; see also M. Stern (ed.) *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* [Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1976, 1980, 1984], 2.68–72, 112–13, 365). Of course, the correlation with the expulsion doesn't really matter for our purposes here; merely the existence of these fraudsters, and I see no reason to doubt that. But it is fascinating to note that Tacitus records action by the senate at this time against aristocratic female immorality immediately prior to his discussion of expulsions of those adhering to Jewish and Egyptian superstitions. Josephus also prefaces the Jewish incident with an account of the seduction of a Roman noblewoman, Paulina (implicitly the same woman, because she has a husband of the same name?!) by a certain Decius Mundus, who exploits her devotion to Isis (*Ant.* 18.65–80). These observations together imply a rumour of immorality in the expulsions; something quite possible in the context of the proselytism of aristocratic women to mysterious foreign superstitions (and not necessarily more than this, i.e., temple prostitution; the suggestion of W. A. Heidel that is rightly widely rejected: see e.g. Smallwood, *Jews*, 203, n. 9). If true, this would make Paul's charges in 2:21–22 correlate precisely: he queries there whether the Jewish exponents of the law steal, rob temples, or *commit adultery* (vv. 23–24 are also clearly applicable to the incident).

[39] *Ant.* 18.82: the correspondences with Rom 2:17–24, including a reference to "transgressors," are quite striking.

offering a far richer argumentative function. At the purely formal level, Paul seems to be reiterating the inference of 2:1–4 that sinful Jews will be judged and condemned, and so he is beginning to develop the second embarrassing component implicit in the premise of judgment by works when it contacts a covenantal ordering of humanity. But, as we have seen, because of the seriousness of the sins specifically mentioned, the inference is not too difficult to avoid at this point. If, however, Paul is also alluding to the incident recounted by Josephus, then the section becomes more pointed. As well as making the formal charge of Jewish sinfulness, if a little crudely, it also suggests that certain Jewish advocates of the law have in fact already undergone this judgment (leading to awful embarrassment amongst the godless but not stupid Gentiles at Rome; so v. 24). While presumably any more putative Jewish teachers of the law could conceivably behave the same way, and so should be carefully scrutinized in terms of their own teaching. In formal terms, then, the *ad hominem reductio* here doubles for a more explicit *ad hominem* based on a possible similarity between well-known Jewish villains and another group that Paul's Roman audience may soon perhaps encounter—"Beware of those that look the same!" Admittedly, we have temporarily strayed here from strictly formal argumentative concerns to historical considerations, but the clumsiness of a flat reading of this section, combined with the penetration of the historical reading, seemed to warrant it. Quite significantly, the additional meaning still functions within the basic *ad hominem* argumentative strategy that we see operating in the passage as a whole.

In v. 25 Paul makes the transition to the third component of the general covenantal inference we noted earlier. Just as disobedient Jews will fail the judgment in accordance with works, any signs of special favour or privilege are no longer strictly relevant. This clearly results in a redefinition of motifs like circumcision: it only has value in a person who works, while someone who only works is in effect circumcised, even if they are not physically. Of course, this amounts to saying (as Paul is well aware) that circumcision is irrelevant, and a major definition of the Jew is thereby stood on its head—actually Judaism *per se* is irrelevant, and this is the basic problem that Paul is emphasizing.[40]

But this section contains a third barb, in v. 27 (and derived in formal terms from the previous two inferences). We have already seen that (1) Gentiles can be saved by works, and (2) Jews who don't work may be condemned. The possible

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[40] One also suspects that the troublesome phrase "the secret Jew . . . circumcised in the heart in the spirit not the letter," integrates with this broader scandal (and set of inferences) hence "spirit" should be read merely in the sense of the "mind" or "conscience" that actually undertakes the requisite good deeds (compare the same order of words in the phrases of 2:25, where heart is followed by conscience and the interaction of accusing and defending thoughts; see also the motif of "secret[s]" in 2:16: Sanders concurs in "Appendix," 127). The phrase may also have a Deuteronomic echo, where the same is repeatedly enjoined on Israel, namely, that they should seek God and follow his commandments with all their heart *and soul* (and strength). Here also, and correspondingly, circumcision should be not merely external but internal: "circumcise the foreskin of your heart, and do not be stubborn . . ." (10:16; see also 5:29; 6:4–5; 11:13, 18; 30:1–2, 10); also "the Lord your God will circumcise your heart and the heart of your descendants, so that you will love the Lord your God with all your heart and all your soul, in order that you may live" (30:6). Admittedly the LXX uses *psuche* fairly consistently for "soul", but is not hard to imagine why Paul would substitute the closely analogous *pneuma* for *psuche* here—it prepares the way for the later, very important, discussion of pneumatology.

salvation-historical anomalies created by the strict application of the premise of soteriological desert are revealed here in their starkest form when Paul suggests archly that an uncircumcised Gentile could therefore accuse a circumcised Jew. Normal eschatological expectations have again been turned upside-down by the premise of judgment in accordance with desert. One can conclude only either that the beloved covenantal expectations of eschatological favour from God must be abandoned, or that the premise of judgment by desert is itself false.

(2) A proleptic discussion of election (3:1–9a): The introduction of motifs suggesting privilege or election, that is, the idea that God might save Israel for his/her own special reasons rather than on account of their good deeds, creates the possibility of an immediate avoidance of some the implications of the premise of desert that Paul has so carefully established. Rather than feeling the force of Paul's inference that bad Jews could be damned, someone might retort that God's electing favour will overcome any such outcome—and this would amount to an argumentative (not to mention theological) disaster. Although there is direct evidence in contemporaneous Jewish literature of this sort of mixing of soteriological premises (i.e., Synergism),[41] Paul seems to be painfully aware that salvation by election or privilege is in fundamental contradiction to soteriological desert: the two principles are not logically reconcilable. Moreover, much of his argument (as well as in chapters nine to eleven) depends on a clear separation between the two. Here, as we have seen, he is actually embarrassing the premise of desert by demonstrating its absurd consequences for covenantal expectations.[42] But to table this theme now as *an objection against*, rather than *embarrassing to*, the fundamental premise under discussion of desert, is to be basically confused and to overturn everything Paul is trying to achieve at present.

So in 3:1–9a Paul cleverly avoids the possible use of election as an "escape clause" by eliciting the confession from the mouth of an interlocutor that the faithlessness of Israel (which would then constitute grounds for an appeal to salvation by election) will not invalidate God's basic right to judge the cosmos. Indeed, Paul argues, the very thought comes perilously close to the scandalous suggestion that people should do evil that God may respond with righteousness. The condemnation of such people (and, we might add, such suggestions at this point in Paul's argument) is deserved! So, by subtly shifting the terms of successive diatribal exchanges, Paul seems to elicit from the mouth of an

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41 This phenomenon emerges quite clearly in Sanders' famous analysis of Jewish soteriology in terms of "getting in" (by election) and "staying in" (through works and law-observance). Sanders amasses considerable textual support for this system (see his *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*), although 4 Ezra is problematic for him—and hence perhaps more soteriologically consistent. In the context of Rom 1–3, however, a comparison with *Wisd Sol* is particularly interesting: trenchantly committed to performance of, and judgment by, "works," with the necessary accompanying premise of natural revelation clearly evident (see esp. 13:1–9), there is nevertheless also a repeated appeal to the inscrutable mercy of God with respect to Israel. This mercy transforms historical judgments that would be eternal punishment for Gentiles into a temporary pedagogy (4:15, 6:6a, 9:13–17, 11:9–10, 23–12:2, 12–22, 15:1–6, 16:5–29, 19:22).

42 Later Paul will explore the notion of election in much more detail (9:6–45, 11:1–36): indeed, it can hardly be emphasized sufficiently that Paul himself is quite clearly committed to the notion of election, at least in some sense (see also 8:28–30).

interlocutor the admission that complaints from the covenant *against* the consequence he is inferring here cannot (at least at this point) stand.

Note, Paul's argument is not necessarily formally correct at this point—indeed, it contains some sleight of hand. But it is interesting to note again its skill if it also functions in a context characterized by intruding Jewish Christian advocates of the law. If such people were to criticise Paul's gospel for its libertinism (since to abandon the law would amount to the same thing for many), and if they were also to criticise Paul's argument at this point for its (apparent) abandonment of Jewish privilege, then they end up asserting here something very similar to what they criticise Paul for—"though we are evil, good will come of it!" Put more formally, they cannot hold simultaneously to their objection here to Paul's inferences, couched probably in terms of the covenant, and their objection to him elsewhere in terms of libertinism. Paul has cleverly made their current (anticipated) objection too similar to their standard objection to his gospel elsewhere on grounds of licentiousness for this, and any such opponents are now heard to be advocating the very position they elsewhere criticise!

If this reading of 3:1–9a is vaguely correct, then it is interesting to note that this diatribal anticipation also recapitulates the basic argumentative tactic of its surrounding discussion, namely, the teasing out of contradictions in the basic premises of an opposing system. Clearly here, however, Paul has temporarily paused from his main concern, that is, drawing out the problems of the premise of soteriological desert. But, in his view, the very use of covenantal expectations to achieve this in his main argument has made necessary an anticipatory rebuttal of an essentially confused objection to such an inference also in terms of election.[43]

(3) The second inference (3:9b-19): In 3:9b Paul resumes a point he began earlier, namely, the theme of sinfulness. However, whereas in 2:17–24 this was limited (perhaps to certain infamous Jewish evangelists, along with those like them), and functioning in relation to a covenantal set of premises to embarrass the notion that Jews will be saved (while in 1:18–32 it served to set up the "target premise" of judgment by works), in 3:10–18 Paul has assembled a catena of texts that affirms *universal* sinfulness. This premise of universal depravity must push everyone onto the wrong side of the eschatological evaluation affirmed in the basic premise: all in fact sin, therefore, all will be condemned. Hence, if accepted, this juxtaposition also undermines the plausibility of any judgment by works, but in a slightly different way: such a judgment will simply be futile because "no-one" will pass it (not righteous Gentiles; not Jews).

Clearly then, this is a significantly different emphasis from the traditional reading of the section (which construes Paul's logic here correctly). Given judgment by desert and an additional premise of universal sinfulness, one should

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43 There are significant analogues to this in ancient rhetoric where the strategy of anticipatory rebuttal was well-known, specifically, as *prolepsis* (*Inst.* 4.1.49–50). The broader notion of rebuttal itself was also well-known as a standard requirement of speeches in any context characterized by dispute or opposition. Quintilian reserved a distinct component of the juridical oration for it, the fourth, namely, the *refutatio* (*Inst.* 5.13: in the present context see esp. ss. 17, 23, 30 & 54, where he speaks of seeking out contradictions in an opponent's argument, and going on to address objections that arise from objections).

conclude that all will be condemned at such a judgment. The traditional reading dwells upon this verdict, assuming its validity, and this state is meant to create an appropriate context for the offer of salvation through faith in the Christian gospel. Our new reading does not construe the implication of the syllogism in this fashion, however: it assumes (much like the traditional reading) that God saves, but infers that since God cannot save this way, this is simply not the way that God will save. The offer of salvation here in terms of this criterion—specifically of "glory, honour, and immortality"—is mistaken.

In favour of such a reading, over against the traditional one, is that the puzzling redundancy of the positive, salvific side of the original criterion of desert is accounted for. This no longer simply lapses, as a necessary argumentative redundancy, but (once again) functions centrally in Paul's argument. Moreover, such a reading also correlates precisely with the *reductio* we have suggested is operative in 2:17–29 in terms of the covenant: the two lines of inference would be making the same point.

We might also note that the difficulties of the traditional inference, in terms of its premise of desert and consequent inference through sinfulness to universal sin, is avoided. Earlier it was noted that this major premise was problematic in that few Jews seemed to share it, while it also seemed unnecessary to argue to the conclusion of sinfulness, since many Jews would have admitted this. Argumentatively, the major premise of the traditional inference is unsound, while the ensuing argument is redundant. Both these problems are avoided by our new construal of Paul's implications here, however: the foolishness of the major premise is precisely his point, while the premise of universal sinfulness is not itself the argument's point—nor is it significantly supported, but it relies on general agreement for its argumentative effectiveness as part of an embarrassing extension. Put simply, running the syllogism in the other direction makes it more cogent.[44]

This second main inference is summarized in 3:19: "whatsoever the law says, it says to those in the law, so that every mouth might be stopped and the entire cosmos submitted to God" (and perhaps 3:20b also simply picks this point up: "through the law is knowledge of sin"). At this point it would seem that the entire cosmos, by the verdict of scripture, would fail the eschatological evaluation of deeds. But rather than concluding the matter, this is merely further evidence that the initial premise of judgment by works is a ridiculous one: everyone is

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44 Paul's argument could also be read on two levels here, however. If certain Jewish Christian teachers presented a soteriological scheme based on desert, and corroborated this from the Scriptures (presumably from texts like Deuteronomy), then they would be faced at this point in Paul's argument with a series of conundrums. Paul has quoted texts that suggest the futility of such a scenario (if not its very falseness). The sheer number of such texts is also significant: human incapacity is clearly a scriptural theme that overwhelms the mere citation of individual verses, or perhaps texts drawn from single books that they might offer—here Psalms and Prophets combine in a great barrage. Any such teachers must now explain why they themselves do not take such texts seriously—as before, they are themselves open to ethical scrutiny, while if they continue to offer a desert scenario to Gentiles, they must explain how the law deals with deep-rooted human corruption; how it actually transforms people, as against merely educating and guiding them (as in 2:18–20). Paul does not develop these inferences here in any great depth, but they are all present within his basic point (and some are taken up later in Romans, e.g. 7:1–8:17).

already clearly declared to be on one (and the worst!) side, so the entire schema is called into question. Put crisply, no-one will be saved that way—so is that really how God saves?!

At 3:20a Paul's *reductio* is complete, and he can state its hopefully obvious conclusion: "*by works of law* all flesh will *not* be justified before him [God]"—such a soteriology is in dire tension with any covenantal view that Israel is privileged, as well as with any view of human nature as significantly flawed.

One of the great advantages of this reading of 1:18–3:20 is that all the tensions noted in the traditional reading now function meaningfully and hence in its support. We can understand why Paul scandalously redefines circumcision (and then has quickly to avoid a premature objection from election); why mysterious "righteous Gentiles" exist, who not only are saved independently of Judaism but condemn the odd unrighteous Jew themselves; and why the principle of universal sinfulness renders one half of the basic soteriological equation otiose. Most importantly, we can understand how some people seem to be saved in chapter two, while all are silent and condemned in chapter three. In chapter two Paul is extending the implications of the premise of judgment by works, which produces righteous Gentiles. This is then embarrassed by any covenantal order. In chapter three he deploys a premise concerning human incapacity *against* the premise of judgment—and again the implication is embarrassing. Hence, the former instance is a formal projection of the premise Paul is attacking (judgment by desert implies that good Gentiles can be saved); the latter a new premise that is introduced to create further inferential tensions (judgment by desert is inevitably negative if all sin). Hence, most of our previous problems with Paul's argument in Romans 1–3, and most of its main textual features, are explained by this new view of his argument in terms of a *reductio.* Furthermore, a convincing reading of the difficult diatribe in 3:1–9a can also be given within this broad approach.

4. Issues for Further Discussion

In conclusion, it should be noted that several further, very important questions arise out of the foregoing, essentially argumentative, analysis:

(1) How do we explain Paul's extended engagement with this particular soteriological premise in Romans 1–3, especially in the broader contexts of the letter as a whole and its Roman destination? That is, can we integrate this argumentative analysis of chapters one through three with the broader debate over Romans' provenance?

Given that Paul's argument is largely *ad hominem,* it is a very small step to take to posit the presence of *homines*—and it is a step well-supported by many of his letters. Arguably, their most common cause is to counter perceived intruders into Paul's Gentile Christian communities. Moreover, Galatians clearly deals with opponents arguing very similar questions (irrespective of whether that argument preceded Romans by a few years, or is in fact the same one). Thus, it would seem that a historically plausible explanation lies readily to hand for our suggested construal of Paul's argument while, once again, the traditional reading is in difficulties (here, by preaching to the converted). In short, it is plausible to suggest that in Rom 1–3 Paul is engaging with a central soteriological premise of

his opponents, opening his epistolary debate by demonstrating its internal inadequacies, namely, that it is in deep tension with both a covenantal approach to eschatological salvation and a scriptural view of human nature.[45]

(2) How do we construe the intertextual dimension in the letter, especially if Paul is in fact engaging with Jewish Christian opponents?

It is no longer enough to assume that all the texts in the argument are Paul's: he is at times engaged in an intertextual battle, in which some of the key texts have no doubt been tabled by his opponents, forcing Paul either to re-interpret or even to evade them (and hence some of the exegetical strains of chapter four?). Such texts should not be taken as direct indicators of his own theology or hermeneutic, and we must work harder to recover those that do.[46]

Finally, (3) when reconstructing Paul's theology, what beloved formulations, scriptural (so 2) and otherwise, do we now have to abandon as representative of his own thought?

Natural revelation, soteriology by desert, and an *a priori* approach to the proclamation of the gospel (premised on the foregoing), should all be questioned, if not jettisoned, as products merely of an argumentative situation, and within that, not even Paul's own position. In a bitter historical irony, when these principles are incorporated into our theological description of Paul we characterise him in terms of his opponents' theology; a theology that he himself was deeply opposed to, and spent considerable time rebutting with some sophistication. However, if we are alert to the structure and dynamic of that rebuttal, especially in Rom 1–3, then this is a mistaken attribution that we no longer need to make, and our consequent description of Paul's theology will be more consistent and more coherent as a result.

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45 See n. 16.

46 See n. 40.

Appendix:
A Comparative, Formal Analysis of Argumentative Construals of Rom 1–3

The Traditional Construal

Stage one:

1. The requirements of God are evident in the cosmos (both externally and internally) (1:19–20, 2:14–15).
2. Good deeds are theistic worship, heterosexual monogamy, and acts of kindness.
3. Bad deeds are the converse (see esp. 1:18, 21–32).
4. God will reward 2 (justly or fairly—from 1) with honour and life (2:6, 7, 10).
5. God will punish 3 (justly or fairly—from 1) with trouble and death (1:32, 2:1–6, 8, 9).
6. This will take place on the Day of Judgment (2:5, 16).

We might summarise these principles in the single premise:
Judgment (whether salvation or damnation) will be by "works" (that is, deeds, or, it will be in accordance with desert)—such a judgment will of course be just.

Stage two—main argument:

7. Empirically, or observably, everyone commits bad deeds (2:17–24—& 2:1–5?, & 1:18–32?).
8. The Scriptures testify that everyone commits bad deeds (3:9b-18).
9. Everyone is therefore liable to 5, taking place on 6, above (3:19–20).

Stage two—subordinate rebutting argument:

10. No appeal to Jewish privilege will be effective (2:25–3:9a):
11a. Because God is allowed to judge everyone in this fashion (3:4–6);
11b. Because this would be the same as advocating libertinism (3:7–8);
11c. Because this is simply overruled by 1 through 6 above (i.e., it is inconsistent with 1–6, and 1–6 apparently have precedence: 2:25–29).

A New Suggested Construal of Rom 1–3

Stage one:

Basically, as 1 through 6 above;
"judgment will be in accordance with works/deeds/desert"

However, the argument is designed to elicit a clear and undivided assent to this implicit premise:

1. Gentiles know God's requirements—theism and sexual morality,
2. Because these are written into the cosmos (and into their hearts: 1:19–20, also 2:14–15).
3. However, Gentiles deliberately ignore these, committing idolatry and sexual immorality (and they even endorse and encourage the same, and worse, acts: 1:18–32).

4. God's punishment of such people is well-deserved (1:18, 32).
5. Therefore, God judges wicked acts (so 1–4: 2:2).
6. And, if propositions 1–4 are true, so is 5, which must apply universally and, by implication, to anyone who affirms them (2:1, 3–5).
7. To avoid such a judgment is to be a hypocrite (2:1, 3).
8a. However, to commit wicked acts is to be liable to the same judgment (2:1, 3–5).

(Implicitly 8b. Or, 1–5 could be abandoned, and God assumed to judge in accordance with a different criteria altogether: so later 3:1).

Stage two:

9. *If* God judges in strict accordance with works, deeds, or desert, *then*

(i) First embarrassing inference (2:9–29):

10. Gentiles who do good deeds will be saved (2:9–15), and
11. Jews who do bad deeds will be condemned ([2:1–5] 2:9–10, 17–24), and
12. Good gentiles will laugh at bad Jews on the Day of Judgment (2:26–27).
13. Moreover, circumcision, and mere symbols of favour, will not count for anything in the absence of good deeds (and 13b, vice versa: 2:25–29).

(ii) Second embarrassing inference (3:9b-19):

14. Since Scripture declares repeatedly that everyone commits sinful deeds (3:9b-18),
15. And Scripture cannot be wrong,
16. All will in fact be condemned and no-one will be saved (3:19),

[17. While through the law will come merely the knowledge of damnation (3:20b)].

(iii) Anticipation of an objection:

18. If it is argued that God will save sinful Jews from mere favour, this is incorrect:
19. Because 1–5 simply over-rules such actions (like circumcision) (2:25–29);
20. Because 9 over-rules such actions (God will judge the world, and punish iniquity) (so 1–5: 3:4–6): note, you have already strongly asserted the truth of 1–5 and 9;
21. Because my bad behaviour would then glorify God's goodness (3:7–8),
22. But one may as well say at this point, "behave badly so God's goodness may be emphasized" (*Ibid.*);
23. And this suggestion is obviously wrong (*Ibid.*).

[24. It is also incompatible with criticizing libertinism (*Ibid.*, esp. v. 8)].

Conclusion:

25. The premise of a covenantal order of salvation ("Jews first, then Gentiles") cannot be held simultaneously with the premise of judgment by desert.
26. The premise of universal incapacity or sinfulness (which is Scripturally attested) cannot be held simultaneously with the premise of a judgment by desert, where it is promised that some will be saved.

27. I cannot object to the implications of the premise of desert for Jews in terms of election without being inconsistent, and sounding like a libertine, and this is also inconsistent with claims I make elsewhere.
28. Covenantal claims cannot be abandoned.
29. Neither can universal human incapacity be abandoned.
30. Therefore, the premise of God's judgment by desert is false (3:20a), and should simply be abandoned.

"Not Counting [the] Women . . .": A Feminist Reading of Matthew 26–28[1]

Sheila E. McGinn
John Carroll University

Each time Matthew depicts Jesus' feeding miracle, the vignette concludes with how many men were fed, "not counting women and children" (14:21, 15:38).[2] To some readers, this concluding remark by the narrator typifies the clearly androcentric focus of Matthew's gospel. However, such a narrative comment might also raise the question: are there other cases in Matthew when the continual presence of women has been hidden from the audience—only to be revealed by the narrator at the conclusion of the action? A subversive and feminist reading of the text shows that, in the passion-resurrection narrative of this gospel (Mt 26–28), a similar pattern appears repeatedly: women are involved in a scene, but remain hidden from view (are "not count[ed]") until the men have left the stage; then the spotlight, finding no other subject, finally rests on the women.

Why is it that, at the climax of Matthew's gospel, we find such a high concentration of scenes with women in significant roles? In the passion-resurrection story, the evangelist applies and further illustrates the message of responsible discipleship. This in itself is nothing surprising. What may come as some surprise, however, is how clearly these concluding chapters illustrate that Matthew's notion of responsible discipleship applies to women as well as men. If it did not seem to be the case before, in the end Matthew shows that women precisely are "counted." And women also are held up as models for imitation.

Matthew 26–28 provides an interesting locus for illustrating this structural feature because several episodes with women in key roles highlight this section of the gospel (26:6–13, 26:69–75, 27:15–23, 27:45–56, 27:57–61, and 28:1–10). The evangelist has done some preparation for this condensed series of episodes by including a few earlier scenes which involve women. At first, those vignettes were like punctuation marks, accenting the text here and there (e.g., 8:14–15, 9:18–

[1] This paper is based on my commentary on Matthew which will appear in Mary J. Evans, Carolyn Kroeger, and Elaine Storkey, eds., *The Women's Study New Testament* (London: Harper Collins; New York: Baker, 1995?).

I want to thank Maryclaire Moroney, Sara R. Joranko, and Dawson D. Moorer for reading various drafts of this text and offering helpful comments on it. In particular, Dr. Moroney has been instrumental in helping me to refine the argument about the structure of the Matthean narrative. Whatever limitations the reader finds in this paper are, of course, my own.

[2] One wonders whether, for Matthew, this is one category or two.

26, 14:6–11, and 15:21–28). As Matthew draws toward the climax of the gospel, the scenes become more frequent.[3]

In the section which immediately precedes the passion narrative (the eschatological discourse), the warnings about God's coming judgment include two pericopes quite close together, each with significant female characters. First is the brief warning about two women grinding meal in Mt 24:41. Next appears

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[3] I reviewed the gospel for scenes which involve women as actors or objects of discourse (including the two references in the feeding stories to the "uncounted" women). This first chart illustrates the frequency of references to women spread over the seven sections of the gospel:

- the Infancy Narrative (ch. 1–2) 7 pericopes
- Discourse 1 (ch. 3–7) 2
- Discourse 2 (ch. 8–10) 4
- Discourse 3 (ch. 11–13) 5
- Discourse 4 (ch. 14–19) 9
- Discourse 5 (ch. 20–25) 7
- the Passion Narrative (ch. 26–28) 6

Clearly, there are more references to women in the second half of the gospel than in the first half. If we omit the Infancy and Passion Narratives which bracket the central five sections of the gospel, then there are sixteen pericopes which mention women in sections four and five (twelve chapters), whereas there are only eleven pericopes which mention women in sections one through three (eleven chapters).

This second chart illustrates the frequency of pericopes about women throughout Matthew's gospel, and categorizes their presence as objects or actors in these pericopes:

- ch. 1–2: 7 pericopes: 6 with woman as objects; 1 active (reference to Rachel in 2:18)
- 3–4 0
- 5 2 objects
- 6–7 0
- 8 1 active (8:14–15)
- 9 2 1 object (becomes active in 9:25); 1 active (9:20ff)
- 10 1 object
- 11 2 1 object; 1 active (11:19)
- 12 1 object; 1 potentially active (12:42)
- 13 2 1 object; 1 active (13:33)
- 14 2 1 object; 1 active recipient (14:6–11)
- 15 3 2 objects; 1 active recipient (15:22–28)
- 16–17 0
- 18 1 object
- 19 3 objects
- 20 1 active (20:20–21)
- 21 0
- 22 1 object
- 23 1 active (Jesus as hen in 23:37)
- 24 2 1 object; 1 active (24:41)
- 25 2 1 active; 1 (inferred) active (25:31–46)
- 26–28 6 4 active; 2 active observer

As is immediately seen from this chart, the last five chapters of the gospel have a higher concentration of scenes involving or referring to women than do any of the earlier chapters other than the Infancy Narrative and chapter 19. When one takes into account the question of the *active* presence of women, as compared to the discussion of women as objects, then the trend is even more striking. Of the eighteen scenes with active women in Matthew's entire gospel, fully one third of them are found in these last three chapters (which comprises 10.7% of the gospel).

the parable of the ten maidens, in Mt 25:1–13, where the five resourceful women provide the light for the entire wedding party.

In itself, it is not remarkable to find two successive women-centered stories in Matthew. But, this time, the evangelist does not stop at two. This dyad is followed by a second parable—this time one which does not mention women (the talents, in Mt 25:14–30). But then, at least indirectly, the author returns to the theme in the last judgment scene of 25:31–46; here the Divine Judge lauds the activities of providing food, drink, clothing, comfort, and personal connection—activities typically construed to be "women's work."

The passion-resurrection narrative of Mt 26–28, with the six scenes featuring women, follows this increasing concentration of women-centered stories. In these six scenes of active women, we find that women become exemplary figures of faithful discipleship to Jesus. No one would doubt that Matthew presents both women and men as addressed by Jesus, whose message is that the foolish will receive wisdom (11:25) and the "poor in spirit" will inherit the reign of God (5:3).

Even more, these stories which conceal and then reveal the women use the social and cultural marginalization of women as a dramatic vehicle for conveying this revelation. Those who are hidden in these stories, the "uncounted," become the ones to whom all things are made known. If one recognizes those persons who have been hidden and now are revealed then—and only then—can one come to recognize the message about messiah Jesus and the βασιλεία which has been concealed from the powerful and worldly wise.

In Matthew's concluding chapters, the women break free from the margins and enter the dramatic center of the text. In so doing, they become models of how this God of Jesus works from the margins to gather a people, to bring about a new creation and shape a kingdom of mercy and justice for women and men.

Scene One: The Anointing Story

The first of these six episodes is the anointing of Jesus narrated in Mt 26:6–13:

> [W]hile Jesus was at Bethany in the house of Simon the leper, a woman came to him with an alabaster jar of very costly ointment, and she poured it on his head as he sat at the table. But when the disciples saw it, they were angry and said, "Why this waste? For this ointment could have been sold for a large sum, and the money given to the poor." But Jesus, aware of this, said to them, "Why do you trouble the woman? She has performed a good service for me. For you always have the poor with you, but you will not always have me. By pouring this ointment on my body she has prepared me for burial. Truly I tell you, wherever this good news is proclaimed in the whole world, what she has done will be told in remembrance of her."[4]

Matthew follows Mark's account (Mk 14:3–9) verbatim, except for the one significant change of identifying the protesters as "the disciples" (26:8; cf. Mk 14:4–5, where it is "some who were there"). Through her prophetic action of

[4] Biblical citations in this paper are taken from *The New Revised Standard Version* (Division of Christian Education, the National Council of Churches of Christ, USA, 1989).

anointing Jesus, the woman proclaims him the messiah-king of Israel.[5] The disciples' reproach of the woman centers on the charge that she was wasteful—"this ointment might have been sold for a large sum, and given to the poor" (26:9).[6] Yet, after centuries of waiting, would not the messiah be worth such a price? She would be "wasting" the ointment only if her prophetic action were false—either because a woman by definition can have no prophetic authority, or because she is mistaken about Jesus' identity. She and "the disciples" cannot both be right.

Matthew follows Mark in reporting Jesus' defense of the woman, interpreting her action as both prophetic and caring (26:10 and 12). The unnamed Prophetess is the first and only one so far, in Matthew's gospel, who recognizes Jesus as the messiah-king who will reign because of his suffering and death. Judas' betrayal, which immediately follows this story, provides a sharp contrast to the faithfulness of the Prophetess.

What is the significance of the disciples' mis-reading of Jesus and his role? The disciples cannot tolerate this woman, no less hear her proclamation about Jesus and imitate her generosity toward him. Rather than humbling themselves to hear God's word addressed to them by this prophetess, the disciples reject the woman and her message. Not only is it seen as an idle tale, it is scorned as a "waste" of precious resources. How could God speak through a woman, after all?

Yet, Jesus himself defends this woman's prophetic role and affirms the truth of her action. In so doing, he calls the male disciples to celebrate God's action of revealing what has been hidden. To see this woman as God's mouthpiece, the men must abandon their prejudice regarding male prerogatives in the salvation of Israel. Even more, they must rise above their culture's assumption of the propriety of women's social invisibility and lack of power. They must see that, in this woman, the very presence of their God becomes revealed—the God who gives the βασιλεία to those who are "poor in spirit," meek, and lowly, those who (like the little children) are not counted.[7]

How could God speak through a woman? Clearly, the evangelist does not want this last question to fall by the wayside, for it will be raised again and again in the next two pericopes.

Scene Two: Peter's Denial

The second episode in which women figure is the account of Peter's threefold denial of Jesus in Mt 26:69–75. Two servant-girls see Peter in the courtyard, during Jesus' hearing before the high priest. The women know Jesus well enough to recognize his disciple. They speak to Peter and to the bystanders: "You also were with Jesus the Galilean" (26:69); "This man was with Jesus of Nazareth" (26:71). The women offer Peter his chance to shine, to proclaim that

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[5] Likewise had Samuel anointed Saul (1 Sam 10:1) and David (1 Sam 16:1–13) as king and "messiah" (16:6).

[6] Matthew omits Mark's detail that it was worth "more than three hundred denarii," that is, three hundred days' wages. For purposes of comparison, if one assumes a minimum wage of $5.00 an hour, the value in current funds would be over $12,000 U.S.

[7] See 14:21 and 15:38; cf. 19:13–15.

he indeed is a disciple of Jesus. But the disciple "do[es] not know" Jesus; he turns faithless, and denies Jesus instead.

Scene Three: Jesus' Trial

In the next three scenes where women figure, they are less central characters, but their behavior is unusual enough that they are mentioned explicitly, and sometimes even named.[8] In the first of these (27:15–23), Pilate's wife intercedes for Jesus with her husband: "While [Pilate] was sitting on the judgment seat, his wife sent word to him, 'Have nothing to do with that innocent man, for today I have suffered a great deal because of a dream about him'" (Mt 27:19). To show the breadth of God's power, it is the wife of the Roman prefect who is said to have claimed, on the basis of a dream, that Jesus is innocent.[9] In the Infancy Narrative (Mt 1–2), Matthew shows that dreams are means of divine revelation. No doubt this message is meant to be seen in the same light. So, this gentile woman recognizes God's word concerning Jesus, and "sends" it (ἀπέστειλεν, from ἀποστέλλω) to her husband.[10] Whether or not Pilate finally obeys this divine message may be debated (see 27:22–24), but he certainly takes it seriously. Pilate does not denigrate the message nor the woman who sent it. In this way, Pontius Pilate—of all people!—becomes a positive counter-example to the male disciples, who rejected the prophetic message of the woman who anointed Jesus (Mt 26:6–13).

Scene Four: Jesus' Crucifixion

The crucifixion and burial scenes of Mt 27:45–56 and 57–61) also include vignettes involving women (27:55–56 and 61). In both cases, the women are mentioned only at the end of the scene, after the men's actions have been described. After narrating Jesus' final moments, the rending of the Temple curtain, the dead being raised, and the centurion's confession, the evangelist mentions that: "Many women were also there, looking on from a distance; they had followed Jesus from Galilee and had provided for him. Among them were Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee" (Mt 27:55–56).

The women "look[ed] on" at the crucifixion, after having "followed Jesus from Galilee" and having provided for him (v. 55), as later we will find that they "remained sitting" and watched opposite the tomb (v. 61). We now discover that these faithful women—who, like the children, were "not count[ed]"— indeed have followed Jesus from the beginning of his ministry in Galilee. They have been true disciples, for they "ministered" to him, offering service (διακονοῦσαι, from διακονέω) in the way all disciples are called to do.

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8 We probably can assume "the crowd" (e.g., 27:15) included some women, although they are not mentioned explicitly.

9 This detail is mentioned only in Matthew.

10 Again, the evangelist could have used other terms to refer to her sending a message, but chose ἀποστέλλω instead. One wonders whether this is an indirect reference to her apostolic function, sending to her husband God's good news—specifically, here, the truth about Jesus' innocence.

Further, we find that these "many women" have perceived, at Jesus' crucifixion, God's truth about him. To describe the women's "seeing," the evangelist uses the term θεωροῦσαι, from θεωρέω. The term implies true perception, rather than simply looking. In John (14:17, 19b; 17:24), we find this verb used to express "the spiritual perception of the one sent by God, which is possible only to the believer."[11] The author could have used ὁράω to report the women's "seeing," which would convey mere observation, and yet chose θεωρέω instead. This suggests a meaning akin to John's.

As Peter was singled out to represent the male disciples who fled, three female disciples are singled out to represent the faithful group: Mary Magdalene, Mary "the mother of James and Joseph," and "the [unnamed] mother of the sons of Zebedee" (v. 56). There is a poignant irony in the mention of these three women and their sons. The sons are the ones who have been *named* as disciples throughout the gospel, yet now they are nowhere to be found. These women, faithful all along, come to the fore only now that the men have left the stage.

This is particularly true of "the mother of the sons of Zebedee." She was last seen kneeling before Jesus and asking him for glory for her sons (20:20–23). At that time, both of the men vowed they would follow Jesus to the end, drinking the same "cup" he must drink (20:22). Now the sons have fled. "The mother" made no vow, yet she is present.

Scene Five: Jesus' Burial

At the burial, another unknown disciple rises to the occasion (Mt 27:57–61). This time it is a man, Joseph of Arimathea. The scene depicts Joseph as a law-abiding Jew, who risks the wrath of the Roman authorities to ensure Jesus a proper burial. The action also demonstrates Joseph's faith for, if Jesus truly was guilty of blasphemy, those who do not shun him risk the wrath of God. Sealing the tomb with a great stone, Joseph retires.

Only then do we find "Mary Magdalene and the other Mary," yet they had been there all along, "sitting opposite the tomb" and watching Joseph's service to Jesus (27:61). A second time, the author catches us forgetting them because the narrator omits them.[12] These two women contrast with another pair of disciples, James and John. Unlike "the sons of Zebedee," who desired to sit in Jesus' glory

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11 For further information see "θεωρέω," in Bauer, Arndt, Gingrich, and Danker, eds., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature,* Second Edition (Chicago and London: the University of Chicago Press, 1957, 1979), 360.

12 I do not want to press this distinction between author and narrator too far. However, by this point in the gospel, we repeatedly have seen this pattern of hidden women being revealed as present all along. This could be the case because the evangelist simply sees the women as too insignificant to put in the narrative, unless there are no men to carry the story. On the other hand, it could be that the evangelist intended to jolt the audience out of a complacent assumption that the narrative reveals everything—and everyone—that is significant to the story.

When the narrative does not explicitly mention the women until the end of the scene, but we find that they have been there throughout the entire action, this structural design drives home the point that these "invisible women" have to be assumed as present everywhere in (or behind) the narrative. Just as women were "invisible" in the culture of Matthew's time—essential to the functioning of home and society and yet kept continually "behind the scenes"—so the evangelist finally reveals their invisible presence in the preceding narrative. Thus we find that, in Matthew, art imitates life.

(Mt 20:20–23), the women know the disciple's place is "sitting opposite the tomb." Faithful to the end, they keep vigil and share in Jesus' humiliation.

Scene Six: The Resurrection

Others are at the tomb keeping watch, too. A guard of soldiers has been sent, at the request of "the chief priests and the Pharisees," to ensure that Jesus remains in the grave (27:62–66). But they are impotent in the face of God's power, which the faithful women are there to witness (28:1–10). In their fear of the divine messenger, the guards became like zombies, incoherent and trembling.

By contrast, the women receive the angel's message with "fear and great joy" (28:8). Seeking Jesus with their whole hearts (28:5), they had been satisfied to remain with him in his humiliation. But God is gracious, and neither Jesus nor the women are left humiliated. All are rewarded by entering into glory, Jesus by being raised from death (28:7), and the women by entering into the presence of Jesus himself (28:9).

The reward is not for the women alone. Discipleship does not permit possessiveness, even of good news and great joy. The angelic message that Jesus has conquered death is joined with the divine command: "go" and "tell" the other disciples (28:7).

Frequently commentators exclude the women from the category of "the disciples" in Mt 28:7.[13] But the author has caught us making this assumption twice before, in the two immediately preceding scenes where women figure (27:45–56 and 27:57–61). Only at the end of the scenes did we find out our mistake.

Since we now know that there have been unmentioned Galilean women who were disciples *all along* (Mt 27:55), I would argue that we should read the term "disciple" here as including them—perhaps even primarily them. Then this becomes a command to go tell the *other* disciples. If this is the case, then Jesus' subsequent command to the women is not simply a repetition of the angelic message.

Joyfully the women run to obey God's message delivered through the angel, and they find themselves running from glory to glory: they meet Jesus himself and worship at his feet. The command of apostleship is repeated, but with a slight change. Having obeyed the first divine command, which they received from the angel, the women are now given a second commission—directly from Jesus—to "go and tell my brothers" (28:10). Women are validated as apostles to men, out of Jesus' own mouth.

Given the literary context, Jesus' command that the women should go tell his "brothers" refers specifically to the eleven. This implies that the eleven were not present with the other "disciples" mentioned in verse 7, but were still scattered after their flight at Jesus' arrest and crucifixion. Reading Jesus' command as referring specifically to a proclamation to the eleven allows a perfect transition to

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[13] Even Amy-Jill Levine, in her recent commentary on Matthew ["Matthew," *The Women's Bible Commentary*, Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe, eds. (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1992), 252–262], explicitly states that the women "are not included in the reference" (p. 262).

the commissioning scene (28:16–20), which begins with the eleven gathered again in Galilee. Of course, the fact that the eleven are gathered there to hear Jesus' message proves that the women were obedient to this second command, even as they were to the first.

The Finale: The Uncounted Women

Much has been made of the absence of women in the final scene of Matthew's gospel, "the Great Commission" of Mt 28:16–20, which seems to include only men, and only eleven men at that:

> Now the eleven disciples went to Galilee, to the mountain to which Jesus had directed them. When they saw him, they worshiped him; but some doubted. And Jesus came and said to them, "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything that I have commanded you. And remember, I am with you always, to the end of the age."

It is easy to forget the women when this episode is taken out of its literary context. To read it in context, however, three points must be kept in mind.

First, Jesus "had directed" the eleven to this mountain in Galilee through the words of *the apostolic women.* The eleven had fled; only the women were awaiting Jesus' word. The eleven would not have been present to be commissioned by Jesus if not for the faithful women who brought the twofold message of Jesus' resurrection and his coming to Galilee.

Second, the reaction of the eleven to Jesus' appearance there is not univocal: "they worshiped him; but some doubted" (28:17). In contrast, there was no mention of doubt when Jesus appeared to the apostolic women (28:9). And the women's faith has been proven by their obedience—first to the angelic command and then to Jesus' own.

Finally, the "commissioning" of the eleven differs from the two "commissionings" of the women (by the angel and then by Jesus) in audience rather than in kind. The eleven are sent to "all the nations" to teach them to obey all Jesus' commands; the women are sent to other Jews: first to the other disciples, and then to the scattered eleven. This distinction of audiences for the evangelistic activity of the female and male apostles allows the author both to recognize Jesus' affirmation of the women and to retain the traditional Jewish and Greco-Roman "separation of spheres" of male and female influence. Men traditionally took the role of leadership in the public arena, and women had the role of household management (leadership in the private sphere). Matthew stretches the "private sphere" for the apostolic women, in conformity to Jesus' commission to them: the "household" becomes the whole people of Israel. The "public sphere" for apostolic men must then be shifted; it becomes the world beyond Israel, the gentile nations.

All three of these features show that the women are present within and behind the commissioning story. There presence here, as before with the feeding miracles, is one that is not counted directly in the narrative of 28:16–20. Why should they be? The men have returned to stage, and the spotlight centers on

them. Still, in the Matthean resurrection narrative, the women remain the only reason why the men appear at all!

Explicitly, the narrator tells us that the apostolic women bring the message of the resurrection and of Jesus' return. Although they are not explicitly told to do so, the women also teach the other disciples (even the eleven!) to obey Jesus' commands, for they are the few unfaltering models of such behavior in Matthew's entire gospel. The uncounted, the disenfranchised, the "poor in spirit," are those who make it possible for those who are in power (here, the eleven men) finally to receive the message of the reign of God.

These faithful and apostolic women lived through the end of their world at the crucifixion, death, and burial of Jesus. They waited in vigil, and then saw it reborn and transformed at Jesus' resurrection and in his meeting with them. Who has more authority to proclaim Jesus' final words? "And remember, I am with you always, to the end of the age" (Mt 28:20).

Ethnicity in Persian Yehud: Between Anthropological Analysis and Ideological Criticism

Willa Mathis Johnson
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

In 1887, William Robertson Smith was invited to give the Burnett Lectures at Aberdeen which resulted in the publication of his seminal work, *The Religion of the Semites: The Fundamental Institutions.* The nature of this work is relevant to biblical studies because of its use of anthropological and sociological methods to analyze ancient Near Eastern cultures, hence joining the study of religion, specifically Hebrew Bible religion, with that of the social sciences. Robertson Smith's breadth in the social sciences and biblical studies marks virtually the beginning of a long tradition of interdisciplinary work that reaches into today's scholarship.

What distinguishes Robertson Smith's work from more modern-day studies by biblical scholars interested in joining biblical scholarship with social-scientific methods is the nature of the queries and assumptions. For example, many nineteenth-century scholars seem to have presumed Israel's uniqueness. Robertson Smith's comparative work would ostensibly make his results different from those of his contemporaries, but ultimately it does not. Smith was not exempt from the same issues of biblical authority that challenge scholars today. His intimate interest in the Free Church of Scotland and his simultaneous support of and relationship with contentious figures such as Julius Wellhausen are representative of the dilemmas he faced. The questions current in our own period do not center on Israel's uniqueness as much as they revolve around similarities that may exist across cultures and indeed across generations between ancient Israel and its neighbors then, and its successors now.

Modern scholars raise the question of differentness by broaching terms such as ethnicity. While anthropological and sociological markers of ethnicity gauge difference and similarity, other considerations such as ideology play a definitive role in how ethnics interrelate and interact. How anthropological and sociological data are transmitted, for example, represents an ideological act on the part of the cultural interpreters. Whether or not all current-day interpreters of culture consider their work ideological is a matter of dispute. More often anthropologists such as James Clifford, George Marcus, and Renato Rosaldo and archaeologists such as Britain's Ian Hodder are disposed to the ideological inferences present in their work. That is to say, these scholars recognize that

their analyses are imbued with their ideologies and are not simply objective works of science.

In this essay, we will approach Persian Yehud via anthropological analysis and through ideological criticism. Our goal is to understand the significance of interethnic marriage in the context of postexilic political domination. In addition to the external political relations, that is, the relationship between Yehud and the Persian Empire, we will delve into the internal circumstances that highlight differences in ethnic policies. The injunction against interethnic marriage discussed in Ezra 9–10 invites such an investigation.

Method

Major methodological questions hinge on how ethnicity is defined. Since ethnicity is a burgeoning field of study, its definition is laden with an ever-growing number of nuances.[1] At this juncture, rather than describing ethnicity and relating its operative definitions to the Ezra text, we will reverse the process. This attempt to read the text for ethnic concerns and indicators will be called an anthropological reading.

An anthropological reading may emerge by attending to questions such as: Who speaks? Who writes? When and where? With or to whom? Under what circumstances or constraints? Who acts? Who sees? Who hears?[2] None of this can be done solely on an objective basis. The subjectivity involved in the analysis is also ideological. What, then, makes these queries anthropological is their interest in the cultural sphere of Persian period Yehudite life. For example, answers to these questions will provide insight into the social structure of the community and will highlight the community's ethos. Both of these issues are important to the larger anthropological agenda—that is, the understanding of interethnic marriage in Persian Yehud.

Ideological criticism is never free of subjectivity. Nor are its subjects ever purely isolated so as not to reflect and refract other realities. Inasmuch as it is impossible to write values-free analysis or to isolate "the other" as a discrete object, discussion of Ezra 9—10 is ideological and the text itself is simultaneously embedded in ideology.

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[1] Ronald Cohen ("Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology *Annual Review of Anthropology* 7 [1978] 380) notes that, although ethnicity is a subject of increasing interest, anthropologists rarely dealt with the topic as such before 1969. For example, Cohen notes that in a survey of anthropological textbooks written between 1916 and 1971, the term "ethnic" appeared sparingly if at all in almost every index and remained without definition in books where it did appear. Only two years after Fredrik Barth's ground-breaking *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1969), Wsevolod W. Isajiw ("Definitions of Ethnicity," *Ethnicity* 1 [July 1974] 111–24) developed the sociological perameters of ethnicity. Max Weber and Louis Wirth, to name two prominent sociologists, had dealt with issues pertaining to ethnicity in the early part of the twentieth century.

[2] Many of these are questions also posed by narratologists such as Mieke Bal. For one brief explanation of Bal's narratology see: Mieke Bal, "Introduction," in *Anti-Covenant: Counter-Reading Women's Lives in the Hebrew Bible* (ed. Mieke Bal; JSOT Sup 81; Sheffield: Almond, 1989) 11–24. James Clifford also expresses the importance of these queries for ethnographic inquiry ("Introduction," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* [ed. James Clifford and George E. Marcus; Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California, 1986] 13).

Classical Marxist thought is the original premise from which discussions of theories of ideology and ideological criticism have developed. Since Marx, these theories have been redirected by Fredric Jameson,[3] Pierre Macherey, Terry Eagleton and others into literary studies and in recent years has become a tool of biblical scholars. Ideological criticism has different implications for various practitioners of the method. This is necessarily so because of the variety of emphases and interpretations of Marxism itself. Ideological criticism is interested in the literariness of the text as a part of production. It does not seek to ascribe a particular meaning to a text, but to appreciate the multiplicity of disparate meanings; it is the critic's task to examine this plenitude of meaning.[4] Ideological criticism makes evident the incomplete yet complex nature of the text by exposing disparate meanings in the text. By analyzing this dissonance, it reveals the de-centered-ness of the text, as opposed to finding hidden voices that support a totality of meaning. It is this series of incompatible meanings located in the text that causes the text to be produced in tension with reality.[5]

An ideological reading seeks to comprehend the deep political nexus between views that are publicly expressed and those that are repressed or suppressed. This notion is particularly interesting in Ezra 9—10, where what is expressed explicitly by Ezra is seemingly undone by what is unexpressed by those unwilling to follow his mandate.

In this essay, a specifically Jamesonian approach to ideological criticism will be explicated and implemented. For Jameson, Marxist critical insight serves as the "ultimate *semantic* precondition" for deciphering both literary and cultural texts. In particular, Jameson proposes that the semantic enrichment of the text must take place within three realms which act to broaden the notion of the social ground of the text. These realms are: the political history or the chronological sequence of events in time; society where the tensions and struggle between classes exists; and history understood in the larger sense of the sequence of the modes of production and the development and destiny of different human social formations.[6] For Jameson, each of these semantic horizons governs a specific reconstruction and construes in a different way "the very structure of what can now only in a general sense be called 'the text.'"[7] Hence, in the first horizon what is initially called the text is understood as a symbolic act.[8] The discovery or recovery of the text's symbolic effectiveness must be directed by a description of form which attempts to grasp the formal as a determinate structure of still properly formal contraditions. The literary or cultural text read as symbolic acts must, as Claude Lévi-Strauss illustrates in his study of the Caduveo Indians,[9]

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3 Fredric Jameson argues that Marxist perspectives are "necessary preconditions for adequate literary comprehension" (*The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 1981] 75).

4 Pierre Macherey, *A Theory of Literary Production* (trans. Geoffrey Wall; London/New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1992) 78–79.

5 Ibid., 80.

6 Jameson, 75.

7 Ibid., 76.

8 Ibid.

9 For more on Claude Lévi-Strauss's analysis, see his *Tristes topiques*, (trans. John Russell; New York: Atheneum, 1971).

grasp the literary or cultural texts as resolutions of real, determinant, "unresolvable" contradictions within a particular society. It is, therefore, the task of the first horizon to identify the text's basic contradiction—the place where the text is unable to follow the logic which it is committed to establishing.

Secondly, Jameson calls for the rewriting or restructuration of the literary text in such a manner that the rewriting may itself be understood as the rewriting or restructuration of a previous historical or ideological subtext.[10] Jameson posits that, when we move to the second semantic horizon, the cultural object which we have grasped moves into a wider sphere—the social order itself. Therefore, what was intially comprehended as an individual text now functions as an *ideologeme*, part of a collective and one of many antagonistic class discourses.[11] Within this new horizon "the basic formal requirements of dialectical analysis is maintained and its elements restructured in terms of *contradiction*."[12] In this horizon, the contradiction is established by the irreconcilable class antagonisms. The rewriting in this instance assumes the form of ideological confrontation.[13] This polemic must necessarily represent both the hegemonic voices and an artificial reconstruction of the repressed voices with their subversive strategies.

When this ideologeme passes into the final phase, the ultimate horizon of human history, it is once again transformed. This time it is formulated into what Jameson has termed the *ideology of form*[14]—traces or anticipations of modes of production. Since the traditional meaning of modes of production has an inherent synchronic meaning, Jameson adapts the term *cultural revolution* to account for the necessary diachrony and criss-crossing of various modes of production. Cultural revolution in the Jamesonian sense then, is the point at which the coexistence of differing modes of production becomes noticably antagonistic, their contradictions moving to the heart of political, social, and historical life.[15]

Within this final horizon, various modes of production can be apprehended through registering the "dynamics of sign systems of several distinct modes of production."[16] At this juncture, the analysis attempts to disclose the active presence within the text of several discontinuous and heterogeneous formal processes. At the analytical level, a dialectical reversal occurs which allows the sedimented content as transporters of their own ideological messages to be differentiated from the manifest content of the work itself.[17]

Before we proceed, an explication of "ethnicity" is necessary. The first and most essential element of ethnicity may be that the actors, that is, those being labelled as a certain entity, subscribe to the label or consent to the grouping. This feature of ethnicity is important because many ethnographers and sociologists as late as the 1970s viewed the groups they were studying as discretely

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10 Jameson, 81.

11 Ibid., 76.

12 Ibid., 85.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid., 76.

15 Ibid., 95.

16 Ibid., 98.

17 Ibid., 99.

"other." Until fairly recent times, condescending terms were utilized to categorize peoples of different cultures without the recognition that the observers also constituted parts of ethnic entities.

According to sociologist Wsevolod W. Isajiw, ethnicity is not only a subjective phenomenon[18] in which the questions of internal and external boundaries are in question, as alluded to above, but ethnicity also includes an objective aspect. The objective phenomenon involves issues of descent, socialization of offspring, and a presence of cultural patterns that can be externally obtained.[19] Added to Isajiw's definition, it must be recognized that ethnicity emerges in social situations and as a response to encounters with daily life.[20]

Now let us turn our attention to the text of Ezra 9:1–10:15. Utilizing the queries enunciated above along with anthropological and sociological insights, we will engage in anthropological reading of the text. An ideological reading of the text according to the three semantic horizons outlined above will follow. The result will be a more nuanced view of ethnicity—one which expands our understanding of the symbolic function of intermarriage in Persian Yehud.

An Anthropological Reading

Mieke Bal elaborates her system of the anthropological code in *Murder and Difference: Gender, Genre, and Scholarship on Sisera's Death*. Bal notes that the basis of her system is an understanding of anthropology as interest in "the cultural life of different human societies."[21] She explains the system in terms of three parts, two of which have been adapted and adjusted for the current analysis: the concept of intermarriage[22] and the ethnographic context or the "practical way of life."[23]

Ezra 9:1–10:15 discusses the notion of interethnic marriage without ever coining in the Hebrew a specific term for the act. The reader is informed about the circumstances of mixed marriages when the writer of the text notes in 9:2: והתערבו זרע הקדש בעמי הארצות. Clearly, there is a breach in the cultural life of the people who are represented by the writer of the text. The external boundaries that the writer understood to constitute the cultural norm had been defied.

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18 According to Isajiw ("Definitions of Ethnicity: New Approaches," *Ethnic Forum* 1 [1993/1994] 9), the subjective aspects of ethnicity include dimensions of self-identity, for example, self-definition, loyalty to a particular group, and attachment to cultural or social patterns.

19 Ibid.

20 Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropologicl Perspectives* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 1993) 1.

21 Mieke Bal, *Murder and Difference: Gender, Genre, and Scholarship on Sisera's Death*, (trans. Matthew Gumpert; Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University, 1988) 51.

22 In Bal's discussion of Sisera's death, the key concept examined was שפט as it related to the political, judicial, social, and military structure of the community. Following Bal's clues, the appropriate concept for analysis in Ezra 9–10 is intermarriage.

23 Ibid. The third component to Bal's anthropological code includes a discussion of oral tradition.

Although D. L. Smith-Christopher seems clear about whose group is represented in this reference,[24] others have raised pertinent questions about who is considered foreign and who is not.[25] The text is confusing because the foreigners could be construed as Hittites, Ammonites, Canaanites, Moabites, or Egyptians, as mentioned in verse 1. On the other hand, the foreigners may represent those who were left in the land, while the returning exiles considered themselves the "true Yehudites" based on their economic status and former leadership roles in the preexilic community. Another option may be a combination of the mixed ethnic entities—Yehudites who were left in the land and their marriage partners who may have been of other ethnic origins. The point here is that endogamy was certainly understood by one group in postexilic Yehud as a means to establish social distances among groups.[26]

It is uncertain why some group(s) considered intermarriage acceptable while others thought of it as a threat to the solidarity of the community. An economic advantage may have been available to those who originally intermarried, as well as to the groups that sought to dissolve these marriages. The text makes the latter evident by directing the Yehudites either to give up their foreign wives and children or to forfeit their property and standing in the community (Ezra 10:8).

It appears that those to gain from this separation were the elite. Ezra represents the establishment—the Persian empire and בני הגלה, the wealthy and former leaders in Judah. It would be to their benefit to promote endogamy at the financial cost of the then-current leadership of Yehud. Essentially, the problem is one of economics and politics in the guise of ethnic solidarity. Intermarriage, then represents more than ethnic biases but concerns about inheritance laws and property rights, community leadership, and religious purity as well as the foundation of Yehud as a once again viable political entity.

Insofar as Bal invokes, as part of her anthropological code, the issue of ethnographic context, the following presents us with a scenario of a "practical way of life" in Persian Yehud via the series of queries mentioned above.

The question "Who speaks?" is important for identifying the powerful in Persian Yehud, that is, those with the authority to vocalize concerns. The officials are indeed deemed to have power. They are part of the status quo. The precise identity of the officials in question is a legitimate query; at least two groups are discussed in the text. The officials here may well be the returnees who formerly held positions of power and who sought to reestablish those positions by approaching Ezra with charges against the then-current administration in Persian Yehud.

Ezra illustrates his power to speak when he addresses God in prayer and later when he talks to the people. Certainly as a priest and an emissary of the Persian

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24 Daniel L. Smith-Christopher, "The Mixed Marriage Crisis in Ezra," in *Second Temple Studies: 2. Temple and Community in the Persian Period* (ed. Tamara C. Eskenazi and Kent H. Richards; JSOT Sup 175; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994) 246.

25 For a discussion of "foreignness" and particularly of foreign wives, see Tamara C. Eskenazi and Eleanore P. Judd, "Marriage to a Stranger in Ezra 9–10," in *Second Temple Studies: 2. Temple and Community in the Persian Period* (ed. Tamara C. Eskenazi and Kent H. Richards; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994) 266–85.

26 R. K. Merton, "Intermarriage and the Social Structure: Fact and Theory," *Psychiatry* 9 (1941) 368.

empire he held tremendous sway.[27] Other than the officials, Ezra, and Shecaniah, all of whom speak on behalf of disposing of the interethnic marriages, no other voices are heard with the exception of group voices, which are narrated as indirect discourse. These group responses are somewhat inauthenticated by their blanket heterogeneity within the narrative structure. Although the foreign wives and children are not given a voice within the discourse, theirs is an absent presence which signifies that discourse is a privilege of power and that it cannot exist outside of the social formation in which it was constructed, that is, class struggle.

"Who writes?" is an equally important query. Writing may also be included in the privileges of the elite. Louis Althusser in his breakdown of ideology and state apparatuses discusses the hierarchy of education and skill as dominant forces of the state apparatuses and the propagation of a selected ideology.[28] According to Althusser, the author and reader are a part of the ideological fabric of the state apparatus. This point leads directly to the questions "With whom or to whom?" and "Under what circumstances or constraints?" is the writing produced.

Barrett makes the point that Althusser's thesis of ideology and the state apparatuses leaves little space for resistance to the system.[29] Additionally, Barrett's analysis makes clear that an Althusserian perspective would make anyone able to recognize and comprehend the Ezra text ideologically complicitous with the text. Such a perspective would also dominate or dictate the circumstances and constraints under which the discussion of intermarriage would proceed.

Similarly, "Who sees?" and "Who hears?" would fall under the auspices of the then-ruling ideology. On the other hand, "Who acts?" represents Barrett's above-mentioned resistance. This activity of resistance is present in Jonathan, Jazeiah, and their supporters' stand against Ezra's injunction against interethnic marriage.

To summarize, the anthropological reading allows the reader to identify the benefits and losses attributable to interethnic marriage. Moreover, it provides a basis for understanding the power dynamics—economic and ideological—that may have been present in the context of Persian Yehud.

An Ideological Analysis

A three-fold system of reading the text according to differing semantic horizons was articulated above. The task of the first reading is to disclose the text's basic contradiction(s)—that is, where Ezra 9–10 is unable to cohere to the logic that it prescribes for itself.

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27 Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Mission of Udjahorresnet and Those of Ezra and Nehemiah," *JBL* 106 (1987) 418–19.

28 For a brief outline of Althusser's position, see Michèle Barrett, *The Politics of Truth: From Marx to Foucault* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1991) 20. For a full articulation of Althusser's position see Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation) in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (trans. Ben Brewster; Louis Althusser; New York/London: Monthly Review, 1971) 154–56.

29 Barrett, 21.

In the earliest verses of this passage contradiction is evident. The officials, among whom were no doubt priests, report the intermarrying priests to another priest, Ezra (vs. 1). The next apparent contradiction is Ezra's reference to the Yehudites as slaves (vs. 9) when the Persian government had granted the exiles the freedom to return home and had given them support to rebuild their temple and fence. Moreover, as an agent of the Persian empire, Ezra ostensibly represented that freedom. Also, in this vein, the language of slaves and remnant is paradoxical (vs. 13). If the Yehudites were slaves but also a remnant, as the text suggests, it would seem that the significance of belonging to the remnant is relatively eradicated by their status of bondage. Together the two notions, slave and remnant, amount to being "saved slaves."

In Chapter 10, the marriage covenant of Yehudites is likened to a covenant of unfaithfulness between God and the Yehudites. The latter seems more appropriately a description of preexilic Judah than one that aptly described the postexilic community especially since there seems to have been divergent opinions about interethnic marriage. Additionally, the same officials who were initially reported as participants in these interethnic marriages become the representatives of the guilty masses who seek atonement, while two men stand against the break-up of the interethnic marriages with the support of two Levites (vs. 14–15).

The ostensible message of Ezra 9–10 is the confession and conversion of the unfaithful Yehudites who had interethnically married into a united, God-fearing ethnic entity. On one hand, the contradictions in the text reveal dissonance and a lack of oneness, contrary to what the text would propagate in a superficial reading. The disparate voices exemplified in the paradoxical statements in the text affirm the existence of more than one ideology. They simultaneously highlight the role of the dominant ideology, one of unity and ethnic purity, while permitting the subordinate ideology, an ideology of resistance, to persist. In addition to providing insight into the social dynamics of the Persian Yehud, the text ultimately discloses political priorities and concerns. On the other hand, the variety of contradictions unites as a single symbolic act in which interethnic marriage represents deeper intra- and interpolitical conflicts in Persian Yehud.

The second semantic horizon requires the rewriting of the text as one of several antagonistic class discourses. The privileged status of the writer and his class has been discussed above. It is now necessary to reconstruct the repressed voices and their necessarily subversive strategies.

When one examines Ezra 9–10, it becomes evident that the hegemonic voices dominate the discourse. For example, the "foreign wives and their children" are relegated to a group response that hardly seems authentic (Ezra 10:1). A review of the status of these women and children as an absent presence brings into focus the repressed realities of those oppressed by gender, age, and ethnicity.

A reconstructed version of Ezra 9–10 would express, for example, the economic deprivation to be faced by the wives and the children who were to be put aside. It would also examine why only foreign wives and not their male counterparts, that is, foreign husbands, were not also to be separated from their respective families. A restructured Ezra 9–10 would account for the apparent xenophobia in the text and might identify the underlying class biases basic to the political problems expressed and unexpressed in it.

The final semantic horizon considered in Jameson's analysis is based on the modes of production. Strictly speaking, Jameson's critique is tailored to capitalism. However, in terms of pre-capitalistic modes of production it is possible to identify at least minimally conflicting economic stresses in the Ezra text. The presence of the Persian ruling class referred to by Ezra; Ezra's status as an emissary; Ezra's reference to the Yehudites as slaves; the hierarchy of priests, Levites, and officials; the people of the land as opposed to the people of the exile; the foreign husbands over and against the foreign wives and their children—all represent various economic entities. Clearly at the point of the text where these entities confront each other, strife is evident. To this end, class antagonisms are articulated in the text and bespeak the ideologies present in Persian Yehudite society.

Conclusions

Both the anthropological and ideological readings yield unexpected insights into the Ezra 9–10 text. Whereas the text may initially be viewed as xenophobic propaganda of early Judaism, other important dimensions have been elaborated—the economic and the political. Certainly the question of interethnic marriage raises ethnic issues. These may be understood as related to problems of group preservation, namely, the establishment of boundaries necessary for the survival of a particular entity.

Interethnic marriage also brings to the fore historical and political questions related to economics and class. A number of sociologists have examined one aspect of the aforementioned and have found a relationship between interethnic marriage and class elevation. On a larger scale, the politics of economics, as is evident in laws of inheritance and property rights, are concerns that were assuredly prominent in preexilic Israel and may be of interest to those of Ezra's day or later.

If survival is at the heart of this text, then survival relates as much to the economic longevity of the dominant class as it calls for ethnic preservation or purity. Surely separation is at issue, but interethnic marriage is little more than a symbol of a deeper hegemonic ideology in antagonism with other ideologies, just as different ethnic groups undoubtedly struggled in postexilic Yehud.

The relationship between an anthropological reading and an ideological analysis of the Ezra text allows what is suggested by one reading to be concretized in the other. For example, the struggle for power is made evident in the anthropological reading of the Ezra 9–10. This dynamic is further highlighted by the class concerns of the ideological critique. Together the two readings suggest that interethnic marriage in Persian Yehud may have been as much an economic and class-based issue as it was an ethnic concern.

One problem that a Jamesonian reading or any ideological analysis based on classical Marxism brings is its inablity to deal sufficiently with the multiplicity of problems that may define a text such as Ezra 9–10. The reason for this is that analytical tools with a classical Marxist basis emphasize the economic as the final determining factor in an analysis. To explore further the ethnic and gender dimensions of Ezra 9–10, a post-Marxist materialist feminist ideological critique which is concerned with multiple determining factors may be in order. Scholars

such as Cornel West[30] and Rosemary Hennessy[31] provide clues about how such analyses may be done.

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[30] For a Marxist analysis that explores a dimension of the ethnic problematic see Cornel West, "Marxist Theory and the Specificity of Afro-American Oppression," in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg; Urbana/ Chicago: University of Illinois, 1988) 17–33.

[31] For a post-Marxist materialist feminist approach to multiple problematics see Rosemary Hennessy, *Materialist Feminism and the Politics of Discourse* (New York/London: Routledge, 1993).

The Impact of the Bethsaida Finds on Our Knowledge of the Historical Jesus

John J. Rousseau
University of California, Berkeley

The location of Bethsaida renamed Julias by Philip son of Herod the Great had been lost for about fifteen centuries until Rami Arav of the Golan Research Institute and University of Haifa launched a systematic search in 1987.[1] Since that time, the combined efforts of several Universities and Theological Schools[2] supported in 1994 and 1995 by generous grants of the Israeli Tourist Corporation (a government agency) produced remarkable results. In May 1995, the most significant artifacts were transferred for permanent display to the Yigal Allon Museum at Ginnosar, four miles north of Tiberias, and the site will be opened to the public in 1996. Until otherwise disproved, the excavators have strong evidence for claiming that the mound previously known as el-Tell, 2 kilometers (1.25 miles) north of the Sea of Galilee and 500 meters (545 yards) east of the Jordan is at the same time the Bethsaida-Julias of Philip and Josephus, the Bethsaida-in-Galilee of John 12:21, and the Tzaidan of the Talmud.[3]

The excavation yielded a wealth of information which allows for a more accurate interpretation of the gospel text. Accordingly, this article will comment on the following points:

I. The Location of the Bethsaida of Jesus
II. The Kind of City Bethsaida Was
III. Dating the Ministry of Jesus in Galilee and the Gospel of Mark
IV. Fishermen, Gluttons and Winebibbers
V. The Blind Man Healed at Bethsaida (Mark 8:22–26)
VI. The Feeding of the Five Thousand (Luke 9:10–17)
VII. The Galilean Followers of Jesus

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1 For necessary background information consult either "Elusive Bethsaida Recovered" by Rami Arav and John J. Rousseau in *The Fourth R* 4.1 (1–4) Santa Clara: Polebridge Press or "Bethsaida" in *Jesus and His World* by Rousseau and Arav, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995.

2 The main participating Institutions are, in alphabetical order, Dana College, Blair, Nebraska; Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley; Michigan State University, East Lansing; N-E Missouri State University, Kirksville; Reformed Theological Seminary, Korea; University of Munich, Germany; University of Nebraska, Omaha; Wartburg College, Waverly, Iowa.

3 *Jerusalem Talmud*, Shekalim 6c, according to which Rabbi Simon ben Gamaliel was presented at Tzaidan a large bowl with 300 species of small fish.

I. The Location of the Bethsaida of Jesus

Except for short mentions by Ptolemy (*Geography* V.16.4) and Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* V.15), the site is named several times by only two independent sources, Josephus[4] and the canonical gospels. In these documents, Bethsaida figures seven times, second only to Capernaum,[5] as a Galilean City where Jesus exercised his ministry:

Matt 11:20–14 = Q =
Luke 10:13–15..... Jesus pronounces woes on three Galilean cities.
Mark 6:45 ..... Jesus sends his disciples to Bethsaida by boat.
Mark 8:22–26 ..... Jesus heals a blind man at Bethsaida
Luke 9:10 ..... Jesus feeds the five thousand.
John 1:44 ..... Philip, Andrew and Peter are from Bethsaida.
John 12:21 ..... Philip is from Bethsaida "in Galilee."

Besides, Theodosius, in the account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land (530 CE), indicates that Zebedee and his two sons James and John are also from Bethsaida. Unfortunately, he does not give his sources.[6]

These seven references, alone or in combination, do not allow the reader to determine the location of Bethsaida for which no less than nine different sites have been proposed in the course of time, from Kursi east of the Jordan to Tiberias in the west. A scholarly dispute began in 1590 on this subject and continues to this day, even after the publications of the first results of Rami Arav findings in 1989.[7]

The difficulty of interpreting the gospel text can be illustrated by the combination of Mark 6:45 and 6:53 which seems to indicate that there was a second Bethsaida on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee:

> Immediately he made the disciples get into a boat and go before him to the other side, to Bethsaida . . . (45) And when they had crossed over, they came to land at Gennesseret and moored to the shore(53).

As the location of Gennessaret (today Ginnosar, between Magdala and Capernaum) is well established and was never disputed, we may wonder whether Bethsaida was in that area (Fig. 1). At the return of the evangelistic mission Jesus had told the twelve:

> Go away by yourselves to a lonely place and rest for a while (31) . . . And they went away in a boat (32).

Then occurs the feeding of the multitude in an unspecified place (35–44), which adds to the confusion since the point of departure of the boat is also unspecified: "The apostles returned to Jesus" (30). But where was Jesus? Was he in Capernaum? This can be doubted since before he "called the twelve to him to send them out (7) he was "going about, teaching among the villages" (6).

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[4] Josephus mentions Bethsaida Julius nine times: *War* 2.168; 3.57,515; 4.454; *Antiq* 18.28, 108; *Vita* 398, 399, 406.

[5] Capernaum is named thirteen times, including five in John alone: Matt. 4:13; 8:5, 11:23; 17:24; Mark 1:21, 2:1; Luke 4:23; 10:15; John 2:12; 4:46; 6:17, 24, 59.

[6] "De Terrae Sanctae" in *Itinera Hiorosalymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sancta* VI. Geneva: Titus Tobler and M. A. Molinier, 1879.

[7] R. Arav, "Et Tell and el Araj," *Israel Exploration Journal* 39 (1989) 99–100.

Obviously, the author or editor of the Second Gospel was not concerned with geographical accuracy and the scene described in John makes more sense. Jesus goes to "the other side of the Sea of Galilee" (6:1) where the feeding of the multitude occurs (2–13). Then the disciples go in a boat "across the sea to Capernaum" (16–17). The following day "boats from Tiberias" came near the place of the feeding (23) and when the people find that Jesus had left during the night they "went into the boats and went to Capernaum" (24) to seek him. In this scene where Bethsaida is not mentioned, the respective locations of the feeding of the five thousand not far from Tiberias and Capernaum are in conformity with the geographic reality.

Two other apparent difficulties also fueled theological discussions during the last four hundred years. One is the designation of Bethsaida either as a village (κώμη) in Mark or as a city (πόλις) in Matthew, Luke, and Josephus except when the Jewish historian specifically refers to the status of Bethsaida before its elevation to the rank of city by Philip. This problem was recently solved through the interpretation of coins issued respectively by Pontius Pilate and Philip as will be seen below in chapter III. Another resides in the information given by John that Bethsaida was "in Galilee" (12:21). But this last difficulty exists only for those who consider that the political border between the tetrarachies of Antipas and Philip followed the course of the Jordan. In the minds of the people of the time, Galilee included all of the Jordan Basin north of the Sea of Galilee as testified by Isa 9:1 and Matt. 4:5 ("Galilee of the Gentiles, beyond the Jordan") and Josephus who informs us that Judas the Galilean was from Gamla, 7 miles east of Bethsaida in the Daliyot Valley (*War* 2,118; *Antiq* 18.4). Ptolemy himself places Bethsaida among the cities of Galilee.

By the turn of the twentieth century, a consensus finally emerged in favor of one Bethsaida-Julias located east of the Jordan and only three possible candidates remained: et-Tell, the mound raising 80 feet above its surroundings, el-Araj, a group of ruins on a low elevation close to the lakeshore about one kilometer from the present riverbed, and Mesadiyeh, a minor ruin, one kilometer south of el-Araj and some 200 meters from the present lakeshore (Fig. 2). This last location was quickly abandoned because the site was too small for a city. G. Schumacher, an archaeologist from the German colony of Haifa, strongly advocated the case of el-Araj because, in his view, a fishers' settlement could not exist 2 kilometers away from the main body of water as was et-Tell recognized by Arav as Bethsaida. He limited his understanding to the present configuration of the shoreline without considering that the marshes south and west of the mound were the result of nineteen centuries of alluvium deposits and tectonic movements.

R. Arav decided to solve the problem. In March-April 1987, he opened probe excavations in the two sites. At el-Araj he found only one level of occupation dating to the 4th and 5th centuries CE and no stratum from the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman Period while it is established that Bethsaida was razed by the Romans on 67 CE at about the same time as Gamla.[8] Besides, the settlement area was only one eighth of that of et-Tell. By contrast, the two probe excavations of el-Tell, one in the south and one in the center of the mound, revealed a substantial occupation during the time of Jesus. He decided to continue the work

[8] See note 1.

at et-Tell and the subsequent seasons abundantly confirm the results of the probes. A city of some 90,000 square meters (22 acres), large enough for 2,000 inhabitants, existed at the time of its destruction. Because it was never rebuilt, the top Hellenistic-Early Roman level was not thoroughly disturbed as happened in all the other sites where Jesus lived and many structures and artifacts have been unearthed which shed light on his environment. Only accidental disturbances were made, first by looters of ready-made building material, then by a number of Bedouin tombs in the 18th and 19th centuries, and more recently by the Syrians who transformed the mound into a fortress which they occupied until 1967.

Hydrographic studies indicated that alluviums from Mount Hermon, only 30 miles to the north, and the Golan heights were deposited in the Bethsaida area, forming a marshy delta. Thus the mound was much closer to the Sea of Galilee in Jesus' time. A geological study made by Jack Shroder of the University of Nebraska at Omaha in July 1993 with dating of mud deposits by Carbon 14 confirmed the statement of Josephus that Bethsaida-Julius was *on* the Sea of Galilee (*Antiq* 18.28). The landscape was different in Jesus' time from what it is today and we have now evidence that he could easily go to Bethsaida from any place around the lakeshore. That was of great convenience for a fugitive sought by Antipas (Luke 13:31); with the help of his fishermen friends, he could also disappear if needed among the high leafy reeds of the marshes.

II. The Kind of City Bethsaida Was

Tell Bethsaida, as the mound is now called, measures about 400 meters north-south by 250 meters east-west. As said above, it could shelter some 2,000 inhabitants; but more must have been living *extra muros*. As at Capernaum and Chorazin, basalt was the stock construction material. Jesus probably did not see the completion of Philip's palace facing the Sea of Galilee toward Tiberias at the southern end of the mound. The tetrarch chose the same location where stood the basalt palace of king Talmai of Geshur, one of the fathers-in-law of David and grandfather of Absalom (2 Sam. 3:3; 3:37–14:24). But for his construction, Philip probably imported white limestone as is perhaps testified by one perfect ashlar retrieved in area A and by the remains of three large kilns in area C used in the Middle Ages to burn the white stones left after the destruction of 67 CE. Many burnt cores of while limestone have been found, and white marks exist on the basalt stones at the bottoms of the pits. The end product was probably used to whitewash walls.

So far we did not find a synagogue at Bethsaida; but the synagogue of Gamla gives us a good idea of what it could have been: a rectangular basalt building with three rows of stepped masonry benches along the four walls. However, unlike Gamla, there was no need for a *miqveh* at Bethsaida since the city was close to two sources of running water, the Jordan and the spring at the foot of the mound in the southwest. There, a curved stone wall near the spring may indicate the location of the harbor of Bethsaida; excavations need to be done in that area.

Two large houses from the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman Period have been identified with certainty, one in area B and one in Area C. More remained to be excavated. The house in area B has been called the "Fisherman's House" because a number of fishing implements have been found in its courtyard which is large

enough to stretch seine nets and trammels to mend them (Fig. 3). This activity would explain why stone anchors were found in that area; they could have been used to fix the nets on the stone slabs of the pavement while the fishermen were working on them. More will be said about fishing activity in chapter IV.

The new settlers brought by Philip (*Antiq* 18.28) and the construction activity certainly gave new life to the budding city but disturbed its traditional habits. It may have caused the moving of Peter's family to Capernaum. It may also explain why Jesus' mighty works there did not call too much attention (Matt. 11:20 = Q = Luke 10:13–15). However, two are singled out, see chapters V and VI.

III. Dating the Ministry of Jesus in Galilee and in the Gospel of Mark

According to Mark, Bethsaida was a village (κώμη) and, according to Luke and Matthew, a city (πόλις). We also know from Josephus that Philip transformed Bethsaida from a village to a city with restored fortification walls. The determination of the date of this change is crucial for dating the end of Jesus' ministry in Galilee and perhaps the Gospel of Mark. A careful examination of the coins issued by Pontius Pilate and Philip can help, and here I draw heavily on the entry "Coins as Historical Documents," most of which being written by Fred Strickert from Warburg College, in *Jesus and His World.*

The *Semis* in the 30 CE issue of Philip's coins shows Tiberius's head on the obverse, and a tetrastyle temple, most likely the temple to August built by his father at Paneas, with a unique inscription found only on that year's coin:

ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΤΙΣ

To this point, the inscriptions on his coins had been ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ in the years 1, 8, 12, and 15 CE, and, starting with the appointment of Pilate as prefect of Judea, Samaria, and Idumea, ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ in 26, 29, 30, and 33 CE, which we could translate as "Super Philip, Tetrarch"—he had been appointed by Augustus himself, not by Tiberius like Pilate.

The key word is ΚΤΙΣ, an abbreviation of ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ=FOUNDER, the same word used by Josephus in the verb form, "Philip, founded (KTIZEI) the city of Caesarea at the source of the Jordan at Paneas and Julias in Lower Gaulantis." (*War* 2. 168). In the *Antiquities of the Jews*, Josephus brings more information, "Philip, for his part, made improvements at Paneas, which is situated at the sources of the Jordan and called it Caesarea. He further granted to the village of Bethsaida on the Sea of Galilee, both by means of a large number of settlers and through strengthening, the rank of city and named it after Julia, *the daughter of Ceasar* [sic]" (*Antiq* 18.28). The italics indicate an obvious mistake made either by Josephus—which would be surprising—or rather, by an editor or copyist after him, as noted by a number of classical scholars, and more recently brought again to the fore by H-W Kuhn.[9]

This unfortunate error caused a number of misinterpretations. For instance, it was suggested that the foundations of Bethsaida-Julias were laid before 2 BCE,

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[9] H.-W. Kuhn, and R. Arav, "The Bethsaida Excavations: Historical and Archeological Approaches," in *The Future of Early Christianity*, B. A. Pearson ed., Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991, 87–91.

the year of the banishment by August of his depraved daughter, Julia.[10] In the numismatic field, the authoritative literature on ancient coins considers that ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ refers to Caesarea Philippi built just after 4 BCE.[11] It ignores the fact that this unique word occurs only once *in 30 CE* except for Meshorer who suggests that it commemorates the 30th anniversary of the founding of Caesarea.[12]

Yet, simple reasoning rather than blind acceptance of one short excerpt of an ancient text could have steered the researchers into the right direction. Philip collected an annual tribute of only 100 talents for 200 to Antipas and 400 to Archaleus (*War* 2.95). That was not enough to allow him to found two cities at the same time at the beginning of his reign. Also, he probably emulated his half-brother Antipas who founded Tiberius on the lakeshore in 19/20 CE. Thus, we may infer that ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ stamped on a single type coin refers to the founding of a city in the very year that the coin was issued, 30 CE, which, by the way, is the only year that Philip issued a series of four coins. This series is also made noticeable by several other characteristics. It includes in increasing order of value:

- A *half-quadrans* with the head of Philip, which was never done before by any ruler of the Jewish people,
- A *quadrans* with the head of Julia alone,
- A *semis* with the head of Tiberius,
- An *As* with both the heads of Augustus and Julia on the obverse and the world ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ, and with a circular shield on the reverse, but without a date (Fig. 4).

But there are two ways to assign a date to this last coin.

1. The shield in the center of the temple's columns may stand as a dating device if we assume that it relates to the incident reported by Philo in the *Embassy to Gaius 38* (299–305). Pilate had dedicated in Herod's palace in Jerusalem gilded shields bearing the emperor's name and his own. Philip, together with his brothers and other notables, appealed to Pilate and wrote to Tiberius. Pilate was ordered to return the shields to the Augusteum in Ceasarea-on-the Sea. This event probably took place in 29–30 CE and Philip celebrated with the Augustus-Julia *As* his success over the prefect, a triumph deeply impressed upon the people's memories.

2. The missing date on Philip's *As* can also be ascertained with reference to Julia's death. The empress was extremely popular and greatly loved. Upon Augustus's death in 14 CE she was adopted into the Julian clan according to her husband's will and took the name Julia. Antipas, who had already rebuilt the Perean town Betharamatha and named it Livias changed the name to Julias (*War* 2.168). Salome, Herod's sister, bequeathed to her the land on the southern coast of Palestine that she had received at Herod's death (War 2.167). The prefects successors of Archaleus also paid her homage by issuing, between 15 and 24 CE, different coins with her name.[13] It is no surprise then that Philip honored her. But why did he not rename the city Julias in 29 CE, the effective year of her

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[10] M. Avi-Yonah, "Bethsaida," in *The Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. 1, Nashville: Abingdon, 1962, 396–397.

[11] Meshorer, 42; Mathel-Gerstenfeld, 143.

[12] Meshorer, 49.

[13] Meshorer, 173.

death? The answer to this question hinges on the controversy relating to her deification. She expected this ultimate honor as had been bestowed upon her husband Augustus; but her son Tiberius did not grant it to her.[14] Instead, being away from Rome at the time of her death, he delayed his return so that, in his absence, an ordinary funeral was given to her. Besides, he ordered a general public mourning as a way to proclaim that she was only a human being. This is all the more significant that he had forbidden this practice at the death of Augustus in expectation of the ensuing deification of the emperor. Pilate respected this order in his 29 CE issue by having the two outer ears of grain droop on the reverse as a sign of mourning with the inscription IOYΛIA KAICAPOC. But Philip abstained from issuing coins that year and waited until the end of the mourning period, in 30 CE to proclaim her divinity: for the first time on a coin, Julia's hand held the three ears of wheat as the goddess Abundantia that she represented. Symbolically, she was still providing blessing upon her people. That same year, Philip joined Augustus and Livia-Julia together on his *As* with the inscription ΣEBAΣTΩN implying equality of status as deities. Eventually, Julia was deified in 42 CE by Claudius. The names associated with the coins in decreasing order of value is indicative of Philip's feelings toward Julia and Tiberius:

- *As* (1/16 *denarius*) to Augustus and Julia. Such a coin, much circulated, was found at Bethsaida on May 31, 1994, in area A.
- *Semis* (1/32 *denarius*) to Tiberius. By associating Julia with Augustus, Philip elevated her above the ruling emperor, Tiberius. However, Julia alone came only in third rank.
- *Quadrans* (1/64 *denarius*) to Julia.
- *Half-Quadrans* (*Lepton* or *Pruta* = 1/128) *denarius*[15] to Philip.

With this prudent hierarchy, Tiberius could not be offended or at least could not manifest his displeasure.

Thus the date of the elevation of Bethsaida to the status of *polis* is most probably 30 CE, which is also the most widely accepted date for the Crucifixion. If this is the case, then the whole ministry of Jesus in Galilee took place while Bethsaida was still a mere village. It would follow that the Gospel of Mark, the only one using the correct term *kōmē*, may contain the direct memories of a witness who lived in Galilee during that early period. Only by taking the later addition of Chapter 13 as an integral part of the original story can we justify a dating to "about 70 CE" as accepted by the majority of New Testament scholars.

In March 1995, Professor Victor Gold of the Pacific Lutheran Theological Seminary, Berkeley, kindly called my attention to the Internet message 95.1011389 of February 10, 1995 from John Storey regarding the Magdalen papirii of Oxford. Dr. Carsten Thiede of Paderborn, Germany re-examined these uncial fragments reproducing parts of Matt. 26:7–8, 10, and 14. He argues that a) Uncials were not used after about 50 CE and that b) since Jesus is designated by KS (Kyrios) in v 10, it means that he was already recognized as God because c) Kyrios was not any more used in the secular sense of lord. The weakness of this argument resides in the fact that its three elements a, b, and c have to be

14 Dio Cassius, 58.2: Suetonius, *Tiberius* 51; Tacitus, *Annals*, 5.1–2.

15 For the relation of these coins to shekels and talents, see table I in *Jesus and his World*, 57 (see note 1).

irrefutably proven to make it valid. If they were, the origin of Matthew would be pre 50 CE, which would fit well with a pre 30 CE Mark.

IV. Fishermen, Gluttons and Winebibbers

Jesus' interest in the outcast and sinners was perceived as subversive by the religious establishment whose reproof was expressed by Celsus:

> Jesus collected round him ten or eleven men, the most wicked tax-collectors and sailors, and with these fled hither and thither, collecting a means of livelihood in a disgraceful and importunate way. (Origen, *Contra Celsum* 62)

There is little doubt that Jesus consorted with fishermen on a regular basis. In the Synoptics the references to boats, fishing, nets, and sailing amount to 92, those to agriculture and shepherding to 141[16] for a ratio of 9:14, certainly far superior to the ratio fishermen:peasants in the Palestine of Jesus which was perhaps between 1:20 and 1:100. Such a disproportion is of great significance, even when allowing for a large margin of error. Jesus' close circle of disciples included at least four fishermen out of twelve, two pairs of brothers: Peter and Andrew, and James and John. In his inner circle, they were all fishermen: Peter, James, and John.

The excavations of Bethsaida confirmed the importance of fishing and the fish processing industry in the northern area of the Sea of Galilee as it is also alluded to in the Talmud.[17] A number of fishing implements, stone anchors, and two witnesses to fish processing turned up since 1988:

- A bronze curved sail needle, 15 centimeters long,
- Several fishing hooks,
- Net weights of lead and basalt,
- Line sinkers of lead and basalt,
- Stone anchors weighing from 30 to 80 pounds, either with a hole or a groove to fasten a rope,
- Two rare artifacts pointing to fish salting and pickling which are described below.

One is the so called Fisherman's Seal used to imprint a trade mark on jar handles before firing. It represents, according to our interpretation, a hippos boat in the marshy area of the Jordan delta where high reefs grow. Two figures cast thrownets, a form of fishing that could be done from a small craft (Fig. 5). The heavy seine net and trammels required a boat at least 8 meters long as the one found at Ginnosar in 1986.[18]

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16 I found:

a) Related to fisherman's life: "Boat" = 33 times; "to cross" = 1; "fish fishing" = 15; "to land, sail" = 3; "nets" = 5; "to row" = 1; "sea" = 23; "storm" = 2; "water, wave, wind" = 9.

b) Related to peasants' life: "Barn" = 2; "farm" = 1; "field" = 14; "fig tree" = 12; "goat" = 2; "grain" = 5; "grapes" = 2; "grass" = 4; "harvest" = 7; "plough, plow" = 2; "reap(ers)" = 7; "seed" = 15; "sheep" = 17; "shepherd" = 3; "sow, sower" = 23; "threshing floor" = 3; "vine, vineyard" = 10; "wheat" = 7; "wine, wine press" = 2; "winnowing fork" = 3.

17 See n. 3 above.

18 See the entry "Boats" in *Jesus and His World* (see note 1).

The other artifact is a broken jar handle with an iron anchor etched on it. The imprint itself is about 6 by 2.7 centimeters and represents a type of anchor of the imperial Rome period as was caught in their nets by Ginnosar fishermen off Capernaum in 1968. It weighs 65 pounds and could hold a commercial trade boat 20 meters long (Fig. 6). This find and others such as large stone anchors displayed at the En Gev Anchor Museum testify to a commercial trade across and around the Sea of Galilee in the time of Jesus.[19]

There were other questionable characters within Jesus' circle of friends besides the four fishermen: one Gentile, Philip, one tax collector, Matthew-Levi, and one Zealot, Simon the cananaean, a total of seven "disreputable" men out of twelve close followers of Jesus, perhaps all "gluttons and winebibbers" (Matt. 11:19 = Q = Luke 7:34). What would they eat? They had staple food from plants: wheat, barley, chick peas, lentils, cucumbers, olives, fruits of all kinds (*War* 3.42–44); meat in abundance from water fowl and mamals; and of course fish which were in inexhaustible quantities. In the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman level we found chicken, sheep, goat, gazelle, and cow bones in every residential area. All these do not convey the image of a starving, oppressed people uncritically accepted by a majority of scholars.[20] From Josephus, we know that when the local rulers, tetrarchs or prefects, became oppressive, the population reacted vehemently and even sent delegations to the emperor or the legate of Syria. In Jesus' time these reactions were caused by offenses to religious convictions, not by starvation. Archaleus was banished in 6 CE for cruelty and Pilate in 36 CE for the same reason. Antipas was banished in 39 CE because he was accused by Agrippa of plotting a revolt against Caligula.[21]

They were also "winebibbers," an expression more accurate and evocative than "drunkards" as found in some modern translations. It is more consistent with the Greek text (οἰνοπότης) and to the archeological discoveries. In area C, appended to an Hellenistic-Early Roman house, we found an underground cellar containing wine jars about 60 by 40 centimeters (24 by 15 inches). The roof of the cellar was made of strong basalt beams about 2 meters long laid side by side over two parallel walls. Moreover, typical long handles of imported Rhodean wine jars were also found in several loci.

V. The Blind Man Healed at Bethsaida (Mark 8:22–26)

In this chapter, I draw heavily on my article "The Healing of the Blind Man at Bethsaida in *Recovering Antiquity: The Search for the Lost City of Bethsaida*, eds. Rami Arav and Richard Freund, Kirksville: The Thomas Jefferson Univeristy Press, 1995, 233–242.

The mighty works of Jesus in the Gospel tradition that are referred to in Matt, 11:20–24 and Luke 10:13–15 include only one specific instance of healing that took place in or near the city of Bethsaida. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss whether this particular healing can be seen as authentic. This is a formidible task since my colleagues of the Jesus Seminar in October 1990 gave a unanimous "black rating" to the sayings of Jesus in Mark 8:23 and 26, which

19 See the entry "Hippos-Susita" in the above.

20 See the entry "Tax and Tax-collectors" in the above.

21 Josephus, *Antiq* 17.342–344 (Archelaus); *Antiq* 18.88–89 (Pilate); *Antiq* 18.250–252 (Antipas).

means that these sayings, in their opinion, most likely are not authentic. I say the rating was unanimous because one abstention, mine, was not counted. At the time, I thought I had not done enough research to express an opinion. In Mark 8:23, Jesus asks, "Do you see anything?" The negative rating given by the Seminar is based on the fact that since Jesus and the blind man were in an isolated place, there was no independent witness to report the conversation. Another negative factor is single attestation (the story appears only in the Gospel of Mark).

I contend that multiple attestation does not mean much, since it is impossible to know for certain whether each attestation corresponds to only one source different from the others. New Testament scholars usually recognize three main independent sources: Mark; Q, which refers to material found in Matthew and Luke in common but not found in Mark; and the Gospel of Thomas, a list of Jesus' sayings found in the Nag Hammadi Library. Additional independent sources are L material found only in Luke, M material found only in Matthew, and John. There is no assurance that the same storyteller was not the common originator of two or three stories or sayings found in different texts; travel and intellectual exchanges between Asia Minor, Palestine, and Egypt were common. I rely much more on the three criteria of embarrassment, coherence, and subversive character. If the saying or the fact was embarrassing for the writer or the early church, then there is a good chance that it was kept only because it was authentic. Coherence with Jesus' gestalt as it emerges from the general, common account of the Gospels is also an indicator of authenticity (although one may invoke the argument of circularity). Another strong indicator of authenticity resides in coherence with Jesus' sociohistorical environment. If the saying or action appeared as subversive or shocking to the righteous and the religious establishment of his time, it probably was authentic.

The texts that came to us were written one or two generations after Jesus, they are not in their most probable original language (Aramaic), and each writer brought his own literary style and theology. Thus it is useless to argue about the exact wording of the Greek text and how the original language could have been translated. The futility of such exercises is evidenced by the diversity of opinions among New Testament scholars. Before proceeding further, it is necessary to describe briefly Jesus' gestalt as it emerges from the Synoptic Gospels. I think that most would agree at least on the following general image of Jesus. He was:

- A charismatic Jewish religious leader or prophet
- A wandering healer, exorcist and miracle worker
- A teacher of new socioreligious ethics and wisdom
- A friend of the poor and outcast
- A proclaimer of the Kingdom of God
- One who was spiritually close to God, whom he called Father.

Critical Commentary on the Pericope—Mark 8:22–26

Mark 8:22

> And they came to Bethsaida. And some people brought to him a blind man, and begged him to touch him.

The location, Bethsaida, is plausible in consideration of other references to this place in Jesus' ministry. Jesus' reputation as a healer was well established and

it was not unusual for the people to bring their relatives or friends to him so they could be healed by touching (imposition of the hands), which was common practice. Blindness was widespread in the Near East, especially as a result of latent trachoma, a chronic contagious conjunctivitis caused by chlamydia. Interestingly, a survey made in Bavaria and Prussia in 1880 showed the Jews, although they had left Palestine for eighteen centuries, were more prone to blindness than non-Jews.[22]

Mark 8:23

> And he took the blind man by the hand, and led him out of the village; and when he had spat on his eyes and laid his hands upon him, he asked him, "Do you see anything?"

Jesus took the blind man by the hand. Since no one else was with them, Jesus had to guide the blind man, a detail which gives credibility to the story. He led him out of the village, says Mark. Gallons of ink have been spent on whether Bethsaida was a village (κώμη), as in the Gospel of Mark, as a city (πόλις), as in Josephus, Matthew and Luke. Numismatic discovery and studies tend to prove that the change from village to city was made in 30 CE.[23]

In a first attempt to cure the blind man, Jesus spat on the blind man's eyes and laid hands upon him. The spitting on the face of someone is shocking to the modern reader, and the NRSV edulcorated the Greek text into "put salvia on his eye;" but it was not an unusual practice as will be seen below. As for the laying on of hands, it commonly was done, as demonstrated by the Genesis Apocryphon found in Cave I at Qumran. The question, "Do you see anything?" was quite natural and it adds credibility to the story.

Mark 8:24

> And he looked up and said, "I see men; but they look like trees walking."

The man was no longer blind, but his vision was blurred: the healing was accomplished only partly. This incident is the one occurrence where Jesus was not fully successful when he performed a healing—a most embarrassing situation for the early Christians, especially in consideration of statements such as those found in Luke 24:19 and Acts 2:22, which record the "Mighty deeds" of Jesus. The fact that the story was kept as it is tends to prove that the event was authentic. The criterion of embarassment is probably the most powerful in favor of authenticity.

Mark 8:25

> Then again he laid his hands upon his eyes; and he looked intently and was restored, and saw everything clearly.

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22 13.8:10,000 for Jews, versus 8:10,000 for non-Jews; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Blindness."

23 The Julia after whom the city was renamed was the wife and not the daughter of Augustus, contrary to what Josephus wrote. See Chapter III and "Coins as Historical Documents" in *Jesus and His World* (see note 1).

At the second attempt, Jesus does not spit on the eyes but imposes his hands one more time, and the man's vision is restored fully.

Mark 8:26

And he sent him away to his home, saying, "Do not even enter the village."

The healed man did not live in Bethsaida, which is not surprising since farms and houses were dispersed on the fertile plain around et-Tell, and the lake was rich in fish. Usually, according to Mark, Jesus did not want publicity about his miracles (the messianic secret). Here, he does not expressly formulate the command to remain silent, but he forbids the man to go back to the town to satisfy people's curiosity.

Coherence with the Synoptic Gestalt of Jesus

Here Jesus appears as an itinerant healer, which is in conformity with his gestalt. In this specific instance he used saliva, which is not exceptional for him. In the healing of the man born blind in John 9, he makes a plaster of earth and spittle to apply to the eyes of the blind beggar; in the healing of the deaf-mute in Mark 7:32–36, Jesus "spat (on his fingers) and touched his tongue." The story is somewhat parallel to that of the blind man of Bethsaida. In both cases, the sick man is brought to Jesus, who leads him apart, uses saliva, and imposes his hand. Both stories end with a command of silence or discretion.

Jesus' healing of the blind is well attested to in the Gospel tradition: the healings of Bartimaeus at Jericho (Mark 10:46–52), two blind men (Matt. 9:22–31), the blind and mute demoniac (Matt. 12:22), and the man born blind (John 9). Thus, the healing at Bethsaida is in line with Jesus' activity. Healing of the blind has a special significance in the ministry of Jesus; it was one of the great messianic signs given as an answer to the emissaries of the imprisoned Baptist, "the blind receive their sight." (Matt. 11:15; Luke 7:22, cf Is. 35:5–6).[24]

Despite its particularity of a two-step healing, the story is perfectly coherent with Jesus' gestalt, which is in favor of its authenticity. There is a proviso, however. As in all cases of exorcism and miraculous healing, it is very often difficult to explain the healing process in a totally rational and scientifically satisfying manner. The social scientist will simply conclude that the curing of a blind man was probably performed by Jesus at Bethsaida, according to the beliefs and practices of the time.

Coherence with the Sociohistorical Context of Jesus

I shall now examine whether the story is in harmony with the sociohistorical context of the Palestine of Jesus' time. Consideration is given to the practitioners of healing, the disease that was cured, and the techniques that were used.

The Practitioners of Healing

There were in Palestine, in the period of Jesus, several categories of individuals who claimed they could perform healings: physicians, traditional healers (folk medicine practitioners), miracle workers, magicians, and *goetes*. Paul makes a distinction between traditional healers and miracle workers (1 Cor.

[24] See also Luke 4:18.

12:28). Sometimes it was difficult to discern who was what and whether the claimant was a bona fide practitioner or a quack.

Roman Palestine was a cosmopolitan country; the "Galilee of the Gentiles" was surrounded by Phonecia on the west, the Decapolis on the east, Seleucia on the north, and Scythopolis on the south. It included several Hellenized if not Hellenistic cities: Ptolemais, Sepphoris (three miles from Nazareth), Caesarea-Philippi (with a sanctuary and festivals to the god Pan), and Tiberias. Nobody lived more than twelve miles from a center of Greek influence. Hippocratic medicine was certainly practiced there, and the Gospels make reference to physicians (Jesus at Nazareth, the woman with a flow of blood; Luke himself is said to have been a physician). A physician was a craftsman who either resided in a city or was itinerant.[25] The itinerant physician worked in patients' homes or had a booth set up for a short time in a town marketplace. There were no restrictions to the medical craft, nor was there any required training or official examination. The difference between the physician and other types of healers was one of technique; the physician would make a diagnosis and prescribe remedies which he had learned from a master (e.g., potions, herbs, diets), and he could also perform surgery. But he would seldom evoke a god (except Asklepios perhaps) or use incantations or offer sacrifices for the healing of his patient.[26]

The traditional healers or practitioners of folk medicine applied techniques from ancient times that were akin to magical recipes. Besides using plants (a practice they had in common with physicians), they resorted to the use of flesh, milk, blood, hair, and urine as well as the dung of animals as diverse as camels, wolves, vultures, donkeys, hyenas, porcupines; they would crush scorpions or beetles to make plasters. They also used minerals such as clay, salt, sulfur, petroleum.[27]

On the other hand, the miracle worker performed healing through God's power, or so he claimed. But he could be accused of using satanic powers, as happened to Jesus himself (Matt. 12:24; John 8:48). The miracle worker would perform healing through prayer, touch, command, or simply with an affirmative statement as Jesus did in several cases. The miracle worker could also use some techniques that resembled those of the magician.[28]

During Jesus' time there was not much difference in the public eye between magicians (magi) and *goetes*. Magi originally were members of a famed priestly caste in Persia, but after magus Gaumata usurped power in Persia while King Cambyses was fighting in Egypt (522 BCE),[29] magi fell into disfavor. Most of them moved to Asia Minor, Egypt, Greece, or Italy to exercise their talents and serve as tutors and advisers of governors, kings, and even emperors like Nero. However, there is no indication that the Samaritan Simon Magus (Acts 8:9–24) was one of

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25 L. Edelstein, *Ancient Medicine*. Ed. O. Temkin and C. L. Temkin. Trans. from the German by C. L. Temkin, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967, 87.

26 See "Medicine, Physicians" in *Jesus and His World* (see note 1).

27 See "Traditional Healing," as above.

28 See "Magic, Miracles," as above.

29 Cambyses died soon after and Darius, a distant relative who served as he spear bearer, rushed back to Persia, murdered Gaumata and his clique, and became king.

them; the word had been vulgarized and could be used to designate ordinary *goetes* or charlatans.

According to Josephus, the Jews were well versed in magic, and the greatest magician among them had been no less than King Solomon himself. Josephus also reports that the Essenes practiced the art of healing, and Philo makes an identical report concerning the Therapeutae of Alexandria. Even Jesus would have learned magic in Egypt according to Celsus, whose work was destroyed but partly preserved in quotations by Eusebius in his *Contra Celsum.* Thus, in the Hellenized Palestine of Jesus many individuals were involved in healing activities of one form or another. Miraculous healing was just one therapeutic method, and Jesus in his role as a healer or miracle worker fit perfectly in the sociohistorical context of the Palestine of his time.

The Disease

As mentioned, blindness was a common condition in Palestine. Biblical tradition has perceived blindness as a curse or a punishment from either God or temporal rulers. It was a current belief, grounded in Exod. 20:5, that children would suffer from the sins of their parents and thus could be born blind. In many cases, congenital blindness was a result of physical or psychological disorders (similar to modern birth disorders in children of alcoholics, smokers, drug addicts, or those afflicted with sexually transmitted diseases). The rabbis were convinced that the position of the parents during sexual intercourse could cause birth defects. For example, in BT Nedarin we find, "R. Johanan B. Dabai said, 'people are born lame because their parents overturn their table (have intercourse from behind), dumb because they kiss 'that place,' deaf because they speak during intercourse, blind because they look at 'that place.'"[30] Another cause of blindness was gouging. Gouging the eyes of an enemy was a normal practice. (the Philistines bored the eyes of Samson; the King of Babylon blinded Zedekaih). The blind, together with the lame and lepers were outcasts of society and were restricted outside the town limits. They became beggars and a threat to passers-by. Under these conditions, the healing of the blind by Jesus made an impact on the witnesses far greater than one can image in modern society.

Classical writers provide several reports of blindness in antiquity. For example, Aristophanes describes, in *Plutus,* a healing by a priest impersonating the god Asklepios in his shrine at Piraeus. The priest came at night as an apothecary, with a mortar, pestle, and box; he prepared a plaster of hot spices and vinegar and put it on the eyes of the patient. Plutus himself was healed of an eye ailment by two snakes which came from a back room and liked his eyes.[31] In such a milieu, the act of healing a blind man by Jesus at Bethsaida is extremely plausible.

The Technique

In the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus heals the blind in three ways: (1) spitting on the eyes and laying his hands on the patient (Bethsaida). (2) touching the patients (the two blind), and (3) simply affirming verbally that the healing was

[30] BT Nedarin 20a; see also BT Pesahim 112b: if one has intercourse in the light of a lamp, epileptic children will be born.

[31] H. C. Kee, *Miracles in the Early Christian World.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983, 81.

done (Bartimaeus). In John 9, the techniques are more complex, and involve: (1) the use of salvia to make clay, (2) the use of clay as a plaster on the eyes, and (3) the subsequent washing with water.

Is the use of salvia plausible in the sociohistorical context? It was certainly believed that salvia had special powers. The Egyptian goddess Isis was revered in the Greco-Roman world in the time of Jesus. It is said of her that one day when the great but aging god Re was going for a stroll to survey his creation, he drooled saliva on the ground. Isis picked up the earth mixed with Re's salvia and fashioned a snake of clay, which came to life. On his way back, Re was bitten by the snake, became very ill, and was healed by Isis only after he revealed his true name to her as she had demanded.[32]

In his *Natural History XXX*, Pliny the Elder reports that salvia, among other bodily fluids, was a potent remedy: "The best of all safeguards against serpents is the salvia of a fasting human being." Other uses includes spitting on epileptics during a seizure, spitting in one's hand to increase the force of a blow, and using salvia to treat boils, leprous sores, and eye diseases. In fact, the salvia of a fasting woman was seen as a powerful medication for the healing of watery eyes.[33] Tacitus depicts Vespasian moistening the eyes and cheeks of a blind and lame follower of Serapis whose eyesight was thus restored.[34] According to Morton Smith, "fluid could help make the contact closer; the readiest form of fluid was spittle, and both spittle, and the act of spitting were commonly believed to have magical powers."[35] Thus it follows that the use of salvia by Jesus for healing the blind man at Bethsaida is highly plausible in the sociohistorical context of his time.

In summary, the story of the blind man cured at Bethsaida by Jesus meets all the criteria I have selected in order to detect its possible authenticity. Of course, they may be criticized: embarrassment for the early church, coherence with Jesus' gestalt, and coherence with Jesus' sociohistorical environment. The criterion of subversive characteristic is not applicable in this case since healing by any method was common practice in the Palestine of Jesus. Thus, we may reasonably conclude that Jesus most probably healed a blind man at Bethsaida by using salvia and imposing his hands.

Today, the visitor of Bethsaida can see at the foot of the mound, on its northwest corner, on the access road, an erected boulder decorated with symbolic signs. It is called "the stone of Bethsaida" and had the honor of a photograph and lengthy explanation of its symbols in the *Biblical Archaeologist* of December 1985, but without any information about its origin. The truth is that it was planted there in 1981 by a devout man to mark the place where supposedly the healing occurred. When asked why he had selected this particular spot, he answered, "because there are trees around." It happens that these are eucalyptus trees imported from Australia. I mention this anecdote only to show how traditions are born and how unreliable they can be.

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32 The name was "The Great of Magic;" see Kee 1983, 109.

33 H. C. Kee, *Medicine, Miracle and Magic in the New Testament Times*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, 104

34 Ibid., 83.

35 Smith, 1985, 128.

VI. The Feeding of the Five Thousand (Luke 9:10–17)

The Gospel accounts of the feeding of the five (and/or four) thousand have been the object of numerous comments and articles by numerous international scholars in the last hundred years and there is no need to give their inventory here; I will only examine the reason for this gathering. In chapter I, I have indicated my opinion that John's version which places the site of the feeding not far from Tiberius is the most credible.

Considering the double attestation of assumably two independent sources, Mark 6:30–31 and John 6:1–4, there is a strong probability that the gathering actually happened, more so since Matthew and Luke considered the story worthy of repetition. But what was its purpose? In "Revolt in the Desert," H. Montefiori (1957) suggests that it was a rebel or military gathering.[36] He found support with C. H. Dodd (1963, 1971)[37] and J. A. T. Robinson (1985).[38] I argue that this is the most correct interpretation for four reasons:

1. *Sequence of events:* In the Synoptics, the gathering happens after the beheading of John the Baptist.

a) John imprisoned: Mark:1:14; Matt. 4:12/11:2; Luke 4:14.

b) John beheaded: Mark 6:14–16, 27, Matt. 14:10; Luke 9:7–9.

c) The gathering: Mark 6:32–44; Matt. 14:13–21; Luke 9:10–17; John 6:1–14.

John had a great influence on the people and Herod Antipas feared being involved "in a difficult situation" (*Antiq* 18.118). It would have been an understandable reaction for John's followers to meet and seek a leader.

2. *Size of the gathering:* Five thousand men formed in those time a sizeable military force.

a) The Hebrew Bible mentions the "thousands" of Israel (Deut. 1:14; 1Sam. 8:12; 22:7 *et passim*).

b) Judas Maccabee defeated the Seleucid army at Emmaus with 3,000 men (166 BCE; 1 Macc. 4:6).

c) The Samaritan army of Gratus, faithful general of the dying Herod was 3,000 strong (4 BCE; *War* 2.52–58; *Antiq* 17. 275–284).

d) A Roman legion counted from 4,000 (light) to 6,000 (regular) men.

f) Pilate had under his command auxiliary forces composed of four cohorts (2,400 men) and two *alae* of calvary (about 1,000 men).[39]

Why should Mark have indicated such a number? It is permissible to think that it corresponded to the reality.

3. *Military units:* According to Mark 6:39–40, Jesus commanded the men to sit down by groups of hundreds and fifties. Despite the first word used, *sympósia* (drinking parties), the numbers are significant by themselves. They correspond to the Israelite basic military units of "hundreds" (Num. 31:14, 54; 1Sam. 22:7; 2Sam. 18:1; 2Kgs. 11:10; 1Chr. 13:1; 26:26; 28:1; 2Chr. 13:1 *et passim*) and "fifties"

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36 H. Montefiori, "Revolt in the Desert," in *New Testament Studies* 1957–58, 135–149.

37 C. H. Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963, 212; *The Foundation of Christianity*, London: Collins, 1971, 137ff.

38 J. A. T. Robinson, *The Priority of John*, London: SCM Press, 1985, 203ff.

39 "Weapons" in *Jesus and His World* (see note 1). *Antiq* 19.365 gives a possible composition of the prefects of Judea's forces in the time of Claudius, I follow H. G. Pflaum in "Judée," *Les procurateurs équestres sous le haut empire romain*, Paris Maisonneuve, 1950.

(1Sam. 8:12; 2Kgs 1:14). This compares with the Roman century of Jesus' time which counted from 80 to 100 soldiers.

4. *Making Jesus a king:* Julius Caesar had been acclaimed *imperator* by his legions; but in Palestine, there were indigenous, recent examples of revolutionary kings or leaders: Judas Maccabee (167–161 BCE) founder of the Hasmonean dynasty, Zechariah or Ezechias of Galilee captured and executed by young Herod in 47 BCE (*War* 1.204), his son Yehuda bar Zechariah in 4 BCE (War 2.56; *Antiq* 17:271–272), Shimon of Perea in 4 BCE (*War* 2.57–59; *Antiq* 17:273–277), Athrongaeus of Judea also in 4 BCE (*War* 2.60–65; *Antiq* 17:278–284), Judas the Galilean in 6 CE (*War* 2.118; *Antiq* 18:4–12; Acts 6:37). In light of these precedents, thoughtful consideration must be given to John 6:15 according to which the people wanted to make Jesus king, possibly to lead them to avenge John's death. But Jesus apparently adopted the philosophy of Judas the Galilean and the Pharisee Saddok: God was the only legitimate king of the Jews.

It seems that a logistic problem occurred: How to feed 5,000 men (followed perhaps by women and children, Matt. 14:21) spontaneously gathered without any material preparation? The bakers or inhabitants of Magdala or Bethsaida, cities of 2,000 to 5,000 people at the most, could not provide without sufficient notice enough bread to feed so many additional people. We may conjecture that the problem was solved by the procuring of salted and pickled fish from either Magdala (my choice, see chapter I) or Bethsaida (Luke 9:10).[40] The two hundred *denarii* mentioned in Mark 6:37 and John 6:7 may correspond to a factual situation. This amount represents 3,200 *assarions* (*as*-es) or 6,400 *semi*-es,[41] enough money to buy a meal of some bread and processed fish for 5,000 to 10,000 persons. Because a *denarius* represented only the wage of one day of labor, it is conceivable that two hundred *denarii* could have been collected among the crowd or was available in Jesus' "treasury" (Luke 8:31, John, 12:6).

By naming Bethsaida without any other geographical reference, Luke probably attempted to find a solution to the location problem posed by Mark. But his initiative is pointless without any other reference allowing for the situating of the city. Obviously, he had no knowledge of the geography of the region and of the exact status of the town in Jesus' time (see chapter II). The Lucan pericope also presents an inner contradiction when the disciples called the "city" Bethsaida a "lonely place" (verses 10 and 12), and have to go to the "villages and farms" to find food. We have all the marks of an incoherent, artificial construction, and we may conclude that his location of the feeding of the crowd is incorrect.

Nevertheless, the same devout man mentioned in the preceding chapter, uncritically combining Luke 9:10–17 and Mark 8:1–9, planted another commemorative boulder at Tell Hadar to indicate the location of the feeding of the 4,000. This marker is about 9 kilometers south of Tell Bethsaida. In his mind this distance was probably short enough to justify Luke's location of the feeding at the same time in the "city" and in a "lonely place."

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40 "Bethsaida" in *Jesus and His World*, 19, and "Magdala," 189.

41 Table I, "Equivalence Table" in *Jesus and His World.*

VII. The Galilean Followers of Jesus

On May 13, 1994, Fred Strickert supervising area C, found a large jar or amphora shard with a *patée* cross etched on it (Fig. 7). A dating prior to 67 CE imposes itself since Bethsaida was razed by the Romans about the same time as Gamla. It lay in a well defined Late Hellenistic-Early Roman environment, inside a room, next to a door. Not enough shards belonging to the same vessel were found next to it for reconstruction. It was not broken there and the cross-bearing shard was perhaps being removed to be salvaged.

A petrographic analysis was performed by Yoval Goren of the Israeli Department of Antiquities in February 1995. The clay is composed of marl (calcium carbonate) and terra rossa (earth colored by iron oxyde). This mixture is quite common in Upper and Western Galilee but unknown in the easter area of Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida. The cross was incised after firing. The vessel, highly fired could have come from Ptolemais (Acco).

By whom was the cross incised and for what purpose? Does its shape indicate a reinterpretation of the terrible, scandalous Crucifixion by some member of the Q community dear to James M. Robinson and others?[42] The Q people certainly knew about the execution of Jesus although what remains of their collections of sayings does not allude to it. If the Q community lived in that area, was the original author of Mark one of them?

These questions can be answered at this time only through speculation, which is not a scientific process and generates ceaseless disputes. Fred Strickert is writing an article on the subject as well as H.-W. Kuhn of Munich. I prefer to wait for what they have to say. It remains that this cross found in a locus where Jesus had lived, is the only one that can be dated prior to 67 BCE with quasi-certainty. Four papers presented last year at the SBL meeting of Chicago[43] and several recent works abundantly demonstrate that a well planned, investigative research focusing on Jesus in the first third of the first century CE needs to be done. If you are interested in participating, please contact me; my address is in the SBL directory.

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42 J. M. Robinson, "A Down to Earth Jesus," Foreword of *Jesus and His World.*

43 James Strange, "First Century Galilee from Archaeology and from the Texts," *SBL 1994 Seminar Papers*, 81–90; Richard A. Horsley, "The Historical Jesus and Archaeology of the Galilee," *Ibid.*, 91–135; Jonathan Reed, "Population Numbers, Urbanization, and Economics: Galilean Archaeology and the Historical Jesus," *Ibid.*, 203–219; Douglas E. Oakman, "The Archaeology of the First Century Galilee and the Social Interpretation of the Historical Jesus," *Ibid.*, 220–251.

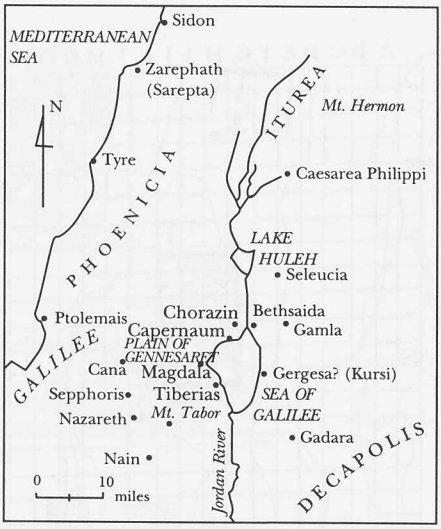


Figure 1: The Galilee of Jesus

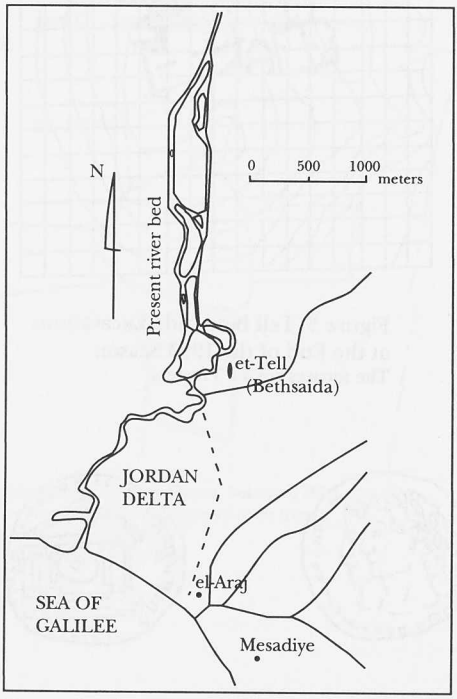


Figure 2: Three Sites Proposed for Bethsaida at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

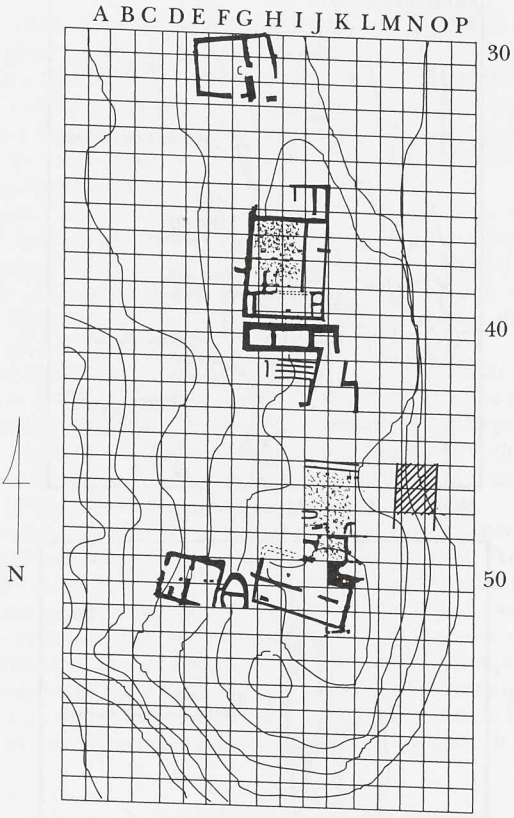


Figure 3: Tell Bethsaida Excavations at the End of the 1993 Season.
The squares are 5 x 5 meters.

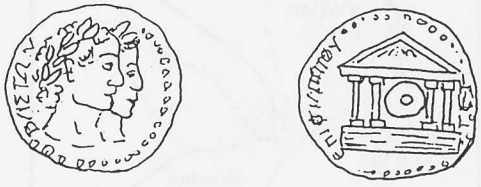


Figure 4: Philip's Two-Headed As



Figure 5: The Bethsaida Fisherman's Seal.
The seal dates from the Late Hellenistic–Early Roman period. Its actual size is about 3/4 by 3/4 of an inch. It represents a flat bottom boat near a leafy reed. The figure above has been interpreted as symbolizing two men casting a throw net.

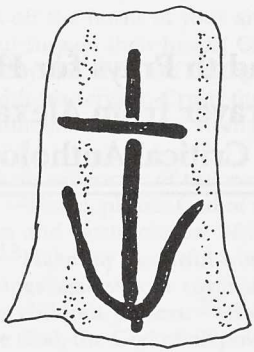
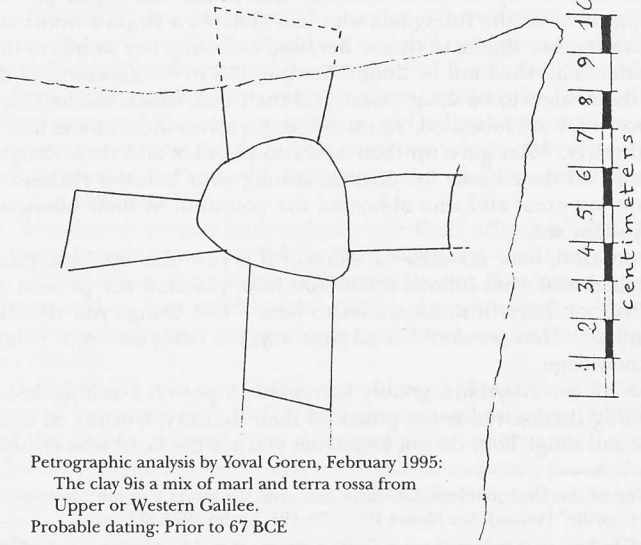


Figure 6: Jar Handle with Anchor

Figure 7: The Cross of Bethsaida
Bethsaida Excavations, May 13, 1994
Area C Square F29 Locus 924



Petrographic analysis by Yoval Goren, February 1995:
The clay 9is a mix of marl and terra rossa from Upper or Western Galilee.
Probable dating: Prior to 67 BCE

Judith Prays for Help (Jdt 9:1–14); Prayer from Alexander to Constantine: A Critical Anthology

Toni Craven
Brite Divinity School
Texas Christian University

Text of Judith 9

1Then Judith fell on her face, put ashes on her head, and uncovered the sackcloth she was wearing. Just as the evening's incense offering was being offered in the house of God in Jerusalem, Judith cried aloud to the Lord and said,

2"Lord, God of my ancestor Simeon, into whose hand you put a sword to take vengeance on the foreigners who had violated a virgin's womb to defile her,[a] uncovering her thighs to shame her, and polluting her womb to dishonor her. You said, "This shall not be done!" Yet they did it. 3On account of this, you gave over their rulers to be slaughtered, and their bed, which blushed for shame for her deceived,[b] to bloodshed. You struck down slaves with princes and princes on their thrones. 4You gave up their wives to plunder and their daughters to captivity, and all their booty for division among your beloved children, whose zeal for you was great and who abhorred the pollution of their blood and had called on you for aid.

"God, my God, hear me also—a widow! 5It is you who do these things and what preceded and what follows them. You have planned the present and the future. What you have in mind comes to pass. 6The things you decide come forward and say, 'Here we are!' For all your ways are ready and your judgment is with foreknowledge.

7"Here are the Assyrians, greatly increased in power, boasting horses and riders, priding themselves in the power of their infantry, trusting in shield and spear, bow and sling! They do not know that you are the Lord who crushes wars;

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[a] Meaning of the Gk is unclear. Lit. "who loosened the virgin's womb" (*mētran*). Perhaps "headress" or "girdle" (*mitran*). See Moore 1985:190–191; Enslin 1972:123.

[b] Uncertain how to translate the two Greek references to "deceit" (*apatē*). NAB has both: "Therefore you had their rulers slaughtered; and you covered with their blood the bed in which they lay deceived, the same bed that had felt the shame of their own deceiving. . . ." Most, as above, omit one reference. See Enslin 1972:123.

8Lord is your name.[c] Shatter their might by your power and bring down their force in your anger! For they plan to pollute your sanctuary, to defile the tabernacle where your glorious name rests, to break off the horns of your altar with the sword. 9Look on their arrogance! Send your fury on their heads! Give into my hand—a widow's—the strength I need. 10By the deceit of my lips,[d] strike down the slave with the ruler and the ruler with his servant. Crush their pride by the hand of a female! 11For not on numbers does your strength depend, nor on the powerful your might.

"You are God of the lowly, helper of the oppressed, supporter of the weak, protector of those in despair, savior of the hopeless. 12Please, please, God of my father, God of the heritage of Israel, ruler of heaven and earth, creator of the waters, king of all your creation, hear my prayer![e] 13Make my deceitful words wound and bruise those who have planned harsh things against your covenant, your sacred house, Mount Zion, and the house your children possess. 14Make every nation and every tribe know clearly that you are God, the God of all power and might, and that there in no other who protects the people of Israel but you."

Comment

Prayer is important throughout the Book of Judith. Part I (1:1-7:32) is like a communal lament gone awry. Faced with the political and religious threat of Assyrian aggression under the leadership of Nebuchadnezzar and his general Holofernes, which begins in Persia and makes its way to the little Israelite town of Bethulia, the fearful Israelites nearly surrender. When the Israelites "heard" of Holofernes' destruction of their neighbors and their places of worship, they were greatly terrified for Jerusalem and the temple (4:1-2). At the instruction of the Joakim, high priest of Jerusalem, the Israelites fortified the passes that led to their hilltop town (4:7-8), and then cried out to God with a great show of fasting, sprinkling ashes on their heads, and putting sackcloth everywhere (4:10-11). They petitioned God to "look with favor upon the whole house of Israel" (4:15; see Ballentine 1993:118–198).

God "heard their prayers and looked upon their affliction" (4:13), but the Israelites, not knowing this, lost heart. They identified God's vengeance as the problem (7:28). When they, wishing to surrender, cry, "We have no one to help us; God has sold us into their hands" (7:25), the town leader, Uzziah, urges courage, but vows surrender to the Assyrians if God does not rescue them within five days (7:30-31).

Part II (8:1-16:25) tells how Judith, the widow of Manasseh (8:2; 16:22), who lived alone on her estate (8:4; 16:22), with servants and property (8:8; 16:21, 24), delivered the people of Israel from their own fears and destroyed the Assyrian enemy. Judith is identified as a woman of habitual and daily prayer (see 8:5-6). Before every action in the story, she prays. She tells Holofernes that she "serves

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[c] See Exod 15:3, "YHWH is a man of war; YHWH is his name" and Jdt 16:2, "The Lord is a God who crushes wars." Craven 1983:106.

[d] Lit. "word and deceit," hendiadys. References to deceit (*apatē*) are also found in 9:3 (twice in Greek) and 9:10, Judith's second request that God make her successful at lying.

[e] A litany composed of ten titles for God appears on each side of the words "Please, please," which climaxes with the request that God "hear" her entreaty. Craven 1983:91.

the God of heaven day and night" (11:17). It is her nightly practice of going outside the enemy camp to bathe and pray that provides the ruse for her escape after she has beheaded the enemy general (see 11:17-19; 12:6-9; 13:10). Her faith had public effect: "No one spoke ill of her, for she feared God with great devotion" (8:8), and "No one ever again spread terror among the Israelites during the lifetime of Judith, or for a long time after her death" (16:25).

Judith's personal lament in Judith 9, is embedded in a narrative unit about Judith's plan to save Israel (8:9-10:8) in which concatenated uses of the verb "hear" underscore the importance of hearing and being heard. Judith, who has "heard" of the compromise proposed by the leaders of Bethulia (8:9), insists they "hear" her challenge (8:11, 32) that they have put themselves in the place of God, who is not like a "mortal to be threatened, nor like a human being to be won over by pleading" (8:18). Judith declares that God is free to deliver or destroy (8:17) and that faith is waiting for deliverance and calling upon God for help (8:17). God will "hear," she says, if God so pleases (8:17). Judith urges the leaders, "let us set an example" (8:24), "let us give thanks to the Lord our God, who is putting us to the test" (8:25). She argues that God's chastisement is for pedagogical, not punitive, purposes. Faith (8:12-17) and suffering (8:18-27) enslave neither God nor believers.

Alone, when the leaders have left her house, Judith prays to God (9:1-14). Invoking God who empowered Simeon to annihilate those who defiled Dinah (9:2-4a), she begs God to "hear" (9:4, 12) her entreaty. She credits God as responsible for the past, present, and future events (9:5-6). She implores God to destroy the Assyrians (9:7-8) by giving her—a widow and female—a "strong hand" and "deceitful words" (9:9-10). Judith acknowledges that God's "strength does not depend on numbers," nor God's "might on the powerful" (9:11). The ten titles for God embedded in this prayer sum up who God is for the author of Judith (9:11-12).

Judith's prayers and her understanding of God rise like a phoenix out of the ashes of the community's despair (see 7:32). She defends the radical freedom and foreknowledge of God. She asks three things of God: that God hear her prayer (9:4, 12), that God destroy the Assyrians (9:8), and that God use the deceit of her lips and the hand of a female (*thēleia*) to crush the enemy (9:10, 13). Her prayer is fitting, given her circumstances (compare Ps 149:7-8). When the enemy has been beheaded (see Bal 1994 on artistic representations of this scene), the high priest Joakim and the Israelite elders bless Judith, "You are the glory of Jerusalem, you are the great boast of Israel, you are the great pride of our nation! You have done all this with your own hand; you have done great good to Israel, and God is well pleased with it" (15:9b-10a). The story is not critical of her actions, as are some readers who are offended that Judith intentionally deceives and murders (Craven 1989b; Prouser 1994).

Written in Greek and found only in the Septuagint, the Book of Judith is excluded from the Hebrew canon. Protestants regard Judith as part of the Apocrypha. Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Christians designate Judith as a deuterocanonical Old Testament book, including it in the Historical Books. The story is extant in four Greek recensions (LXX codices B, ℵ, A, N), four translations (Old Latin, Syriac, Sahidic, and Ethiopic), and other relatively late abridged and modified Hebrew versions. Despite Jerome's claim in the Vulgate to have translated an Aramaic text, no ancient Aramaic or Hebrew manuscripts

have been found. The oldest extant text of Judith is likely a third century CE potsherd on which Jdt 15:1-7 is preserved.

Judith is an anonymous book, likely written by a Palestinian Jew. Nothing is known about its author, except what can be surmised from the story itself. The story, written in Greek that imitates Hebrew idiom and syntax, intermingles uncertain and even imaginary details with facts drawn from Palestinian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, and Greek history and geography, and most especially Jewish religious customs of the second century BCE.

Most likely Judith was composed in the first century BCE, during the late Hasmonean period. The exact date of the book's composition can not be determined. A reference to Judith in the first epistle of Clement of Rome in the first century CE makes it clear that the story was composed before this time.

Judith was meant as didactic fiction, not factual history. Most of the story takes place during two fateful months in 587 BCE in the little town Bethulia, described as strategically located to the north of Jerusalem in the region of Samaria, but otherwise unknown in Palestinian geography. For thirty-four days Bethulia is under Assyrian attack (7:20); for four days Judith, an otherwise unknown courageous woman who delivers her people, is in the enemy camp (12:10); and for thirty days the Israelites go out from this town to plunder the Assyrians (15:11).

As it turns out, the petitions of Judith's prayer in chapter 9 are fundamental to the plot and success of the entire narrative. Judith's lament—born of trust in relationship with God—effects deliverance. In the end, Judith's prayer for help is effective not because the people are delivered from the enemy, but because her lament and her understanding of God rest in unswerving belief that God is with the people whether they are delivered or destroyed. Theology makes this prayer great (contra Moore 1985:195). In her prayer and in the book as a whole, Judith serves an example that covenant, not deliverance, counts most.

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A Prayer to Sarapis

Robert F. Hull, Jr.
Emmanuel School of Religion

> Aurelios Demareus to Aurelia Arsinoe his sister, greetings. The prayer that I previously made to all the gods for your welfare and that of our child and your brother and your father and your mother and all our friends is now an even greater act of worship in the great Sarapeum. I implore the great god Sarapis concerning your life and that of all our friends and the good hopes held in common by humankind.

Notes

line 1—"Sister" is found often in the papyri as a term of endearment for one's wife. This usage may be rooted in the ancient Egyptian practice of brother-sister marriage, but cf. Cant 4:9, 10, 12.

line 5—The word translated "is . . . an act of worship" (proskynei) has been restored by the original editor on the basis of the initial letter. In the papyri proskyneō usually signifies either "to do an act of worship" (to a deity) or (especially in the byzantine era) "to do honor or reverence" to a [human] superior. Both usages are found in the New Testament: to worship God, Matt 4:10; John 4:22-24; Acts 10:25-26; to do reverence to a superior, Rev 3:9.

lines 2, 4, 6—The words "all" and "always" appear frequently in the openings of papyrus letters in several stereotyped formulas, such as "above all I pray that you are well," or with reference to praying to "all the gods," praying "always" or praying for the addressee and "all" of his or her family or associates; cf. the letters of Paul in the NT (Rom 1:7; 1 Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 1:1; Phil 1:1; 1 Thess 1:2

The Setting of the Prayer

The prayer above is excerpted from a letter written by a man on a business trip in Alexandria to his wife in Oxyrhynchus, on the Nile River, about 150 miles upriver. It is labeled P. Oxy. 1070 in the great collection of papyri from Oxyrhynchus. On the basis of its style of handwriting it is dated by its original editor, A. S. Hunt, to the third century CE (Hunt 1910:227). The letter refers to several business and private concerns affecting the wellbeing of the family.

Thousands of private letters written on papyrus have survived in the dry sands of Egypt, where they have been reclaimed from ancient refuse dumps or from

mummy cases or "cartonnage," the ancient equivalent of cardboard. These letters provide information not obtainable anywhere else concerning the daily life of ordinary people living in Egypt from Ptolemaic to Byzantine times (ca. 300 BCE to 300 CE). Many of the letters contain brief references to prayers made on behalf of the addressees, and a few summarize the contents of these prayers.

Prayer "Formulas" in the Letters

Although most letter-writers make no reference to religion at all, many do include stereotyped prayer "formulas" in the openings or closings of their letters. Typical formulas include: "above all I pray that you are well"; "I pray for you every day"; "I give thanks to the gods." The standard works on ancient letters have catalogued these formulas (Exler 1923:103–10), but very little attention has been given to what the use of prayer language may indicate about the personal piety of the writer (Bell 1948; Rees 1950). Since the language is for the most part formulaic, the prayer references have generally been seen as merely perfunctory and polite conventions. Nevertheless, sometimes these formulas are expanded, adapted, and personalized in ways that tell us more about the religious life of the writers. Occasionally we are told that a writer has prayed on a specific occasion, for example "at the sacrifices of Isis on the night of her birthday," (P. Brem. 15) or that the writer will pray or make an act of worship "tomorrow at the Sarapeum" (P. Brem. 48). Moreover, sometimes the specific content of the prayer is specified, as in our example.

The Prayer in P. Oxy. 1070 and the Cult of Sarapis

Aurelius alludes to having previously prayed "to all the gods" for the welfare of his family and friends. He later mentions (lines 47–50 in the letter) that he has not heard from his wife despite having written several times from Alexandria. Now, in view of the lack of any communication from home he prays once more "as an even greater act of worship" in the great Sarapeum. The specifying of prayer for "child, brother, father, mother, and all our friends" is typical of references to prayer in private letters. The linking of Sarapis with "all the gods" reflects the widespread identification and association of Sarapis with various Graeco-Egyptian deities, including Osiris, Zeus, Asklepios, and Dionysis. Such syncretism was characteristic of the late hellenistic age. Sarapis is, however, mentioned specifically as "the great god" who cares for the welfare of the addressee, her family, and all their friends. From Ptolemaic times, Sarapis was regarded as a great benefactor, a patron of those in danger, a healing deity. He is honored with such epithets as *euergetēs* (benefactor), *sōtēr* (savior), *kosmokratōr* (ruler of the world), *basileus* (king), *ploutodotēs* (giver of wealth), *megas* (great), *hypsistos* (highest), and *agathos* (good) (Hornbostel 1973:26–27). In Egypt no other cult was understood to provide such benefactions as that of Sarapis or Isis/Sarapis.

The petition of Aurelius to Sarapis "for all the good hopes held in common by humankind" (lines 10–11) is remarkable, and unmatched in any other letter I have seen. Pagan prayer is sometimes described as being almost wholly self-interested (MacMullen 1981:52), yet this petition embraces the general concerns of humankind. It is a question whether a petition so generalizing and pretentious

should be taken seriously. Given the rarity of such petitions in letters, perhaps it should be. Of all deities in the Roman world of the time, none was seen to hold such universal sway as Sarapis. In his great hymn to Sarapis, Aelius Aristides (second century CE) wrote of him:

> He alone is held in honor alike by kings and by private citizens, alike by the wise and the simple, by both great and small. . . . Thus in every circumstance of life he comes on our behalf, and there is no space left unaffected by the workings of this god. Rather, in whatever matters humankind is interested, he too takes an interest, and performs every sort of blessing, beginning with the soul and ending with material wealth (Aristides XLV 18–20).

Thus, a prayer for "the good hopes held in common by humankind" might properly be addressed to Sarapis, to whom nothing human is alien. Aristides indicates that Sarapis can provide health, wealth, and peace. Perhaps these are some of the "good hopes" in the mind of the author of this prayer.

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Revelation 4:8–11; 5:9–14: Hymns of the Heavenly Liturgy

Jean-Pierre Ruiz
St. John's University, Jamaica, NY

Introduction

While some interpreters of the Apocalypse explain the place and function of doxologies in the book on the analogy of the choruses of Greek tragedy (Bowman 1955, 1968), other commentators have suggested that the acclamations of Revelation 4 and 5 are patterned after elements of Second Temple Jewish or early Christian liturgy (including Läuchli 1960; Mowry 1952; O'Rourke 1968; Prigent 1964). It is far more likely that they are *ad hoc* compositions of the author (Carnegie 1982:246-47), who drew upon biblical images in shaping visionary narratives that were intended to be read aloud, perhaps during worship (1:3, 9-10) in the churches of seven cities (Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea) of the Roman province of Asia towards the end of the reign of Domitian (81-96 CE). Yet the evidence of the powerful influence of the imperial Roman court and cult on Christians living in the seven churches led David E. Aune to reject the view that the heavenly liturgy of Rev 4-5 mirrors early Christian liturgy and to propose instead the convincing suggestion that the depiction of ceremonial words and deeds in the heavenly throne room of Rev 4-5 draws on rituals connected with the imperial court (Aune 1983). To deal with the irreconcilably conflicting claims between Christ and the Roman emperor, John's Apocalypse draws from sources that included biblical language and imagery, as well as from practices of imperial court ceremonial itself, to equip Christians in the churches of Asia with resources to resist assimilation. While the language of praise in Rev 4-5 may not have been drawn directly from the liturgy of the Asian churches, it was intended to be read within their liturgy to reinforce their commitment to Jesus (Barr 1986; Ruiz 1992, 1994).

Set within the report of a vision of the heavenly throne room, a vision introduced in Rev 4:1 by an invitation for John to ascend through an open door, the hymnic acclamations found in 4:9, 11; 5:9-10, 12-13 are combined with ritual gestures and cultic objects (prostration [4:10; 5:8, 14]; presentation of gold crowns [4:10], harps and gold bowls full of incense, incense that represents the prayers of the saints [5:8; 8:3-5]). These acclamations and gestures are performed by attendants at God's throne, beginning with the four living creatures (4:8), to whose doxology the twenty-four elders respond (4:10-11). In the three expanding choruses of praise that follow after this, the living creatures and the elders sing together the "new song" of 4:9-10; and then "myriads of myriads and thousands

of thousands" of angels add their voices (5:11), until all creation joins in a hymn (5:13) that concludes with the "Amen" of the living creatures and the elders (5:14).

The Daniel 7-inspired throne vision (Beale 1984: 178-228), into which these acclamations and ritual gestures are set, focuses on the seven-sealed book in the right hand of the one seated on the throne (5:1), on the question raised by the mighty angel in 5:2, "Who is worthy to open the book and to open its seals?" and on the appearance of the seven-horned, seven-eyed slaughtered lamb (the Apocalypse's most frequent image for Jesus, with 29 occurrences), which it unseals in the subsequent chapters (6-8).

Several of the hymnic acclamations in Rev 4-5 have been and continue to be used in prayer and in Christian sacred music. Hans Wildberger points out that the Trisagion ("holy, holy, holy") of the Isaian seraphim, the model for the utterance of the living creatures in Rev 4:8, "was part of the liturgy in the Jerusalem cult" (Wildberger 1991: 265). In Jewish prayer, the Isaian Trisagion is an important part of the *Kedushah*, the third blessing of the *Amidah*, the prayer known as the "Eighteen Benedictions." In many Christian liturgies, both eastern and western, the Trisagion forms part of a hymn of praise that precedes the anaphora of the eucharistic liturgy. There is evidence for the Christian liturgical use of the Trisagion as early as the late first century CE (1 Clement 34:6). The trisagion also forms part of the *Te Deum*, a fifth century Latin hymn of praise to God the Father and to Jesus: "Tibi omnes angeli, tibi caeli et universae potestates: tibi cherubim et seraphim incessabili voce proclamant: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra maiestatis gloriae tuae." In combining praise of God with praise of Christ, the *Te Deum* echoes the pattern of the acclamations in Rev 4-5. The AV text of Rev 5:12-14 was set to music in the concluding choruses of Georg Friederich Händel's 1741 oratorio, *Messiah*.

Within the vision report narrative, the hymnic acclamations have their own consistent configuration (Harris 1989:310-319). The Isaiah 6-inspired opening trisagion is followed by three acclamations in which God, Jesus and then both God and Jesus are declared worthy (van Unnik 1970). The threefold pattern of the living creatures' constant (day and night) "Holy, holy, holy," underlined by the threefold designation of God as the one "who was and who is and who is to come," is echoed by threefold patterns in the hymnody that follows. The trisagion is followed by three "worthy" acclamations, and the motive clauses associated with the first two of these (4:11 and 5:9-10) contain three members. In 4:11 the elders declare God worthy of glory, honor and power because (1) "you created everything;" (2) "and through your will they existed;" (3) "and were created." In 5:9-10 the living creatures and the elders declare the Lamb worthy to receive and unseal the book (1) "because you were slaughtered;" (2) "and ransomed for God by your blood [*those from*] every tribe and language and people and nation;" (3) "and you made them for our God a reign and priests."

The ascription of similar attributes to God, to Jesus, and then both to God and to Jesus establishes a consistent pattern borne out through the rest of the Apocalypse, a pattern in which the qualities of God are attibuted to Jesus. Three attributes are ascribed to God in 4:9 (*doxa, timē, eucharistia*) and in 4:11 (*doxa, timē, dynamis*), the quasi-antiphonal response of the twenty-four elders following the Trisagion of the living creatures. Seven are ascribed to Jesus in 5:11 (*dynamis, ploutos, sophia, ischys, timē, doxa, eulogia*), an instance of the Apocalypse's tendency

towards expansion (Mounce 1977:149; Bousset 1906:261), while four are ascribed to God and to Jesus in 5:13 (*eulogia, timē, doxa, kratos*). Some attributes are repeated: *doxa* and *timē* appear four times and *dynamis* appears twice.

The first two "worthy" acclamations establish the theological and christological outlook of Rev 4-5: in 4:11 God is declared worthy of glory, honor and and power as the creator of all things; in 5:9 Jesus is pronounced worthy because of the redemption wrought by his crucifixion. The acclamations of Rev 4-5 invite the audience to recognize the unity of the divine design as it unfolds both in creation and in redemption.

Translation

[4:8] And the four living creatures, each of them having six wings, full of eyes inside and all around, do not cease day and night saying
"Holy, holy, holy,
Lord God the omnipotent,
who was and who is and who is to come."
[9] As the living creatures give glory and honor and thanks to the one seated on the throne, who lives forever and ever,
[10] the twenty-four elders fall down before the one seated on the throne and offer worship to the one who lives forever and ever, and they throw their crowns before the throne, saying,
[11] "Worthy are you, our Lord and our God
to receive the glory and the honor and the power
because you created everything
and through your will they existed and were created."

[5:9] and they [*the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders*] sing a new song, saying,
"Worthy are you to receive the book and to open its seals
because you were slaughtered,
and you purchased for God by your blood
[*those from*] every tribe and language and people and nation,
[10] and you made of them for our God a reign and priests,
and they will reign on the earth."
[11] Then I looked, and I heard the sound of many angels around the throne, and of the living creatures and of the elders, and their number was myriads of myriads and thousands of thousands,
[12] saying in a loud voice,
"Worthy is the slaughtered lamb to receive power and wealth and wisdom and strength and honor and glory and blessing."
[13] and I heard every creature in heaven and on earth and under the sea and everything in them, saying,
"To the one seated on the throne and to the lamb,
blessing and honor and glory and might forever and ever."
[14] Then the four living creatures said, "Amen," and the elders fell down and worshipped.

Critical Notes

4:8: The four living creatures combine features of the living creatures in the throne vision of Ezekiel 1-3 (faces: Ezek 1:6, 10; eyes: Ezek 1:18) and the seraphim of Isaiah 6 (6 wings: Isa 6:2).

4:8: "Holy, holy, holy:" see 1 Enoch 39:12; 2 Enoch 21:1.

4:8: "Lord God the omnipotent," *kyrios ho theos ho pantokratōr*, a designation of God used in Rev 11:17; 15:3; 16:7; 19:6; 21:22.

4:8: "who was and who is and who is to come:" see Rev 1:4, 8.

4:10: According to D. E. Aune, who finds no biblical or extrabiblical Jewish parallel to the elders' gesture, "The presentation of gold crowns to a sovereign was a ceremony inherited by the Romans from the traditions of Hellenistic kingship. . . . The Roman emperor was customarily presented with gold crowns by the senate (and provincial cities) on the occasions of accessions, consulships, victories and anniversaries" (Aune 1983: 12-13). Aune cites examples from Arrian (*Anab. Alex.* 7. 23) and from Josephus (*Antiquities* 14. 304) describing the presentation of gold crowns as an act of homage. In a number of other texts, the gesture of removing one's crown and presenting it to another is an act of submission by a defeated ruler to the victor. For example, Tacitus, *Annals* 15, 29: "Tum placuit Tiridaten ponere apud effigiem Caesaris insigne regium nec nisi manu Neronis resumere," "It was then arranged that Tiridates should lay the emblem of his royalty before the statue of the emperor, to resume it only from the hand of Nero" (LCL translation). Also Cicero, *Pro Sestio* 27, "Hunc Cn. Pompeius cum in suis castris supplicem abiectum vidisset, erexit atque insigne regium, quod ille de suo capite abiecerat, reposuit," "Gnaeus Pompeius, however, when he saw him [*Tigranes*] in his camp a suppliant at his feet, raised him up and replaced the royal diadem which he had cast from his head" (LCL translation). Because the elders in Rev 4:10 are not defeated rulers, it is more appropriate to understand theirs as a gesture of homage rather than as a gesture of concession after defeat.

4:11: "our Lord and our God": the emperor Domitian, during the latter part of whose reign (81-96 CE) the Apocalypse of John was written, claimed for himself the titles "lord" and "god," "Dominus et Deus noster" (Suetonius, *Domitian*, 27).

5:9: "new song:" see Isa 42:10; Pss 33:3; 40:4; 96:1; 98:1; 144:9; 149:1; Rev 14:3.

5:9: "you purchased for God:" in place of *ēgorasas tō theō*, the preferable reading, some manuscripts read *ēgorasas tō theō hēmas* or *hēmas tō theō* (See Schüssler Fiorenza 1985).

5:9: "tribe and language and people and nation:" these terms appear, in varying order, in 7:9; 11:9; 13:7; 14:6. See. Dan 3:4, 7, 29; 5:19; 6:25; 7:14.

5:10: "a reign and priests:" see Ex 19:6, "you shall be for me a reign of priests;" also see Rev 1:6; 20:6.

5:10: "and they will reign:" In place of the future, *basileusousin*, some mss. read the present tense, *basileuousin*. The first person plural, *basileusomen*, also has some attestation.

5:11: "myriads of myriads and tens of thousands:" Dan 7:10; 1 Enoch 14:22; 40:1; 60:1; 71:8.

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1 Clement 59.3–61.3: Epistolary Prayer in Clement of Rome

Barbara E. Bowe
Catholic Theological Union, Chicago

I. Introduction

As the earliest Christian document outside the New Testament canon, this letter from the Roman church to the church in Corinth provides a valuable witness to Christian life and practice in these two important cities in the latter part of the first century. On the basis of both internal and external evidence, *1 Clement* can be securely dated between ca. AD 80–120,[1] with a date around the turn of the century the most likely. The occasion which prompted these Roman Christians to write to Corinth was the report that had reached Rome (*1 Clem.* 47.7) of the renewed outbreak of factions and divisions in Corinth which had been triggered by the deposition of some of the Corinthian presbyters (44.6). In keeping with acceptable rhetorical strategy, the author(s) provides only vague allusions to the exact nature of the dispute and to its cause. However, he considers its effects serious enough to warrant some response from the Roman community in the form of an appeal for the restoration of peace and concord (63.2). The letter was carried to Corinth by couriers from Rome (63.3; 65.1) who no doubt acted as mediators in the dispute. Rome, however, had no power or authority to impose its will on Christians in Corinth, but the letter does offer strong advice and warning should the dispute go unresolved.

The identity of the author(s) remains obscure, but ancient tradition from the time of Eusebius in the early fourth century (*Church Hist.* 3.16.1; 3.38.1) has attributed the letter to "Clement." Who this Clement might have been is still uncertain, although many, following the suggestion of J. B. Lightfoot, claim that he was an imperial freedman of the household of Titus Flavius Clemens and a (the ?) leader among the Roman presbyters. He might have been the same Clement mentioned by the Shepherd of Hermas (*Vis.* 2.4.3) whose duty it was to send communication from Rome "to the cities abroad," but this identification is by no means certain. On the other hand, it is certain that he did not function in the role of monarchical bishop, as Irenaeus later claimed (*Against all Heresies*, 3.3.3), since other early sources (notably Ignatius' letter to Rome) confirm that the monarchical episcopate did not exist in Rome until the middle of the second

[1] See the important discussion of dating in L. L. Welborn, "On the Date of First Clement," *Biblical Research* 29 (1984) 35–54.

century. Moreover, *1 Clement* uses the terms "bishops" and "presbyters" interchangeably and always in the plural.

Whoever the actual author(s) might have been, the world view and perspective of the letter are unambiguous. The author shares a positive assessment of Roman society and government (*1 Clem.* 61.1-3) and demonstrates a concern for the maintenance of hierarchical order consistent with the prevailing perspective of the well educated "social elite" of Roman society.[2] This viewpoint stands in sharp contrast, for instance, with the perspective of the author of a contemporary text, the Book of Revelation, which sees the imperial Roman system as the "Beast" to be opposed at all costs, even at the risk of death.

1 Clement, originally written in Greek, is preserved in five different manuscripts: Codex Alexandrinus [A] a Greek uncial MS of the fifth c., missing *1 Clem.* 57.7-63.4, Codex Hierosolymitanus (also called, Constantinoplitanus) [C] a Greek minuscule which dates from AD 1056, a Syriac translation of the New Testament [S] dated to AD 1170 which includes the two so-called letters of Clement, an ancient Latin translation [L] perhaps from the second or third c. now preserved in a medieval MS from the eleventh c., and a Coptic translation [Co] preserved in two different MSS from the fourth and seventh c., respectively. In addition, the writings of both Clement of Alexandria and Jerome contain quotations from *1 Clement*. Its importance, especially in early Egyptian Christianity, is signaled by the fact that it was included with the New Testament documents in both the Codex Alexandrinus and in one of the Coptic manuscripts.

II. Prayer in *1 Clement* — Form and Function

The prayer language which permeates the entire letter from Rome to Corinth no doubt reflects the liturgical language and ethos prevalent in the Roman community of its day. Doxologies, blessings, and thanksgivings, as well as the long petitionary prayer, punctuate the exhortations of this lengthy letter. Prayers such as these function as "cohesive language" establishing rapport and creating a sense of mutual trust and common ethos between partners in the communication.[3] The long concluding prayer in *1 Clement*, moreover, lends a final, solemn authoritative note to the contents of the entire letter.

The style and theological tone of the prayer are close to the Septuagint language. In fact, this prayer is composed of a pastiche of LXX phrases, praising God as Master, Creator of the ordered universe, helper and protector of creatures. God's sovereignty above all is praised and celebrated throughout. Especially interesting and instructive are the verses in 60.4-61.2 which offer prayer on behalf of the civil rulers who are seen as God's agents for establishment of order and harmony on earth. The prayer concludes with a solemn doxology through Jesus Christ "the high priest and protector of our souls."

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[2] See especially, James S. Jeffers, *Conflict at Rome. Social Order and Hierarchy in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) passim.

[3] See the discussion in G. B. Caird, *Language and Imagery of the Bible* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980) 32–33.

III. 1 Clement 59.3 - 61.3

59.3 . . . to hope[4] in your name, the source of all creation,
Open the eyes of our heart[5] to know you
who alone are the highest among the highest,
[and] who remains holy among the holy;[6]
you humble the pride of the arrogant, you nullify the plans of nations,
you put the humble on high, and the haughty you humble,
you make rich and poor, you kill and bestow life,[7]
you alone are the benefactor of spirits[8] and God of all flesh.
You look into the depths[9] and see human endeavors;
You are the helper of the endangered, the savior of those without hope,[10]
the creator and guardian over every spirit.
You multiply nations upon the earth,
and from them all you have chosen those who love you
through Jesus Christ your beloved Servant,[11] through whom you have taught us,
sanctified us, given us honor.

59.4 We beseech you, Master, be our helper and defender[12].
Save those who are in distress among us, have mercy on the lowly,
raise up the fallen, show yourself to those in need, heal the sick,[13]
turn back those of your people who stray.
Feed the hungry, ransom our prisoners, revive the weak, comfort the faint-hearted.
Let all the nations know you, that You are God alone[14]
and that Jesus Christ is your Servant,
and that we are your people and sheep of your pasture.[15]

60.1 For through your works you revealed the eternal fabric of the universe;
You, Lord, created the world. You are faithful in all generations,
righteous in judgment, marvelous in might and majesty,
wise in creating, understanding in establishing what is,
good in what is observed, and faithful to those who trust in you,
merciful and compassionate;[16]

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4 The prayer begins abruptly with an unexpected shift from "his name" to "your name" showing the author's unconscious slip into direct address. There is no need to conjecture a missing phrase.

5 Eph 1:18.

6 Isa 57:15.

7 This text combines allusions to: Isa 13:11; Ps 32:10; Job 5:11; 1 Sam 2:7 (Luke 1:53); Deut 32:39, 1 Sam 2:6; 2 Kgs 5:7; Num 27:16.

8 "Benefactor" (*euergetēn*) C; "creator"(*ktistēn*) Co; "finder" (*heuretēn*) LS.

9 Sir 16:18, 19.

10 Judith 9:11.

11 c.f. Acts 4:27, servant or child.

12 Judith 9:11; Ps 199:114.

13 "Sick" (*astheneis*) LSCo; "godless" (*asebeis*) C.

14 1 Kgs 8:60; 2 Kgs 19:19; Ezek 36:23.

15 Ps 79:13; 95:7; 100:3.

Forgive us our iniquities and unrighteousness, [our] transgressions and faults.

60.2 Do not consider every sin of your servants and handmaids
but cleanse us with the cleansing of your truth and "direct our steps to walk in holiness of heart and to do the things that are good and pleasing before you"[17]
and before our rulers.

60.3 Yes, Master, "make your face shine on us for our good" in peace
that we might be sheltered by your mighty hand,
and delivered from all sin by your uplifted arm,[18]
and deliver us from those who hate us unjustly.

60.4 Give concord and peace to us and to all who dwell on the earth,
just as you gave to our ancestors who called upon you
with holiness in faith and truth.
[Make us] be obedient to your almighty and glorious[19] name
and to our rulers and governors upon the earth.

61.1 You, Master, have given the power of sovereignty to them
through your excellent and indescribable might,
that we might know the glory and honor given to them by you
and be subject to them, in no way resisting your will:
Give to them, Lord, health, peace, concord, stability,
that they may administer the government which you have
given to them without offense.

61.2 For you, heavenly Master, King of the ages,[20]
give to human agents glory and honor and power over the things on earth;
Lord, you direct their will according to what is "good and pleasing"[21] before you,
that they may administer in peace and gentleness with piety
the power given to them by you and that they may find mercy with you.

61.3 You, who alone are able to do these things, and more abundant good things for us,
we praise you through the high priest and protector of our souls -
Jesus Christ - through whom to You be glory and majesty,
both now and for all generations and forever and ever. Amen.[22]

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16 Joel 2:13; Sir 2:11; 2 Chron 30:9.

17 Ps 40:2; 119:133; 1 Kgs 9:4; Deut 12:25, 28; 13:18; 21:9.

18 This verse is another pastiche: see, for example, Ps 67:1; Num 6:25–26; Jer 21:10; Gen 50:20; Exod 6:1.

19 "Glorious" (*endoxō*) LSCo; "most excellent"(*panerētō*) C.

20 Tob 13:6, 10; 1 Tim 1:17.

21 Deut 12:25, 28; 13:18.

22 Stanzas for 60.2–61.3 adapted from: S. Légasse, "La Prière Pour Les Chefs D'état. Antécédents Judaiques et Témoins Chrétiens du Premier Siècle," *NovT* 29:3 (1987) 236–53.

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Poststructuralism and/or Afrocentrism

Shawn Kelley
Daemen College

The interface between poststructuralism and Afrocentrism. The verb interface is aptly chosen. It allows a number of perspectives on the relationship between these two critical perspectives. One could, along with such highly visible conservatives as William Bennett, conceive of them as colluding together as they (along with feminism, environmentalism and MTV) conspire to destroy Western culture. One could, instead, envision them as competing with each other and with other critical perspectives for the hearts and allegiances of today's fashionable critic. A decade ago they were hot, but today they might take a back seat to queer theory or some other trendy position that we will soon be reading about in *The Village Voice* or *Lingua Franca*. While from Bennett's perspective they will always remain aligned, from within the ranks of critical theory the exact nature of their relationship remains enigmatic. They could be enemies, they could be allies or, as is most likely, they could be somewhere in between.

Ascertaining the slippery nature of the relationship between these two critical perspectives is made more difficult by the imprecise nature of the terms 'poststructuralism' and 'Afrocentric.' I am hardly convinced that the meaning of either is self-evident; nor am I convinced that either term signifies a single critical perspectives. Several sets of preliminary questions present themselves. Do we equate poststructuralism with deconstruction? With postmodernism? With postcolonialism? With all three? If we decide, rather arbitrarily, to equate it with deconstruction, do we distinguish between Derrida and his American literary counterparts? Do we separate an early, philosophically oriented Derrida from a later, literary Derrida?[1] Do we include Foucault in all this? Afrocentrism presents definitional problems that are only slightly less daunting. Do we define Afrocentrism strictly, as the position articulated by Jahnheniz Jahn, Cheikh Anta Diop and Molefi Kete Asante? Or do we define it broadly, to include critics like Kwame Anthony Appiah, Henry Louis Gates, Paul Gilroy, bell hooks and Cornel West; critics who take up many of the same issues but who spurn the term 'Afrocentric'?

I would begin, therefore, by asserting this: there is no single, proper relationship between poststructuralism and Afrocentrism because there is no monolithic definition of either term. Instead we have a variety of possible relationships between a variety of poststructuralists and Afrocentricists. For

[1] For a discussion of these issues, see Rudolphe Gasche, *The Invention of Difference: On Jacques Derrida* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994) 1–21.

example, J. Hillis Miller (a leading advocate of deconstruction as textual free-play) and Asante have little in common and would be easily separated on methodological and critical grounds. On the other hand, Gilroy attempts to develop a postmodernist perspective on racism and imperialism. He would have much more in common with Derrida and Foucault, with whom he dialogues, than he would with Asante; even though Derrida and Foucault rarely mention racism or Africa while both Asante and Gilroy make these topics central to their inquiry. Here we would see more division within critical perspectives than we would between critical perspectives. Rather than seeking to identify a monolithic poststructuralism, or Afrocentrism, we should instead recognize the existence of a diverse group of critics asking a diverse group of questions about a diverse number of topics. There is, therefore, a number of areas where various critics from each perspective might engage each other.

For the rest of this paper, I will explore the contours of this debate by briefly sketching possible areas of affinity and possible areas of discord between poststructuralism and Afrocentrism. It seems reasonable to assume that Derrida and Foucault are the two major figures in poststructuralism and so I will limit my discussion of poststructuralism to them. This will allow me to pass lightly over the troublesome question of the relationship between Derridean and American deconstruction. Since I know of few antiracists who explicitly employ Derrida, I will, in the first part of the paper, attempt to develop those categories from deconstruction that might either benefit, or hinder, the development of Afrocentrism. For this section of the paper I will explore potential points of affinity and discord between Derrida and Asante, whom I have chosen, somewhat arbitrarily, to represent Afrocentrism. I will then, in the second part of the paper, turn to Foucault and to critics who employ Foucault to develop a postmodern antiracism and anti-imperialism. I will conclude by suggesting that these critics do provide a helpful model for those interested in pursuing a poststructuralist, antiracist, biblical criticism.

Part I. Deconstruction and Afrocentrism

Regions of Affinity: Derrida, Asante and the Violence of the West

Derrida

Deconstruction, I have insisted, is not *neutral.* It *intervenes.* [Derrida, *Positions*]

Jacques Derrida, the father (if I may employ such a logocentric term) of deconstruction, interrogates Western metaphysics and, by extension, interrogates the West itself. While Derrida's writing is notoriously complex and difficult, some aspects of it can be briefly articulated. Some of his critical strategies, particularly those which interrogate the relationship between metaphysics and violence, do provide a potential point of contact with Afrocentrism.

Derridean deconstruction consists of a rigorous reading of the major texts of Western philosophy. Derrida finds in these major texts a consistent yet unexamined privileging of the voice and a concurrent exclusion of writing. This simultaneous privileging of the voice/speech and denigration of writing is what

Derrida means by the ubiquitous term 'logocentric.' Logocentrism is both essential to Western philosophy (and to the culture that it supports and makes possible) and is, at the same time, untenable. The very written texts which decry writing as evil could not exist outside of writing. Writing is the condition which makes philosophy possible and, at the same time, is the object of philosophical scorn. It is this contradiction which sets the stage for deconstruction.

There is more at stake in this debate than giving writing its proper due. This privileging of the voice is a 'particularly revelatory symptom'[2] of the metaphysical desire for presence.

> When I speak, not only am I conscious of being present for what I think, but I am conscious also of keeping as close as possible to my thought, or to the 'concept,' a signifier that I hear as I emit it, that seems to depend upon my pure and free spontaneity, requiring the use of no instrument, no accessory, no force taken from the world. Not only do the signifier and signified seem to unite, but also, in this confusion, the signifier seems to erase itself or to become transparent, in order to allow the concept to present itself as what it is, referring to nothing other than its presence.[3]

The uncritical privileging of speech is a necessary result of the Western search for unmediated access to transcendental truth and of the desire to anchor knowledge and reason in these seemingly accessible transcendental signifiers.

This desire for transcendental signifiers, for the full presence of reason in speech and in thought, is the defining character of metaphysics. Derrida detects logocentrism, as an organizing principle, in all the major philosophers of the Western tradition. It is as visible in those philosophers, like Heidegger, who attempt to reject Metaphysics as it is in philosophers, like Plato, who established the tradition in the first place. The omnipresence of the desire does not, however, render it attainable. "Naturally it is a lure, but a lure whose necessity has organized an entire structure, or an entire epoch."[4] This desire for full presence "(is not) imposed from without by something like 'philosophy,'"[5] but is, instead, inherent in logocentric language itself. "One can say *a priori* that in every proposition . . . metaphysical presuppositions coexist with critical motifs. And this by the simple fact that up to a certain point they inhabit the same language."[6]

This logocentric privileging of speech, and the dream of full presence that necessitates it, brings with it (at least) two contingencies: the need for a discursive center and the creation of metaphysical oppositions. The discursive center provides a reassuring a sense of certitude that limits and regulates the elements of the discourse by attempting to anchor that center (and the structure

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2 *Positions*, ET Alan Blass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981) 7.

3 *Positions*, 22.

4 *Positions*, 22.

5 *Positions*, 20.

6 *Positions*, 36.

that it supports) in a transcendental reality.[7] Since this transcendental anchor is illusory, the center does not hold and is replaced by another, which is again (mistakenly) thought to be more metaphysically certain. "The entire history of the conceptual structure . . . must be thought of as a series of substitutions of center for center, as a linked chain of determinations of the center. Successively, and in regulated fashion, the center receives different forms or names. The history of metaphysics, like the history of the West, is the history of these metaphors and metonymmies. Its matrix . . . is the determination of Being as *presence* in all sense of this word."[8] The illusion comes, not with the existence of structure and a center, but with the assumption that this structure is anchored transcendentally rather than discursively. "I didn't say that there was no center, that we could get along without the center. I believe that the center is a function, not a being—a reality, but a function. And this function is absolutely indispensable . . . . I don't destroy the subject, I situate it."[9]

The pervasiveness of these various centers ensure that logocentrism will transgress far beyond the realm of philosophy. As a matter of fact, deconstruction helps us recognize the artificial nature of disciplinary boundaries. This does not mean that the various disciplines do not exist, only that their boundaries and content are constructed and might not, perhaps even should not, continue to hold. Everything from critical academic discourse to ordinary language is open to scrutiny. Logocentric elements are as visible in Freud, Saussere and Levi Strauss as they are in Heidegger or Plato. One cannot avoid logocentrism by avoiding philosophy. "'Everyday language' is not innocent or neutral. It is the language of Western metaphysics, and it carries with it not only a considerable number of presuppositions of all types, but also presuppositions inseparable from metaphysics, which, although little attended to, are knotted into a system."[10]

Logocentrism is also the source of the other infamous metaphysical oppositions (i.e., signifier/signified; sensible/intelligible; writing/speech; passivity/activity; falsehood/truth). These oppositions are established by force, by an act of metaphysical violence, and are kept in place by this metaphysical violence.[11] What Derrida says about Levinas, can also be said about Derrida himself. "All the classical concepts interrogated by Levinas are thus dragged toward the *agora*, summoned to justify themselves in an ethico-political language that they have not always sought . . . to speak, summoned to transpose themselves into this language by confessing their violent aims."[12]

Logocentrism assumes an antagonistic relationship between these two terms and also assumes the superiority of the second term over the first. According to

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7 "Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences," in *Writing and Difference*, ET Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press) 278–9.

8 "Structure, Sign and Play," 279.

9 Quoted in Lentricchia, *After the New Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980) 174.

10 *Positions*, 19.

11 Derrida's position on metaphysical violence is quite complex. See "Violence and Metaphysics" in *Writing and Difference*. See especially 91, 97, 116, 128.

12 "Violence and Metaphysics" 97.

Derrida, a logocentric concept "carries within itself the *necessity* of privileging the phonic substance."[13] Thus within logocentrism, speech is always superior to writing; truth always superior to falsehood. The implication seems to be that we can apply this critique as well to social oppositions that assume these metaphysical oppositions (i.e., Jew/Christian; female/male; barbarian/civilization).

We should note, before we proceed, that what I have just outlined is not yet deconstruction. The identification of logocentrism and its role in creating various discursive centers and metaphysical oppositions; this is not deconstruction. As Rodolphe Gasche demonstrates, this is a necessary first step which merely prepares the way for deconstruction.[14]

Asante

> We are either existing on our own terms or on the terms of others.
> [Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge*]

Asante's project is easier to define than Derrida's. He wishes to establish a liberatory discourse that is untainted by Western, racist imperialism. Asante simultaneously rejects Eurocentricism and calls for the establishment of Afrocentrism. Several differences with Derrida become immediately apparent. The first involves the question of the relationship between theory and politics. Where Derrida is coy and tentative, Asante will be explicit. Asante will be satisfied with nothing less than a fully articulated theory that makes liberatory politics possible. The reverse is also true. Asante shows little interest in the sort of endlessly expansive textual analysis that preoccupies Derrida. Asante will not explore theoretical questions for their own sake and will show little interest in the minutia of Western philosophy. The detailed analysis of Western philosophers does not interest him because it is, by definition, Eurocentric.

According to Asante, Eurocentrism is fundamentally flawed and socially harmful. "The distortion of social reality by traditional Eurocentric scientific methods occurs because of allegiance to a set of false propositions."[15] He goes on to specify that these false propositions grow primarily out of a misguided faith in objectivity and the scientific method. From this grows the harmful social environment that he is attempting to combat.

Let us begin with his critique of the unjustified claim of objectivity. "One such (false) proposition appears in the formulation where the researcher is separate from the object of study and in fact seeks to gain as much distance as possible from the object."[16] Not only is critical distance reductive (limiting the knowable to the observable, and thereby missing much of what is vital about African culture); it also severs the intellectual from the community. Asante seeks, instead, to highlight the organic connection between himself and Africa (which he would

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13 *Positions,* 21; italics mine.

14 See Rodolphe Gasche, "Deconstruction as Criticism," in *The Invention of Difference: On Jaques Derrida*, especially pp. 50–51.

15 *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1990) 26–27.

16 *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge,* 27.

not wish to call an 'object of inquiry') and finds critical distance particularly destructive to his goal of the political liberation of Africans. [17]

He also stresses that the claimed objectivity is actually "a kind of collective subjectivity of European culture."[18] Essential to this collective subjectivity is an equally illusory universalism. European cultures, so used to worldwide rule and cultural domination, do not recognize the existence of perspectives different from their own. African, Asian and indigenous perspectives have been effectively erased and become invisible. The problem is not the existence of European concerns, which Asante accepts as valid; it is, instead the "ungrounded aggrandizement" that comes with "universal hegemony."[19]

Furthermore, Eurocentric objectivity reserves the position of observer for the white, male European and reduces the rest of the world to that of object. Eurocentrism allows European culture to be active and self-defining, but relegates the rest of the world to passivity. Europeans act and everyone else is acted upon. Afrocentrism wishes to reverse this. "(Afrocentrism) is about taking the globe and turning it over so that we see all the possibilities of a world where Africa, for example, is subject and not object. Such a posture is necessary and rewarding for Africans and Europeans."[20] It is the ability to account for, and to listen to, different perspectives that makes liberation possible; just as it is the refusal to acknowledge these different perspectives that makes liberation necessary.

Finally, and most practically, European culture is racist and imperialist. For Asante, racialized imperialism is an essential part of European culture and a logical outgrowth of European values. The violence of imperialism is simply a reflection of the violence implicit in European values. "The rhetorical condition is symbolic of the political structure; it thrives on the same principles and it liberates or imprisons its interactants on the same philosophical grounds. Power relations create politics and politics creates, *inter alia*, power relations."[21] Since his concern is to escape European culture, rather than critique it in detail, he does not describe the interrelationship between racism, imperialism and ideology with the same care as Edward Said; but he (properly) assumes that such a relationship exists. "One cannot conduct an authentic debate on the political philosophies of Jefferson, Hume, or Locke without a discussion of their doctrines of racial supremacy, sexism, exploitation of other nationalities, colonialism and slavery."[22]

He summarizes his position this way.

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17 While Asante recognizes that a similar critique was launched by phenomenology, he goes on to argue that phenomenologists, despite their best efforts fail to reconnect with the material world; while "the Afrocentrist finds the holistic impulse naturally from the cultural environment . . . . The social context of African people encourages a collective as opposed to an individual separation "(*Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge,* 27).

18 *The Afrocentric Idea* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987) 3.

19 *The Afrocentric Idea,* 4.

20 *The Afrocentric Idea,* 3.

21 *The Afrocentric Idea,* 32.

22 *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge,* 25.

> The Afrocentric critique demonstrates that Eurocentric research advances in three directions: (1) the conferring of negative or positive qualities on others and the manner in which others are evaluated by criteria and measures promoted by one's own in-group; (2) the interpretation of one's own position as reasonable; and (3) the denigration of the other's position by refusing to recognize its existence.[23]

These distinctive features will be visible in the work of any Eurocentric critic.

For Asante, this combination of racism, imperialism and intellectual overreach is enough to reject the Eurocentric framework as a tool for liberation. Eurocentrism is to be left behind and to be replaced by another critical perspective that will avoid the pitfalls which he identifies.

It seems that it would be an overstatement to assert that Derrida and Asante are necessarily mining the same, or even similar, territory. There is, however, undeveloped potential for critical overlap . What does seem to unite them is a common target. They do not call it the same thing, and logocentrism and Eurocentrism are hardly synonymous; but both assume that there is something fundamentally wrong with modern, European, Western culture. The conservative fear that multiculturalist/Afrocentrists and deconstructionists are conspiring together seem overstated, but these forceful critiques of Western culture is the stuff of conservative nightmares.

Furthermore, some aspects of Derridean deconstruction might prove to be helpful for Afrocentrics or other critics of racist imperialism. None of these categories are obviously and immediately applicable politically, but they do provide a possibility of common interest. The critique of metaphysical oppositions contains obvious appeal for poststructuralist feminism since the female/male dichotomy is as old as Western metaphysics and functions much the way that deconstruction implies that it should. At first blush it seems that it should function equally well for antiracism. I am not convinced that this is the case, because racism is not coterminus with metaphysics. As I will argue below, much of Western history is imperialist, sexist, heterophobic, anti-Jewish and hierarchical; but it does not become *racist*, in any strict definition of the term, until the modern world. If much of logocentrism is not racist, then racism is not essential to it, which means that something else will be required to explain the nature and power of racism.

This is not to suggest that Derridean deconstruction has nothing to say about racism; it certainly does bring limited, yet not insignificant, insight into the analysis of racism. The following aspects of this phase of deconstruction seem most promising: the assertion that the West is based on repeated and structured transcendental illusions; the assertion that these illusions produce discourses which are maintained by force; and the assertion that normative discourse (from philosophy to science to everyday life) legitimizes some discursive concepts and categories and excludes others.

Furthermore some of what Asante is doing might be of interest to Derrida. As we will see later, Derrida does seem interested in directly addressing political questions, and Asante could, conceivably, provide a means by which he could do

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23 *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge*, 150.

so. Afrocentrism also gives much more specific reasons for wanting to deconstruct the West and for wanting to examine the illusory nature of authoritative discourse.

For the most part, however, even at this point of the analysis (which is the closest the two will ever get) they tend to go their separate ways. Derrida wants to stay with a text and struggle against it at the same time while Asante wants to ignore the texts of the Western tradition and turn elsewhere. This is more than a matter of personal preference or sensibility; it is a matter of methodological and theoretical conviction. They may part ways amicably, but part they do.

Regions of Discord: Is Escape Possible?

> Eurocentrists have tried to work out a critical theory with its ties firmly rooted in the Greek tradition. But I am loosed from that tradition . . . . I have no reason to be trapped in the European past. [Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge*]

> There is no sense in doing without the concepts of metaphysics in order to shake metaphysics. We have no language—no syntax and lexicon—which is foreign to this history. [Derrida, "Structure, Sign and Play"]

Or maybe they part ways in a manner that is less amicable than the preceding description implies. Neither critic is content to rest after concluding that something is wrong with contemporary European culture. Both insist that this critique of modern culture (as either Eurocentric or logocentrism) is only a first step towards their more important analysis. Something else must happen, and this something else will sharply divide these two critical perspectives. These two critics will not only part ways, they will head in decidedly contradictory directions; directions that will render impossible the tentative truce hinted at the end of the previous section. The conflict is made particularly astute by their differing position on the possibility (or impossibility) of escaping Eurocentrism/logocentrism.

Asante

For Asante, escape is not only possible, it is necessary. He is not preoccupied with detailing the specificity of the interaction between European culture and racist imperialism. Nor is he terribly interested in exploring Western culture for possible strains that might offset the dominant, oppressive tradition and help in the process of liberation. He is, instead, interested in escaping the Eurocentric world and planting his ideas firmly in the soil of Africa. He is, therefore, careful to separate himself from critics, even leftist critics (white or African-American), whom he feels have not sufficiently separated themselves from Eurocentrism.

> The major problem with existentialism, phenomenology, and structuralism, for example, is that they have hedged their bets in a European worldview that is moribund when it comes to looking at the outside world. *They cannot truly grasp the significance of a revolutionary idea that would change the European method itself.*[24]

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24 *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge,* vi; italics in the original.

> I am inclined to think that the critical theorists, particularly those of the Frankfurt school, are engaged in a somewhat similar enterprise in re-orienting thinking. The difference, however, is profound . . . . (They) are essentially embroiled in a Eurocentric family debate over the nature of ideology . . . . Whether one accepts a Marxist or a Freudian view of reality, one is primarily participating in a limited view of reality.[25]

It is not just that European ideals and categories will always be implicated in its racist tradition (although for Asante they will always be so implicated); it is that the continued return to European ideals, even if critically done, shows a refusal to engage non-European perspectives. As we saw above, this refusal to engage other perspectives is inherently Eurocentric even in those cases where it is well intentioned.

This is not to suggest that these critical traditions are to be rejected as equally racist as (to choose an arbitrary example) the discipline of Craniology. "(Marxism) does not lead us down the path (of human transformation), because it is trapped in the quicksand of its own ethnocentric view, but its attack on the traditional ideology of empiricism is 'right on.'"[26] Even his beloved W. E. B. DuBois (to whom he dedicates *The Afrocentric Idea*) was unable to free himself from his Eurocentrism and fully embrace the Afrocentrism which he was able to anticipate.[27]

One can only escape from Eurocentrism by placing African ideals, categories and frameworks in the center of one's outlook. This means more than simply studying the history, traditions, literature and culture of Africans and African-Americans. Such research, for Asante, is the work of Africanists rather than Afrocentrists. It also involves studying organic African (including Africans in the diaspora) culture and history from an authentically African perspective.[28] This means developing a metatheory which will provide a ground for comprehending the totality of African culture from an Afrocentric perspective. This metatheory becomes "architectonic as an organizing scheme by which all else is explained."[29] Only an Afrocentric scholar can properly understand Africa[30]; and an African or African-American can only be truly at home in an Afrocentric world.[31]

Derrida

Derrida, however, is a very different story. His painstaking analysis of the major texts of Western philosophy shows that he hardly dismisses these major philosophers out of hand. Instead of dismissing them, he is obsessed with them.

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25 *The Afrocentric Idea,* 4.

26 *The Afrocentric Idea,* 5.

27 *The Afrocentric Idea,* 121–126.

28 *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge,* 31.

29 *The Afrocentric Idea,* 35.

30 *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge,* 38.

31 See, for instance, the following. "When the Kenyan writer Ngugi Wa Thiong'o gives up writing in English to write in Gikuyu, he is on the path to Afrocentricity. He has chosen a difficult road, but ultimately all African writing must retrace the steps to home" (*The Afrocentric Idea,* 125).

"We will never be finished with the reading or rereading of Hegel."[32] He describes his concern with the traditional philosophical texts as 'interminable,' as potentially 'shocking,' as 'monotonous.'[33]

While Derrida has an unfortunate (and unfounded) reputation as an epistemological nihilist who is impervious to traditional forms of criticism, a careful reading of his corpus reveals a striking fidelity to, and implicit respect for, the texts which he is deconstructing. "I try to respect as rigorously as possible the internal, regulated play of philosophemes or epistemes, by making them slide—without mistreating them—to the point of their nonpertinance, their exhaustion, their closure. To 'deconstruct' philosophy, thus, would be to think—in the most faithful, interior way—the structured genealogy of philosophy's concepts, but, at the same time to determine—from a certain exterior that is unqualifiable or unnamable by philosophy—what this history has been able to dissimulate or forbid."[34] He goes on to describe deconstruction as 'simultaneously faithful and violent.'[35] We should not be so dazzled by his readings that we ignore his fidelity to these texts.

When he examines a text for logocentric elements, it is not part of a strategy of dismissing that text or thinker. "Nor have I ever said that 'Saussure's project' in its principle or in its entirety, was 'logocentrist' or 'phonocentrist.' The work of my reading does not take this form. (When I try to decipher a text I do not constantly ask myself if I will finish by answering *yes* or *no* . . .). Saussure's text, like any other is not homogeneous."[36] When analyzing the thought of modernity's most astute thinkers (i.e., Freud, Saussure, Levi-Strauss, Heidegger) he attempts to show how their assaults on traditional thought patterns and categories coexists with unconscious and unexamined traces of these same traditional categories. From this he draws (at least) two sets of conclusions.

The first has to do with the context in which the assault on traditional metaphysics must take place. "All these destructive discourses and their analogues are trapped in a kind of circle. This circle is unique. It describes the form of the relation between the history of metaphysics and the destruction of the history of metaphysics."[37] It must be launched from within the categories of traditional metaphysics and with the language of the tradition. "Heidegger recognizes that economically and strategically he had to borrow the syntaxic and lexical resources of the language of metaphysics, as one always must do at the very moment that one deconstructs this language."[38] Deconstruction consists of this strategic use of metaphysical concepts against metaphysics. Derrida calls it (among other things) 'writing with two hand.' He attempts to 'transform' metaphysical concepts, to 'displace' them, "to turn them against their presuppositions, to reinscribe them in other chains, and little by little to modify

32 *Positions,* 77.

33 See *Positions,* 35, 54

34 *Positions,* 6.

35 *Positions,* 6.

36 *Positions,* 52.

37 "Structure, Sign and Play," 280.

38 *Positions,* 10.

the terrain of our work and thereby produce new configurations."[39] By this he hopes to push logocentric concepts to their limit, at which point they will become 'nonpertinent.'[40] This writing with two hands should hardly be confused with a conceptual or methodological error. "We are not denouncing, here, an incoherence of language or a contradiction in the system. We are wondering about the meaning of a necessity: the necessity of lodging oneself within traditional conceptuality in order to destroy it."[41] It is this necessity which defines deconstruction.

This necessity should not be confused with its antithesis: trying, but failing, to escape the confines of metaphysics. This occurs when a thinker falsely claims to be outside of traditional metaphysics. Derrida seeks to show that this is the case for modernity's most astute critics: Heidegger, Saussure, Levi-Strauss, Freud. "One can say *a priori* that in every proposition or in every system of semiotic research . . . metaphysical presuppositions coexist with critical motifs. And this by the simple fact that up to a certain point they inhabit the same language."[42] This demonstrates the unrecognized power of logocentrism to reassert itself in the face of attempts to escape it and it also demonstrates how unexamined logocentric concepts force thinkers to contradict the most interesting parts of their thought. So, for example, Heidegger seeks to destroy Metaphysics and replace it with his own more original, more authentic thought; yet, this Heideggerian desire, to hear the authentic, originary, primordial voice of being, is, by definition, logocentric. Heidegger's desire to be free metaphysics does not prevent him from being, at the same time, trapped by it. This is because he has misdiagnosed the nature of Western metaphysics (as the forgetting of Being rather than as logocentrism) and has, therefore, underestimated its power. This is not employing metaphysics against, itself (i.e., deconstruction); it is metaphysics reasserting itself despite the best efforts of its opponents.

Derrida refuses to step outside of metaphysics or logocentrism. "It is not a question of junking these concepts, nor do we have the means to do so."[43] Only the patient deconstruction of logocentrism can keep metaphysics from re-asserting itself. Without such patient deconstruction, one runs the risk of falling, unconsciously, back into the grips of classical metaphysics. To declare a premature death of metaphysics is to give into illusion.

> Even in aggression or transgressions, we are consorting with a code to which metaphysics is tied irreducibly, such that every transgressive gesture reencloses us—precisely by giving us a hold on the closure of metaphysics—within this closure. But, by means of the work done on one side and the other of the limit the field inside is modified and a transgression is produced that is nowhere present as a *fait accompli.* One is never installed within transgression, one never lives elsewhere . . . . There is no sure opposition between outside and inside. This is why it has never

39 *Positions,* 24.

40 *Positions,* 29.

41 "Violence and Metaphysics," 111.

42 *Positions,* 36.

43 *Positions,* 24.

been a question of opposing a graphocentrism to a logocentrism, nor in general, *any center to any other center.*[44]

To declare oneself outside of Western metaphysics is to open the pathway for metaphysic's triumphant return, and ensures that your own text will be laced with unconscious logocentrism.

Asante and/or Derrida?

All of this leads me to conclude the following: one cannot do, simultaneously, deconstruction (as defined by Derrida) and Afrocentrism (as defined by Asante). Asante will find Derrida to be defiantly Eurocentric[45] and Derrida will find Asante to be unconsciously logocentric.[46] While I do think that Derridean deconstruction can provide limited insight into the nature of race, racism and colonialism; I do not think that Asante's Afrocentrism is pliable enough to dialogue with deconstruction. I also do not think it would help much to turn to other forms of poststructuralism or postmodernism. Asante is even more critical of African-American postmodernists like Henry Louis Gates than he is of Derrida. His desire is to reside outside the Eurocentric world and he wants a pure African presence that has been untainted by colonialism and by history. Such a desire cannot dialogue with theories and methods that are thoroughly European. If we grant Asante proprietary rights for the term 'Afrocentrism,' then the interface between Afrocentrism and poststructuralism is bound to be an unhappy one.

I would not want to insist that one must continue with the dialogue between poststructuralism and Afrocentrism. It is possible to shake hands and part ways, more or less amicably. Certainly both deconstructive and Afrocentric readings of the Bible are urgently needed. Those of us interested in advancing this contentious dialogue, however, might not be content with this division of labor.

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44 *Positions,* 12; italics mine.

45 Derrida's Eurocentrism would be revealed by the texts that he analyzes and valorizes and by the texts (and cultures) that he ignores. "The real issue is whether or not African American critics will run after European critics or establish their own critical instruments . . . . We will continue to to be judged and evaluated by the theories and methods which emerge out of a white bourgeois racial supremacist universalist ideology contrary to either our culture or condition. No matter how you do it, you cannot justify a position that says Derrida, Althusser, Lacan and Baudrillard are somehow in harmony with the 'freedom cries' of the millions of Africans in South Africa. (Houston) Baker seems to be suggesting that there is something in these deconstructionists and post-structuralists that is similar to the revolutionary spirit in South Africa. The two situations have nothing in common. The so-called decentered operation of reason are based on Eurocentric cultural assumptions" (*Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge,* 149).

46 Asante's metatheory (which claims to find the authentically unifying spirit of Africa, a spirit which is necessarily invisible to those blinded by Eurocentricism) is itself laced with logocentrism and other strikingly European conceptions. I will address Asante's unrecognized debt to European modernity (particularly, and quite ironically, to Herder, the founder of modern, racist historiography); but the following will have to suffice to demonstrate his logocentrism. He makes the word the centerpiece of his metatheory. "The *word* is productive and imperative, calling forth and commanding. Its power derives from the traditional emphasis of fashioning harmony out of spoken material . . . . Power inheres in vocal communication. The centrality of the word has existed for a long time in African communication" (*The Afrocentric Idea,* 69–70).

While I would welcome both more deconstructive and more Afrocentric readings of the New Testament, I would also very much like to see poststructuralism and Afrocentrism (or something like Afrocentrism) genuinely dialogue with each other. For this conversation to be productive, however, we will need to turn elsewhere. We will need to supplement Derridean deconstruction with other questions and issues that remain implicit and unexplored in his own work (i.e., the relationship between the textual and the material world). We will also need to employ thinkers other than Asante and his collaborators. Although any number of other terms would also do, I propose employing the term 'anti-imperialist.' It nicely captures the position of a number of diverse critics who have attempted to combine poststructuralism with an assault on racist imperialism. It is to their work that we shall now turn.

Part II. Postmodern Anti-Imperialism

The Theoretical Framework

We must . . . conceive of . . . power without the king.
[Foucault, *The History of Sexuality,* Volume 1]

Racism was assumed by most critical scholars, in the humanities and natural sciences, until the end of the Second World War.[47] It was only with the gradual realization of the truly horrific nature of the racial policies of Nazi Germany that racism received a negative public image. Since that time, inspired by the liberation of Auschwitz, the American civil rights movement and decolonization movements around the world; historians and critics have attempted to identify and challenge the pervasive racism that permeated modern Europe. The first cluster of critics tended to identify an aspect of racism (i.e., biological racism, or antiblack or antiJewish racism) and trace its history throughout the modern world.[48] These histories of racism have been extremely helpful and often quite insightful, but have been quite traditional theoretically. Methodologically they can be classified as 'history of ideas,' a category which fell under a particularly stinging critique from Foucault.[49] Furthermore, their political allegiance was often with the American civil rights movement which, under the leadership of Martin Luther King, placed its faith (at least in part, and often quite tentatively) in the traditions and promises of liberal humanism. For this reason, the poststructuralist attacks on traditional historiography, liberal humanism and the

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47 See Elazar Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

48 See especially George Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1987); Stephen J. Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1981); Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968); Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800–1960* (London: Macmillan, 1982); Leon Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe,* ET Edmund Howard (New York: Basic Books, 1974).

49 *The Archaeology of Knowledge* ET A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972) 135–140.

autonomy of the subject proved to be quite disturbing. A certain irony was detected: at the exact moment when African-Americans and women were claiming autonomy and subjectivity, elite white critics were denying the very existence of these categories. Postmodernism, with its emphasis on textual free-play and corrosive irony seemed like an a-political shelter from the revolutionary storms of the late 1960s and early 1970s.[50]

This all changed with the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism*.[51] There has been, since the publication of *Orientalism*, an explosion of research on the relationship between culture, race and imperialism.[52] These works have been theoretically informed, historically nuanced, and politically committed. Since Said was the first to bring postmodernism to the study of racism and imperialism, I will pay particular attention to his writings.

Said situates his work in the context of the debate between Derrida and Foucault.[53] After providing a sympathetic reading of Derrida's 'extraordinarily brilliant readings'[54], he turns to his critique of these same brilliant readings. "My feeling is that . . . Western thought is something more differentiated, incorporative, and, most important, institutionally representative than Derrida seems to allow."[55] Derrida's readings are both brilliant and incomplete. They are brilliant because they expose hidden rules and prejudices that critics systematically ignore; but they are incomplete because their obsessive attention to Western metaphysics and logocentrism prevents attention to other forms of hidden rules and prejudices. "The texts to which this position has been applied

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50 The most clearly articulated attack on the a-political nature of deconstruction, particularly of its American variants, can be found in Frank Lentricchia, *Criticism and Social Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983). Christopher Norris provides a spirited defense of deconstruction on political and philosophical grounds in *Paul de Man: Deconstruction and the Critique of Aesthetic Ideology* (London: Routledge, 1988).

51 *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979). This is not to suggest that the postmodern turn in the study of race has met with universal claim. See, for instance, Harold Fromm's dismissive essay "The Hegemonic For of Othering; or, The Academic's Burdern," in *'Race', Writing and Difference*, ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

52 See especially Kwame Anthony Appiah, *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Martin Bernal, *The Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, Volume 1: *The Fabrication of Ancient Greece, 1785–1985* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989); Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989); Henry Louis Gates, Jr. ed, *'Race', Writing and Difference*, Gates, *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism*; Sander Gilman, *The Jew's Body* (London: Routledge, 1991); Sander Gilman, *Freud, Race, and Gender* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); David Goldberg, *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1993); Cornel West, *Prophecy!Deliverance!: An Afro-American Revolutionary Christianity* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982); Robert Young, *White Mythology: Writing History and the West* (London: Routledge, 1990).

53 He does so in the essays that appear in *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); especially in "The World, The Text, and the Critic," "Roads Taken and Not Taken in Contemporary Criticism," "Reflections on American 'Left' Literary Criticism," and "Criticism Between Culture and System."

54 "Criticism Between Culture and System," 205.

55 "Criticism Between Culture and System," 209.

by Derrida have also been denied their historical density, specificity and weight."[56]

What is missing is specific attention to their worldly materiality, to the relationship between knowledge, institutions and power. Derrida's work implies some relationship between these three (knowledge, institutions and power), but his work does not clarify what this relationship is.

> Much of Derrida's work has demonstrated that such a contract (between knowledge, institutions and power) exists . . . . But it is legitimate, I think, to ask what keeps that contract together, what makes it possible for a certain system of metaphysical ideas, as well as a whole structure of concepts, praxes, and ideologies derived from it, to maintain itself from Greek antiquity through the present. What forces keeps all these ideas glued together? What forces get them into texts? How does one's thinking become infected, then taken over by those ideas? . . . What makes this system *Western*? Above all, what keeps the contract hidden and, more important, lets its effects appear in a highly controlled, systematized way? The answers to these questions cannot be found by reading the texts of Western thought seriatim, no matter how complex the reading.[57]

The problem comes because Derrida is excessively textual. "The search *within* a text for the conditions of textuality will falter at that very point where the text's historical presentation to the reader is put into question and made an issue for the critic."[58]

While these questions cannot (or, at least, have not) been answered by Derrida, they have been addressed by Foucault.

> Derrida and Foucault therefore collide on how the text is to be described, as a praxis on whose surface and in whose interstices a universal gram-

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56 "Criticism Between Culture and System," 211.

57 "Criticism Between Culture and System," 211–212. Said is particularly disappointed that Derrida's work has "not been interested in dissolving the ethnocentrism of which on occasion spoken with noble clarity. Neither has it demanded from its disciples any binding engagement on matters pertaining to discovery and knowledge, freedom, oppression, or injustice" ("Criticism Between Culture and System," 214). See, for instance, the interview in *Positions* where Julia Kristeva asks him about logocentricism and ethnocentrism and his extensive answer addresses only logocentrism (*Positions*, 17–24). He is repeatedly pushed, in the final interview in *Positions*, to state a position on Marxism. He is reluctant to do so because he insists that "there is no theoretical or political benefit to be derived from precipitating contacts or articulations, as long as their conditions have not been rigorously elucidated" (62). At the same time he insists that he will eventually turn to Marx (and, by implication, to politics). "Do me the credit of believing that the 'lacunae' to which you alluded are explicitly calculated to mark the sites of theoretical elaboration which remains, *for me*, at least, *still to come*" (62). The closest that Derrida comes, at this stage in his career, to drawing out the political implications of his thought is found in his essay on Levinas where he asserts that "here we find the premises for a non-Marxist reading of philosophy as ideology" ("Violence and Metaphysics," 97). I should note that his most recent book is on Marx. I look forward to the day when I have something intelligent to say about it.

58 "Criticism Between Culture and System," 212. The problem is intensified when deconstruction is taken up by literary critics, because literary criticism is already prone to separate texts from the material world. See "American 'Left' Literary Criticism," 167.

> matological problematic is enacted, or as a praxis whose existence is a fact of highly rarefied and differentiated historical power, associated not only with the univocal authority of the author but with a discourse constituting author, text, and subject and giving them a very precise intelligibility and effectiveness. The meaning of this collision has, I think, a remarkably significant bearing for contemporary criticism.[59]

As this quote suggests, whatever deconstruction's achievements, it brings with it its own blind spots and critical limitations. Deconstruction can assist Said in forming his postmodern anti-imperialism, but it can never provide the categories that would make that project intelligible.[60] For that, Said turns to Foucault. Said is particularly interested in Foucault's attempt to situate the subject within discourse; his description of modernity (particularly as revealed in *Discipline and Punish*); and his understanding of power. It is to these that we shall now turn.

Derrida sought to free writing from the (illusory) anchor of a transcendental signifier; Foucault seeks to free historiography and philosophy from the equally illusory appeal of the transcendental subject. "If there is one approach that I do reject, however, it is that . . . which gives absolute priority to the observing subject, which attributes a constituent role to an act, which places its own point of view at the origin of all historicity—which, in short, leads to the transcendental consciousness."[61] For Foucault, the transcendental subject is the dream of an individual freed from specificity and historicity. This dream is revealed when we think that there exists a universal structure to the individual (i.e., when Freud divides the individual into the superego, the ego and the id); or when the individual is thought to provide meaning and structure to history or to reason (i.e., when history is modeled on the growth and development of the individual, with Greece as our childhood, the Middle Ages as our teenage years and contemporary Europe as our adulthood). For Foucualt, this dream is revealed whenever we place the subject in the center and make him (the subject in European thought was decidedly male) the starting point for reflection and thought. The dream of the transcendental subject is revealed when we place the individual at the center of the world and make the individual the organizing principle and force of the world. For Foucault, this dream of a transcendental

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59 "Criticism Between Culture and System," 215.

60 I wish to underline, this is not to imply that Derridean deconstruction has nothing to offer for the analysis of race, racism and imperialism. Much controversy has arisen around Derrida's *Of Spirit: Heidegger and the Question* ET Geoffrey Bennington and Rachel Bowlby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), which has been mistakenly assumed to defend Heidegger from charges of fascism by deconstructing the opposition between fascism and nonfascism. This seems to me to be an unfortunate misreading of Derrida's argument. His reading of the shift of Heidegger's thinking during his embrace with fascism is particularly nuanced and compelling. He argues Heidegger was careful during *Being and Time* to put quotation marks around the word *Geist*, but that during the "Rector's Address" he lifts these quotation marks, implying that Hitler's regime is the fulfillment of Spirit's historical destiny. There is much about Heidegger's National Socialism that Derrida ignores, and it has been supplied by other critics (i.e., Michael Zimmerman, Hans Sluga, Richard Wolin, John Caputo); but this should not minimize the importance of Derrida's reading of Heidegger.

61 *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973) xiv.

subject is a particularly (indeed, exclusively) modern phenomenon.[62] He is not arguing that the subject is obscure and mysteriously unknowable, as it often appears in the work of literary deconstructionists. This would mean giving in to the illusion of the transcendental subject, and replacing the transparent, transcendental subject of early modernity for the unknowable, transcendental subject of late modernity.

Foucault's refusal to accept the transcendental subject means, primarily, that one begins the search for knowledge elsewhere. If the subject is not that which orders the world, then analysis should begin with that which does: discourse (which is, for Foucault, neither pure language nor Derrida's logocentrism). He begins by asking "how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another?"[63] He is asking about the conditions for its possibility (without reference to a Kantian subject); about what makes it so that this statement was utterable, and comprehensible. "I have tried to explore scientific discourse not from the point of view of the individuals who are speaking, nor from the point of view of the formal structures of what they are saying, but from the point of view of the rules that come into play in the very existence of such discourse."[64] These rules "were never formulated in their own right, but are to be found only in widely differing theories, concepts, and objects of study, that I have tried to reveal, by isolating, as their specific locus."[65] He calls this specific locus a 'discursive formation' and the study of this locus 'archaeology.'

Foucault situates the subject within this discoursive formation. "Thus conceived, discourse is not the majestically unfolding manifestation of a thinking, knowing, speaking subject, but, on the contrary, a totality, in which the dispersion of the subject and his discontinuity with himself may be determined."[66] One must investigate the rules of discourse that make a statement possible and comprehensible, the material status of the statement, the institutional site from which the subject speaks, and the qualifications required for the subject to speak. The individual is a node in a discursive network, an enunciative modality. Criticism should spend more energy analyzing these discursive sites, and less time obsessively scrutinizing that which has been articulated from these sites.

Discursive formations are guided by hidden discursive rules which order the entire range of discourse in a particular time period. Foucault is not interested in tracing the eternal themes of Western philosophy as they appear in various time periods, a practice he would dismiss as a relic from the history of ideas.[67] Instead he argues that discursive formations emerge in a specific time and place,

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62 See *The Order of Things,* 303–386.

63 *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 27.

64 *The Order of Things,* xiv.

65 *The Order of Things,* xi.

66 *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 55.

67 This is another point which sharply separates Foucault from Derrida. While Derrida traces logocentricism back to the Greeks, Foucault focuses on problems as defined in the classical and modern periods (from the late 17th century to the late 20th century); and he emphasizing the sharp break between the two periods. Derrida criticizes Foucault's study of madness on this very point. See "Cogito and the History of Madness," in *Writing and Difference,* 39.

organize knowledge during that time period, and then collapse and fade away, to be replaced by other discursive formations.

Foucault uses this framework to rethink the nature of power and its dispersal. "In this sense, discourse ceases to be what it is for the exegetic attitude: an inexhaustible treasure from which one can always draw new, and always unpredictable riches . . . . it appears as an asset . . . an asset that consequently, from the moment of its existence . . . poses the question of power; an asset that is, by nature, the object of a struggle, a political struggle."[68] He seeks to reject the crude understanding of power as something that one possesses, and seeks to show that power is immanent in discourse. "Relations of power are not in a position of exteriority with respect to other types of relationships (economic, processes, knowledge relationships, sexual relationships), but are immanent in the latter."[69] Most especially power is not simply prohibitive and repressive, it is also productive and is made effective through the process of normalization.[70] "We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes,' it 'represses,' it 'censors,' it abstracts, it 'masks,' it 'conceals.' In fact, power produces: it produces reality, it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production."[71]

All of this has important implications for our discussion. It means that disciplinary knowledge (from biblical scholarship to psychology) should be studied as part of a discursive formation, rather than as part of a continuous tradition with roots stretching back to antiquity. So, for example, 'knowledge of living beings' in the 18th century is part of the same discursive formation as 'knowledge of laws of language' from the same time period; while neither is part of the same discourse as 19th century biology or economics. By extension, other discourses from the 19th century will help us understand 19th century biblical scholarship; while patristic biblical exegesis will only provide the illusion of thematic continuity.

Said, inspired by this analysis of power, will show how racist discourse (particularly the discourse of Orientalism) produced the modern world. If he is correct, then biblical scholarship, which is situated within this discourse, will also be racist. Foucault will not help us understand race in the Bible. He might, instead, help us see that 'race' did not exist in the Hellenistic time period, in the same way that 'life' did not exist in the classical period. He will, however, prove indispensable in helping us see how racism insinuated itself into modern biblical scholarship. It is to this topic that we shall now turn.

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68 *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 120.

69 *The History of Sexuality* ET Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1980) 94.

70 See *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison,* ET Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979) 170–228.

71 *Discipline and Punish,* 194.

> The Orientals do not know that the spirit is free in itself . . . . Because they do not know it, they are not free . . . . Only the Germanic nations have in and through Christianity achieved the consciousness that man *qua* man is free, and that freedom of the spirit constitutes his very nature. [Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*]
>
> The only essential connection between the Negroes and the Europeans is slavery . . . we may conclude slavery to have been the occasion of the increase in human feelings among the Negroes. [Hegel][72]

The idea of race is a modern phenomena. Race, as an intellectual category, existed in neither the ancient nor the medieval world. While the ancient and medieval world contained its fair share of hatred and exclusion, this hatred and exclusion was either cultural (i.e., against the 'barbarian') or religious (i.e., against the Jew or Muslim) rather than racial (i.e., against the 'Oriental' or 'Savage').[73] Race was unthinkable before the modern world. Racism emerged in the late 15th century, in reaction to the voyages of discovery of seemingly unconquered land filled with inestimable wealth, natural resources and exotic and antagonistic creatures.[74] The voyagers assumed that there existed clear links between the dark skin color of these creatures and their seeming savage nature. It was not until after 1650 that a more clear-cut racism emerged, intensified by the colonization of North America with its twin policies of dislocation of the Natives and enslavement of Africans.[75] Racism materialized in the modern European world, and flourished in Europe and the United States.

Racism was made possible by a variety of factors associated with modernism, so much so that one could argue that modernism and racism are hopelessly intertwined. One of the defining features of the modern world was the increasing authority of science. Science, as a way of viewing and explaining the world, is the precondition for modern racism. The first step towards the development of racism was the scientific discussions about the natural world of animals and plants. The principal aim was to observe the animals on the basis of their physical characteristics, and then group them according to families.[76]

This classification system was soon applied to humans, inevitably leading to the category of race. The first authoritative racial classification was posited in 1735 by Linnaeus, who was the preeminent naturalist of his time.[77] This authoritative system of classification was refined and expanded throughout the 18th century and was generally accepted by early 19th century science. Within racist discourse, the external racial markers (i.e., skin color and language

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72 Quoted in Gilroy *The Black Atlantic,* 41.

73 See Appiah, *In My Father's House,* 47–50; Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust,* 31–83; Goldberg, *Racist Culture,* 18–24.

74 Goldberg, *Racist Cultures,* 44.

75 Bernal, *The Black Athena,* 201–204.

76 See Appiah, *In My Father's House,* 38–39; Foucault, *The Order of Things,* 125–162; Goldberg, *Racist Culture,* 48–52; Said, *Orientalism,* 116–120.

77 See Bernal, *The Black Athena,* 219; Goldberg, *Racist Culture,* 206; Said, *Orientalism,* 119.

groupings) signified the character and abilities of each group. It would prove to be an extremely useful, if somewhat fluid, category. Race was assumed to define intellectual ability, moral sensibility and, eventually, historical destiny. It became as widely accepted as gravity. Without the preceding debates about animal classification, and the growing hegemony of the natural sciences, race would have remained unthought and unthinkable.

The concept of race provided the framework to group all of humanity into a few large groups. Agreement was never reached on the number of races, but the most common position was that there existed roughly three large groups of people: Western, European, Aryans; Semites and/or Orientals; and the remaining assorted indigenous populations (the Africans, Natives from the Americas and Australia and Eskimos). This tripartite division brought with it an explicit hierarchy: Aryans are civilized (at least the upper and middle class are civilized); Orientals/Semites are barbarians who once contributed to humanity but who are now destined to serve the West; and the rest are savages who should either be enslaved or have the good grace to die out.

Modern Europe created a series of diverse disciplines devoted to understanding the nature of the various races and the cultures that these races produced. The most important of these was Orientalism, the disciplined study of the cultures, languages, peoples and traditions of the East. During the first half of the 19th century, Orientalism was transformed from a series of stereotypes that filled the pages of European literature, into a well established academic discipline.[78] According to Said, Orientalism does not simply come to terms with an existent Orient that is waiting to be discovered. Orientalism *creates* the Orient.

> There emerged (after the late Renaissance), a complex Orient suitable for study in the academy, for display in the museum, for reconstruction in the colonial office, for theoretical illustration in anthropological, biological, linguistic, racial, and historical theses about mankind and the universe, for instances of economic and sociological theories of development, revolution, cultural personality, national or religious character. Additionally, the imaginative examination of things Oriental was based more or less exclusively upon a sovereign Western consciousness out of whose unchallenged centrality an Oriental world emerged.[79]
>
> The Orient that appears in Orientalism, then, is a system of representations framed by a whole set of forces that brought the Orient into western learning, Western consciousness, and later, Western empire.[80]

In this process Europe also *created* Africa and even created Europe itself. Thus the great categories that seem so natural to us (i.e., the East, the West, black, white, Africa, Asia, Europe) are *constructed* by discourse; and by a racist discourse at that. The very meaning of these terms owe their intelligibility to racialized discourse.[81]

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78 *Orientalism*, 113–166.

79 *Orientalism*, 8.

80 *Orientalism*, 202–203.

81 On the invention of Africa, see Appiah, *In My Father's House*, 3–84.

The academic discipline of Orientalism did more than rationalize imperialism after the fact, it also prepared the way in advance. From the middle of the 18th century on there was simultaneous growth in the disciplined knowledge of, and colonization of, the Orient. As Said points out, "the period of immense advance in the institutions and content of Orientalism coincides exactly with the period of unparalleled European expansion; from 1815 to 1914 European direct colonial domination expanded from about 35 percent of the earth's surface to about 85 percent of it. Every continent was affected, none more so than Africa and Asia."[82] The disciplined knowledge created the reality which was then colonized. The fact of colonialsim, in turn, reinforced the disciplinary framework. Said defines Orientalism in this way.

> Orientalism is . . . a *distribution* of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical and philological texts; it is an *elaboration* not only of a basic geographical distinction . . . but also of a whole series of 'interests.'[83]
>
> To formulate the Orient, to give it shape, identity, definition with full recognition of its place in memory, its importance to imperial strategy, and its 'natural' role as an appendage to Europe; to dignify all the knowledge collected during colonial occupation with the title 'contribution to modern learning' . . . ; to feel oneself as a European in command, almost at will, of Oriental history, time, and geography; . . . to make out of every observable detail a generalization and out of every generalization an immutable law about the Oriental nature, temperament, mentality, custom, or type . . . :these are the features of the Orientalist project.[84]

The Westerner speaks about the Oriental, but the Oriental does not speak about himself, his society or the West. The Westerner gives voice to the Oriental, who would otherwise remain voiceless and lifeless.[85] By the 19th century, the Orientalist had gone from observer to creator. The Orient was made into the image of the Orientalist.[86]

Orientalism is internally consistent and does not depend for its power on the reality of the Orient; the truth of a statement depends upon its relationship to other discursive statements, rather than upon its correspondence to reality. Orientalism, and the Orient that it constructs, depends upon Western techniques of representation rather than on the reality of the East. "Henceforth, in order to get at the Orient he must pass through the learned grids and codes provided by the Orientalist. Not only is the Orient accommodated to the moral exigencies of Western Christianity; it is also circumscribed by a series of attitudes and

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82 *Orientalism,* 41.

83 *Orientalism,* 12; italics in the original.

84 *Orientalism,* 86.

85 *Orientalism,* 228.

86 *Orientalism,* 40, 87.

judgments that send the Western mind, not first to Oriental sources for correction and verification, but rather to other Orientalist works."[87]

Conclusion: Orientalism, Deconstruction, Afrocentrism and Biblical Scholarship

At this point in the paper I would like to step out of my role as narrator and argue for a position. From all that I have described above, I am most persuaded by Said's Foucaultian description of Orientalism. His analysis presents challenges to deconstruction, to Afrocentrism and to biblical scholarship. I would like to turn to each in turn.

Said presents two sets of challenges to Derridean deconstruction. The first, which I described above, is Said's challenge to expand his analysis to include the relationship between logocentrism and institutional power. The second has to do with Derrida's use of the term 'the West.' Derrida seems to work within the traditional framework which accepts that the West extends from the Greeks to modern Europe. This assumption (which appears most forcefully in Hegel and Heidegger) is problematic and seems to be part of modern racialized discourse.[88] In Derrida's defense, however, his use of the term is, as he constantly insists, strategic; he resides within logocentrism to deconstruct it, not to embrace it. He also rejects the linear model of history as itself logocentric, and, therefore, does not see modernity as the fulfillment of what began in antiquity.[89] He is not, therefore, guilty of uncritically accepting the unity of the West; but his critique of logocentrism needs clarification in light of the recent assertions that the West is, itself, a modern (racist) category.

Said's position is more damaging to Asante. Asante assumes, uncritically, the existence of Africa as an indigenous category. His entire project rests on the assumption that Africa is an authentically non-European category, one which allows him to stand outside of racism and Eurocentrism. Kwame Anthony Appiah argues that the opposite is the case, that Asante's Afrocentrism is uncritically and unconsciously laced with modern European categories, including racialized (and therefore racist) categories. He is hardly resorting to the tired cliché that Asante is a reverse-racist, but is, instead, arguing that Asante's Africa is too close to the Africa of Herder, the founder of European racialized nationalism.[90] Derrida is correct in arguing that a declaration of independence from a tradition does not necessarily lead to liberation. The discourse of racist modernity, which is more complex and resourceful than it first appears, managed to worm its way into the very structure of Afrocentrism as soon as Asante declared a premature victory.

Said presents a series of equally compelling challenges to biblical scholarship. The development of Orientalism was coterminus (temporally, ideologically and institutionally) with the formative development of modern biblical scholarship. Not only did biblical scholarship emerge from the same discursive formation, but

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87 *Orientalism,* 67.

88 The best critique of this position is found in Martin Bernal, *The Black Athena.*

89 *Positions,* 56–57.

90 See *In My Father's House,* 3–84; "Ancestral Voices," *Salmagundi,* 105/105 (Fall 1994/Winter 1995) 88–100. "Ancestral Voices" deals specifically with Afrocentrism, while *In My Father's House* contains a more theoretical account of the issues involved. I find his debt to Herder to be most visible in *The Afrocentric Idea,* 61–65.

there was a great deal of specific overlap between the two disciplines. Modern biblical scholarship embraced two philosophers to help understand and interpret the Bible to the modern world: Hegel and Heidegger. Racism dominates Hegelian interpretation of history, of mythology, of language and of art. He describes racism "(as) the natural division of world history and the manner in which we shall treat it (history)."[91] Hegel's ideas were taken over by the Tubingen school and have been passed on throughout the history of the discipline. Any study of the book of Acts must run its way through Tubingen, which means through Hegel, which means through Orientalism. Heidegger assumed many of the same Orientalist and racist ideas, and ran them through his own idiosyncratic reading of Western history and philosophy, which was, itself, deeply influenced by the racist ideology of National Socialism.[92] Heidegger's ideas were passed on through Bultmann and his students and remain at the core of our discipline. This provides racism the opportunity to directly influence current scholarship.

Orientalism passed through disciplines other than philosophy. Most importantly, 19th century Orientalism became hopelessly intertwined with 19th century philology and linguistics. All scholarly conceptions about language, at least during the 19th century, were thoroughly racialized. This is most visible in the case of the biblical scholar Ernest Renan, whom Said ranks as the premier Orientalist of his day, and who did much to popularize biblical research.

The absence of these issues from standard histories of the discipline is striking. The most one might hear is that Renan was a scholar of Semitic languages, without any sense of what that means in its historical and ideological context. As a result, the place of race in the formation of our discipline remains unrecognized and invisible. Since it remains invisible, it is unchallenged. The power of contemporary racism resides its invisibility rather than in its public virulence. It seems likely, given all of this, that racialized discourse continues to exert some influence in ways that we do not even recognize. We will not be able to recognize the extent to which racism does, and does not, continue to influence our discipline until we recognize the place it played in our past. If we cannot escape the past by declaring ourselves outside of it, neither can we escape it by ignoring it. We must develop a detailed sense of where and how racism has insinuated its ways into our thinking, and must recognize the subtle ways that it continues to infuse our thinking. We must, in short, deconstruct our discipline's

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91 *Reason in History: A General Introduction to the Philosophy of History*, ET Robert S. Hartman (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1953) 24.

92 Heidegger's relationship to National socialism has become, recently, a matter of quite serious debate and historical revision. This revision began with the publication of Farias' *Heidegger and Nazism* and the ensuing debate has led to a series of important rereadings of Heidegger's thought. The important primary sources have been collected by Richard Wolin in *The Heidegger Controversy: A Critical Reader*, Second Edition (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993). The first volume of this collection included an interview with Derrida. Curiously Derrida insisted that this be stricken from the second edition, and threatened legal action against the press. This led to a controversy that spilled into the pages of *The New York Review of Books*. Derrida's behavior during all of this was, to put it charitably, puzzling, especially given his arguments about the logocentric nature of the concept of textual ownership. His behavior during this incident, however unseemly, should not cause us to miss his particular insight into Heidegger's writings.

major texts, categories and assumptions. If we do so we will find both logocentrism and Orientalist racism; but if we do not then our own work will be laced with the same.

Apportioning Desolation: Contexts for Interpreting Edom's Fate and Function in Isaiah

Claire R. Mathews
Loyola College in Maryland

1.1. Relating Context and Function

Anyone who has bought or sold a house will have learned the Realtor's adage that the three most important features of a property are: (1) location; (2) location, and; (3) location. Aside from the expanding farmhouse as an apt metaphor for the structure of the book of Isaiah,[1] biblical studies have not generally been thought to have much in common with the buying and selling of real property. Yet in the interpretation of prophetic poetry, one might argue, as in real estate, context is everything. Or at least, context—the location of the reader, the location of the text being read—is a determining factor almost as significant as the very words of the text themselves.

One can trace in modern biblical scholarship an increasing awareness of the role the interpreter's own context plays in shaping the questions one brings to a text and, as a consequence, the meaning one draws out of it. But interpretation involves, not only a consideration of the meanings of a particular poem or passage and of its function (that is, of the effect it might have had on earlier hearers/readers and the effect it has on us); an interpreter's concern for the unity of a book such as Isaiah will lead him or her to consider as well the relationship of any particular passage to the whole work, and to various components thereof. Frequently, additional contexts will be brought to bear on our attempts to make sense of a text such as Isaiah. Certainly knowledge of the historical and cultural context in which the book was produced, that of the Ancient Near East, is invaluable as a lens through which to focus our inquiry. But the canonical context of Isaiah—Isaiah in relation to the other prophets, former and latter—is, I would argue, equally indispensable.

Isaiah 34, perhaps more than any other chapter in the book, raises the question of appropriate contexts for interpretation. This is so, firstly, because the poem of which this chapter is comprised seemingly appears so *out* of context. It is a description of a slaughter in, and the desolation of, the land of Edom, wrought by the hand of God. Curiously, these events are introduced by the description of a similar fate to befall all the nations of the world. One might expect such an oracle to appear earlier in the book among the collection of similar material

[1] See Christopher R. Seitz, "Isaiah 1–66: Making Sense of the Whole," in *Reading and Preaching the Book of Isaiah*, ed. Christopher R. Seitz (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 105–26, p. 108.

(chs. 13–23[27]). That it does not leads the reader to ask to what degree context—in this case, the poem's placement—determines function. In other words, does the poem's placement outside of the collection of foreign nation oracles indicate that this particular foreign nation oracle is meant to function differently than the others? Or, if asking the question in this way attributes too great a role to authorial intention, then one might ask instead whether the placement of Isa 34 outside of the collection of oracles against foreign nations at least *results* in a different function. However, in order to answer this question, one must first have drawn some conclusions about the function, or at least the effect, of chs. 13–23[27].

Even those who grant a certain unity to the book of Isaiah will agree that one facet of its structure consists of blocks of material relating to particular historical periods. However the book is not arranged solely on the basis of historical chronology. That this so is seen, for instance, in the introduction of the oracle concerning Babylon and the accompanying taunt song against her king at chs. 13–14. To one reading the book in "order," that is from ch. 1 forward, the mention of Babylon comes as something of a surprise in that, to this point the prophetic gaze has been directed repeatedly toward Assyria. Whether or not the mention of Babylon in chs. 13–14 reflects the reworking of material originally directed against Assyria, the effect of the present presentation of prophetically-interpreted history is an important one. The mingling of Assyrian and Babylonian material suggests that, in Proto-, as in Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah, history is not to be conceived of solely as the forward march of events, as the "latter" things overtaking the "former," as the unfolding of ever new circumstances. Rather, what unfolds in the present, while new in terms of the historical particulars, may be in important respects analogous to the past—that when one gets to the heart of the matter, history repeats itself, or at least, there are certain fundamental consistencies because it is the same God who, from generation to generation, executes his plan concerning the earth. When laid out on the time-line of history, Babylonia is Assyria's successor as the oppressive power casting a dark shadow over Judah; when that history is interpreted prophetically, we see that Assyria and Babylon are both simply instances of the arrogance of human power that would defy God, but instead is wielded and humbled by him. One might argue that YHWH's calling of Cyrus as an agent of restoration is hardly analogous to the role given Assyria and Babylon, yet here one can see in the anointing of Cyrus "for the sake of my servant Jacob" although "you do not know me" (45:4, 5) more similarity than dissimilarity in his role as divine pawn in the drama of God's turbulent love affair with Israel. Even when an event is introduced in Isaiah expressly as a "new thing" it is in fact a revisitation of past events, whether a new exodus (43:19–21) or new heaven and earth (65:17).

The placement of Babylon at the head of the foreign nations oracles in the largely "Assyrian" section of the book is one factor which contributes to the impression that historical events, when prophetically interpreted, are not to be conceived of only with respect to chronological sequence, but as analogous events pointing to certain constants in YHWH's involvement in human affairs. Contributing further to this presentation of history are certain poetic features of Isaiah 13 which result in ambiguity over whether the events described therein are

of a limited, historical, or of cosmic and eschatological scope.[2] But it is not only Babylon which, in this section of the book, points beyond its own particular place in history to the larger issue of the nature of God's action in the world. One could argue that each of the foreign nation oracles which follow in some sense do the same. The judgment of each of those nations, and of all of them as presented in the collection, "makes clear that all military strength and political stratagem—no matter how shrewd or how carefully wrought—is nothing before the wisdom and counsel of Israel's God."[3]

As I have already noted, the placement of the oracle against Edom in Isa 34 suggests that *this* particular foreign nation oracle functions differently in the context of the larger book. One compelling suggestion concerning the apparent "mis-placement" of this Edom poem in Isa 34 is that it served as an original conclusion to Proto-Isaiah, forming, with 1:4–9, an inclusion around the whole, and with ch. 13, around the second section of Proto-Isaiah.[4] However, this proposal of Johan Lust depends on the theory that the poem is not only a composite of an oracle against the nations (vv. 2–3[4], 7), and Edom (vv. 5–6) but against Judah as well (vv. 8–15). Lust's conclusion that vv. 8–15 pertain to Judah results from his reading of the ריב in v. 8 as referring to Zion's rebelliousness (כי יום נקם ליהוה שנת שלומים לריב ציון), and of the pronouns in subsequent verses as referring back to Zion (e.g. 10bβ לנצח נצחים; 11aβ אין עבר בה; וינשוך וערב ישכנו־בה).[5] That the later part of this poem is to be understood as referring to Judah seems highly unlikely to me, not only because one would expect the transition from Edom to Judah to be more clearly marked, but because it seems implausible that Proto-Isaiah would have concluded with the finality of such a judgment on Judah. That Isa 34, as an oracle against all the nations and against Edom is, or was, intended to serve as an inclusion with Isa 13 is much more plausible. Such an inclusion would provide a certain symmetry to an earlier form of the book, although such a relationship between 13 and 34 is now obscured by the presence of the poem in 35, and the narratives in 36–39. More importantly, is the argument that Isa 34 plays a structural role, that is, that it serves as an inclusion with 13, sufficient to make sense of the poem and its placement? It certainly does not exhaust the possibilities.

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[2] Especially important in this regard are the ambiguity of the phrase כל־הארץ in v. 5c, and the introduction of the "Day of YHWH" material (vv. 6–11) in the midst of what otherwise would appear to be a description of an historical and geographically-localized event. See my discussion in *Defending Zion: Edom's Desolation and Jacob's Restoration (Isaiah 34–35) in Context*, forthcoming in Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenchaft.

[3] Christopher R. Seitz, *Isaiah 1–39*, Interpretation, (Louisville: John Knox, 1993) 124.

[4] Johan Lust, "Isaiah 34 and the ḥerem" in *The Book of Isaiah – Le Livre d'Isaie*, ed. Jacques Vermeylen, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 81 (Leuven: Leuven Univ., 1989) 275–286.

[5] Lust adds to this the observation that a comparison to the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah and the phrase "They shall name her 'No Kingdom There'" in v. 34:12 is nowhere else found in relation to Edom, although one may find similar expressions in reference to Judah and Jerusalem (281–282, 284). That Edom's fate should be compared to that of Sodom and Gomorrah does not seem at all unusual in light of the analogy's frequency and distribution throughout biblical literature. See the discussion in Delbert R. Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets*, BibOr 16 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964) ch. 4.

1.2. Immediate Contexts as Interpretive Clues

That the poem in Isa 34 does not appear in a more likely context such as the collection of oracles against foreign nations requires of us as readers to consider other contexts for interpretation, the most obvious of which would be that which immediately surrounds it. Curiously, the poem in ch. 35 also appears "out of context" in terms of content, vocabulary and literary style. The affinities of ch. 35 with the latter half of the book are so striking that the poem is frequently included in commentaries of chs. 40–55 or 40–66 as either the fitting summary-introduction, or conclusion to the work.[6] I have suggested that the placement of Isaiah 34 out of its more likely context may serve as a signal that this poem is meant to function differently than, or at least, has a function in addition to, that of the other foreign nation oracles. That two poems should appear, side-by-side, so clearly "out of context" would seem to be a clear indication that the poems' placement is not accidental, but that something significant is being communicated at this juncture in the book. In order to discern what that is, one must first determine the nature of the relationship between the two poems. In other words, what kind of context does Isa 35 provide for our interpretation of Isa 34, and vice-versa?

Odil Steck has written extensively on the relationship of Isaiah 35 to 34. In *Bereitete Heimkehr*[7] Steck argues that Isaiah 35 was composed as a transitional piece for the joining of what now comprise the first and second halves of the book.[8] He asserts that the author of ch. 35 has drawn from the thought and language of both major sections of the book, but especially from the immediate context, chs. 32–34 and 40:1–11, in such a way that ch. 35 now serves to reconcile certain tensions or discrepancies created by the joining of these two bodies of work. Of particular importance for our purposes is Steck's argument concerning the way in which ch. 35 has been composed in order to respond to, or even reverse, statements made in ch. 34 which were seen by the redactor as problematic in light of ch. 34's new context, namely, Isaiah 40:1–11. Elsewhere I have critiqued this portion of Steck's argument in some detail.[9] Thus, here I will simply provide several examples of Steck's method of analysis and focus my comments instead on the way in which he considers the poems' context in order to determine their meaning and function.

Steck argues that the content, vocabulary, and even sequence of ch. 35 make it clear that the author of the poem was not only familiar with 40:1–11, but intentionally mirrored its content and sequence in his own composition—with important differences. One such difference is the fact that the various correspondences between 35 and 40 begin, not at 40:1–2, but at v. 3. This is so,

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[6] See John L. McKenzie, S.J., *Second Isaiah*, AB 20 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1968); James D. Smart, *History and Theology in Second Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 35, 40–66*; Charles Cutler Torrey, *The Second Isaiah: A New Interpretation* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928).

[7] Odil Hannes Steck, *Bereitete Heimkehr: Jesaja 35 als redaktionelle Brücke zwischen dem Ersten und dem Zweiten Jesaja*, SBS 121 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1985).

[8] Steck leaves open the question of whether or not Proto-Isaiah included at this time chs. 36–39. See *Bereitete Heimkehr*, 57–59.

[9] See *Defending Zion*, ch. 7.

according to Steck, because the guilt of God's people is not an issue in the comments on the future era of salvation found in chs. 32–34, to which the author likewise directed his gaze. Thus, 40:1–2's announcement of the full satisfaction of that guilt would seem odd to one engaged in a sequential reading of the newly combined book of Isaiah. By passing over 40:1–2, Steck argues, ch. 35, which otherwise corresponds closely to ch. 40, offers a corrective; the careful reader of the newly combined texts should recognize that the perspective of 32–34 in this regard is shown to take precedence over that of 40:1–2 (*Bereitete Heimkehr*, 17).

Similarly, while both ch. 35 and 40 speak of the transformation of the wilderness, the transformation spoken of in 35 is from a dry and barren condition to a fertile garden, while the "transformation" of ch. 40 centers on the construction of a road for YHWH's return. The rationale for this difference, Steck argues, is that, according to 33:5, 20, 22, YHWH *already* reigns in Zion. Thus, a road for his return is superfluous (18). Ch. 35's description of the wilderness' transformation is also directed toward ch. 34. The two poems do not speak of two different terrains, Steck asserts. They refer to one and the same terrain, through which the exiles must pass on their way home. Thus, the description in ch. 35 seeks to limit the duration of the judgment that is described, in ch. 34, as of eternal duration (18). Finally, the leveling of the wilderness spoken of in 40:4 is likewise lacking in ch. 35, because, argues Steck, according to 34:3b–4a the mountains and hills will have already dissolved during God's annihilation of the nations. And, in ch. 35 it is not "all flesh" (40:5) but the transformed wilderness which will see the glory of the Lord, because after the events described in 34:2–4, no non-Israelites exist (18).

Steck is certainly correct in observing important affinities, first between ch. 35 and 40:1–11, and second, between 35 and 34, at least by way of contrast. That 35 is literarily dependent on 40:1–11 in the way Steck has argued, and that it carefully follows its sequence, is more doubtful.[10] While one may trace a certain forward movement in the book from chs. 1 to 66 which would seem to justify a sequential reading (a topic to which I will return), I would argue that Steck's proposal concerning ch. 35's function depends too heavily on a sequential reading of these chapters, and on a literal reading of them in relation to their sequence. In my view it is hardly likely, for instance, that a careful reader, ancient or modern, would have recognized (without Steck's help) that the satisfaction of guilt announced at 40:1–2 has been rendered irrelevant in the light of chs. 32–34, by means of ch. 35's passing over 40:1–2 in its otherwise close correspondences to 40:1–11. Why would this hypothetical reader or redactor of Steck's who sought to reconcile apparent discrepancies between 32–34 and 40 not have been equally concerned with the impossible progression, chronologically speaking, from the demise of all nations in 34:2–4, which, one might assume, would include Edom, to that of Edom in particular in vv. 5–17,[11] or with the fact that animals are said to inhabit a land of burning pitch (34:9–15)? Steck's argument is not only overly subtle. In this case, he has made perhaps *too* much of the poems' context.

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[10] See the discussion in *Defending Zion*, ch. 7.

[11] See especially the transition at v. 5: כי־רותה בשמים חרבי הנה על־אדום תרד; this problematic chronology is even more pronounced when the כי is translated temporally, as "when."

Steck sees in the contrast between the transformation of Edom into a wilderness in ch. 34, and the transformation of the wilderness into a watered and vegetative place in ch. 35, an indication of the limitation of Edom's "eternal" desolation in order that the exiles might pass through that land on their journey home. Others have observed the important points of contact between these two poems and have suggested instead that they represent the contrasting fates of two different entities. The poems have been described as a diptych,[12] or "two faces of the same event."[13] Implicit in the appellation "diptych" is the view that the wilderness in ch. 35 is not that of Edom, although no explicit transition is made from one poem to the other nor is a change in subject expressly marked. The distinction between the two subjects is effected rather, by means of the striking contrast.

The image of the transformed wilderness appears on a number of occasions in chs. 40–55, a section of the book on which, most will agree, the composition of ch. 35 is dependent.[14] In 40–55 the use of this motif is never uniform. Rather, the transformation of the wilderness appears there to be a broad metaphor illustrating a favorable change in the state of Zion and/or Jacob. If one views the relationship between chs. 34 and 35 as one of contrasting fates between Edom and Israel (Jacob) based on the use of the transformed wilderness motif in 40–55, then it would seem that not only does the relationship of the poems differ from that suggested by Steck, but the appropriate context for their interpretation shifts as well. For, the juxtaposition of Edom's desolation with Jacob's restoration leads one to Graetz's pressing question: "Wherein lay the importance of this petty nation—which, compared to the mighty empires of Assyria, Babylon and Egypt, was so utterly insignificant—that with *its* dissolution, the hour of salvation should begin?"[15] And in order to answer this question, we must redirect our gaze beyond this transitional section of the book toward the history of Israelite/Edomite relations and to its representation in Israelite literature.

1.3. Historical and Literary Contexts as Interpretive Clues

It has frequently been asserted that the special attention given to Edom in ch. 34 reflects animosity resulting from the Edomites' complicity with the Babylonians at the time of Jerusalem's fall.[16] Given the fact that Isa 34–35 appear at the transitional section of the book, before prophetic narratives which present

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[12] Jacques Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique: Isaïe I-XXXV, miroir d'un demi-millénaire d'expérience religieuse en Israël*, Ebib (Paris: Gabalda, 1977), I 439.

[13] Paul Auvray, *Isaïe 1–39*, Sources Bibliques 5 (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1972) 294.

[14] 41:17–20; 43:14–21; 48:20–21; 44:1–5; 51:1–3; 55:12–13.

[15] H. Graetz, "Isaiah xxxiv and xxxv," JQR 4 (1891) 1–8.

[16] Thomas Kelly Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* (London: Adams and Charles Black, 1895) 210; John Mauchline, *Isaiah 1–39*, Torch Bible Commentaries (London: SCM Press, 1962), 224; Peter R. Ackroyd, "The Book of Isaiah" In *The Major Prophets: A Commentary on Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel and Daniel*, ed. Charles M. Laymon, Interpreters Concise Commentary 4 (Nashville: Abingdon, 1983) 67; John F. A. Sawyer, *Isaiah* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984) II, 14; S. H. Widyapranawa, *The Lord is Saviour: Faith in National Crisis: A Commentary on the Book of Isaiah 1–39*, International Theological Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990) 215;

the prophet as predicting Jerusalem's fall at the hand of the Babylonians, this connection between Edom and Babylon in the mind of the author/redactor responsible for the placement of ch. 34 would seem plausible—if one grants that the insertion of ch. 34 occurred at the same time as, or later than, ch 39. However, no mention of Edomite involvement in the events of 587 BCE is made in ch. 34. In fact, no justification for the judgment of Edom is given at all, apart from the mention of this as YHWH's day of vengeance for Zion's cause.[17]

Evidence for the view that the oracle against Edom in ch. 34 has something to do with the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians is derived largely from passages such as Psalm 137 and from Obadiah. Elsewhere I have examined other Edom passages at some length, concluding that while there is much less substantive evidence for the accusations that Edom played a significant role in aiding and abetting the Babylonians than is typically asserted, there do seem to be certain intra-biblical developments surrounding Edom.[18] One such development is the reference to Edom as a typical or representative enemy rather than simply as a particular, historical foe.[19] In addition, and perhaps more importantly, one can identify within biblical literature a certain pattern whereby judgment on Edom is coupled with restoration of the land of Israel/Judah, of its inhabitants, and of Zion (So Lam 4:22; Eze 35–36; Isa 34–35; Mal 1:2–5; Joel 4:19–20; Obd 15-21). If one grants that other Edom passages serve as an appropriate context for the interpretation of Isaiah 34, then the identification of this pattern supports my conclusion that the relationship between Isaiah 34 and 35 is not as Steck has suggested. That is, Isaiah 35 does not serve to limit the duration of Edom's judgment as described in 34, or to alter the statements made in 40:1–11 in light of its new context, chs. 32–34. Rather, the wilderness transformed according to Isa 35 is, metaphorically speaking, the wilderness of Zion and her former inhabitants, as they move from the experience of exile to restoration. This happy fate to befall God's people and earthly dwelling place is contrasted with that of Edom, which is to become a perpetual wasteland populated by desert-dwelling animals. While this contrast in Isa 34–35 may reflect an increasingly common literary pattern in exilic and post-exilic literature, we have not really made sense of the passage's presence and placement until we have explained why this diptych of contrasting fates appears in the book of Isaiah, and why it appears *here*. In my opinion, the answer to this must ultimately be sought in relation to the prophetic narratives which follow, and in relation to the other prominent Edom passage in Isaiah, Isa 63:1–6.

There are important similarities between Isa 34 and 63:1–6. Both depict the demise of Edom in the context of a judgment on all nations, using similar imagery which, in Isa 63 especially, allows a certain play on the word אדום/אדם. In Isa 34, the judgment of all nations and of Edom are neatly separated and parallel one another. Thus, 34:2–3 proclaims that,

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[17] Even this justification is tenuous, based on a reading of the rather unusual phrase שנת שלומים לריב ציון.

[18] See *Defending Zion*, ch. 5.

[19] See the discussion in Bert Dicou, *Edom, Israel's Brother and Antagonist: The Role of Edom in Biblical Prophecy and Story*, SJSOT 169 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), ch. 7.

. . . the LORD is enraged against all the nations,
and furious against all their hoards;
he has doomed them, has given them over for slaughter.
Their slain shall be cast out,
and the stench of their corpses shall rise;
the mountains shall flow with their blood.

The focus of the poem shifts at verses 5 and 6:

When my sword has drunk its fill in the heavens,
lo it will descend upon Edom,
upon the people I have doomed to judgment.
The LORD has a sword; it is sated with blood,
it is gorged with fat,
with the blood of lambs and goats,
with the fat of the kidneys of rams.
For the LORD has a sacrifice in Bozrah,
a great slaughter in the land of Edom.[20]

The description of the complete destruction of the nations with the root חרם in 34:2 (החרימם) is echoed by the appellation of Edom as the עם חרמי in v. 5. Likewise, the nations' judgment is likened in v. 2 to a slaughter (טבח), while Edom's is described as both slaughter and sacrifice (זבח/טבח v. 6). The graphic depiction of the blood of the slain flowing like streams down a mountain in v. 3 (ונמסו הרים מדמם) is picked up in the Edom section of the poem where it echoes the sound of Edom's own name and which, in turn, suggests a chromatic tint to the poem—the streams, of course, would be red (אָדֹם).

Isa 63, on the other hand, rather than offering an announcement and description of YHWH's impending judgment on the nations, presents a vignette, a portrait of the divine warrior's march, the significance of which is made known by means of a question-answer format.

"Who is this that comes from Edom,
from Bozrah in garments stained crimson?
Who is this so splendidly robed,
marching in his great might?"

"It is I, announcing vindication, mighty to save."

"Why are your robes red,
and your garments like their who tread the winepress?"
"I have trodden the winepress alone,
and from the peoples no one was with me;
I trod them in my anger and trampled them in my wrath;
Their juice spattered on my garments
and stained all my robes.
For the day of vengeance was in my heart,
and the year for my redeeming work had come...

[20] All quotations are from the NRSV, except where otherwise noted.

I trampled down peoples in my anger,
I crushed them in my wrath,
and poured out their lifeblood (נצחם) on the earth."

(Isa 63:1–4,6)

Whereas Isa 34 makes a play on the similar sounds דם/אדום, 63:1–6 plays instead with the different meanings of the root אדם—אֱדוֹם, the place, and אָדֹם, red. The resulting effect is much alike. The blood which flows in 34, becomes in 63, נצח, the juice of grapes, another way of representing the "lifeblood" of nations (so v. 6). Some commentators suggest that in 63:1 one ought not read מבצרה/מאדום as "from Edom/Bozrah" but as מֵאֱדֹם and מִבֹּצֵר—"who is he that comes stained with red, his garments redder than a vine dresser?"[21] Such an emendation is unsatisfactory not only because it would remove the very wordplay around which the poem is built, but because it fails to recognize that this passage intends to evoke the ancient motif of YHWH's march in the southern mountain region.[22] The recognition of this motif, however, raises the question of the significance of Edom's presence in Isa 63. Does Edom appear simply by virtue of the presence of this motif, or as a means for the wordplay on אדם/אדום? Or, is the particular mention of Edom of special significance, as seems to be the case in ch. 34? Put differently, do the Edom passages in Isa 63 and 34 have something to do with one another, or is the presence of *two* Edom passages in Isaiah merely a coincidence? Elsewhere I have offered a proposal concerning the relationship between Isa 34 and 63, and the function that 34–35 play in the book especially in relation to their immediate context.[23] In what follows I will summarize this argument in order to explore, in the final section of the paper, the implications of this proposal for relating theories about the book's formation to its interpretation.

It should be observed that in Isaiah 63, unlike 34, the judgment of Edom in particular is not described, although it may be assumed. YHWH is depicted as marching *from* Edom after having trampled the nations. Isa 34, on the other hand, depicts the nations' and Edom's judgments as parallel events, or at least, Edom's judgment is to be seen as a particular instance of all nations' impending judgement. Yet, in addition to the similarity of the mention of Edom in the context of all nations and the likeness in imagery in both passages, we should note the mention of this event as a "day of vengeance" in each.

If in Isa 63:1–6 YHWH is marching *from* Edom, He must be marching *to* Zion, given the context of this passage in Trito-Isaiah. The centerpiece of this final portion of the book is a vision of a glorified Zion to which all nations stream bringing their wealth, and Zion's sons and daughters, with them (chs. 60–62). However, according to the material that now surrounds this vision (chs. 56–59 and 63–66) Zion's exaltation is forestalled, not, to borrow the book's own words, because the Lord's hand is too short to save, but because of the sinful condition of her inhabitants. Whereas large portions of Deutero-Isaiah were devoted to

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[21] So De Lagarde, as cited in Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, Old Testament Library (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969) 381.

[22] See Richard J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972) 114, 119.

[23] See *Defending Zion*, ch. 8.

convincing its addressees that YHWH is both willing and able to deliver, the voices most often heard in Trito-Isaiah are those of lament and of prophetic indictment and accusation. In ch. 58 for instance, the people are depicted as going through the motions of devotion, yet baffled by God's lack of response. "Why do we fast, but you do not see?" they are quoted as asking in ch. 58. "Why humble ourselves, but you do not notice?" (58:3). God's reply is that the peoples' fasting is accompanied by unjust actions, and so made void. Ch. 59 reiterates the opposing perspectives of the previous chapter: on the human side, the perception that God is inattentive; on the divine side, the knowledge that it is the people who are responsible for the breach in the divine-human relationship. Similarly, the lament of 63:7ff–64, which describes a situation much like that immediately following the fall of Jerusalem, finds its response in ch. 65. This response shares the perspective of earlier chapters, that is, that the present lamentable situation of Jerusalem and her inhabitants does not result from YHWH's inattentiveness or inability to act; rather, it is Jerusalem's inhabitants who are at fault (cf. 65:1–2).[24]

Thus, although Trito-Isaiah, like Proto-Isaiah, is concerned with threats to the welfare of Jerusalem resulting from the people's failure to maintain the covenant with their God, the remedy for this situation in Trito-Isaiah is not, as in Proto-Isaiah, to be found in a cleansing punishment at the hand of the nations. Rather, the divisions already evident within the community, according to Trito-Isaiah, will give way to a seemingly eschatological division between the Lord's so-called "servants" and "enemies" within the Temple community itself.[25] And so, already in ch. 59, in a clearly recognizable companion piece to the Edom passage of Isa 63:1-6, and a passage with which it frames the book's central vision of Zion's exaltation, we find the divine warrior marching against his adversaries who, in the case of ch. 59 consist of none other than his own people among whom justice is turned back.[26]

Given this Trito-Isaian context for the Edom passage in Isa 63:1–6, it seems clear that the movement of the divine warrior depicted therein is from the

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[24] For a discussion of the relationship between chs. 63–64 and 65, see P.-E. Bonnard, *Le Second Isaïe, son disciple et leurs éditeurs: Isaïe 40–66* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1972), 462; Torrey, *The Second Isaiah*,466f; K. Pauritsch, *Die neue Gemeinde: Gott sammelt Ausgestossene und Arme (Jesaia 56–66)* AnBib 47 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971) 233.

[25] See especially Isa 65:10–16 and 66:14–16.

[26] Several scholars have discerned a concentric structure to Isa 56–66, of which 60–62 form the centerpiece, and in which Isa 59:15–21 and 63:1–6 correspond. Whether or not one accepts such a schema in its entirety, the parallels between 59:15–21 and 63:1–6 are unmistakable. Compare 59:15–16 with 63:5. In both passages clothing imagery is prominent. In 59:17 God puts on (וילבש) righteousness (צדקה) like a breastplate and a helmet of salvation (ישועה) on his head. For clothing he wears (וילבש) garments of vengeance (נקם) and wraps himself in a mantel of fury. In 63 attention is immediately drawn to God's garments by the speaker's question, "Who is this . . . one glorious in his apparel?" (בלבושו). God's reply echoes the description of the breastplate and helmet in 59: "it is I, announcing vindication (צדקה), mighty to save (להושיע). And, while in ch. 59 vengeance is worn like clothing, in 63:4 God proclaims that "the day of vengeance was in my heart."

Among those who propose a concentric structure for Isa 56–66 are Étienne Charpentier, *Jeunesse du Vieux Testament* (Paris: Fayard, 1963) 79–80; P.-E. Bonnard, *Le Second Isaïe*, 318; Rémi Lack, *La Symbolique du Livre d'Isaïe: Essai sur l'image littéraire comme élément de structuration*, AnBIb 59 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1973), 125–32.

nations, to Edom as the next to last stop on the divine warrior's march to Zion where he is to work both judgment and vindication. This progress from the nations to Edom to Zion is the same movement one detects in Isaiah 34 in its present coupling with ch. 35. Interestingly, the element of contrasting fates found in the early chapters of Trito-Isaiah and intensified in its later ones is also an important factor in the cohesion of ch 34 to 35.

1.4. Multiple Interpretive Contexts

Although I reject Steck's proposal concerning the nature of the relationship between 34 and 35, I do think he may be correct in attempting to view these poems in light of concerns expressed in the later editions of the book, that is, in light of concerns expressed in portions of Trito-Isaiah. Steck's argument assumes that Isa 34 existed as an original component of Proto-Isaiah, or at least, that it existed prior to its attachment to 40ff., and to the composition of Isa 35. Whether or not this is the case is nearly impossible to determine for certain. However, linguistic analyses of 34 and 35, and affinities between Isa 34 and passages in other prophetic books offer equally, if not more compelling evidence that Isa 34, like 35, may have in fact been a very late addition to the book.[27]

Elsewhere I have argued that the most striking parallel to Isa 34–35 is found, not in the context of the book of Isaiah, but in Eze 35–36 where, in a comparable section of the book, a lengthy oracle directed against Edom, under the guise of Mt. Seir, is followed by an oracle directed *to* the Mountains of Israel.[28] The latter begins with an assurance of judgment on all of the surrounding nations, and on Edom, the only neighbor singled out by name. In addition to the dual mention of Edom in Eze 35 and 36, a variety of features bind the chapters together, offering a clear indication that the two are to be read in tandem.[29]

In a study of the diachronic relationship between the various Edom passages, Bert Dicou likewise notes the similarities between Isa 34–35 and Eze 35–36. He concludes, not surprisingly, that Isa 34–35 represent one of the latest examples of such anti-Edom oracles, since there Edom's representation is very much as a

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[27] See Marvin Pope, "Isaiah 34 in Relation to Is 35, 40–66," JBL 71 (1952) 235–43; Karl Elliger, *Deuterojesaja in seinem Verhältnis zu Tritojesaia*, BWANT 63 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1933), 273–76; The commonly recognized similarities among Isa 13, Jere 40–51, and Eze 39 would also seem to argue for a relatively late dating.

[28] See *Defending Zion*, chs. 5 and 8.

[29] Note for instance the phrases "Behold I am against you, Mt. Seir" (35:3) and "Behold, I am for you . . ." in 36:9; the reference to hills, valleys and ravines in 35:8 and hills, ravines and valleys in 36:4, 6; and the contrast of the desolation of Edom with the fruitfulness of Israel (36:8), the cutting off of all who come and go in Edom with the multiplication of man and beast in 36:11, the uninhabited cities of 39:9 with the inhabited cities of 36:10, and the perpetual desolation of 35:9 with the rebuilding of waste places in 36:10. The single prophetic word formula at the beginning of ch. 35 ("The word of the Lord came to me") also signals that the two chapters are to be read as one large unit, which is then divided into two sections by the two-fold address to the prophet as "mortal" (35:2; 36:1). That Eze 35 and 36 are now to be read as two parts of one whole does not necessarily mean the two were originally together, nor that either chapter is an original whole (See Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel Chs. 25–48*, trans. James D. Martin, ed. Paul D. Hanson with Leonard Jay Greenspoon, Heremeneia [Philadelphia: Foress, 1983], 232ff.; Ronald M. Hals, *Ezekiel*, FOTL 19 [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989], 258–9).

typical, rather than individual or particular foe.[30] Dicou recognizes the possibility of a relationship of dependance between Isa 34 and Eze 35, just as he argues that Obadiah—another Edom passage—"was given its place in the Book of the Twelve in order to imitate the Book of Ezekiel." Obd functions, he argues, as the Book of the Twelve's "freestanding oracle against Edom and the nations" (as opposed to that within a collection of foreign nation oracles, as is Eze 25) (112).[31] In spite of this openness to the possibility of a literary relationship between the various Edom oracles, Dicou is in basic agreement with Kellermann's thesis that the "motor for the production of oracles against Edom" was the remembrance in cultic lamentation of the wrongs incurred at Edomite hands at the fall of Jerusalem in 587 BCE.[32] While this may be the case, in my opinion the combination of an oracle against Edom and all nations with a corresponding promise concerning Israel's restoration in both Eze (35–36) and Isa (34–35) strongly suggests a possible literary relationship between the two. The similarity in placement of the two poetic pairs would seem to confirm this. In Ezekiel, the judgment on Edom and promise of restoration of land appears early in that section of the book which is almost wholly devoted to a message of promise pursuant to Jerusalem's fall. Similarly, Isaiah 34–35 stand at the transitional section of Isaiah, the point at which the book moves into its profound expression of hope on the eve of return from exile.

Of the two pairs of poems or "diptychs," that in Ezekiel is more integral to the book. The accusations made against Edom in Eze 35 in large part repeat those made earlier in ch. 25 against several of Judah's neighbors. And chs. 35 and 36 combined, serve as a counterpart to Eze 6, a previous unfavorable oracle against the Mountains of Israel.[33] Similar correspondences between a prophecy in the early and the latter sections of Ezekiel are found in the commissioning of the prophet as watchman in 3:16–21 and 33:1–9, or in the vision of the temple and departure of God's glory in chs. 8-11 which finds a counterpart in the temple's restoration and the return of the glory in chs. 40–48. In contrast, the Isaian diptych appears as an oddity in its text, for, as I have already noted, although Isa 35 does draw on the language and themes of Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah, it stands directly before that section of the book and before the prophetic narratives which serve as Deutero-Isaiah's preface. And its mate, Isa 34, likewise stands outside of what would seem a more natural context, namely the foreign nations oracles of chs. 13–23. These observations would suggest that Isa 35 was composed out of materials from Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah to serve as a mate to Isa 34, which, as we have seen, shares the perspectives and some of the language of Trito-Isaiah. The two poems, as a pair, were inserted in the book of Isaiah in the

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[30] Dicou, *Edom*, 107. See also 110.

[31] Similarly, Dicou remains open to the possibility of "a coordinated edition of Isaiah and Jeremiah," because of the similar relationships between the books' respective oracles against Babylon (Isa 13; Jer 50) and Edom (Isa 34; Jer 49) (107).

[32] *Edom*, 196, citing Ulrich Kellermann, *Israel und Edom: Studien zum Edomhass Israels im 6.–4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Habil.Schr.; Münster, 1975).

[33] So Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 233ff.; However Blenkinsopp (Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel*, Interpretation [Louisville: John Knox, 1990] 163) and Ronald M. Hals (*Ezekiel*, FOTL 19, [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989] 258) designate only 36:1–5 as the counterpart to Eze 6. It is difficult to see how this can be so when 35 and 36:1–15 are so closely connected.

very latest stages of its formation on analogy to the diptych in Eze 35–36. However the interpretive significance of this analogous feature, that is, the function of this diptych within the context of Isaiah, is to be sought in its relationship to the prophetic narratives concerning Jerusalem's fate which immediately follow (chs. 36–39).

Several recent studies of those narratives have shown that they are not simply an historical appendix to Proto-Isaiah, nor do they merely serve as a transition from the "Assyrian" to the "Babylonian" sections of the book. Rather, the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennecharib, and Hezekiah's illness and recovery at that time both point forward. They point forward beyond judgment at the hand of the Babylonians, which is foretold in ch. 39, to a subsequent restoration, which is proclaimed in chs. 40ff.[34] A paper offered previously in this seminar suggested that chs. 34 and 35, and especially the latter which borrows the language of Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah, reinforce the forward-looking perspective of these narratives. They do so by pointing the reader ahead to the message of comfort which follows the narratives, and by thereby loosening the narratives' connection to the material and historical context of Isaiah.[35]

Interestingly, in Ezekiel, almost directly after the Edom-nations-Israel diptych in chs. 35–36, one finds material roughly equivalent to the narratives of Isa 36–39 namely, the vision concerning Gog and Magog. Here Ezekiel imagines a time when an army of many peoples is roused against "a land restored from war, a land where people were gathered from many nations on the mountains of Israel, which had long laid waste" (Eze 38:8). This host is summoned to war by YHWH against a restored Israel, only to be struck down on the mountains of Israel, much as the Assyrian army was struck down in their own camp outside of Jerusalem, according to Isaiah 37. That Ezekiel's vision of this future victory is a reinterpretation of earlier prophecy concerning the threat and deliverance of Jerusalem is indicated by the Lord God's question in Eze 38:17: "Are you he of whom I spoke in former days by my servants the prophets of Israel, who in those days prophesied for years that I would bring you against them?" Even the description of Gog's thoughts concerning the matter (38:10–13) are reminiscent of those of the King of Assyria in Isaiah 10:7. That the language of sacrificial slaughter used to describe the hostile army's defeat in Eze 39 is echoed in Isaiah 34's Edom oracle is significant; it would seem to confirm my conclusion that the author of Isa 34–35 was aware of this section of the book of Ezekiel, including Ezekiel's reinterpretation of narratives concerning the past and future fate of Jerusalem.

In short, when one considers Isa 34–35 with 36–39 in the light of the corresponding sections in Ezekiel (Eze 35–36 and 38–39), as well as in the light

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[34] Peter R. Ackroyd, "An Interpretation of the Babylonian Exile: A Study of 2 Kings 20, Isaiah 38–39" SJT 27 (1974) 329–352, p. 349; "Isaiah 36–39: Structure and Function" in *Von Kanaan bis Kerala*, ed. W. C. Delsman and J. T. Nelis, et. al., AOAT 211 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1982) 3–21; Ronald Clements, "The Prophecies of Isaiah and the Fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.," VT 30 (1980) 421–36; Klaas A. D. Smelik, "Distortion of Old Testament Prophecy: The Purpose of Isaiah xxxvi and xxxvii," OTS 24 (1989) 70–93.

[35] Christopher R. Seitz, "On the Question of Divisions Internal to the Book of Isaiah," in *1993 SBL Seminar Papers*, ed. Eugene H. Lovering, Jr. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993) 260–66, pp. 262-263.

of the concerns of Trito-Isaiah (with which, I have argued, this addition seems roughly contemporary),[36] then a new interpretive dimension to this transitional section of Isaiah becomes apparent. As I have observed, the diptych in Isaiah 34–35 introduces material from the latter half of the book, including the strong element of contrasting fates so apparent in Trito-Isaiah, and the prediction of Edom and the nations' judgment which finds its fulfillment later in ch. 63. By introducing such material from the final third of the book Isa 34–35 enable the prophetic narratives to point even beyond the return of the exiles, to express that same hope—and assurance—found in Trito-Isaiah: that in the future, YHWH will deliver Zion from all of her enemies, whether they be those who threaten her as foreigners, from the outside, or those who threaten her from within.

In other words, I am proposing that the placement of Isaiah 34–35 before the prophetic narratives in Isaiah effects a second rereading of those narratives, under the influence of similar material in Ezekiel, and according to the concerns of Trito-Isaiah. The story of the miraculous deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennecharib's army, presented as an historical memory in Kings and preserved in the context of Isaiah to offer hope beyond the Babylonian exile, in the final shape of the book becomes a type of the way YHWH will deal with all of Zion's enemies.

Finally, we must remember that in Trito-Isaiah YHWH's enemies are found not only among foreign nations but include those who claim to be descendants of Jacob, yet forsake the Lord. In spite of the frequent reference to Israel as Jacob in the latter half of the book, nowhere does Isaiah make explicit reference to the filial traditions concerning Esau and Jacob, as does Malachi in its Edom oracle (see Mal 1:1–5). Yet, given the preoccupation of Trito-Isaiah with those who obtain the LORD's blessing, and those who disqualify themselves from obtaining it, it seems plausible that in Isaiah 34 Edom does not stand simply as a representative of the nations or as a specific instance of God's judgment, but has a multi-valent quality; it signals at the same time the fate of foreign nations, as well as that of those among Israel who show themselves unworthy of that name.

1.5. Conclusion

If my proposal concerning the redactional placement and function of Isa 34–35 is correct, what then are the implications for our understanding of the formation of Isaiah, or more generally, for how we read the book? Perhaps a more direct way to approach this question would be to ask first what assumptions about the book are implied by this proposal. First, let me observe that a corollary of my conclusion that Isa 34–35 are a late redactional addition roughly contemporary with the later stages of Trito-Isaiah's development, is that in addition to the poems' immediate context in the book (chs. 36–39 especially), Trito-Isaiah and its special concerns are one of the appropriate contexts, and perhaps even a necessary one, for making sense of Isa 34–35. This suggests that the book ought not or cannot be read in a strictly linear fashion. In the early part of this paper I suggested that the book's presentation of history was such that it is not to be conceived of solely as the forward march of events, as the relentless

[36] Dicou comes to a similar conclusion concerning the dating of Isa 34. See *Edom*, 110.

replacement of former things by the altogether new. Granted, forward movement is an integral part of the way in which we experience historical events and as a result, of the book's record of them. Isaiah does move, generally, in a chronological direction. But as I have suggested, the relationship of these unfolding events, when interpreted prophetically, is not so much one of chronological progression as of analogy; events are in important respects analogous to one another in that they point to certain constants in God's dealings with humans.

The example I offered was the introduction of an oracle against Babylon and its king in the midst of the largely Assyrian section of the book. The effect of this feature, and the perspective that enabled it, is the recognition of a common denominator more significant than the particulars which point to it: the divine judgment of all human arrogance and rebellion, whether on the part of foreign nations or of Israel herself. It is this same analogical reading of history that enables the deliverance of Jerusalem from the Assyrians in 701 BCE, as recorded in chs. 36–38 + 39, to serve as a "typical" representation. That is, that enables it to serve as a type, pointing to the hope of restoration beyond the Babylonian exile, and in the contentious post-exilic period, as an assurance of YHWH's deliverance of Zion from all her enemies, without and within.

From the very beginning a strictly linear reading of the book is undermined by ch. 1's introduction of language and themes which stretch across all 66 of its chapters. This intimation of the whole and the corresponding sense that by the end of the book, one finds oneself again at the place where one first began, might suggest the following. That rather than thinking of Isaiah as a *book*, that is, as a representation of reality that is properly communicated as one moves from the front cover to the back, one ought to think of it as somewhat more circular, as wrapping around at the end to the place where it first began. (This approach would be more consistent with its original form as a scroll, and with the Jewish practice of reading, upon conclusion of a biblical book, its beginning as well.) The only problem with this, as David Carr has pointed out in his discussion of the unity of Isaiah, is that Isa 1:2–31 is exhortatory, while 56–66 presuppose that "the groups of sinners and righteous have already been determined.[37] In actual practice, a reader well acquainted with the book is able to focus on its chronological progression while at the same time being able to call up features of the whole. This delicate balancing act in an "informed" reader's mind between what I am calling Isaiah's "linear" and "circular" qualities, whether conscious or not, occurs in response to specific features of the book itself. And, if current redactional theories are correct in the general premise that redactions occurred in "layers" extending across the whole of the then extant work, it is consistent with the way ancient reader-redactors approached the book as well. This "bifocal" approach to the book is not one that depends on a literary culture in the sense of one oriented toward the written rather than the spoken word. For when one comes to know Isaiah through oral presentation such as modern auditors experience in a church or synagogue, even if one comes to know those readings in an order, any given reading may call to mind other, not necessarily contiguous parts of the whole.

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[37] David Carr, "Reaching for Unity in Isaiah," *JSOT* 57 (1963) 61–80, pp. 73–74.

In other words, one of the things I am arguing here is that the decision to interpret the function of Isa 34–35 in relation to chs. 36–39, but in the light of concerns of Trito-Isaiah, is not only justified by the fact that these chapters may have in fact been authored at the same time as, and by the same hand(s) responsible for the latter portions of Trito-Isaiah (i.e., that it makes sense not only with respect to assumptions about the book's historical formation). It also is, at least, not inconsistent with the book's "analogous" presentation of history and its corresponding partial deviation from a wholly chronological arrangement.

I opened this paper by raising the question of appropriate contexts for interpretation. Ultimately, the proof is in the pudding. That is, the contexts which enable one to make the most sense out of a passage such as Isaiah 34–35 and its placement will be seen as the most appropriate contexts for interpretation. The seminar for which this paper is presented is concerned primarily with the formation of the book of Isaiah—how it came together, how its pieces relate to one another and to the whole. My examination of Isa 34 has shown this Edom passage to be somewhat of an oddity not only because of its placement, but because of the peculiar way in which the judgment of Edom, a relatively insignificant nation, is presented separately from, but as in some way parallel to that of all the nations. Apart from the related passage in Isa 63:1–6, little else in the book offers insight into this peculiarity. It is only in relation to other Edom passages in poetry and prophecy that one perceives Isa 34–35 as part of an emerging pattern that thereby makes some "sense" of them. In suggesting that Isa 34–35 (+36–39) may be present on analogy to Eze 35–36 (+38–39), I have implied that the formation of the book of Isaiah and its present shape are not phenomena that can be understood wholly on their own, but must be considered in relation to the other prophetic books.[38]

Interpretive moves such as my own, and even more so, redactional arguments such as Steck's raise important questions about what we now mean when we speak of Isaiah as a prophetic book. Already in directing our attention from the prophet himself to the prophetic text, we reveal our interest in prophecy, not as a social phenomenon, but as a literary one. How do the two phenomena differ, and how are they the same? What points of contact does, say, ch. 35, as Steck understands it to function, have with a passage that we are relatively certain Isaiah of Jerusalem actually uttered? If we offer the broadest possible definition of prophecy, something like that which Heschel proposed—the interpretation of human life according to the perspective of the God of Israel[39]—can we say even then that ch. 35 is a prophetic text? Arguably, no, if one views ch. 35 as not so much interpreting *events* as interpreting, or reordering, other texts. The trend in biblical studies is to view prophecy as an increasingly literary phenomenon. One speaks not so much of the act of prophecy as the production of prophetic texts. It may be instructive to consider what our hypothesized redactors thought of themselves as doing. In editing, interpreting, extending original bodies of prophecy, did they think of themselves as prophets? More importantly, are our assumptions about the growth and redaction of these books realistic in light of what can be known about the production and reception of texts in the ancient

[38] And even to the former prophets, as Isa 36–39/2 Kings 18–20 show.

[39] See Abraham J. Heschel, *The Prophets* (New York: The Burning Bush Press, 1962) 3–26.

world? Clearly such questions cannot be adequately addressed here. But as we pursue answers to questions about the process of the formation of the book of Isaiah and about the message communicated therein, we might also keep an eye on the implicit ways in which our theories about the thing being studied fundamentally alter our understanding of *what* it is we are studying.

The Servant of YHWH and Daughter Zion: Alternating Visions of YHWH's Community

Patricia Tull Willey
Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary

Figures of many sorts populate Second Isaiah—including YHWH, Cyrus, Daughter Zion and her children, and Daughter Babylon, not to mention an assortment of idol makers, foreign leaders, and personified elements of the natural world. However, discussion of the figures in Second Isaiah has been dominated historically by fascination with one figure: the "Servant of YHWH." Study of the servant has, in its turn, been dominated over the past century by the idea of four distinct and identifiable "servant songs," found in chapters 42, 49, 50, and 53. In his 1892 commentary on Isaiah Bernhard Duhm asserted that these were separate poems written by a different author, inserted into the text wherever space was found.[1] Although Duhm's suggestion was disputed immediately by Budde, König, and others, its claim has stood for a century as the reigning paradigm for viewing the "servant" texts in Second Isaiah, the paradigm with which all divergent suggestions must contend.[2]

Yet several problems have remained unresolved by this paradigm. First, these four passages do not share enough formal similarities to belong to a common *Gattung* distinct from the rest of Second Isaiah.[3] Second, Duhm's assertion that major differences in language and content render these texts discontinuous from their immediate contexts is widely recognized as insupportable, especially in the case of the first three "songs."[4] Third, building on the first two problems, many have challenged the notion that these four passages can be distinguished in any decisive way from the other passages in Second Isaiah that deal with YHWH's servant.[5] Therefore, in the view of some, Duhm's creating a separate category for

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1 B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1892).

2 K. Budde, "The So-Called 'Ebed-Yahweh Songs,' and the Meaning of the Term 'Servant of Yahweh' in Isaiah, Chapters 40–55," *American Journal of Theology* (3/1899) 499–540; E. König, *Das Buch Jesaja* (Gütersloh, 1926).

3 See especially R. Melugin, *The Formation of the Book of Isaiah* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976) 64–74, and T. Mettinger, *A Farewell to the Servant Songs: A Critical Examination of an Exegetical Axiom* (Lund, Sweden: CWK Gleerup, 1983) 16–17.

4 See especially C. R. North's detailed vocabulary studies, *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah* (Oxford UP, first ed. 1948, repr. 1963) 156–191, and J. Muilenburg's studies of vocabulary and motif, "Isaiah 40–66," *The Interpreter's Bible*, vol. 5, ed. G. A. Buttrick, et al. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956) 407.

5 See especially O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (trans P. Ackroyd, New York: Harper and Row, 1965) 340–341.

these passages proceeds from—and bolsters—the impulse to understand YHWH's servant as someone other than what they consider the obvious reading, "my servant Israel."[6] And finally, the notion of the "servant songs" has not helped clarify who the servant is, as any standard list of proposals for the servant's identity will demonstrate.

The context of such debates never remains static. During the time that Duhm's paradigm has reigned, several developments in Biblical studies have had their own impact on the study of YHWH's servant:

1) The rise of rhetorical and literary criticism, with their attention to textual context and structure, and to such categories as character, personification, narration, voice, and audience, has broadened the questions that can helpfully be asked about the servant of YHWH.[7] These methods have also highlighted an understanding of the text as rhetorical speech-act: not as description but as persuasion; not as reflection of history so much as construction of it.

2) The growing attention to female imagery in the Bible has helped focus attention on the previously neglected, but equally conspicuous figure "Daughter Zion," whose "songs" are at least as discernible as the servant's, and who may share some analogous roles with him. Study of Daughter Zion in Second Isaiah and in surrounding texts has made remarkable progress in the past decade, and some have begun to examine the two figures together.[8]

3) A fundamental change in the understanding of tradition and prophets similarly broadens and alters the context in which their books are investigated. Wellhausen and many of his contemporaries viewed prophets as solitary figures speaking inspired words without reference to tradition, "resting on nothing

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6 Mettinger (44–45) sees the theory of the servant songs as "an ingenious but unsuccessful attempt to create a defensive bastion to protect the individual interpretation of the Servant" over against the unmistakable reading in the book's context, in which the servant is Israel. Hans Barstad ("The Future of the 'Servant Songs': Some Reflections on the Relationship of Biblical Scholarship to its own Tradition," in *Language, Theology, and The Bible: Essays in Honour of James Barr*, ed. S. E. Balentine and J. Barton, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) speculates that the creation and retention of the idea of servant songs may have represented some unconscious hermeneutical dues paying, retaining the servant as an individual even while denying that he foreshadowed Christ.

7 Muilenburg's commentary was an early, and highly influential, contribution to literary understanding of Second Isaiah. R. Clifford's *Fair Spoken and Persuading: An Interpretation of Second Isaiah* (New York: Paulist Press, 1984) and Y. Gitay's *Prophecy and Persuasion: A Study of Isaiah 40–48* (Lingusitica Biblica Bonn, 1981) both emphasize the pragmatically rhetorical nature of Second Isaiah. D. Clines' study *I, He, We, and They: A Literary Approach to Isaiah 53* (JSOT Supp 1, Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1976) emphasizes the world-creating nature of literary texts, and by examining "how" the poem says rather than "what" it says attends to the ways in which even the indeterminacies of the text enable it to "seize" the reader's self-understanding.

8 See O. H. Steck, *Gottesknecht und Zion: Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Deuterojesaja,* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992), especially chapter 8 on "Zion als Gelände und Gestalt. Überlegungen zur Wahrnehmung Jerusalems als Stadt und Frau im Alten Testament"; also K. Jeppesen, "Mother Zion, Father Servant: A Reading of Isaiah 49–55," *Of Prophets' Visions and the Wisdom of Sages: Essays in Honour of R. Norman Whybray on his Seventieth Birthday* (ed. H. McKay and D. Clines; JSOT Supp 162, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993); John Sawyer, "Daughter of Zion and Servant of the Lord in Isaiah: A Comparison," *JSOT* 44 (1989) 89–107; and L. E. Wilshire, "The Servant-City: A New Interpretation of the 'Servant of the Lord' in the Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah," *JBL* 94 (1975) 356–367.

outside themselves,"[9] and commentators of that time deleted as glosses prophetic words that resembled other texts. But increasingly in the past forty years, it has been recognized that the prophets were deeply rooted in tradition, appealing to the past for their legitimation, but at the same filling it with new meanings.[10] The relationship of prophets to their received traditions has become clearer as the insights of the literary theory of intertextuality have been applied to Biblical scholarship.[11] Increased awareness of intertextual dependence has invited a more subtle understanding of the intricacies of intertextual dialogue and tension, and has influenced the way that even traditional methodologies are approached. H. G. M. Williamson's new volume *The Book Called Isaiah*, for instance, demonstrates the importance of intertextual methodology in redaction criticism.[12]

In this paper I propose to study together the two geopolitical figures that span the length of Second Isaiah. My aim is to make use of interpretive questions opened up by literary, gender, and especially intertextual studies to inquire into the figures' history in Judean discourse and their functions within this text, especially their relationship to each other and to the text's audience. Although for convenience these two figures are normally dubbed "Daughter Zion" and "YHWH's Servant," both of these designations signal figures that experience some flux, ambiguity, and even some paradox in their presentation.

First I will make some initial observations concerning when and how the two figures are presented, and the textual patterns involved in their presentation, with particular attention to pronouns. Second, and primarily, I will examine some key precedents for these two figures in previous Judean literature, noting what in Second Isaiah is continuous with tradition, and what new twists Second Isaiah seems to have introduced. Third, I will point out some similarities and dissimilarites between the presentation of the two figures. This subject is both enormous and detailed, so I hope that my suggestions will be taken as inroads and forays rather than completed superhighways connecting all known destinations. Much of this material will be more fully treated in my dissertation, which bears the working title *Remember the Former Things: The Recollection of Previous Texts in Isaiah 40–55*.

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9 Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1885) 398–399.

10 G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology, Vol. II: The Theology of Israel's Prophetic Traditions* (trans. D. M. G. Stalker; New York: Harper & Row, 1965. Orig. 1960) 239.

11 In the field of literary theory, see especially J. Culler, *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981); P. O'Donnell and R. C. Davis, eds., *Intertextuality and Contemporary American Fiction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); J. Plottel and H. Charney, eds., *Intertextuality: New Perspectives in Criticism* (New York: New York Literary Forum, 1978); H. Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973); and J. Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981). In the field of Biblical studies see especially M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); R. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); and D. Fewell, ed., *Reading Between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992).

12 H. G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

The Presentation of YHWH's Servant and Daughter Zion in Second Isaiah

Study of YHWH's servant in Second Isaiah has often been frustrated by the perception of inconsistency in the character described by YHWH "my servant." At some points he resembles an individual; at some points a group. Sometimes he is the messenger, and other times the one to whom the message is directed. One moment he is incomparably righteous and obedient; another moment, incomparably blind and deaf. The isolation of the four servant songs from the other servant passages was one attempt to resolve these character tensions and create a coherent figure out of this vividly but paradoxically presented servant.

Yet hyperbole and paradox, and the logical tensions that result from them, permeate not only this character, but the entire text. Those called deaf are told to listen, those called blind to look up and see (42:18). In one verse YHWH is a warrior returning from battle (40:10; 42:13), and in the next a tender shepherd of lambs (40: 11) or a woman in labor (42:14). In Isa 46:9 the audience is told, "Remember the former things." But in Isa 43:18, after a reminder of the exodus, the audience is paradoxically told, "Do not remember the former things . . . I am about to do a new thing."

If Second Isaiah's paradoxes are both vividly compelling and impossible to take literally, so are its images: city ruins that sing and trees of the field that clap their hands signal that this text was meant not to explain the real world but to fire its audience's imagination. Second Isaiah's rhetoric creates new worlds, imaginative frameworks for new comprehensions and actions.[13] In this imaginative world, Babylon's gods are reduced to idols that must be carried on beasts while YHWH is the living god who carries his people; Daughter Babylon is told to sit in the dust while Daughter Zion is invited to rise and shake off the dust; children that Zion never knew before are summoned as her offspring; and the Red Sea miracle is repeated in reverse: not as dry land in the river but as rivers in dry land.

Second Isaiah populates this unseen, imagined world with a variety of figures whose words and deeds ought not in the first instance to be considered actual. This is easy to see with the talking, grieving mountain-climbing woman Jerusalem, but is often overlooked when YHWH's servant is discussed. Inconsistency and paradox help make any character interesting and "round" as opposed to predictable and "flat." But even more than that, as symbolic representations, metaphors for entities that are not necessarily, and not even probably, individuals, Daughter Zion and the Servant have the prerogative to shift roles and duties as the rhetorical situation demands.

To complicate the matter of characterization further, this poetry does not always portray its figures in third person and identify them by name. Sometimes they are identified only as "I" or "you." The female addressed in Isaiah 54, for instance, is never called Zion or Jerusalem by name, and in fact some elements in her description stand in tension with other portrayals. However, some clear patterns in the text's use of pronouns may be traced. These provide clues to the identities and relationships of the poetry's figures and help clarify where the prophet is positioning the audience in relation to the figures within the text.

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[13] Clines, especially chapter 4, discusses Second Isaiah's function as a language event creating an "alternative world."

In Second Isaiah, the synonyms Zion and Jerusalem function as feminine singular, as do the synonyms Babylon and Chaldea.[14] With equal regularity, the synonyms Israel and Jacob take masculine singular verbs and pronouns.[15] The "servant," likewise, is masculine singular, except in 44:8 where a mpl "you" is called "my witnesses" (mpl) and "my servant," (ms); and in 54:17 which mentions "servants" (mpl) of YHWH. The offspring of Israel and Jacob, the house of Israel and Jacob, and the children of Zion are masculine plural.

With slight exceptions, addresses that employ the masculine singular "you" occur only in chapters 40–45 and 48, and addresses to a feminine singular "you" occur only in chapters 40, 47, 49–52, and 54. Israel/Jacob, by far the primary masculine singular addressee, first appears in 40:27–28, saying, "My way is hidden from YHWH, and from my God my justice disappears." This figure continues into chapter 49, but disappears before Zion/Jerusalem, the primary feminine singular addressee, appears in 49:14. She enters with a similar claim: "YHWH abandoned me; the Lord forgot me." The pairing of geopolitical names for both entities, the similarities in their introductions, and their mutually exclusive textual appearances signal that these two figures, Zion and Israel, may stand parallel to each other in other ways as well.

In chapters 41–45, the masculine singular addressee is always addressed by YHWH, never by a human speaker. In chapters 41–44, this addressee is Israel/Jacob. In 45, it is Cyrus. YHWH never speaks to the servant in singular without calling him Israel (41:8–16; 43:22–44:5, 44:21–28, also 49:3). YHWH speaks to Jacob/Israel without calling him servant in 43:1–7—that is, only if the designation from the end of the previous chapter is not meant to carry over. A large fund of oft-repeated vocabulary permeates and unifies this section, including: "servant," "chosen," "do not fear," "help," "Holy One of Israel," "redeem/redeemer," "formed in the womb."

Zion/Jerusalem first appears as a figure in 40:1 and is addressed in 40:9. Throughout the next eight chapters Zion is only a city, not a woman. She reappears in 49:14–26, in which YHWH first reports Zion's speech and then responds to her at length; in 51:17–23, and continuing in 52:1–8; and presumably in 54:1–17, in which she is not named. This chapter shares much vocabulary with earlier addresses of YHWH to Israel/Jacob as the servant, and ends up discussing "servants," plural.

Masculine plural addressees are found from 40:1 to 55:13, in nearly every chapter of the book. Alternation between masculine singular and masculine plural addressees in the first half of the book is often fluid. Among the masculine plural addressees is an audience that is unidentified at first, but in Isa 43:10–21 is called by YHWH "my witnesses" (plural) and "my servant" (singular). In 44:8 they

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14 The one exception is in 51:16, a verse with extremely slippery pronoun usage.

15 There is one exception in Isa 41:14–15, where Jacob is called "worm" (fs) and feminine singular pronouns are used. The consistency with which Second Isaiah employs the feminine singular for cities and the masculine singular for Israel reflects a usage that John J. Schmitt ("The Gender of Ancient Israel," *JSOT* 26, 1983, 115–125) claims occurs throughout the Bible, but has become obscured by modern insistence on calling Israel "she." From the eponymous Jacob stories and the Exodus designation of Israel as God's first-born son (Ex 4:22) all the way through the the prophets, Schmitt says, Israel is addressed as masculine singular. Feminine grammatical usage and imagery, he claims, are reserved for discussions of cities.

are again called witnesses and told—as the servant Israel/Jacob was told—"do not fear." In several other instances as well (e.g., 42:22, 43:6–8, 43:21) there is considerable slippage between singular and plural. In chapters 45–48, they are called the "offspring" and "house" of Israel/Jacob.

Though masculine singular addressees cease at 49:14, masculine plural addressees continue in chapter 50:1–3 and 10–11, in 51:1–8 and 12, in 52:11–12, and in chapter 55. They are distinct from Zion, not intermingled as with the servant and Israel/Jacob. The Zion sections introduce another "they": Zion's children, returning from exile. In 52:11–12 and 55:12 these returnees merge with the masculine plural "you."

Zion's appearance as a female figure is very well defined, and is confined to chapters 40, 49–52, and 54. While chapters 41–48 kept Israel/Jacob in view throughout (departing only to ridicule idolmakers, describe Cyrus, and envision Babylon's defeat), chapters 49–55 are not all about Zion, but rather alternate between sections in which Zion is the primary figure and sections in which she does not appear at all, sections which focus instead on YHWH's servant ("I" or "he") or the masculine plural "you." Zion's characterization is not entirely consistent—the metaphor changes to suit the purpose, as we shall observe below. However, the consistent use of feminine singular pronouns, and some consistent recurrence of motifs surrounding her, assist readers in identifying the figure even in its fluidity.

Some fluidity appears in the use of the description "servant" as well. However, wherever a servant is addressed by YHWH, he is also called Israel and Jacob. Furthermore, there is a complex of motifs and vocabulary associated with both the servant and Israel/Jacob, which recurs through nearly all servant sections, the only exception being that they are somewhat weaker in 52:13–53:12. This continuity of motifs make it difficult to sever a servant who is not "Israel" and "Jacob" from the one who is clearly called by those names. Although there are still some tensions in the characterization that must be observed, as there are with Zion, the text does not indicate that we are to view the servant as two figures, a "faithful" Israel and and "unfaithful" Israel, or Israel and the prophet.

For shorthand, chapters 40–48 have often been called the Israel/Jacob section, and 49–55 the Jerusalem/Zion section. However, the one addressee tying all sections together is the masculine plural "you" who appears from beginning to end. Among all the addressees portrayed in the book, this one seems most closely to correspond to the historical audience of the prophet. This masculine plural audience has been identified both as "offspring of Israel," and as "my witnesses, my servant," and thus doubly aligned with the figure "Israel/Jacob my servant/my chosen." In addition, they have been identified as "children" of Zion, their mother. The frequent references to their return signal that they are envisioned in exile.

While the servant's location is not given, his frequent intermingling with the mpl "you" indicates that he too is envisioned as exiled. Jerusalem, however, is separated from the exiles by the expanse of wilderness in between. Throughout her sections the geographical perspective remains constant: in 49:18 she is told to watch as people come to her; in 52:8 her watchmen see YHWH approaching; and in 54:3 her children have arrived and are settling into the towns of Judah. The frequent switching of perspective between the "servant" and Zion in the second

half of the book may serve to envision the overcoming of that geographical barrier.

In chapters 49–54, the Servant and Zion never appear together, but each occupy three major sections:

Isa 49:1–13	Servant
Isa 49:14–50:3	Zion
Isa 50:4–11	Servant
Isa 51:1–16	"you" mpl
Isa 51:17–52:12	Zion
Isa 52:13–53:12	Servant
Isa 54:1–17	Zion

This structuring signals a parallel movement between Zion and the Servant, which will be confirmed below. Since before Zion was recognized as textually parallel to Israel, her presence as well confirms the identity between the Servant and Israel that early chapters insisted upon.

The major, continuous addressees of Second Isaiah are the feminine singular Zion, the masculine singular Israel/Servant, and the masculine plural addressees. Though none of these characterizations is entirely consistent, they recur with sufficient regularity and repetition to be identified as entities. Though parallel in many ways, the figures Zion and Israel never appear in the same scene, nor are they spoken of in relation to each other. Rather, both Zion and Israel/the Servant are found in relation to the masculine plural addressees, who are identified as offspring of Israel and children of Zion in exile.

Intertextual Theory

Second Isaiah did not create the figures in the text, but rather reshaped figures already living in the Judean imagination. The text's tension with previous understanding is well expressed by the paradoxical enjoinders noted above, "remember the former things," and "do not remember the former things; I am doing a new thing." These injunctions signal an appeal to the past that is at the same time a fundamental re-envisioning of it. Finding precursors to Second Isaiah's thought, wherever it is possible, enables us understand better the state of the conversation into which Second Isaiah entered and the poet's own contributions to that conversation.

The study of intertextual relationships has historically been plagued by methodological vagueness, which has led at some times to source hunting and overinterpretation, and at other times to reluctance to make any intertextual claims. Recent discussions in literary theory, however, have helped clarify the payoff of such study. Because it is still fairly new to Biblical studies, I will offer a brief description of the theory as it pertains to Second Isaiah.

The word "intertextuality" refers in general to the understanding that texts are never isolated but always related to other texts, deriving their meaning by reference to them: "Intertextuality is the defining condition for literary readability. Without intertextuality, a literary work would simply be unintelligible,

like speech in a language one has not yet learned."[16] Many studying intertextuality are interested not in authors' sources, but in the "intertexts" in readers' minds that create literary intelligibility, which are for the most part anonymous, untraceable strands of word and symbol that make up the matrix of cultural understanding. The concept explains interpretive variety as differences in readers' intertexts. Many forms of deconstruction and reader-response criticism are rooted in this recognition of the role of intertexts in the construction of meaning.

Naturally, intertextuality functions not only in the reading of texts but also in their production. Authors write not in a vacuum of words, but in response to other discourse. Sometimes what writers respond to is anonymous and untraceable, but other times it is very specific. Scholarly quotation and footnoting, for instance, are conventions for sharing with readers the most prominent authorial intertexts in a given discussion. Direct references to the prophetic books in later Biblical literature is another form of such sharing (see for instance Dan 9:2; Ezra 1:1).

In between the manifestations of intertextuality described as quotation on the one hand and as anonymous and untraceable codes on the other is a wide middle ground of arguably specific, but often unspecified, intertextual relationship. This is the realm of allusion, response, appropriation, recollection, and echo. Allusions to texts already known by the audience can be quite specific without necessitating footnotes. For instance, a phrase used to describe intertextuality itself is, "No text is an island."[17] Even readers who have not studied Donne are expected to hear in this quip the allusion to the famous sentence, "no man is an island entire of itself" and to recognize by analogy the communal nature of texts. Thus an allusion suggests a broader interplay with a previous text than simply the words that are cited.

Most discussions of intertextual borrowing in Biblical circles have emphasized positive debt to the past, focusing on "dependence" and "borrowing" of specific texts, or on transmission history of much more broadly conceived traditions. In a completely divergent description of intertextual relationships, Harold Bloom posits poets as creative sons plagued with Oedipal complexes, who attempt by their new poetry, by taking over and ringing changes on previous poets' words, to kill off their precursors and establish themselves. In Bloom's vision, new words are created not out of general tradition but out of a specific "father's" words. Rather than being dependent, derivative, and similar, they arise from creativity and difference, attaching themselves to previous renditions only to dispute them.

A description of intertextual relations that takes into account both the broad, anonymous form that tradition may take and the specificity of certain previous words, and that describes the full range of responses a new text may display toward other texts, was offered by the Russian formalist Mikhail Bakhtin.[18] It was

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16 Laurent Jenny, "The Strategy of Form," *French Literary Theory Today: A Reader* (ed. T. Todorov, Cambridge University Press, 1982, originally publ. in French, 1976) 34.

17 See P. Miscall, "Isaiah: New Heavens, New Earth, New Book," in Fewell, 45.

18 M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* (ed. Michael Holquist, University of Texas Press, 1981).

in describing his work that Julia Kristeva first coined the term "intertextuality."[19] Bakhtin described the concept of rhetorical environment. While texts arise in reference to historical events, what shapes thought (and therefore texts) is not so much the events themselves but the terms by which they are perceived. No artistic work, Bakhtin claimed, is ever "a self-sufficient and closed authorial monologue, presuming only passive listeners," but rather, "a rejoinder in a given dialogue, whose style is determined by its interrelationship with other rejoinders in the same dialogue."[20]

> Between the word and its object . . . there exists an elastic environment of other, alien words about the same object, the same theme. . . . The word, directed toward its object, enters a dialogically agitated and tension-filled environment of alien words, value judgments and accents, weaves in and out of complex interrelationships, merges with some, recoils from others, intersects with yet a third group: and all this may crucially shape discourse, may leave a trace in all its semantic layers, may complicate its expression and influence its entire stylistic profile.[21]

Bakhtin's description of texts as having been shaped by alien words about the same object rather than as closed authorial monologues aptly describes both the Hebrew Bible in general and Second Isaiah in particular. Second Isaiah's extensive use of not only of pentateuchal tradition, but also of psalmic, prophetic, and lament genres is widely recognized, and hardly any recent commentary on Second Isaiah omits mention of at least some of Second Isaiah's precursor texts.

However, positive relationships to other discourses are not the only ones operating in the Bible. Second Isaiah and other biblical texts, far from parroting their precursors, often reworked them, when older words still resounded with authority but were no longer perceived as adequate for an altered situation. Otto Eissfeldt rightly recognized in a 1962 essay the textual relationships between Psalm 89 and Second Isaiah, who reutilized a fund of language related to the monarchy that was peculiar to that psalm.[22] But because Second Isaiah used this language not about a new Davidic king, but with an understanding of Israel taking over the king's role as God's "chosen servant," Eissfeldt viewed the relationship between these two texts as "formal and superficial" only, failing to recognize the rhetorical nature of Second Isaiah's transumption of the monarchic language.

Judean prophets struggled not only with the past, but also with competing truth claims in their own time, as the story of Jeremiah and Hananiah in Jeremiah 28 demonstrates. James Muilenburg noted Second Isaiah's fondness for the rhetorical device of "quoting" speech attributed to others: Zion, Israel, the

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19 J. Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).

20 Bakhtin, 274.

21 Bakhtin, 276.

22 O. Eissfeldt, "The Promises of Grace to David in Isa 55:1–5," *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (ed. by B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962).

Servant of YHWH, Babylon, anonymous voices, and, above all, YHWH.[23] Opposing voices are raised and debated. Kings and idols are silenced, while city ruins, mountains, and hills, the sea and the coastland, the heavens and the earth are drawn into a concatenation of voices praising YHWH. This chorus of differing voices employed in Second Isaiah resembles what Bakhtin described as the "internally dialogic quality of discourse."[24] To Bakhtin, the many voices depicted within a novel recollect the concatenation of voices and viewpoints competing in the author's own world. By capturing the speech of others and orchestrating their interactions, an author is able to organize and comment on discourses in his or her own world. This is certainly true in Second Isaiah, where the speaking characters are not only analogous to the population of the author's world, but even bear the same names. YHWH's rebuke of characters within the text becomes the poet's commentary on other discourses with which the text competes.

In Bakhtin's view, the novels of Fyodor Dostoyevsky were dialogical not only in their reflection of competing voices but also in their refusal to indicate which voice the reader should take as authoritative. Second Isaiah differs in that respect. Though shot through with dialogue, the book allows one voice to dominate over all others from beginning (40:6, 8) to end (55:11), the word of YHWH. No counselor advised YHWH (40:13); no competing gods can speak (40:21–24). Only YHWH and YHWH's herald are authorized to interpret coming events. In this way, Second Isaiah portrays, and if successful, enacts, the silencing of any voice but its own.

Interpretation was far easier for Second Isaiah's ideal audience, who shared all the poet's intertexts, than it is for us, who lack the poet's thick culture of spoken and even written words, and are overlain with subsequent intertexts. We do not always know whom the prophet is quoting, misquoting, or paraphrasing. If a precursor text has been lost from our repertoire, even an extensive direct quote may be missed. If our repertoire is not large enough, and we know of only two or three instances of a phrase that was actually a widespread cliché, we may think we are seeing an allusion when we are not. We cannot hear everything. But with disciplined attentiveness, tuning our ears to catch phrases and cadences, and using our historical and linguistic knowledge to rule on them, we can perceive behind some of Second Isaiah's words the echoed intertexts. Sometimes we will be able to pinpoint them specifically; other times we can only be sure of the type or theme of the discourse recollected.

Richard Hays, in his work on Paul's use of scripture, outlined seven tests of direct intertextual allusions, guidelines for distinguishing allusions from coincidental words or themes.[25] These included availability of the precursor text to the new text; volume (the degree of explicit repetition); recurrence (the frequency the same text is cited elsewhere in the receiving text); thematic coherence of the two texts; historical plausibility of the echo that is being interpreted; recognitions in the history of interpretation of some relationship between the two texts; and satisfaction: "Does the proposed interpretation make sense?"

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23 Muilenburg, 388–389.

24 Bakhtin, 269.

25 Hays, 29–32.

My dissertation focuses on several chapters of Second Isaiah, exploring what kinds of precursor texts may be detected behind Second Isaiah's poetry, and what Second Isaiah does with them. Certain sections, such as chapters 49 and 52, are overtly, traceably allusive, and the changes they ring on their subjects have proven quite interesting. Here I cannot go into full detail; however, to set in context the intertextual claims I will make about Daughter Zion and the Servant, I will at least list my general findings. The critical and interpretive problems differ, of course, from genre to genre.

– First, Second Isaiah responds to sixth-century Judean laments, especially the five chapters in the book of Lamentations.[26] This is signaled in the very first word of the book, "Comfort," the major refrain running through Lamentations 1. In this paper I will mention responses to several of the laments, all of which are addressed by Second Isaiah, who does not appeal to Lamentations as tradition so much as reframe and reply to its claims.

– Second, Second Isaiah alludes to immediately pre-exilic prophetic works, notably Jeremiah and Nahum.[27] Ezekiel is not recollected so extensively; in fact, when a theme found in Ezekiel appears, it can usually be traced to Jeremiah.[28] Similarly, while Second Isaiah shares a few speech patterns with First Isaiah (such as the term "Holy One of Israel"), the use of First Isaiah is irregular, relatively difficult to detect, and often traceable through Jeremiah.[29] Its response to

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26 Suggestions of this relationship which note particular similarities between Lamentations and Second Isaiah are found in N. Gottwald, *Studies in the Book of Lamentations* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1954); Carol Newsom, "Response to Norman Gottwald, 'Social Class and Ideology in Isaiah 40–55: An Eagletonian Reading,'" *Semeia* 59 (1992), 73–78; Norman W. Porteous, "Jerusalem-Zion: The Growth of a Symbol," *Verbannung und Heimkehr* (ed. Arnulf Kuschke, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1961); Alan Mintz, *Hurban: Responses to Catastrophe in Hebrew Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984); Mary Turner, *Daughter Zion: Lament and Restoration* (Diss. Emory University, 1992); and Tod Linafelt, "Surviving Lamentations," presented at the March, 1994, SECSOR meeting in Atlanta, GA.

27 Detailed suggestions concerning these relationships can be found in U. Cassuto, "On the Formal and Stylistic Relationship between Deutero-Isaiah and other Biblical Writers" (*Rivista Israelitica* VIII, 1911, 191–214; IX, 1912, 81–90; X, 1913, 1–13, reprinted in English in *Biblical and Oriental Studies*, vol. 1, Jerusalem: Magnes, 1973); S. Paul, "Literary and Ideological Echoes of Jeremiah in Deutero-Isaiah," in *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, ed. Pinchas Peli (Jerusalem: R. H. Hacohen Press, Ltd., 1969); V. Eldridge, *The Influence of Jeremiah on Isaiah 40–55* (Diss. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1978); and G. Glassner, *Vision eines auf Verheissung Gegründeten Jerusalem: Textanalytische Studien zu Jesaja 54* (Österreichische Biblische Studien 11; Klosteneuburg: Österreichisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1991).

28 See Joel Kenneth Eakins, *Ezekiel's Influence on the Exilic Isaiah* (Diss. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1970); and Dieter Baltzer, *Ezechiel und Deuterojesaja: Berührungen in der Heiserwartung der beiden grossen Exilspropheten* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1971).

29 Many suggestions have been made recently concerning the literary dependence of Second Isaiah on First Isaiah by Ronald Clements, "The Unity of the Book of Isaiah," *Int* 36 (1982) 117–129 and "Beyond Tradition-History: Deutero-Isaianic Development of First Isaiah's Themes," *JSOT* 31 (1985) 95–113; Christopher Seitz, "The Divine Council: Temporal Transition and New Prophecy in the Book of Isaiah," *JBL* 109 (1990) 229–247 and *Zion's Final Destiny: The Development of the Book of Isaiah. A Reassessment of Isaiah 36–39* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991); R. Albertz, "Das Deuterojesaja-Buch als Fortschreibung der Jesaja-Prophetie," *Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte: FS Rolf Rendtorff*, (ed. E. Blum et al., Neukirchener Verlag, 1990); and by Williamson in *The Book Called Isaiah*, cited above, which is a comprehensive study of this issue. Other recent studies too numerous to mention here have noted the the coherence of the book's final form without making historical claims concerning Second Isaiah's use of First Isaiah.

Jeremiah might best be described as "update": it does not dispute Jeremiah's claims directly, but it does not leave Jeremiah's conceptualizations unaltered. Its use of Nahum is far simpler, borrowing language once used about Assyria's downfall, and applying it to Babylon's.

– Third, Second Isaiah echoes Psalmic language, especially that of exilic lament Psalms and so-called YHWH Malak Psalms.[30] Although some of these Psalms are difficult to date, the fact that they are embedded in portions of Second Isaiah that resemble mosaics of one quotation after another convinces me that it was Second Isaiah who did the borrowing. The psalmic references seem to function in a role similar to that of the "good old hymns" in worship: familiar language used to sanctify new and uncertain situations. The Psalms are not disputed, but are mined for remembrances and cadences.

– Fourth, Second Isaiah recalls much pentateuchal tradition, especially of the exodus and wilderness.[31] Sometimes Second Isaiah uses pentateuchal language; other times it seems to prefer historical Psalms. Pentateuchal stories are mostly remembered as acts of God in the past that clarify God's actions in the present.

It is far easier to find Daughter Zion intertextually than Second Isaiah's servant of YHWH. I will begin with her, and then ask whether, and how, the same texts that were precursors in her case were also precursors in the case of the servant.

Important methodological cautions in this area are outlined by Graham Davies, "The Destiny of the Nations in the Book of Isaiah," *The Book of Isaiah—Le Livre D'Isaie*, ed. J. Vermeylen (Leuven: University Press, 1989). Noting some similarities between the two Isaiahs, Davies cautioned that in order to assert First Isaiah as the primary source, one must establish that similar texts in other known prophetic collections are not as likely to be Second Isaiah's inspiration, either in individual cases or as a whole. As important as the book of Isaiah eventually became, it would be difficult to imagine Isaiah's tradition having little or no effect on Second Isaiah's thought. My contention, after extensive textual surveys, is that when compared with the attention Second Isaiah devotes to Jeremiah, Lamentations, and other texts, the literary relationship with First Isaiah is relatively weak and ambiguous.

30 See M. Seidel, *Minhah leDavid* (Hebrew, David Yellin Jubilee Volume, 1935), and "Parallels between the Book of Isaiah and the Book of Psalms" (Hebrew, *Sinai* 38, 1956, 149–72); C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press 1969, orig. publ. 1966); Linda Deming, *Hymnic Language in Deutero-Isaiah: The Calls to Praise and their Function in the Book* (Diss. Emory University, 1978); T. Mettinger, "In Search of the Hidden Structure: YHWH as King in Isaiah 40–55," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok 51–52* (Uppsala, 1986); and Eissfeldt, "Promises of Grace."

31 Suggestions on this relationship are extensive and not always methodologically sound. B. J. van der Merwe's *Pentateuchtradisies in die Prediking van Deuterjesaja* (Groningen, Djakarta: J. B. Wolters, 1956, Dutch) is helpful. See also W. Zimmerli, "Der 'Neue Exodus' in der Verkündigung der Beiden Grossen Exilspropheten," in *Gottes Offenbarung: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Alten Testament* (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1963); B. Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah," *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in honor of James Muilenburg* (ed. B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962) and "Exodus and Covenant in Second Isaiah and Prophetic Tradition," *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God* (ed. F. M. Cross et al., New York: Doubleday, 1976); D. Patrick, "Epiphanic Imagery in Second Isaiah's Portrayal of a New Exodus," *Hebrew Annual Review* 8 (1984); M. Weinfeld, "God the Creator in Gen 1 and in the Prophecy of Second Isaiah," *Tarbiz* 37/2 (1968) 105–132, Hebrew; A. Kapelrud, "The Date of the Priestly Code (P)," *ASTI* 3 (1964) 58–64; and many individual suggestions in Fishbane's *Biblical Interpretation* and *Text and Texture: Close Readings of Selected Biblical Texts* (New York: Schocken Books, 1979).

Daughter Zion: Ancient Near Eastern Context

Recent work in Mesopotamian literature has recognized figures similar to Daughter Zion in ancient near eastern city laments. Many, most recently W. C. Gwaltney and D. R. Hillers, have claimed that Biblical city laments are directly influenced by Mesopotamian literature.[32] F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp nuances this idea, suggesting that a literary relationship between similar genres in different cultures need not be direct, but linked by intermediaries.[33] He concludes that while the development of the city-lament genre in Israel was influenced by similar genres in neighboring cultures, Israelite usage developed its own native characteristics reflecting Israelite theology and imagery.

Mesopotamian lament literature highlights the motif of the "weeping goddess," the protector of the people who mourns her destroyed city and intercedes in the divine assembly. Israelite literature adapted the weeping goddess motif to its monotheistic world by creating a female personification of the city itself. Dobbs-Allsopp notes five important similarities between the Mesopotamian goddess and Daughter Zion in Lamentations: the descriptions of her mourning; the authorial viewpoints with which the poet addresses her; the understanding of the temple and its contents as belonging personally to her; the imagery of her as "mother" of the city's citizens; and the use of exile and enslavement language to describe her reduced condition. Dobbs-Allsopp also notes the divine epithets paralleling epithets of ANE goddesses, such as "Virgin," "Daughter," and "Enthroned One."

Mark Biddle brings West Semitic texts into the discussion of Daughter Zion with his analysis of three variations in imagery. In Mesopotamian literature, in which the word "city" is masculine or neuter, the goddess functioned as a patron, mother of the unpersonified city.[34] In West Semitic languages "city" was feminine, and the city itself was understood as a goddess, married to the patron god of the city. Israelite literature similarly personified the female city itself, but could not make her divine. Thus Jerusalem/Zion is depicted in Judean literature as both a city and a human-like woman, related to the city's people as mother and often related to YHWH as wife. Biddle stresses that the female personification of cities, though sometimes used negatively, is not originally or intrinsically derogatory.

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32 W. C. Gwaltney, Jr., "The Biblical Book of Lamentations in the Context of Near Eastern Lament Literature," *Scripture in Context II: More Essays on the Comparative Method* (eds. W. W. Hallo, et al., Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983) 191–211; D. R. Hillers, *Lamentations* (AB 7a 2nd rev. ed.; Garden City: Doubleday, 1992) 32–39;

33 F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, *Weep, O Daughter of Zion: A Study of the City-Lament Genre in the Hebrew Bible* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1993) 6.

34 Mark Biddle, "The Figure of Lady Jerusalem: Identification, Deification and Personification of Cities in the Ancient Near East," *The Biblical Canon in Comparative Perspective* (eds. K. L. Younger, et al., Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1991) 173–194. See also Aloysius Fitzgerald, "The Mythological Background for the Presentation of Jerusalem as a Queen and False Worship as Adultery in the OT," *CBQ* 34 (1972) 403–16.

Daughter Zion in Sixth-Century Judah

With Daughter Zion, Second Isaiah reutilizes a motif crucial to both Lamentations and Jeremiah, though the two texts develop the figure quite differently. The female figure enabled Jeremiah to envision human apostasy as marital infidelity. This metaphor is most explicit in chapters 2, 3, and 13. A second metaphor is intertwined with this one: the people of YHWH as faithless children. Occasionally, as in Jer 5:7 and 31:15–16, the two are combined and the relationships explicated, when the female figure is confronted with the apostasy of her "children," or is promised that her children will return. At other times the text weaves back and forth between the two metaphors. Throughout Jeremiah, the viewpoint is sympathetic with divine charges against the woman and the children.

Daughter Zion also inhabits the book of Lamentations, especially chapters 1 and 2. Lamentations' Daughter Zion, while recognizable, differs radically from Jeremiah's. Though the first chapter acknowledges Zion's past sins (1:5, 8, 20) and hints that her disgrace is sexual (1:8–10, 19), and thus approaches sympathy with Jeremiah's assessment, its heaviest accent is placed on God's harsh dealings toward Jerusalem. Neither prophet nor God responds to the plaintive questions posed by victims of the calamity, and the book ends hovering over the question of YHWH's abandonment.

Daughter Zion: Isaiah 49

Just before Zion's entrance in Isaiah 49:14, a comment is so thoroughly woven into Second Isaiah's poetry that present-day audiences may miss its source: נִחַם יְהוָה עַמּוֹ, "YHWH has comforted his people." Occurring as the exiles' return is dramatically envisioned, it recalls the opening lines of the entire text, "Comfort, comfort my people, says your God" (Isa 40:1). It is the first of four repetitions of the claim that YHWH has comforted. The climactic unveiling of this theme belongs to YHWH himself, in Isa 51:12: אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי הוּא מְנַחֲמְכֶם, "I, I am your comforter."

Freestanding, apart from anything said before, this prophetic claim is quite compelling, and not at all obscure. But when heard against the background of Lamentations, its import is doubled. The most repeated phrase of Lamentations 1— indeed of the whole book—concerned this same subject, Zion's comforter, or rather her lack of one. The phrase is repeated five times (Lam 1:2, 9, 16, 17, and 21), and is said by both of the lament's speakers, the sympathetic observer who begins the poem, and Zion herself who finishes it. The same participial form מְנַחֵם is used throughout. This form appears otherwise only three times in scripture: twice in the much later Eccl 4:1, and in YHWH's claim in Isa 51:12 that he himself is the comforter.

The directness of Second Isaiah's response to this particular lament is confirmed by the lament's probable availability to Second Isaiah, the precise—and unusual—similarity of the wording, the prominence and recurrence of the word in both texts, the presence of surrounding echoes, and the tight relationship, albeit revisionary, of theme. Second Isaiah's antiphonal response not only to this central claim but also to many specific terms both echoes and overturns the lament's complaint.

The introduction of Zion in Isaiah 49:14, foreshadowed in the "comfort" language immediately previous, forcefully combines prophetic and lament images of Daughter Zion. In her beginning she echoes Lamentations' ending. As Second Isaiah states it:

But Zion says, "YHWH abandoned me,
the Lord forgot me."

וַתֹּאמֶר צִיּוֹן עֲזָבַנִי יְהוָה וַאדֹנָי שְׁכֵחָנִי

The climactic question of Lam 5:20 was:

Why have you forgotten us forever,
abandoned us for all our days?

לָמָּה לָנֶצַח תִּשְׁכָּחֵנוּ
תַּעַזְבֵנוּ לְאֹרֶךְ יָמִים

The synonyms paired in both texts may seem a natural combination, but they are hardly ever used together in Biblical literature, and in no other instance in this sense. Both the placement and the form of this statement defuse the sympathy it evoked in its previous setting. In Lamentations the question followed eighteen verses, or in the final form, nearly five chapters, of devastating descriptions of YHWH's wrath, plea after plea to a silent and unyielding deity. The claim of YHWH's abandonment arose as a searching question at the climax of desperate prayers. Its recollection in the mouth of Daughter Zion in Second Isaiah, however, occurs not only long after the opening announcement of Zion's consolation, but after eight chapters of nearly continuous divine speech. Heaven, earth, and mountains have been invited to rejoice at the news of YHWH's redemption. This cosmic celebration is halted by Zion's words.

The prayer is not only recontextualized but also recast. It is no longer a question, but a flat statement. It no longer addresses YHWH, but rather accuses him to someone else. In its present context it exhibits blindness to all that YHWH has been doing to restore, a blindness congruent with Second Isaiah's descriptions of Israel in chapter 42. The lines in their new form reinterpret the issue: not YHWH, but Zion, is inattentive.

Lamentations 5 had continued not with a response from YHWH but with an acknowledgment that the prayer may not be answered: "restore us to yourself, renew us—unless you have utterly rejected us." But in Second Isaiah YHWH himself responds: "Can a woman forget (שכח) her nursing child, or show no compassion for the child of her womb?" "No," one might think. But Zion's own words have borne witness against her mothers: "See, YHWH, and consider. . . . Should women eat their own fruit, the little ones they have borne?" (Lam 2:20).[35] YHWH continues, "Even these will forget. But I will not forget you" (Isa 49:15).

The remainder of the chapter reinforces YHWH's remembrance of Zion. This section, which envisions the gathering of exiles from afar, also gathers themes and key words from throughout Lamentations, turning them upside down. Jerusalem's wall (Lam 2:18) was once told cry to YHWH, to lift its palms to YHWH for the children's lives. Now Zion is inscribed on YHWH's palms, and her walls are continually before him (Isa 49:16). Once no one came to Zion (Lam 1:4), but now they all come to her (Isa 49:18). Numerous echoes continue throughout the chapter, until YHWH finally promises to return atrocity to Zion's

[35] Linafelt, p. 39.

enemies: "I will make your oppressors eat their own flesh, and as with wine with their own blood they will be drunk" (Isa 49:26; see Lam 2:20; 4:10, 21). Thus Zion's introductory complaint has unleashed a cascade of promises from YHWH, who claims not to have forgotten at all.

But the language of Lamentations is only a finer thread interwoven with much thicker allusions to Jeremiah 2–3 and related passages. Immediately following Zion's complaint, YHWH responds (Isa 49:15):

Can a woman forget her nursing child,	הֲתִשְׁכַּח אִשָּׁה עוּלָהּ מֵרַחֵם בֶּן־בִּטְנָהּ
or show no compassion for the child of her womb?	גַּם־אֵלֶּה תִּשְׁכַּחְנָה
Even these will forget.	וְאָנֹכִי לֹא **אֶשְׁכָּחֵךְ**
But I will not forget you.	

The theme of forgetting was crucial to Jeremiah 2–3 as well. There, however, human, not divine, forgetfulness was at stake. Jeremiah 2 began with the metaphor of God's people as a bride in the wilderness: "I remember the devotion of your (fs) youth, the love of your (fs) betrothal." This metaphor is not consistent throughout the chapter; at times metaphorical language is dropped altogether, and at other times it shifts to other images. In verse 32 a the subject of the bride returns:

Can a virgin forget her ornaments, a bride her bands?	**הֲתִשְׁכַּח** בְּתוּלָה **עֶדְיָהּ** כַּלָּה **קִשֻּׁרֶיהָ**
But my people have forgotten me, days without number.	וְעַמִּי **שְׁכֵחוּנִי** יָמִים אֵין מִסְפָּר

Even though the form הֲתִשְׁכַּח is found nowhere else in the Bible, the relationship between Jer 2:32 and Isa 49:15 may not be readily apparent at first. After all, the first text is about a virgin, and the second about a mother. The first concerns frivolous ornaments, the second, precious children. The first implies that the bride will not forget, while the second states, shockingly, that a mother may in fact forget. Isaiah 49:18, however, returns to the Jeremiah passage in a startling way:

As I live, says YHWH, you shall put them all on like ornaments,	חַי־אֲנִי נְאֻם־יְהוָה כִּי כֻלָּם **כָּעֲדִי** תַלְבָּשִׁי
and bind them on like a bride.	**וְתִקְשְׁרִים כַּכַּלָּה**

This verse employs not only the unusual word עֲדִי (ornaments) that had appeared in Jer 2:32, but also כַּלָּה (bride) and a verb form of the unusual word קִשֻּׁרִים (bands), which only appears otherwise in the Bible in Isa 3:20. Here, returnees from distant lands become Zion's decorative wear. Zion, who had thought she was forgotten, is bidden to lift up her eyes and see her children approaching. Now the relationship between bride's forgotten ornaments and the mother's unforgotten children becomes clear: the children are the mother's ornaments, now donned in celebration.

Without the reference to Jeremiah, the reason for comparing children to ornaments remains obscure, if not a bit bizarre. Jeremiah's words supply the missing link, enabling Second Isaiah to talk about YHWH's remembering,

Daughter Zion's surprise, the returning children, and festive adornment all in one breath.

But that is by no means all. Jeremiah's accusation of forgetfulness introduces a section in which the metaphorical "wife" of YHWH is accused of such wantonness that YHWH threatens divorce. In Jer 3:2 the wife's "adulteries" inspire vulgarity:

Lift up your eyes to the bare heights and see:	שְׂאִי־עֵינַיִךְ עַל־שְׁפָיִם וּרְאִי
Where have you not been laid?	אֵיפֹה לֹא שֻׁגָּלְתְּ / שָׁכַבְתְּ
By the roads you waited for them, like a nomad in the desert.	עַל־דְּרָכִים יָשַׁבְתְּ לָהֶם כַּעֲרָבִי בַּמִּדְבָּר
And you defiled the land, with your whoring and your evil.	וַתַּחֲנִיפִי אֶרֶץ בְּזְנוּתַיִךְ וּבְרָעָתֵךְ

The wife is shown the site of her sins, expressed in terms so obscene that they occasion a *tiqqun sopherim.* The phrase "lift up your eyes and see" occurs nowhere as feminine singular, except in Isa 49:18, the derivative Isa 60:4, and Jer 13:20, which will be considered presently. Second Isaiah shifts the value of these excoriating words: what Daughter Zion is to see in Isaiah 49 is not her sin, but redemption—her children returning and the destroyers leaving:

Lift up your eyes all around and see, they are all gathered, they come to you.	שְׂאִי־סָבִיב עֵינַיִךְ וּרְאִי כֻּלָּם נִקְבְּצוּ בָאוּ־לָךְ
As I live, says YHWH, you shall put them all on like ornaments, and bind them on like a bride.	חַי־אֲנִי נְאֻם־יְהוָה כִּי כֻלָּם כָּעֲדִי תַלְבָּשִׁי וְתִקְשְׁרִים כַּכַּלָּה

Isaiah 49 echoes this same verse, Jer 3:2, in another way. The previous prophet had instructed the adulterous wife to lift up her eyes to the "bare heights," שְׁפָיִם. This word, which appears only in Jeremiah and Second Isaiah, is used several times by Jeremiah in association with the nation's coming devastation. In Jer 3:21 (see also 7:29), the children of Israel weep on the bare heights because they have forgotten YHWH. In Jer 4:11 a hot wind comes out of the bare heights toward the people. In 12:12 devastators stand on the bare heights ready to devour. And in 14:6, not even the wild animals can survive there. In short, שְׁפָיִם symbolizes everything most terrible in Judah's predicament, both physical and spiritual.

In Isaiah the word is used twice, in 41:18, in which YHWH promises to "open rivers on the bare heights," thus removing this barren place's threat. In Isa 49:9 the term occurs again. Describing the return of the captives, Isaiah says:

On the ways they will graze,	עַל־דְּרָכִים יִרְעוּ
and on all the bare heights their pasture;	וּבְכָל־שְׁפָיִם מַרְעִיתָם:

Without the context from Jeremiah, the term שְׁפָיִם in Second Isaiah may seem inappropriate. This poem concerns deliverance, not want, and indicates that there is plenty to graze on. With the semantic background understood from Jeremiah, the word acquires history and depth. In contrast to the drought that Jer 3:3 says results from Judah's adulterous behavior, Isaiah proclaims relief from

sun and heat, an end to the bare heights that had once been the locus of so much sorrow. Once the adulterous wife of YHWH was forced to see her sin on the bare heights; once Israel's children were heard weeping on the bare heights over their apostasy, and were bid to return to YHWH. But now Zion's children do return over the bare heights, and their mother is invited to look up and seen them coming across a place that has been transformed in both property and significance.

The links between Jeremiah 3 and this section of Isaiah are not exhausted yet. In Jer 3:1, a Deuteronomic law is invoked:

	לֵאמֹר
If a man sends his wife away,	הֵן **יְשַׁלַּח** אִישׁ אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ
and she leaves him,	וְהָלְכָה מֵאִתּוֹ
And marries another man,	וְהָיְתָה לְאִישׁ־אַחֵר
can he return to her?	הֲיָשׁוּב אֵלֶיהָ עוֹד
Would not that land be greatly defiled?	הֲלוֹא חָנוֹף תֶּחֱנַף הָאָרֶץ הַהִיא
You have solicited many lovers,	וְאַתְּ זָנִית רֵעִים רַבִּים
and would you return to me? says YHWH.	וְשׁוּב אֵלַי נְאֻם־יְהוָה

The law invoked is represented by Deut 24:1–4, which outlaws a man's taking back his ex-wife once he has written her a certificate of divorce (סֵפֶר כְּרִיתֻת) and sent her away (וְשִׁלְּחָהּ), allowing her to marry another man. Such actions would bring guilt on the land.

Scholars have debated whether Jeremiah was referring to this specific formulation. The relationship seems clear both thematically and linguistically, but how we understand the relationship to Deuteronomy is less important than how the tradition itself understood Jeremiah's words. Jeremiah 3:6–11 is a prose elaboration that may stand at some years distant. This section displays cognizance of the exegetical relationship of Jer 3:1 to the Deuteronomic law by repeating a specific clause: שִׁלַּחְתִּיהָ וָאֶתֵּן אֶת־סֵפֶר כְּרִיתֻתֶיהָ אֵלֶיהָ ("I sent her away and gave her her certificate of divorce").

Second Isaiah comments on this as well. The interplay of terms, themes, metaphors, and words from Jeremiah 2–3 continues into Isaiah 50:1:

Thus has YHWH said:	כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה
Where is your mother's certificate of divorce,	אֵי זֶה **סֵפֶר כְּרִיתוּת** אִמְּכֶם
with which I sent her away?	אֲשֶׁר **שִׁלַּחְתִּיהָ**
Or to which of my creditors did I sell you?	
No, because of your sins you were sold,	אוֹ מִי מִנּוֹשַׁי אֲשֶׁר־מָכַרְתִּי אֶתְכֶם לוֹ
and because of your transgressions your	הֵן **בַּעֲוֹנֹתֵיכֶם** נִמְכַּרְתֶּם
mother was sent away.	וּ**בְפִשְׁעֵיכֶם שֻׁלְּחָה** אִמְּכֶם

Jeremiah had used the law to demonstrate that a woman who has been with another is not only loathsome but actually forbidden to her first husband. Second Isaiah replies, in effect, if Jerusalem is thus rejected, where is the certificate of divorce? Yes, she was sent away. But where is the legal paper necessitating the permanence of the separation? Like Jer 3:13, this verse goes on to identify the problem as sins (עֲוֹנֹתֵיכֶם) and transgressions (פִּשְׁעֵיכֶם). Though Jeremiah attributes these to the wife, Second Isaiah blames the children.

Not only Jeremiah 2–3, but a rather large section of Jeremiah 13, verses 15–27, finds reversing echoes in Isaiah 49. The details are too many to examine, but to be brief:

1) Reversals of many motifs of the chapter are scattered through Isa 49:5–13.

2) "Lift up your eyes and see . . . where is your flock?" in Jer 13:20 becomes "Lift up your eyes all around and see, they are all gathered" in Isa 49:18.

3) "And if you say in your heart, 'Why did these things happen to me?'" (Jer 13:22) has become "And you will say in your heart, who bore me these?" While the woman in Jer 13:21 is seized by labor pains (לֶדָה) with no birth, Isaiah's Zion has had "birth" without labor.

4) Jeremiah 13:23's doubled rhetorical question of doom has become Isaiah 49:24's doubled rhetorical question of promise.

The relationships between Isaiah 49–50 and Jeremiah 2–3 and 13 are rich and variegated. Jeremiah employed the metaphor of the unfaithful wife to convey to his hearers the magnitude of their apostasy. Isaiah has used elements of Jeremiah's language to recall that metaphor, placing the new speech in its context, and yet proclaiming an end to the punishment threatened by Jeremiah. Jeremiah had claimed that Jerusalem's memory was more frivolous than a shallow girl's; Second Isaiah claims that YHWH's memory is more enduring than a loving mother's. Jeremiah had pointed Jerusalem's eyes toward the "bare heights," where she had sinned; Second Isaiah directs her to look to the same place to see her returning children. Jeremiah had suggested divorce between YHWH and Jerusalem; Second Isaiah proclaims reconciliation. Nothing Jeremiah had claimed is denied, although in keeping with rapprochement, the terms are softened and cushioned—nowhere does Second Isaiah use the violent sexual language that Jeremiah often employs. Second Isaiah's proclamation of salvation, however, is keyed to the terms of Jeremiah's threats as if to say that the prophecies, having been fulfilled, are now being disassembled—the time of alienation and grief is over, and redemption is at hand.

Daughter Zion: Isaiah 51:9–52:12

Following Isaiah 50:3, the "servant of YHWH" speaks, and then the masculine plural audience is addressed. Zion reappears in Isaiah 51:9–52:12. This section follows a very clear structure, a triptych: three parts, each begun with the same doubled verb. The first part, 51:9–16, begins with a qal feminine singular imperative: "Awake, awake, put on strength, arm of YHWH," and deals with YHWH's mythic power over enemies. The second, 51:17–23, begins with a similar call to arise, only here in the reflexive, hitpael form, and is addressed not to YHWH's arm but to Jerusalem. It too is followed by recollection of the past, though of more recent times: "Wake yourself, wake yourself, rise up, Jerusalem, who has drunk from YHWH's hand the cup of his wrath." The third section likewise addresses Jerusalem, who is now fully parallel with YHWH's arm. Here not the past but the future is emphasized: "Awake, awake, put on your strength, Zion! Put on your beautiful garments, Jerusalem, the holy city, for he shall no longer come into you, uncircumcised and and unclean."

These three verses open the major themes that follow. The concern governing the first panel of this triptych is YHWH's role in the world in general

and in relation to Jerusalem and its enemies in particular. Here the language of lament psalms and of Jeremiah figure prominently. The second panel bids Zion to awaken from her stupor caused by the cup of YHWH's wrath. In terms reminiscent of Lamentations, especially of chapter 4, her children's tragic fate is reviewed, and she is promised restoration. The tone of the final section differs substantially from that of the previous two. Utilizing more Lamentations imagery, the speaker bids Zion to arise from the dust. In terms borrowed from many sources, YHWH's return to Zion is announced and the exiles are instructed to accompany YHWH home. Thus this section projects a full transition from despondency to victorious reunion.

Unlike Isaiah 49, Isa 51:9–52:12 does not exhibit sustained exegetical attention to any one text. Rather it summons a wide variety of texts. Some of its recollections are distinct quotations, unmistakeably direct. Others correspond to complaints, prayers, and motifs from other texts associated with Jerusalem's destruction: communal lament Psalms, Lamentations' descriptions of the war's aftermath, and excerpts from Jeremiah's book of consolation. The intertextual relationships of this entire passage are intriguing, but for now I will concentrate only on two portions that characterize Daughter Zion, Isa 51:17–23 and Isa 52:1–2. First I will note the mosaic of passages that conclude this section, though there is not space to discuss their artistry in depth.

Three texts are quoted at unusual length in Ias 52:7–12, and others are cited with a virtually unmistakeable clarity. Quotations of whole lines of Nahum 2:1 (1:15), Psalm 98:3, and Lamentations 4:15 appear in this section in Isaiah 52:7, 10, and 11 respectively.

First, Isa 52:7 quotes Nahum, which celebrated the defeat of Nineveh by Babylon in 612. Nahum had first announced YHWH's rage against his adversaries, culminating in the edict in Nah 1:12–14: Nineveh would be cut off, its name and gods forgotten, its bonds snapped from Judah's neck. The prophet responds in Nah 2:1 (1:15):

Look! On the mountains the feet of a messenger, a proclaimer of peace.	הִנֵּה **עַל־הֶהָרִים רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר** **מַשְׁמִיעַ שָׁלוֹם**
Celebrate, Judah, your festivals, fulfill your vows!	חָגִי יְהוּדָה חַגַּיִךְ שַׁלְּמִי נְדָרָיִךְ
For he will no longer pass into you, the wicked one— He is utterly cut off.	**כִּי לֹא יוֹסִיף עוֹד** לַעֲבוֹר־בָּךְ בְּלִיַּעַל כֹּלָה נִכְרָת

Isaiah 52:7 expands on this announcement:

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of a messenger, a proclaimer of peace, a messenger of good, a proclaimer of salvation, one who says to Zion, your God reigns!	מַה־נָּאוּ **עַל־הֶהָרִים רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר** **מַשְׁמִיעַ שָׁלוֹם מְבַשֵּׂר** טוֹב **מַשְׁמִיעַ** יְשׁוּעָה אֹמֵר לְצִיּוֹן מָלַךְ אֱלֹהָיִךְ

In a briefer citation, hardly noticeable without 52:7, the Nahum passage is also recollected in Isa 52:1.

Second, in Isa 52:8–10, an extensive quotation of Ps 98:3b is combined with the announcement of YHWH's comfort. The Psalm said:

All the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God.	רָאוּ כָל־אַפְסֵי־אָרֶץ אֵת יְשׁוּעַת אֱלֹהֵינוּ

Isaiah 52:8–10 draws from this Psalm extensively, beginning with two-word phrases echoing verses 1, 2, 4, and 8 that build up to a final seven-word quotation of Ps 98:3 in Isa 52:10:

YHWH has bared his holy arm before the eyes of all the nations, And all the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God.	חָשַׂף יְהוָה אֶת־זְרוֹעַ קָדְשׁוֹ לְעֵינֵי כָל־הַגּוֹיִם וְרָאוּ כָל־אַפְסֵי־אָרֶץ אֵת יְשׁוּעַת אֱלֹהֵינוּ

These recollections celebrate a new era inYHWH's reign, recognizable in YHWH's restoration, against all odds, of the destroyed nation. This theme of the nations' witnessing of YHWH's "arm" is continued in the following section, in which the nations are startled to see YHWH's restoration of the weakened and despised "servant."

Immediately following this hymn, Isa 52:11 reverses Lamentations 4:15. That lament had concerned the fates of various citizens, from the children up to the king, including the sins of the prophets and priests that precipitated the city's destruction. The end of these leaders was vividly portrayed: defiled by innocent blood, wandering blindly, garments untouchable, they were treated by the nations as lepers:[36]

"Depart! Unclean!" they shouted at them; "Depart! Depart! Do not touch!"	סוּרוּ טָמֵא קָרְאוּ לָמוֹ סוּרוּ סוּרוּ אַל־תִּנָּעוּ
For they became fugitives and wanderers; it was said among the nations, "They will no longer stay here."	כִּי נָצוּ גַם־נָעוּ אָמְרוּ בַגּוֹיִם לֹא יוֹסִיפוּ לָגוּר

The reversal of this ignominious fate is first hinted in Isa 52:1, blended with the similar phrase already noted from Nah 2:1. There it is not Judeans who are called unclean and forbidden entrance, but rather the gentiles who had invaded Jerusalem. But it is not enough that Zion herself be purified. The erstwhile wanderers have also reversed roles with the nations, in a remarkable cooptation of Lam 4:15 recorded in Isa 52:11:

Depart! Depart! Go out from there! Unclean! Do not touch!	סוּרוּ סוּרוּ צְאוּ מִשָּׁם טָמֵא אַל־תִּנָּעוּ
Go out from its midst, purify yourselves, carriers of the vessels of YHWH!	צְאוּ מִתּוֹכָהּ הִבָּרוּ נֹשְׂאֵי כְלֵי יְהוָה

The expression טָמֵא, unclean, is relatively rare outside of Leviticus, and סורו and אַל־תִּנָּעוּ are even more rare. The combination of these words into one phrase with the repeated סורו סורו is not only absolutely unique to these two

36 See Lev 13:25, where the shout טָמֵא, "Unclean," was used, according to pentateuchal law, to warn the healthy against those with leprosy.

passages, but also quite unlikely to occur by coincidence, especially displaying the high volume of thematic continuity that they do.

The former fugutive state of Judah's leaders is not directly acknowledged; rather this statement, in all its semantic similarity to the former rebuke, overwrites it. The new poetry exploits an ambiguity in the former verse. "Depart! Unclean! Do not touch!" they are again ordered, just as before. But the second line clarifies: the exiles are not unclean and untouchable, but rather the gentile city. The devastating image of wandering lepers, unfit for the company even of uncircumcised nations, is defused as they are envisioned separating themselves and the temple vessels from unclean Babylon and returning to sacred Jerusalem, where the "uncircumcised and unclean" will no longer touch them.

The recollections of Lam 4:15 are supplemented in Isa 52:8 by a reference to Lam 4:17. That text had described Jerusalem's watchmen waiting in vain for help. But in Isa 52:8, which uses the same vocabulary, the watchmen rejoice to see salvation approaching.

Although Second Isaiah often refers to the Exodus story, it seldom repeats pentateuchal wording literally. However, Isa 52:11b-12 is filled with a montage of brief allusions:

צְאוּ מִתּוֹכָהּ הִבָּרוּ נֹשְׂאֵי כְּלֵי יְהוָה	Go out from its midst, purify yourselves, carriers of the vessels of YHWH!
כִּי לֹא בְחִפָּזוֹן תֵּצֵאוּ	For not in haste will you go out,
וּבִמְנוּסָה לֹא תֵלֵכוּן	and not in flight will you go.
כִּי־הֹלֵךְ לִפְנֵיכֶם יְהוָה	For the one going before you is YHWH,
וּמְאַסִּפְכֶם אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	and your rearguard is the God of Israel.

The phrase צְאוּ מִתּוֹכָהּ, "go out from its midst," corresponds to Pharaoh's words in Ex 12:31 ordering Moses to leave Egypt: צְאוּ מִתּוֹךְ עַמִּי, "Go out from the midst of my people." Next, כִּי לֹא בְחִפָּזוֹן תֵּצֵאוּ, "for not in haste will you go out," echoes Deut 16:3, where it describes the Israelites' departure from Egypt: כִּי בְחִפָּזוֹן יָצָאתָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם, "for in haste you went out from the land of Egypt." Here the correspondence is a contrast: no need to hurry this time. In Isa 52:12, YHWH's role is described in language that once described the Israelites' journey in the wilderness. Here it is said, הֹלֵךְ לִפְנֵיכֶם יְהוָה, "the one going before you is YHWH" utilizing Num 14:14 (see also Ex 13:21, Deut 1:33). It is not only the phrase הֹלֵךְ לִפְנֵיכֶם that correspond to the description in Numbers. The description there of YHWH's visibility (עַיִן בְּעַיִן נִרְאָה, "he is seen eye-to-eye") otherwise only appears in Isa 52:8, where it forms yet a third allusion within the one verse: כִּי עַיִן בְּעַיִן יִרְאוּ, "for eye-to-eye they see." Finally, whereas once (Num 10:25; Josh 6:9, 13) Israel's rearguard (מְאַסֵּף) was human, now it is divine.

These six verses connect past and present. Reinterpreted here, this mosaic of texts no longer refers primarily to various events of the past (the exodus from Egypt, the defeat of Assyria, and the destruction of Jerusalem), but converges on a new event on the horizon, which all previous events are made to foreshadow.

Except for a direct correspondence between Jer 31:35 and Isa 51:15, no other recollections in this section are as explicit as those cited above, nor as thoroughgoing as the reconsiderations of Jeremiah found in Isaiah 49. However,

they hark back to language relevant to Second Isaiah's time, language already connected with Jerusalem's disastrous defeat by Babylon.

The first section, Isa 51:9–16, draws a sharp contrast between YHWH and Jerusalem's human enemy. This contrast stands in some tension with Lamentations 1 and 2, two chapters that also discuss Jerusalem's enemies—enemies commanded by YHWH himself. It also conflicts with the rest of Second Isaiah. For instance, Isa 42:24–25 echoes Lam 2:3–4 distinctly, recollecting the metaphor of burning in much the same language, and agreeing that YHWH caused Zion's destruction. YHWH is also the punisher in both the other Daughter Zion sections (see Isa 50:1 and 54:7–8). But here this theme is downplayed, even ignored. Why YHWH is distanced from the violence becomes clearer as the section proceeds to the poet's most explicit representation of Jerusalem's losses in 51:17–23.

The second panel of the "Awake, awake" triptych shares two major themes with Lamentations, especially its fourth chapter: YHWH's wrath and Zion's children—two themes difficult to link because their juxtaposition raises innumerable justice questions, grievances virtually unaddressable. Here Second Isaiah tackles this nearly insurmountable theological and, consequently, rhetorical, problem.

We have already seen that the poet knew Lamentations 4 and reconfigured some of its language. Linkages between that lament and Isa 51:17–23 are not so conspicuous as to recall that poetry's outspoken brutality, but are repetitive enough to suggest sympathy with its concerns. Second Isaiah presses to move on from lament, to blaze a trail from alienation to hopeful envisionment. This is a delicate operation: dwelling on the lament may raise further objections to YHWH's violence. But minimizing the destruction would risk never engaging those most moved by it. Accordingly, Second Isaiah both invokes and reconfigures Lamentations 4.

The lament opens with the disturbing image of Zion's children lying scattered "at the head of every street." This phrase בְּרֹאשׁ כָּל־חוּצוֹת, always used of children, is shared with Lam 2:19 and Nah 3:10. It invokes the gravest disaster: in Nahum infants are "dashed in pieces at the head of every street." By comparison, Lam 4:1–2 lead in delicately:

How the gold is darkened,	אֵיכָה יוּעַם זָהָב יִשְׁנָא הַכֶּתֶם הַטּוֹב
how the pure gold has changed!	תִּשְׁתַּפַּכְנָה אַבְנֵי־קֹדֶשׁ
The sacred stones are poured out	*בְּרֹאשׁ כָּל־חוּצוֹת*
at the head of every street.	
The precious children of Zion,	*בְּנֵי צִיּוֹן* הַיְקָרִים הַמְסֻלָאִים בַּפָּז
who were valued as gold—	אֵיכָה נֶחְשְׁבוּ לְנִבְלֵי־חֶרֶשׂ
how they are reckoned as clay pots,	מַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵי יוֹצֵר
the work of a potter's hands!	

This delicate opening only invites audiences further in for further pain. The children's fate crescendoes from verse 1 to verse 10: They are neglected by parents (v. 3); starving (v. 4); searching ash heaps for food (v. 5); shriveled and unrecognizable (vv. 7–8). They would have fared better dying violently (v. 9); in fact, their own mothers are eating them (v. 10). This litany of death vignettes

ends with a summary of YHWH's role. These perversions happened by design, as direct results of YHWH's wrath, devouring Zion's foundations (Lam 4:9–11):

Those pierced by sword were better off than those pierced by famine,	טוֹבִים הָיוּ חַלְלֵי־ חָרֶב מֵחַלְלֵי רָעָב
whose life drained away, far from the produce of the field.	שֶׁהֵם יָזוֹבוּ מְדֻקָּרִים מִתְּנוּבַת שָׂדָי
The hands of compassionate women boiled their own children;	יְדֵי נָשִׁים רַחֲמָנִיּוֹת בִּשְּׁלוּ יַלְדֵיהֶן
They became their food in the destruction of my poor people.	הָיוּ לְבָרוֹת לָמוֹ בְּשֶׁבֶר בַּת־עַמִּי
YHWH carried his wrath to completion; poured out the heat of his anger,	כִּלָּה יְהוָה אֶת־חֲמָתוֹ שָׁפַךְ חֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ
And he kindled a fire in Zion, and it devoured her foundations.	וַיַּצֶּת־אֵשׁ בְּצִיּוֹן וַתֹּאכַל יְסוֹדֹתֶיהָ

Now attention shifts to the adults. No one believed Zion could be breached (v. 12). Blame is laid on the prophets and priests (v. 13), now considered lepers among the nations (vv. 14–15). Verse 17 takes on a plural voice: "Our eyes failed, ever watching for our help in vain. . . ." The capture of "YHWH's anointed" is described (v. 19–20). The collective voice then threatens Daughter Edom that Zion's "cup" of suffering will transfer to her. In the final verses, YHWH's actions from v. 11 are imagined reversed as Daughter Zion's and Daughter Edom's futures are imagined in close antithetic parallel.

Isaiah 51:17–23 also juxtaposes Jerusalem's children with YHWH's wrath. In Second Isaiah these themes form a ring pattern. The outside ring, vv. 17 and 21–23, focuses on YHWH's wrath, and the inner ring, vv. 18–20, Zion's children. According to Isa 51:17, the cup of YHWH's wrath (כּוֹס חֲמָתוֹ), the cup invoked in Lam 4:21–22, has been drained by Daughter Zion, and she is drunk with sorrow.

Zion's sorrow is exegeted in vv. 18–20: it is over her children's suffering. For three verses, Second Isaiah offers a window to glimpse what Zion's people found intolerable. Themes from throughout the first half of Lamentations 4 appear here, till finally the children's fate is directly but briefly connected with YHWH's wrath:

There is no one to guide her among all the children she bore,	אֵין־מְנַהֵל לָהּ מִכָּל־בָּנִים יָלָדָה
There is no one to grasp her hand among all the children she raised.	וְאֵין מַחֲזִיק בְּיָדָהּ מִכָּל־בָּנִים גִּדָּלָה
These two things have happened to you; who will grieve over you?	שְׁתַּיִם הֵנָּה קָרְאֹתַיִךְ מִי יָנוּד לָךְ
Devastation and destruction and famine and sword— how shall I comfort you?	הַשֹּׁד וְהַשֶּׁבֶר וְהָרָעָב וְהַחֶרֶב מִי אֲנַחֲמֵךְ
Your children are faint, They lie at the head of every street	בָּנַיִךְ עֻלְּפוּ שָׁכְבוּ בְּרֹאשׁ כָּל־חוּצוֹת
Like an antelope in a net, Full of the wrath of YHWH, the rebuke of your God.	כִּתְאו מִכְמָר הַמְלֵאִים חֲמַת־יְהוָה גַּעֲרַת אֱלֹהָיִךְ

Of all the children Jerusalem bore (בָּנִים יָלָדָה, see Lam 4:10), none is left. By famine and sword (הָרָעָב וְהַחֶרֶב, see Lam 4:9) they have suffered destruction (שֶׁבֶר, see Lam 4:10), and now lie scattered "at the head of every street" (בְּרֹאשׁ כָּל־חוּצוֹת, see Lam 4:1), full of "the wrath of YHWH" (חֲמַת־יְהוָה, see Lam 4:11).

While this response displays continuities with the lament, some distinct discontinuities appear as well. As in the lament, destruction, famine, and sword have prevailed. As in the lament, the children are no more, but lie in the street. As in the lament, YHWH's consuming wrath is blamed. As in the lament, YHWH's wrath against Jerusalem is spent, but against her enemies it has just begun. But while the lament described the children's death explicitly several times, this response does not. While the lament described cannibalism, Second Isaiah only suggests loss. While the lament focused on the children's suffering, Second Isaiah focuses on the suffering of their "mother," Zion, a representation replacing the lament's flesh-and-blood mothers.

Zion's children do not, in Second Isaiah, stay dead. In Isaiah 49 it was the returning exiles who were called Zion's "children." Here, by recalling the lament enough to encapture and subtly alter its emphases, by displacing the suffering from the children to Zion, Second Isaiah helps envision the comfort of Zion as the return of the exilic community.

The last verse of this section, Isa 51:23, proceeds to an new metaphor—that of being cast to the ground. In Isa 52:1–2 this image becomes the guiding motif of Zion's restoration. In order to recognize all that Second Isaiah does here we must backtrack briefly not only to Lamentations, but also to a previous portion of Second Isaiah, chapter 47, which calls down a similar fate on Daughter Zion's enemy/counterpart, Daughter Babylon.

Imagery of falling to the ground in humiliation is shared by all of the first three chapters of Lamentations. Lamentations 1:8–10 exemplifies one complex of related metaphors in which Zion's fall suggests promiscuity and finally rape:

חֵטְא חָטְאָה יְרוּשָׁלַם
עַל־כֵּן לְנִידָה הָיָתָה
כָּל־מְכַבְּדֶיהָ הִזִּילוּהָ כִּי־*רָאוּ עֶרְוָתָהּ*
גַּם־הִיא נֶאֶנְחָה וַתָּשָׁב אָחוֹר
טֻמְאָתָהּ בְּשׁוּלֶיהָ
לֹא זָכְרָה אַחֲרִיתָהּ
וַתֵּרֶד פְּלָאִים אֵין מְנַחֵם לָהּ
רְאֵה יְהוָה אֶת־עָנְיִי
כִּי הִגְדִּיל אוֹיֵב

Jerusalem sinned terribly;
therefore she has become an impurity.
All who honored her despise her,
for they have seen her nakedness.
She herself groans,
and turns away.

Her uncleanness was in her skirts;
she did not remember her end.
And she fell extraordinarily—
she has no comforter.
"See, YHWH, my suffering,
for the enemy is exalted!"

The foe spread out his hand over all her delights; for she saw nations— they came into her sanctuary— those of whom you commanded, "they shall not come into your assembly."	יָדוֹ פָּרַשׂ צָר עַל כָּל־מַחֲמַדֶּיהָ כִּי־רָאֲתָה גוֹיִם **בָּאוּ מִקְדָּשָׁהּ** אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָה **לֹא־יָבֹאוּ** בַקָּהָל לָךְ

Lamentations 2:1, similarly, begins with Daughter Zion's having been thrown to the ground by YHWH himself:

How the Lord in his anger has humiliated Daughter Zion! He threw from heaven to earth the splendor of Israel! And he did not remember his footstool in the day of his anger.	אֵיכָה יָעִיב בְּאַפּוֹ אֲדֹנָי אֶת־**בַּת־צִיּוֹן** הִשְׁלִיךְ מִשָּׁמַיִם אֶרֶץ **תִּפְאֶרֶת** יִשְׂרָאֵל וְלֹא־זָכַר הֲדֹם־רַגְלָיו בְּיוֹם אַפּוֹ

Further on, the lament describes the reaction of the city's citizens (2:10):

They sit on the ground, they are silent, the elders of daughter Zion, They have thrown dust on their heads, they have put on sackcloth; They bow their heads to the ground, the virgins of Jerusalem.	**יֵשְׁבוּ לָאָרֶץ יִדְמוּ** זִקְנֵי **בַת־צִיּוֹן** הֶעֱלוּ **עָפָר** עַל־רֹאשָׁם חָגְרוּ שַׂקִּים **הוֹרִידוּ לָאָרֶץ** רֹאשָׁן **בְּתוּלֹת יְרוּשָׁלִָם**

Humiliation in Lamentations 3:28–30 employs very similar language—of silence, of sitting, of bowing down toward the dust.

Second Isaiah structures around this imagery of humiliation the exchange of Jerusalem's fortune's and Babylon's. In Isaiah 47, Daughter Babylon's humiliation is imagined point for point as Jerusalem's was portrayed in Lamentations. In a striking repetition of the description of Zion's elders and virgins (Lam 2:10) the chapter begins:

Go down and sit in dust, virgin daughter Babylon! Sit on the ground without a throne, daughter Chaldea! For you will no longer be called tender and delicate.	**רְדִי וְשִׁבִי עַל־עָפָר בְּתוּלַת בַּת־בָּבֶל** **שְׁבִי־לָאָרֶץ** אֵין־כִּסֵּא **בַּת־**כַּשְׂדִּים כִּי לֹא תוֹסִיפִי יִקְרְאוּ־לָךְ רַכָּה וַעֲנֻגָּה

Except for the substitution of Babylon for Zion, the entire first line of 47:1 is composed of words found in Lam 2:10. In verses 2–3 Babylon is ordered to remove her clothing and uncover her legs, so that, like Zion in Lam 1:8, her nakedness is uncovered and her shame is seen. In verse 5 she is told she must sit in silence. In verse 7 Babylon's arrogance is described in the same terms in which Zion's was in Lam 1:9. All these correspondences envision Zion's fate falling upon her oppressor, answering the hope for revenge in Lam 1:21–22. Babylon is finally warned (47:9) that widowhood and bereavement—both used to describe Zion, see Lam 1:1, 20—will confront her in a single moment.

But Babylon's humiliation is incomplete without the reversal of Zion's fortune as well. Isaiah 51:9–16 began with the prayer that YHWH rise and rescue his people as in former days, and continued with reassurances that YHWH the creator would not allow oppressions to continue. Isaiah 51:17–23 called Zion to wake up as if from a stupor of suffering. Finally, in Isa 52:1–12, Zion is once again invited to awaken in strength. All the conditions of redemption are set in place, and she must to rise to the occasion. Here many of the terms of her humiliation from the laments converge:

Awake, awake, put on your strength, Zion!	עוּרִי עוּרִי לִבְשִׁי עֻזֵּךְ צִיּוֹן
Put on your splendid garments, Jerusalem, the holy city;	לִבְשִׁי בִּגְדֵי **תִפְאַרְתֵּךְ** יְרוּשָׁלַם עִיר **הַקֹּדֶשׁ**
for he shall no longer come into you, the uncircumcised and unclean.	כִּי **לֹא** יוֹסִיף יָבֹא־בָךְ עוֹד עָרֵל **וְטָמֵא**
Shake yourself from the dust, rise up, captive Jerusalem;	הִתְנַעֲרִי **מֵעָפָר** קוּמִי שְׁבִי יְרוּשָׁלָם
loose the bonds from your neck, captive daughter Zion!	הִתְפַּתְּחִי מוֹסְרֵי **צַוָּארֵךְ** שְׁבִיָּה **בַּת־צִיּוֹן**

Whereas she once fell splendidly (תֵּרֶד פְּלָאִים, Lam 1:9, cf. also 2:1), naked (1:8), skirts unclean (טֻמְאָתָהּ בְּשׁוּלֶיהָ), and her elders sat in sackcloth (2:10), now she is invited to arise in splendid garments (בִּגְדֵי תִפְאַרְתֵּךְ), and the invaders are called unclean (טָמֵא). Whereas in Lam 1:14 Zion's sins created a yoke on her neck (צַוָּארִי), weakening her strength, Second Isaiah bids her put on her strength and loose the bonds from her neck (צַוָּארֵךְ). Rather than putting dust (עָפָר) on her head (Lam 2:10) she is told to shake herself free of dust. In Lam 1:10 nations entered (בָּאוּ) her sanctuary (מִקְדָּשָׁהּ), which they had been forbidden to enter (לֹא־יָבֹאוּ), but in Isa 52:1, Jerusalem the holy city (עִיר הַקֹּדֶשׁ) is assured that they will no longer enter her. In two verses, Second Isaiah both recalls Zion as defiled woman and defiled place, and reverses her defilement in both modes. Jerusalem will be purified, strengthened, clothed, forgiven, and protected, while her persecutor Daughter Babylon is left bereaved, widowed, naked and utterly humiliated.

Having portrayed Daughter Zion's rise, the poet then shows her receiving the good news from afar: YHWH has returned. Unlike the watchmen of Lam 4:17, who strained their eyes watching in vain for rescue, the watchmen in Isa 52:8 are heard shouting for joy at the sight of YHWH. The wreckage of Jerusalem itself is bid to break forth in praise. The nations who once witnessed in shock Jerusalem's violation (Lam 4:12) now witness the baring of YHWH's arm and the victory he rises to attain. In the clinching line that finally transfers Jerusalem's rejection to Babylon, the poet cries out סוּרוּ סוּרוּ—a doubled imperative echoing not only the overturned rebuke of Lam 4:15, but also the cadence of Second Isaiah's first line (נַחֲמוּ נַחֲמוּ) and the first lines of each of the three previous poems (עוּרִי עוּרִי). Time and distance collapse as the return to Jerusalem is described in language once used of the exodus. Events that have not

happened are imbued with historic, even epic significance, so that the invisible may be imagined as inevitable.

Second Isaiah recalls the powerful figure of Daughter Zion from Lamentations to reconfigure and continue her story: last seen complaining vigorously to YHWH, here she is envisioned being restored to her proper place. This theme of restoration continues into the final portrait of Zion in Isaiah 54.

Daughter Zion: Isaiah 54

The statement with which Zion first appeared in Isa 49:14, echoing Lam 5:20, accused YHWH of both forgetting and abandoning her. The question of forgetting had been answered immediately in 49:15, but the second accusation was not directly addressed. In chapter 54 it is finally answered. Several terms from the last four verses of Lamentations 5 recur here: not only the verbs "forget" and "abandon" (שׁכח and עזב) of Lam 5:20's "why," but also the "despise" and "be angry" (מאס and קצף) of the concluding verse, Lam 5:22, which says:

כִּי אִם־מָאֹס מְאַסְתָּנוּ
קָצַפְתָּ עָלֵינוּ עַד־מְאֹד

Unless you have utterly rejected us,
Have become exceedingly wrathful
against us.

The two terms מאס and קצף appear together nowhere else in the Bible, except in Isa 54:6–8, where they appear in conjunction with עזב. In verse 4 Zion is told, "The shame of your youth you will forget (תִּשְׁכָּחִי)." Verse 5 identifies YHWH as Zion's husband, and verses 6–8 draw out the analogy:

כִּי־כְאִשָּׁה עֲזוּבָה
וַעֲצוּבַת רוּחַ קְרָאָךְ יְהוָה
וְאֵשֶׁת נְעוּרִים כִּי תִמָּאֵס
אָמַר אֱלֹהָיִךְ

For as a woman abandoned
and hurt in spirit, YHWH has called you,
and a wife of youth when she is rejected,
says your God.

בְּרֶגַע קָטֹן עֲזַבְתִּיךְ
וּבְרַחֲמִים גְּדֹלִים אֲקַבְּצֵךְ

For a brief moment I abandoned you,
but with great compassion I will gather
you.

בְּשֶׁצֶף קֶצֶף הִסְתַּרְתִּי
פָנַי רֶגַע מִמֵּךְ
וּבְחֶסֶד עוֹלָם רִחַמְתִּיךְ
אָמַר גֹּאֲלֵךְ יְהוָה

In a flood of anger I hid
my face for a moment from you;
but with eternal kindness I will have
compassion on you,
says your redeemer YHWH.

In chapter 49 YHWH's forgetting was vigorously denied. But here it is admitted that YHWH did abandon Zion, though not for all time but only for a brief moment, in order to return compassionately to her.

In Isaiah 54, as in Isaiah 49 and 51, Zion is addressed as a childless woman. Only here the metaphor has shifted. Before, Zion was bereft of children she had borne. But in Isa 54:1 she is addressed as עֲקָרָה לֹא יָלָדָה, "barren woman who has not borne." Stories of barren women of old, beginning with Sarai (Gen 11:30, cf. Isa 51:2), are recalled by the term עֲקָרָה, "barren." But the term in the second line, שׁוֹמֵמָה, "ruined," which is contrasted with בְּעוּלָה, "married," may be somewhat different. In the feminine singular form it is found otherwise only in

Lam 1:13, in which Zion describes the condition YHWH inflicted upon her, and 2 Sam 13:20, where it describes Tamar's condition after she was raped by Amnon and ruined for marriage—and thus for childbearing.[37]

The metaphor of Zion as woman is now extended in a direction never used in Lamentations. The sorrow over dying Judean children present throughout Lamentations, and recalled in Isaiah 51, disappears in a new metaphor: children never existed to Zion. She is imagined instead as YHWH's wife, once abandoned in anger and now being courted again. She will have, as a result, so many children that they will spread out, possess the nations, settle the desolate towns. Unlike chapter 49, this chapter never spells out where these children originate. Images of crowding, however, point back to similar themes in that chapter. The children of Zion's union with YHWH are not, apparently, the offspring of Jerusalemite mothers and fathers, not even new children born to replace those who have died, but rather the unrecognized sons and daughters who were envisioned in chapter 49 returning from exile.

This reversal of fortune is reinforced by reference to a lament found twice in Jeremiah. In Jer 4:14–18 the prophet announced that besiegers have closed in around Jerusalem. The city's response to this disaster is imagined. First she shouts her anguish in terms evoking the pangs of childbirth. Then (Jer 4:20) she describes her destruction:

פִּתְאֹם שֻׁדְּדוּ **אָהָלַי** רֶגַע **יְרִיעָתָי**

Suddenly my tents are devastated,
my curtains in a moment.

This same metaphor is repeated in Jer 10:20. Once again these words are spoken in response to the threat of siege:

אָהֳלִי שֻׁדָּד וְכָל־**מֵיתָרַי** נִתָּקוּ
בָּנַי יְצָאֻנִי וְאֵינָם
אֵין־**נֹטֶה** עוֹד **אָהֳלִי** וּמְקִים **יְרִיעוֹתָי**

My tent is devastated,
and all my tent-cords are snapped;
My children have gone out from me,
and they are no more.
There is no longer anyone who will
spread out my tent,
or set up my curtains.

Isaiah 54:2 employs the metaphor of the tent once again. Zion is told:

הַרְחִיבִי מְקוֹם **אָהֳלֵךְ**
וִירִיעוֹת מִשְׁכְּנוֹתַיִךְ יַטּוּ אַל־תַּחְשֹׂכִי
הַאֲרִיכִי **מֵיתָרַיִךְ** וִיתֵדֹתַיִךְ חַזֵּקִי

Open wide the place of your tent,
and the curtains of your dwellings
spread out;
do not hold back;
lengthen your tent-cords
and your stakes strengthen.

In Isaiah 54, imagery from a variety of sources converges on Zion. Like Sarah and like a vindicated Tamar, she will have many children, so many children that the tents she once lamented as destroyed will have to be enlarged. Like a beloved wife she is not abandoned forever. The pain so excrutiating in the middle part of the middle Zion song has now disappeared, as the dead children are indeed

37 The connection with both Sarai and Tamar here was suggested by Mary Callaway, *Sing, O Barren One: A Study in Comparative Midrash* (SBL DS 91, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 67–68.

forgotten, and a new family is begun. In the very last verse, for the first and only time, "servants" are mentioned in a Zion passage, bringing together the "she," the "he," and the "they": the repatriated children of Zion are YHWH's servant, now plural.

The Servant of YHWH

Intertextual precedents for YHWH's servant are more difficult to find than those for Daughter Zion. While many people, including kings, prophets, and foreign enemies have been called YHWH's servants throughout the Bible, no one identification prevails. Second Isaiah's language about the servant varies from treatment to treatment, displaying images that connect with a variety of elements of Judah's tradition. Here Second Isaiah may be synthesizing, gathering into one figure a variety of past images. These are difficult to trace, but a few suggestions may prove helpful.

The strongest intertextual clues have to do with the same two books that provided much of the imagery of Daughter Zion and of the fall of Jerusalem, the books of Lamentations and Jeremiah. I will first discuss Isaiah 50:4–11 and Isa 52:13–53:12 in relation to Lamentations 3, and then briefly discuss Isaiah 49 in relation to Jeremiah 1.

The Servant of YHWH: Isaiah 50 and 53

Unlike the others, the middle of the five poems of Lamentations does not speak directly about Jerusalem and its fall. Nor does it use the same voice as any of the other poems. In Lamentations 1, 2, and 4 it was an ungendered observer who described Jerusalem's condition, interacting in chapters 1 and 2 with Daughter Zion herself, and in chapter 4 with a collective "we." In Lamentations 3 the speaker is a self-identified male figure, a *geber* he calls himself, who contemplates his own sufferings in many of the same terms in which Daughter Zion had described herself in Lamentations 1 and 2. Thus he sets himself as her male counterpart, a figure embodying the suffering of many. Unlike Zion, however, who expresses her theology by attempting to call YHWH to account, the *geber* expresses his by attempting, midway through the lament, to reason his way to hope. This one is of all the laments the most difficult to date because of its lack of direct references to the exile. However, the vast majority of scholars place it close to the time of the other laments, in the early to mid-sixth century—that is, early enough to have been available to Second Isaiah.

It is the language of the middle third of the poem that is most intensively recalled in Second Isaiah. Every key image and most of the key words from Lam 3:25–30 recur in Second Isaiah. The relationship of the *geber* to Second Isaiah's servant is most clearly signaled by the description in Lam 3:30:

יִתֵּן לְמַכֵּהוּ לֶחִי יִשְׂבַּע בְּחֶרְפָּה

He will give to his attacker the cheek,
he will be filled up with insult.

Submission to humiliation as prescribed by the *geber* characterizes YHWH's servant as well. Isaiah 50:6 says:

גֵּו נָתַתִּי לְמַכִּים וּלְחָיַי לִמְרָטִים
פָּנַי לֹא הִסְתַּרְתִּי מִכְּלִמּוֹת וָרֹק

My back I gave to attackers
and my cheeks to beard-pluckers.
My face I did not hide
from insults and spittle.

Here the phrase יִתֵּן לְמַכֵּהוּ לֶחִי, which occurs nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible, has been adapted and expanded. The word order has remained the same; nouns parallel to "cheek" (i.e. "back") and "attackers" (i.e. "beard-pluckers") have been added to the beginning and end of the phrase. The peaceful submission prescribed by the *geber* has thus been carried out, and carried further, by the first-person figure in Isaiah 50, who is identified in verse 10 as YHWH's servant.

But this is by no means the only connection between the *geber* and the servant. Isaiah 50 compresses several other key points from Lamentations 3:[38]

1) In Isa 50:4, 5, and 10, as in the lament, there is a great concern for the ears and for hearing. But whereas the *geber* had pleaded with YHWH to be the one hearing and not hiding his ear (קוֹלִי שָׁמָעְתָּ; אַל־תַּעְלֵם אָזְנְךָ, Lam 3:56), the speaker in Isa 50:4–5 claims that YHWH has wakened and opened his own ear to hear (יָעִיר לִי אֹזֶן לִשְׁמֹעַ . . . אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה פָּתַח־לִי אֹזֶן), and the audience is challenged by an observer to hear the voice of this servant (שִׁמְעוּ בְקוֹל עַבְדּוֹ, Isa 50:10).

2) Similarly, both passages treat the subject of rebellion. The *geber* prays, "We—emphatic—transgressed and rebelled," (נַחְנוּ פָשַׁעְנוּ וּמָרִינוּ, Lam 3:42), but follows this confession with a parallel phrase pointing out YHWH's culpability, "You—emphatic—did not forgive." The speaker in Isa 50:5 repeats this emphatic form in first person singular, only to negate it: "I—emphatic—did not rebel" (וְאָנֹכִי לֹא מָרִיתִי). This form of מרה is not found anywhere else in the Bible than in these two passages and in Lam 1:18 and 20, in which Zion confessions her rebellion.

3) In Isa 50:8, an entire complex of requests verbalized by the *geber* is echoed. The *geber* had pleaded with YHWH to come near (קָרַבְתָּ, Lam 3:57), to plead his cause (רַבְתָּ אֲדֹנָי רִיבֵי נַפְשִׁי, v. 58), to judge his right (שָׁפְטָה מִשְׁפָּטִי, v. 59). Likewise, in the same sequence, the speaker in Isa 50:8 affirms that his vindicator is near (קָרוֹב), asks who will plead against him (מִי־יָרִיב), and asks who is the adversary (advocate?) of his right (מִי־בַעַל מִשְׁפָּטִי). While the focus in section of Lamentations finally rests on the foes who plot against the speaker, the focus

38 Both Westermann and Clifford, in their comments on this Isaiah passage, drew diagrams of relationships with other texts. Westermann drew parallels between this passage and the book and figure of Jeremiah, specifically in chapters 11–20. His list is more concerned with thematic parallels than with verbal repetitions (p. 227–8). Clifford perceived verbal repetitions of Isaiah 30:8–14 in the words "hear," "rebel," "trust," and "rely." The parallels with Lam 3 seem more prominent than either of these.

Although Gottwald (45) did not compare these chapters in detail, he did make the form-critical observation that Lam 3:1–18, 1:13–15, Isa 50:4–9, and Isa 52:13–53:12 are all "songs bewailing national suffering under the figure of a person enduring great pain and ostracism." He further stated (116), "the personalizing of national grief and suffering in Lamentations was one of the definite forerunners of the Suffering Servant conception."

in the Isaiah passage comes to rest on YHWH's assistance and the consequent ineffectiveness of the speaker's adversaries.

4) When in verse 10 another voice concludes the speaker's words, asking who fears YHWH and listens to his servant's voice, the servant is once again identified with a key phrase: he goes into darkness (הָלַךְ חֲשֵׁכִים) without light, just as the *geber* had been the one whom YHWH made go into darkness (וַיֹּלֶךְ חֹשֶׁךְ) without light (Lam 3:2).[39] In Second Isaiah, however, the observer surpasses the *geber*'s self-description: "yet trusts in the name of YHWH and relies upon his God."

The similarities run deeper than the phrases, striking as these are. Just as this is the only portion of Lamentations in which a male figure speaks, so this section of Second Isaiah is one of two passages in Second Isaiah in which a human male speaks, the other being in Isaiah 49. Like Lamentations 3, Isaiah 50 depicts the speaker discussing suffering and trust, and reflecting on the struggle to maintain faith through darkness and adversity. In both books, he interrupts the interplay between other voices, adding a voice and a section that is more monologic, and is congruent with its surroundings by subject matter but not by referents. In both, the speaker seems to be suffering in another world, on a more abstracted plane, yet the reflections derived from that plane seem to interact contrapunctally with the more prevalent speaking voices. In short, just as Second Isaiah seems to have reemployed Daughter Zion from Lamentations 1–2, likewise the poet seems to have recollected the figure of Lamentations 3, casting him in the role of YHWH's servant.

While the Isaiah passage shares many of the same themes and words as the lament, the emphasis has been reshaped in important ways. First, by taking most of its material from the middle portion of the lament, Isaiah places more emphasis on the speaker's hopeful words than on his laments and complaints, which were originally far more numerous. Second, the speaker in Second Isaiah describes himself as displaying the qualities that the Lamentations figure does not claim, but merely envisions and prescribes. Third, all complaint language has been removed from the sufferer's mouth and attributed to another speaker, who emphasizes the darkness in which the speaker has had to walk. In this way the figure of Lamentations 3 is preserved, affirmed, and even extended. He exemplifies those who contend with confusion and opposition, yet maintain hope for the future. While Lamentations 3 had displayed human grappling with God's faithfulness, the emphasis in Isaiah 50 has been subtly transformed into a study, by means of a single paradigmatic figure, of human faithfulness.

While the allusions to Lamentations 3 occur more densely in Isaiah 50 than anywhere else, several words and themes of Lamentations 3 recur as well in Isaiah 53. As before, a man is described as YHWH's servant, who suffers and hopes in silence. Here, however, the concentration is on the servant's suffering more than his hope. As the *geber* in Lamentations 3 had prescribed (Lam 3:28), he does not speak. Rather, others speak for him. He is rejected by others (Isa 53:3; see Lam 3:46, 53, 60–63); stricken (Isa 53:4; see Lam 3:30); afflicted and crushed (Isa 53:4–5; see Lam 3:33–34—this combination is very rare); he suffers the

[39] This phrase recurs nowhere else in the Bible except in Job 29:3, in which Job claims to have had his walking in darkness lit by God's lamp.

perversion of justice (Isa 53:8, see Lam 3:35); he is cut off (Isa 53:8, see Lam 3:54) and buried (Isa 53:9, see Lam 3:53, 55. The *geber* had imagined being thrown alive into a well, but Second Isaiah makes it a grave.). He places himself in solidarity with sinners even while praying for them (Lam 3:8, 40–42; Isa 53:11–12). The outcome that the *geber* only hoped for is enacted in Second Isaiah. The *geber* had suggested that there may yet be hope, that God would not allow injustice to continue unchecked (Lam 3:29, 34–39), but the speakers in Second Isaiah describe the servant's coming vindication in posterity, length of life, satisfaction, and prosperity (Isa 53:10–12). If YHWH was sufficient as the *geber*'s portion (Lam 3:24), now he is given a portion of the spoil (Isa 53:12).

Similarities of Isaiah 53 to Lamentations 3 augment the stronger relationship between Isaiah 50 and the lament. The collection of so many different elements of Lamentations 3 into the space of seven verses in Isaiah 50 is impressive, and the repetition of many of the lament's themes in Isaiah 53 supplements the suspicion that the *geber* acted as a model for the suffering servant. Thematic coherence is very clear; the servant acts the role that the *geber* prescribes, in circumstances quite similar to those described. When, in addition, the larger literary factors are noted, that is, the male figure's interruption of Jerusalem-oriented passages to develop a similar theme in a different sphere, and the monologic and self-focused speech patterns embedded in a text that is on the whole far more prone to interactive voices, compelling similarities emerge between the lament and Isaiah 50.

The Servant of YHWH: Isaiah 49

While the intertextual relationship between the servant of YHWH and Lamentations 3's *geber* provide the most comprehensive precedent for the servant, others should also be mentioned. Similarities between the portrayal of Jeremiah the prophet and the suffering servant in Second Isaiah have often been noted, and linguistic relationships between the depiction of Jeremiah's call at the book's beginning and Isa 49:1–13 do indeed exist. Later parts of that same chapter are, as we have seen, closely related to Jeremiah 2–3.

The first-person prophetic address begins in Jer 1:4–5 by relating YHWH's words to Jeremiah. These verses, as well as the corresponding section in Isaiah 49, bear well-known resemblances to Egyptian texts concerning God's consecration *in utero* of the royalty:[40]

The word of YHWH came to me: וַיְהִי דְבַר־יְהוָה אֵלַי לֵאמֹר

40 See especially W. Beyerlin (*Near Eastern Religious Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1975, pp. 27–30), who quotes several of these texts, such as this one: "He (Re-Harakhti) formed me to do what he has done, and to bring into being what he has commanded to be done. He named me shepherd of this land . . . he appointed me Lord of the two parts of the land while (I was still) a child. . . . Even as an embryo he set me aside (?) to be in the palace, before I had come from my mother's loins . . . ."

Before I formed you in the womb I knew you;	בְּטֶרֶם אֶצּוֹרְךָ בַּבֶּטֶן יְדַעְתִּיךָ
And before you went out from the womb I consecrated you;	וּבְטֶרֶם תֵּצֵא מֵרֶחֶם הִקְדַּשְׁתִּיךָ
A prophet for the nations I appointed you.	נָבִיא לַגּוֹיִם נְתַתִּיךָ

This verse is echoed in several ways in Isa 49. The word בֶּטֶן ("womb") is used twice, first in the introductory words in Isa 49:1: "YHWH called me from the womb (יְהוָה מִבֶּטֶן קָרָאָנִי)," and then in a duplication of the Jeremiah phrase in verse 5:

And now says YHWH, who formed me from the womb as his servant . . .	וְעַתָּה אָמַר יְהוָה יֹצְרִי מִבֶּטֶן לְעֶבֶד לוֹ

The phrase "form in the womb" only occurs in these two passages and in Isa 44:2 and 44:24. Both those passages employ the participial form as Isa 49:5 does, and they explicitly refer to Israel.

Not only does the servant claim, like Jeremiah, to have been formed in the womb for God's purposes, but his appointment is very similar to Jeremiah's. In Jer 1:5, YHWH said to Jeremiah, "A prophet for the nations I appointed you (נָבִיא לַגּוֹיִם נְתַתִּיךָ), and in Isa 49:6, YHWH says to the servant, "I will appoint you as a light to the nations (וְנָתַתִּיךָ לְאוֹר גּוֹיִם)." This phrasing occurs only in these two passages and in Isa 42:6, where it is paired with another phrase from Isaiah 49, "covenant to the people."

Besides these phrases, other similarities may be seen between Isaiah 49 and the poetry in Jeremiah 1. Both are composed from the viewpoint of a human speaker, and report YHWH's words to and about the speaker. This is rather uncommon in prophetic literature, which devotes the bulk of its attention to YHWH's speech to other people. Both passages indicate YHWH's appointment of the speaker as messenger. In both, YHWH's words are followed by an objection, and a conversation ensues. And both mention YHWH's hand and the speaker's mouth, and relate them to one another.

Other sources or inspirations for elements of the servant's character have been noted as well, although these are not so dramatically recollected as Lamentations' *geber* and Jeremiah. For instance, the phrase "do not fear," with which YHWH repeatedly reassures the servant in chapters 41–44, echoes the repeated word of YHWH in Genesis to each of the patriarchs (see Gen 15:1; 26:24; 46:3). Linguistically closest is the saying to Isaac in Gen 26:24 (compare especially the first instance in Isa 41:8–10):

"I am the God of your father Abraham;	אָנֹכִי אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם אָבִיךָ
do not fear, for I am with you,	אַל־תִּירָא כִּי־אִתְּךָ אָנֹכִי
and I will bless you	וּבֵרַכְתִּיךָ
and make your offspring numerous	וְהִרְבֵּיתִי אֶת־זַרְעֶךָ
for my servant Abraham's sake."	בַּעֲבוּר אַבְרָהָם עַבְדִּי

Although the linguistic parallels are not so abundant, the promises of YHWH to Jacob as he is leaving the land in Gen 28:13–15 may also be relevant. There

YHWH also says, "I am with you," and promises that his offspring will spread to the west, east, north, and south in the land (see Isa 43:5–6, cf. Jer 46:28). It would be reasonable to suppose that in a text referring insistently to the people as "Jacob," that his traditions would be invoked. The intertextual allusion is not nearly as strong as to Lamentations and Jeremiah, however.

Another possible source for information about the servant's character and role may be signaled by the frequent combination of the terms "servant" and "chosen" in Isa 41:8, 9, 42:1, 43:10, 44:1,2, and 45:4 (see also 43:20 and 49:7). The only other figure in the Bible for whom this combination of terms is used is David, in Ps 78:70 and 89:4 (3), 20–21 (19–20). YHWH's eternal choice of David is expressed in these terms:

"I have made a covenant with my chosen,	כָּרַתִּי בְרִית **לִבְחִירִי**
I have sworn to David my servant.	נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי לְדָוִד **עַבְדִּי**
Forever I establish your offspring,	עַד־**עוֹלָם** אָכִין זַרְעֶךָ
and build for generation after generation your throne."	וּבָנִיתִי לְדֹר־וָדוֹר כִּסְאֶךָ

Not only is Israel/Jacob called, like David, both servant and chosen, but the covenant with David is recalled in Isa 55:3, where YHWH promises in language that recalls not only the verse above but also 89:29 and 38:

I will make with you a covenant forever,	וְאֶכְרְתָה לָכֶם **בְּרִית עוֹלָם**
My steadfast, sure love for David.	**חַסְדֵי דָוִד הַנֶּאֱמָנִים**

Psalm 89 continues in a very different tone to lament the downfall of the Davidic monarch, whose crown has been defiled in the dust. Several other significant elements of this Psalm are reflected in Second Isaiah, enough to support the supposition that one of the functions of Israel/Jacob as the servant is to inherit the Davidic promise.[41]

If all these texts do represent intertexts used in the construction of the "servant" figure in Second Isaiah, then the servant combines several motifs of YHWH's relationship to Israel in the past. Like the patriarchs, this new servant is promised land, progeny, eminence, and divine presence. Like Jacob, he receives these promises when both he and the moment appear most unpromising, and is favored on account of Abraham his ancestor. Like David, he becomes YHWH's chosen and servant to arbitrate the reign of God before the nations. He is YHWH's prophet and messenger, and like the prophet Jeremiah serves in a sacrificial role on behalf of others. Most of all, like the *geber* of Lamentations 3, the servant represents persevering trust in the face of war, exile, persecution, confusion, and even divine injustice. The postures and understandings that the *geber* commends to his audience, Second Isaiah incorporates into character traits for the chosen servant of YHWH. Thus the servant represents a mosaic of many of the most significant moments and figures of Judah's past, one equal to the task of recreating a nation on pure hope.

41 As mentioned before, Eissfeldt noted this relationship. Mettinger (*Farewell*, 44) also discussed it.

Daughter Zion and Servant Israel: Parallels and Contrasts

Second Isaiah's two most prominent precursors configure the relationship between Daughter Zion and the "servant" figure rather differently. Though in Jeremiah both the prophet and Zion lament the fate of Judah, the prophet views Zion as standing in the wrong before God. In Lamentations, however, Zion and the *geber* speak in unison over against God, as parallel representatives of the people's suffering and prayers. Both describe their suffering as resulting from God's wrath. Both are described as desolate (3:11, 1:13) and bitter (3:15, 1:4). Both confess their rebellion against God (1:18, 20; 3:42) and lift their hands/hearts to God (2:19, 3:41). Both perceive God's enmity as "killing without mercy" (2:21, 3:43) and protest the justice of God's deeds. Both are taunted by their enemies "opening against us their mouths" (2:16, 3:46), and both call down God's angry punishment on their enemies (1:21, 3:64–66).

Second Isaiah likewise posits parallels between Daughter Zion and Israel/Jacob as the servant.[42] Israel was formed by YHWH in the womb (44:2), and Zion is pictured as the child of YHWH's own womb (49:15). Both are introduced protesting vigorously against YHWH's neglect (40:27; 49:14), and both have been abused by enemies (50:6; 51:23). Both are cajoled by YHWH with exhortations not to fear (41:10; 54:4) and promises that they will not be forgotten (44:21; 49:15) or rejected (41:9; 54:7–8). Neither need be ashamed or dismayed (45:17; 54:4), because all their enemies will be routed (41:12; 54:15–17) and will even bow down to them (49:7, 23). Both are described with threefold adjectives of affliction (49:7; 54:11); both are promised a joyful return of offspring from faraway lands (43:5; 54:3). Through both YHWH's arm is revealed before all the nations (52:10; 52:15f). Both will prosper as a result (53:12; 54:11, 12). In each, the story line moves from abuse, shame, despair, and recrimination to promise, vindication, fulfillment, and exaltation.

Both figures are depicted paradoxically. Both are portrayed not only as recipients of messages but as messengers as well (40:9; 50:4). For both figures, the issue of guilt or innocence is ambiguous: Zion has both suffered overmuch for her own sins (40:2) and suffered vicariously for her children's sins (50:1); Israel has suffered the consequences of his own sins (43:24) and will bear the iniquities of others (53:11). Both are depicted collectively and individually, and while their geopolitical identities (as nation; as city) are not forgotten, their highest moments of pathos and promise are also their most personal (chapters 53 and 54).

Yet Second Isaiah does not maintain Lamentations' strong parallelism of function. This poet finally, like Jeremiah, calls the audience to identify with the male figure, not with Zion. The masculine plural audience is enmeshed with the servant, but separated from Zion rhetorically until the very last verse addressed to her, in which they seem to have become servants of YHWH *in* Zion (54:17). Zion is portrayed as alone, empty and barren until the addressees return to her. Consequently, as Newsom and others have pointed out, there is no marker in the text for the inhabitants of Judah who have not been exiled. They are either subsumed into Zion or they do not exist at all.

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[42] For cues to some of these observations I am indebted to Steck, Sawyer, Wilshire, and Jeppesen.

Moreover, the figure who once commended silence before God (Lam 3:28) and is described as silent (Isa 42:2; 53:7) actually speaks quite a bit (49:1–6, 50:4–9), while the one who is told to raise a shout (54:1) becomes mute, and in fact is told by the prophet what she will say (49:21). Though told to put on her strength, she actually displays less strength than in Lamentations, where she challenged the devastating God. Compared with Jeremiah, her image is remarkably rehabilitated, but compared with Lementations, her voice has been lost, and her demanding theological questions have gone largely unaddressed. Who knows whether this trajectory of silence contributed to her relative invisibility in the imaginations of subsequent readers? It is worth wondering what Zion might have said, had she been provided the chance to speak again.

Agnōstos Theos: Luke's Message to the "Nations" about Israel's God

S. Scott Bartchy
University of California, Los Angeles

Introduction

As Jerome Neyrey has aptly and amply shown, Luke frequently highlights divine providence in his descriptions of God's activities in the Acts of the Apostles and employs concepts that would have been "quite intelligible to a Jewish audience in terms of its Scriptures, but equally clear to Greeks in terms of Hellenistic discussions of God."[1] These widely accepted concepts stressed by Luke include God as creator, God's foreknowledge and plan, God's fulfillment of past prophecies and recent oracles, God's benevolent control of history as demonstrated in the rescue of good people from distress, God's present judgment of sinners, and God's postmortem retribution of both the just and the unjust (theodicy). Neyrey seeks to show a "fullness of fit" between the Lukan God and a composite description of god-as-provident in Hellenistic thinking, which Neyrey summarizes as follows: the gods are wise and good and thus act wisely with goodness, in particular by creating, ordering and maintaining the world and by exercising executive and judgmental functions; their providence can be seen "in the order and regularity of creation, in the giving of oracles and revelations to mortals, in the protective care given to good individuals, and in the just judgment of evildoers."[2]

According to this analysis, the "unknown God" mentioned at the beginning of Paul's speech to the Stoics and Epicureans of Athens (Acts 17:23) proved to be quite well known after all.[3] For this was the providential God whom stereotypically the Stoics strongly affirmed and the Epicureans roundly rejected. Thus Neyrey aptly suggests that the ones who "mocked" were Epicureans and that those who said to Paul, "We will hear you again about this" (17:32) and who

[1] Jerome H. Neyrey, "Acts 17, Epicureans, and Theodicy: A Study in Stereotypes," in *Greeks, Romans, and Christians: Essays in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe*, ed. David L. Balch, et al. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990) 123.

[2] Neyrey, "Acts 17," 122. See also David L. Balch's argument that Luke seeks to show that Paul was in sympathy with the legitimate philosophical tradition represented by Posidonius and Dio Chrysostom, in contrast to those Athenians who delighted in novelties (Acts 17:19–21). "The Areopagus Speech: An Appeal to the Stoic Historian Posidonius against Later Stoics and the Epicureans," in *Greeks, Romans, and Christians*, 52–79.

[3] For a recent statement of a contrary view see Heinz Külling, *Geoffenbartes Geheimnis*, ATANT 79 (Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 1993) 33–39.

"joined him and believed" (v. 34) were Stoics.[4] When speaking of God's providence, then, Luke drew on his knowledge of Jewish Scriptures and presented this aspect of Christian theology in terms that conformed to what most intelligent, good Greeks and Romans thought.[5]

If Luke's providential theology sounded familiar to many of his Gentile readers, what was it about his God that they did not yet understand and believe, that Luke sought to communicate to them in the hope of convincing them and changing their behavior? Perhaps the first thought to come to mind contrasts the many gods of the nations (designated as "idols"—see Acts 15:20, 29; 17:16) with the one true God who has revealed his will definitively in the words and actions of a human being, Jesus of Nazareth. In any case, in this paper I argue that what was "unknown" about God among the Gentiles (τὰ ἔθνη) was not so much that there was only one true God among all the gods but that this God had a strikingly different character and sought to achieve a significantly different goal from all the other divine powers.

That is, the most significant aspect of the conversion of a Gentile from polytheism to the God of Israel was not so much the renunciation of the Many for the One but rather the commitment to a transformed understanding of divine power as such, especially of the divine will and activity in the world. Despite ancient Greek associations of some aspects of justice with Zeus, the nature and will of Israel's God were generally unknown to the "nations."[6] In particular, the fundamental distinction can be seen in this God's longstanding desire to create community among human beings, a community in which the people would honor this God primarily by obeying God's will regarding how they treated each other—with justice and mercy.

It is not my goal, then, in this paper to categorize and analyze all the epithets, adjectives, and verbs associated with the terms θεός and κύριος in Luke-Acts. Rather, I seek to clarify one of the cutting edges of Luke's narrative by comparing a central feature of his concept of God, namely community-forming power, with the views common among the "nations" of his Mediterranean world. Everyone who thought of himself or herself as a Judean or a Judean-sympathizer ("God-fearer") took for granted that their God was a gracious, community-forming power. Wayne Meeks' comment about the early Christians—when they "talked about human behavior, they also talked about God, usually in the same breath, as it were"[7]—is valid for Judeans in general. What divided Judeans from each other was not disagreement about this aspect of God's character and will but rather their differing conclusions about who was in and who was out of God's community, about how to enter and how to remain in God's community.[8] On

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4 Neyrey, "Acts 17," 128.

5 Neyrey, "Acts 17," 134.

6 See Hugh Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus*, Sather Classical Lectures 41 (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971) 1–18.

7 Wayne Meeks, *The Origins of Christian Morality: the First Two Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) 150.

8 See, for example, Howard Clark Kee, who summarizes the convictions characteristic of post-exilic Judaism as follows: "that there is an antecedent divine purpose for the creation and for humanity; that this purpose has been disclosed to and through divinely endowed agents and messengers; that suffering has a significant role within the divine purpose; *that the divine purpose*

the other hand, very little in the thinking and experience of non-Judeans had prepared them to understand and embrace this essential connection between the character and will of the God of the Judeans and the practice of justice and mercy among themselves.

My goal, then, is to clarify the following hypotheses in which I summarize my current understanding of Luke's primary conflict with Greco-Roman thinking about the gods, a disagreement that strongly influenced the shape and themes of his narrative.

Theses

1. The author of Luke-Acts, in continuity with major traditions about God in the First Testament, sought in his narratives to persuade non-Judean converts to the "Christian" movement to conform their behavior to an understanding of θεός that had been largely unknown among them, namely, as community-forming and community-sustaining power. As such, this God desired above all to be worshipped by the practice of justice and mercy, especially on behalf of those who were poor.

2. Writing in the generation after Paul for Christians in house-congregations in which those who grew up knowing Israel's God were rapidly becoming a minority, the author intended to continue the process of resocialization of the "nations" attempted by Paul: to bring the behavior of those "who had not known God" into harmony with the will of the "living and true God." Their behavior should confirm their new belief by demonstrating the character of their new God.

3. The defining point in conversion was not the commitment to monotheism in principle but to cooperation with this true God's character and actions. For the traditional Greco-Roman divinities did not seem concerned in principle about how their worshippers treated each other or with the building up of human community; indeed, these powers were often in conflict with each other.

4. Although religious concerns were enmeshed in every crevice of Greco-Roman life, the concepts θεός and *deus* did not necessarily bring to mind the practice of κοινωνία or *communitas/societas.*

5. In contrast, Judeans had in common the tradition that their God, as the creator of the world and the principal actor in history, sought to create a people characterized by interpersonal righteousness such that God's worshippers dealt fairly and generously with each other without regard to social and economic status.

6. Luke especially emphasizes this tradition in response to continuing difficulties in re-educating predominantly Gentile Christians about the behavioral, community-forming ramifications of their conversion to the God of Israel. In his "Gospel" Luke turned up the volume on relevant Markan traditions and added his own material to highlight the demand of Israel's God for interpersonal

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will be fulfilled by or for a community of the committed, rather than by or for isolated individuals; and that the achievement of the divine purpose will include God's calling to account human beings in general." *Who are the People of God? Early Christian Models of Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) 15 [my emphasis].

righteousness. He continued this emphasis in the speeches and summaries in "Acts."

– I –

The author of Luke-Acts, in continuity with major traditions about God in the First Testament, sought in his narratives to persuade non-Judean converts to the "Christian" movement to conform their behavior to an understanding of θεός that had been largely unknown among them, namely, as community-forming and community-sustaining power.[9] As such, this God desired above all to be worshipped by the unlimited practice of justice and mercy, especially on behalf of those who were poor.

David Moessner and others have called sustained attention to the strong influence of the perspectives of the Deuteronomistic Historian on Luke-Acts.[10] Leaving aside the question about the extent to which Luke patterned his central section (9:51–18:14) after the contents and order of Deuteronomy 1–26 (LXX), I focus here on Luke's imbeddedness in the Deuteronomist's basic vision of reality and of how human beings are related to it.[11] The "Ten Commandments" present a striking expression of this vision. The first command is prefaced by a reminder that God had established the Israelites as a community by liberating their ancestors from slavery in Egypt (Deut 5:6), and the last six of these apodictic statements of the divine will deal specifically with aspects of how God's people are to treat each other. God's deliverance of an enslaved people became linked essentially with a new notion of community "within which the pyramid of social stratification consigning certain classes to lives of ease and others to relentless suffering and deprivation was to be banned forever."[12]

Fundamental to the Deuteronomist's conception of God is this God's profound desire that the people of Israel function as agents of God's impartiality and love by practicing justice and mercy:

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9 Apparently it has been quite easy to take for granted this central aspect of Israel's understanding of God's nature and will. Note, for example, that J. J. Scullion, in his article on "God (OT)" in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (2.1041–48), omits any reference to God as creator or maintainer of community (New York: Doubleday, 1992). In sharp contrast see the sustained emphasis on the importance of the Yahwistic notion of community by Paul D. Hanson, *The People Called: The Growth of Community in the Bible* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986).

10 David P. Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989). See also the extensive, critical evaluation of recent scholarship on the relation between Deuteronomy and Luke-Acts by Craig A. Evans, "Luke 16:1–18 and the Deuteronomy Hypothesis," in C. A. Evans and J. A. Sanders, *Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993) 121–139.

11 For a suggestive analysis of the fundamental role of visions in shaping discourse see Thomas Sowell, *A Conflict of Visions: Ideological Origins of Political Struggles* (New York: William Morrow, 1987). "A vision is an almost instinctive *sense* of what things are and how they work" (204). Regarding moral and social vision, he quotes Walter Lippman (*Public Opinion*, 1965): "At the core of every moral code there is a picture of human nature, a map of the universe, and a version of history. To human nature (of the sort conceived), in a universe (of the kind imagined), after a history (so understood), the rules of the code apply" (18).

12 Hanson, *The People Called*, 23. Hanson observes: "In compromising it [this new notion of community] or denying it, as Israel repeatedly would, Israel would compromise or deny its own essential being as a people called by God."

> For the Lord your God is God of gods and Lord of lords, the great God, mighty and awesome, who is not partial and takes no bribe, who executes justice for the orphan and the widow, and who loves the strangers, providing them food and clothing. You shall also love the stranger, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt (Deut 10:17–19 NRSV).

This God takes special interest in the poor and the needy and promises blessings to those who generously obey God's command to meet these needs in the community:

> If there is among you anyone in need, a member of your community in any of your towns within the land that the Lord your God is giving you, do not be hard-hearted or tight-fisted toward your needy neighbor. . . . Give liberally and be ungrudging when you do so, for on this account the Lord your God will bless you in all your work and in all that you undertake. Since there will never cease to be some in need on the earth, I therefore command you, "Open your hand to the poor and needy neighbor in your land" (Deut 15:7–8, 10–11 NRSV).

Building on this understanding of God's will, Luke presents Jesus exhorting his hearers to practice a radical extension of general reciprocity to "the poor, the crippled, the blind, and the lame" (Luke 14:13–14, 21). When God is ruling everyone will have enough to eat and be welcome, even the enemy; in contrast to the tone of Deut 7:2,16 ("show the enemy no mercy"), Luke emphasizes that God "is kind to the ungrateful and the wicked." Luke's Jesus urges his hearers to love their enemies, do good, and lend, expecting nothing in return. Believers in this God are admonished to "be merciful just as your Father is merciful." By doing so they will share this God's character; they will become "children of the Most High" (Luke 6:35–36).

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Writing in the generation after Paul for Christians in house-congregations in which those who grew up knowing Israel's God were rapidly becoming a minority, Luke intended to continue the process of resocialization of the "nations" attempted by Paul: to bring the behavior of those "Gentiles who had not known God" (1 Thess 4:5) into harmony with the will of the "living and true God" (1 Thess 1:9). The behavior of the "brothers and sisters" in Thessalonica should confirm their new belief by demonstrating the character of their new God. Paul reminded them that he had urged, encouraged, and pleaded with them to "lead a life worthy of God, who calls you into his own kingdom and glory" (1 Thess 1:12).

Thus when Paul congratulated the Christian Gentiles in Thessalonica for having "turned to God from idols, to serve a living and true God," he was not rejoicing solely because of these people's new monotheism but also because of their "work of faith and labor of love and steadfastness of hope" (1 Thess 1:3). For, as all Paul's letters make abundantly clear, this "living and true God" is served first of all by the practice of a new way of treating everyone: the generous, intelligent, and self-sacrificing concern for the welfare of others that he designates ἀγάπη. Worship of the "idols" had not usually entailed such a

concern for others, a point that seems to have been obscured by our conventional way of contrasting pagan polytheism to biblical monotheism.[13] Originally, the central point had never been simply the unity or singularity of God, but rather this God's character and resulting actions. This God liberated slaves from Egypt, created a people out of them, gave them a divine law that emphasizes righteous treatment of each other, and practiced "steadfast love" to all of Israel with an unflinching faithfulness. As Judeans had known for centuries, worshipping this "living and true God" should entail offering oneself as a vehicle of this divine love for everyone in the community, especially for the weak, the poor, the widow, the enslaved, and the alien.[14]

Paul sought especially to bring Gentiles "up to speed" in light of this living God's expectations of them to bear each other's burdens in daily life (see Gal 6:2) and to use their strength without regard to social class or economic status to help those who are weak (see Rom 15:1–3). As Stanley Stowers has stressed recently regarding Paul's activity among the Gentiles,

> the goal of his work was communal. His concern was not the human condition and human nature but the state of the non-Jewish cultures who had, in his view, rejected the one true God . . . [who] handed the Gentile peoples over to their passions and desires as a punishment for rejecting him (Rom 1:18–32). The solution to this problem is not a therapy of the passions through reason but allegiance to the one God and his agent, Jesus Christ, for the creation of renewed communities of Gentiles.[15]

In contrast to Stoics and even Epicureans, for whom human community seems only to serve as a means for individuals to attain inner health, for Paul "the goal is the community itself, a community of a certain quality to which the mutual enhancement of individuals is intrinsic."[16]

My contention here is that Luke, using the narrative form of his Gospel and Acts, was seeking in the generation after Paul's activity to continue the process of formation and correction of the churches which Paul himself had sought to achieve by the influence of his personal presence and of the letters he had written to them. In this next generation, continuing admonitions remained necessary even among the groups begun by Paul; clearly, conversion to Paul's

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13 See, for example, J. D. G. Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways: Between Christianity and Judaism and their Significance for the Character of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991) 19–20. Dunn characterizes the contrast between the monotheism of the Jews and the kind of developing monotheism embraced by learned Greeks and Romans as the difference between an *exclusive* and a *syncretistic* monotheism (his emphasis); he makes no comment about the important dissimilarities in the ways Greco-Romans and Judeans conceived of the character, nature, intention or will of the sole divine power in question.

14 See Hanson, *The People Called*, 315.

15 Stanley K. Stowers, "Paul on the Use and Abuse of Reason," in *Greeks, Romans, and Christians: Essays in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe*, ed. David L. Balch, et al. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990) 285. See also Robert Banks, *Paul's Idea of Community*, 2nd ed. (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrikson, 1994).

16 Stowers, "Paul on Reason," 286.

and Luke's "universe of discourse"[17] was hindered by the "nations'" typical inexperience in thinking about an essential relation between divine power and the quality of their social relationships. Non-Judean converts needed not only to change their belief system when they became Christians but also to alter radically some of their fundamental patterns of behavior, particularly their ways of treating each other.[18] As Paul's letters make clear, many Gentile converts required repeated teaching about the kind of interpersonal behavior that should result from worshipping the God of Israel. For Luke, both the ongoing salvation of these Christians and the persuasiveness of their preaching depended on their making and sustaining such behavioral changes.[19]

– III –

The defining point in a Gentile's conversion was not the commitment to monotheism in principle but to cooperation with this true God's character and actions. For the traditional Greco-Roman divinities did not seem concerned in principle about how their worshippers treated each other, especially across class lines, or with the building up of human community; indeed, these powers themselves were often in conflict with each other. As Walter Burkert observes: "Polytheism encounters fundamental difficulties in giving legitimation to a moral world order. Its multiplicity always implies opposition: Hera against Zeus, Aphrodite against Artemis, Dionysos against Apollo."[20] To be sure, Dike, who is justice personified as a goddess, does come to her father Zeus when she is offended and tells him of unjust men who should be punished. Zeus' response, however, "is not bound to established statutes, is neither predictable nor accountable, and is ultimately in the right, even when it brings destruction."[21] Broadly speaking, it was indeed believed that the gods disapproved of outrageous deeds and honored justice and fitting deeds, especially heroic ones; but the context was a society highly stratified by social class and economic circumstances, a social system that was unchallenged by the gods of Greece and Rome.[22]

Thus critical to the matter at hand is the fact that this understanding of justice was status-linked: what was just for a person among the elite in relation to

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17 For an analysis of conversion in terms of a radical shift in one's "universe of discourse" see David A. Snow and Richard Machalek, "The Convert as a Social Type," in *Sociological Theory 1983*, ed. Randall Collins (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1983) 259–89.

18 For a solid analysis of the factors involved in determining the ethnic composition of Luke's intended readers, see Philip Francis Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lucan Theology*, SNTS Monograph Series 57 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 24–33.

19 See my article, "The Credibility Factor: How Christian Practice Affected the Persuasiveness of Early Christian Preaching," forthcoming in the Festschrift honoring the 25th anniversary of the Institut zur Erforschung des Urchristentums in Tübingen, Germany.

20 Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion*, trans. John Raffan (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985) 248.

21 Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 247–8.

22 See Javier Teixidor, *The Pagan God: Popular Religion in the Greco-Roman Near East* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977).

his peers differed greatly from the treatment such a person was expected to give to someone of low social or economic status. For example, only a small part (about 10%) of the population of classical Athens had enjoyed the status and mutual obligations of "citizens"; most of the remaining population had been prevented from owning houses or lands, could not contract legal marriages with citizens, could not serve in the army, and could not participate directly in court procedures. This basic "system" prevailed throughout the Hellenistic period and permitted uncaring exploitation of the less powerful. In Gentile society the "better" families exerted power on those beneath them in harsh and impersonal ways, seeking to "maximize their gains without a thought to the losses of those with whom they interacted."[23] Among friends, to be sure, not only justice but generosity was to be practiced; yet friends, according to the social values of both Greeks and Romans, should only be sought among persons of equal status.[24]

Indeed, as children Gentiles had rarely seen the destitute persons in their culture given help by anyone—not by civic authorities, not by clubs or religious associations, nor by private benefactors.[25] As A. R. Hands comments, those closest to Homer's Zeus "are not the poor and the meek, but the stronger and the powerful," in part because the poor lacked the means to offer adequate sacrifices.[26] The strong and powerful were untroubled by religious scruples when they ignored those in need in their own cities. In short, when Gentiles became Christians, they typically brought with them no experience in directly connecting worship of divine powers with the practice of justice and mercy to all.

– IV –

Although religious concerns were enmeshed in every crevice of Greco-Roman life, the concepts θεός and *deus* did not necessarily bring to mind the practice of κοινωνία or *communitas/societas*. Prayers and sacrifices to various divine powers were offered by individuals up and down the social scale apart from any religious association beyond the family. On the other hand, there were many clubs, guilds, associations, and burial societies whose participants chose to make ritual sacrifices to a specific god as a divine patron. Indeed, some groups were formed with the primary purpose of meeting regularly to honor a particular god or goddess, often for a religious banquet at which the deity was regarded as the host.[27] For certain groups, participation depended on meeting a specified moral

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23 Bruce J. Malina, "Patronage," in *Biblical Social Values and Their Meaning: a Handbook*, ed. J. J. Pilch and B. J. Malina (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1993) 134–35. Esler, *Community and Gospel*, 199, observes: "The ruling elite not only treated the lower orders unjustly and with contempt, but congratulated themselves on doing so."

24 Mitchell (1992: 264) observes: "Horizontal friendship was the norm because the element of likeness dictated that it be kept between social equals. Friendship between nonequals was possible, but then it took on the trappings of patron-client relationship and the expectations changed."

25 See Esler, *Community and Gospel*, 198.

26 A. R. Hands, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968) 78.

27 Note, for example, the well-known invitations to dine with Serapis at his temple; here is one: "Charemon invites you to a meal at the table of the Lord Serapis in the Serapeum tomorrow, the fifteenth, beginning at 9 o'clock" (*P. Oxy.* I,110). For an up-to-date summary of what is known

standard. But by no means was the *creation* of any of these groups regarded as a major function of the divine powers. Nor, apparently, did the members of any of these groups believe that their god would regard *their serving each other as divine worship.*[28] There was no direct link between the personal character of these deities and the interpersonal behavior of their worshippers.

These gods did not give written laws, nor did they reveal how society should be ordered. "Wise sayings and laws are engraved on temple walls, but they are always regarded as human endeavour, not divine revelation."[29] If, for example, an Athenian had been asked which of the gods had taught Athens democracy and preferred its fair practice to the offering of ritual sacrifices, he would have responded with puzzlement. For not even the patron divinity of the city, Athena, was given credit for inspiring or maintaining this extraordinary human accomplishment.[30]

Thus, if either Greeks or Romans had convened a theological conference to define the meanings and implications of their chief terms for divine power, θεός and *deus*, they might well have talked at length without ever mentioning a divine creation of κοινωνία or *communitas/societas.*[31] As Wayne Meeks observes: "Being or becoming religious in the Greco-Roman world did not entail either moral transformation or sectarian resocialization."[32]

But were not the initiates into the mystery cults introduced to just such a sectarian resocialization and thus to a counter-cultural understanding of the relation of the gods to human community? According to Walter Burkert, they were not. In striking contrast to the confidence of many scholars in this century that the mysteries were characterized by a hierarchical organization to which all members were subject and by a commitment to mutual support,[33] Burkert asserts that "the existence of mystery communities, *Mysteriengemeinden*, cannot be taken for granted. There are important differences among the various mysteries in

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about these religious meals, see Dennis E. Smith, "Greco-Roman Meal Customs" and "Greco-Roman Sacred Meals," in *ABD*, ed. D. N. Freedman et al. (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 4.650–55.

28 For an excellent comparison between a hellenistic cult group devoted to Dionysius and early Christian groups, regarding ritual practice, moral standards, place and frequency of meetings, views of salvation, etc., see S. C. Barton and G. H. R Horsley, "A Hellenistic Cult Group and the New Testament Churches," *JAC* 24 (1981) 1–41. They note the unusual, non-cultic character of the Christian groups: "its members' worship of the deity and their service of one another were understood as inextricably linked, a fact which explains . . . the markedly fraternal character of early Christian worship" (30).

29 Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 248.

30 As Burkert notes, Hesiod describes Athena as "dread rouser of battle-strife, unwearied leader of the host, a mistress who delights in the clamorous cry of war and battle and slaughter." She invented the chariot and the first bridle for the horse; she is the goddess of carpenters and built the first ship. *Greek Religion*, 140–41.

31 John Gould concludes that "what Greek religion offered to those brought up within its field of efficacy was both a framework of explanation for human experience and a system of responses to all that is wayward, uncanny and a threat to the perception of order in that experience." "On Making Sense of Greek Religion," in *Greek Religion and Society*, ed. P. E. Easterling and J. V. Muir (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) 5.

32 Meeks, *The Origins of Christian Morality*, 28.

33 See, for example, Helmut Koester, *History, Culture and Religion of the Hellenistic Age*, Introduction to the New Testament, Vol. 1 (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1982) 198.

regard to social organization and coherence, but none of them approaches the Christian model of a church, *ekklesia.*"[34]

Burkert observes that there were at least three major forms of organization in the practice of ancient mysteries: 1) the independent, itinerant practitioner or charismatic, such as the *teletai* of Dionysus and Meter; 2) the clergy attached to a sanctuary, such as the one at Eleusis and the temples in various places, including Rome, for Isis; and 3) the association of worshipers in the form of a club, *thiasos,* a kind of *koinon.*[35]

The essential feature of such a club was "the coming together of equals in a common interest."[36] The participants contributed time, influence, and private property to the common cause while remaining independent and fully integrated into family and city life. There was often common property but no charismatic leadership or stable clergy. Burkert calls attention to a dedication "to Dionysus and the *symmystai,*"expressing the divine and human ties binding this mystery's initiates. Common activities included offering sacrifices and the related ceremonial meal and participating in public demonstrations, *pompai,* which displayed those who belonged to the group as it moved through the city. Mutual obligations included attending funerals and assisting in lawsuits. Yet there seem to have been no further social duties or welfare—these clubs were not for the poor.[37] As Helmut Koester notes, participation "was reserved for only a few elect persons, i.e., to those who were able to pay the rather high expenses associated with the initiation."[38] Following the initiation, in accord with the prevailing Greco-Roman value system, one's ability to compete for honor (τιμή) by making conspicuous financial contributions was more important than an attitude of cooperation or compassion. This clearly is not an ethos in which anyone believed that the gods had any interest in justice and mercy for everyone.

Burkert sharply contrasts this ethos of the mystery groups with that of Judaism and early Christianity. I quote him at length because this contrast, especially regarding consideration of the poor, seems easy to overlook:[39]

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34 Walter Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1987) 30–31. Burkert, 3–4, cautions: "The constant use of Christianity as a reference system when dealing with the so-called mystery religions leads to distortions as well as partial clarification, obscuring the often radical differences between the two." He thus advises abandoning the term "religion" when speaking of the mysteries, because "initiation at Eleusis or worship of Isis or Mithras does not constitute adherence to a religion in the sense we are familiar with."

35 Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults,* 32, 44–51.

36 Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults,* 32.

37 Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults,* 44.

38 Koester, *History, Culture and Religion,* 191.

39 See, for example, the total lack of attention to this aspect of contrast in the *ABD* article on "Mystery Religions" by Marvin W. Meyer (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 4.941–945. Meyer states that devotees of the mysteries "were frequently close-knit and egalitarian" (941) without observing that they rarely had to overcome any serious status differential among them to become "close-knit"; they all had been able to pay the high initiation fees, so this reputed "egalitarianism" would not have required embracing a new view of the poor in their cities. And when Meyer compares the practices of "the early Church" to those of the mysteries he states that the Christian community "ideally at least" included Jews and Greeks, slaves and free, males and females (so Gal 3:28); but he says nothing about the inclusion of both rich and poor.

> The Jews had refused total integration into ancient society, and with Christianity there appeared an alternative society in the full sense of potentially independent, self-sufficient, and self-reproducing communities. Here we find from the beginning a concern for the poor, economic cooperation at a level quite uncommon in pagan religion, and the inclusion of the family as the basic unity of piety in the religious system. . . . No religious organization outside Judaism had developed such a system, least of all the mysteries with their exclusiveness, their individualism, and their dependence on private wealth.[40]

In short, "ancient mystery cults did not form religious communities in the sense of Judaism or Christianity. Even Richard Reitzenstein had to acknowledge that the concept of church, *ekklesia*, has no equivalent in pagan religion."[41] Very little, if anything, in the experience of an initiate into one of the mysteries would have prepared him or her to appreciate the essential link between divine power and the practice of justice and mercy to everyone that was central to Luke's vision, a vision that was rooted in the First Testament and filtered through traditions of radical inclusiveness associated with Jesus of Nazareth.

– V –

In contrast to the "nations," Judeans had in common the tradition that their God, as the creator of the world and the principal actor in history, sought to create a people characterized by interpersonal righteousness such that God's worshippers dealt fairly and generously with each other without regard to social and economic status. Christian Gentiles, in particular, seem to have had difficulty in "getting the message," in grasping that practicing such κοινωνία was an essential expression of their new belief in the God of Israel. Their difficulty provoked Luke to emphasize precisely this point.

To be sure, even a cursory reading of the Deuteronomistic History and the Hebrew prophets reveals quickly that many Israelites, especially the elite among them, seemed to have been "hard of hearing" in relation to God's call for justice to all. Nevertheless, one understanding of divine power that runs like a golden thread throughout the various traditions in the Hebrew Scriptures focuses on God's unambiguous interest in creating a community of people who will honor God by practicing justice and mercy to everyone, irrespective of social status and economic power. Thus, for any first-century Judean the word "God" naturally brought to mind the creation of a community characterized by interpersonal righteousness.[42] This is no less true for the separatist group of pious Judeans who

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40 Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 51–2.

41 Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 51. In addition he observes (46): "There is not the slightest evidence to support Reitzenstein's assertion that mystery communities were held together by fixed forms of a Credo."

42 Even Philo, the highly hellenized, Alexandrian Jew, had in mind this congruity between belief in the God of Israel and human behavior when, in the name of Moses, he urged Jews to show "especial friendship and excessive benevolence" to Gentile converts (proselytes): "For the

had moved out to Qumran. They defined their community in sharply limiting terms, but there was no question that to worship the God of Israel they had to form a community and to practice righteousness among themselves.

The divisions among first-century Judeans were not rooted in disagreements about their God's intention to have a right-acting people but rather in their differing conclusions about who were to be included in the righteous community and who were to be excluded, and on what terms. For both Luke and Qumran's "Teacher of Righteousness," Israel's God wills for his people to live righteously with each other; but these writers are at opposite ends of the Judean spectrum with respect to communal exclusiveness/inclusiveness.[43]

– VI –

My final hypothesis is that deep-seated and continuing difficulties in re-educating predominantly Gentile Christians about the behavioral, community-forming ramifications of their conversion to the God of Israel provided a major motivation for Luke to compose his two-volume work emphasizing those specific behaviors that he judged to be characteristic of human beings living under this God's rule.[44] Luke believed that these ways of acting were essential to authentic Christian existence and effective Christian witness. To emphasize the demand of Israel's God for interpersonal righteousness in a radically inclusive community, Luke turned up the volume on relevant Markan and Q traditions and added his own pertinent material to his narrative.[45] He continued this emphasis in the speeches and summaries in Acts.[46] Only a few examples of this emphasis can be presented in this paper.

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most effectual allurement and the most indissoluble bond of affectionate good will is the mutual honouring of the one God" (*The Special Laws* 1.52–53).

43 Whether Luke was a highly hellenized Judean or, as a Gentile, had been a thoroughly immersed "God-fearer," he is profoundly interested in justifying his narrative by frequent references to Israelite expectations. As H. C. Kee succinctly observes: "From the opening lines of the Gospel of Luke to the final page of Acts, the author builds on the conviction that 'the things which have been fulfilled among us' (Luke 1:1) are founded on the traditions and institutions of Israel" (*Who Are the People of God?* 187).

44 Here I concur with Philip Esler's conclusion that Luke was seeking to influence house churches in which there was "a mixture of Jew and Gentile, in which each group is significant." But I disagree with his judgment that "most of the Gentiles in Luke's community had not converted to Christianity from idolatry, but had previously been associated with Jewish synagogues" (*Community and Gospel*, 31).

45 I agree with David Moessner's suggestion in "And Once Again, What Sort of Essence?" *Semeia* 43 (1988) 80, that Luke's emphasis is predominantly theocentric, that is, that this author was not so much interested in presenting what sort of person Jesus is "but rather what sort of action God is effecting through this person for the salvation of Israel (and the nations)."

46 Evidence of the ongoing need to educate and resocialize second-century, predominantly Gentile, Christians so as to bring their belief and their behavior into congruity is provided by two striking texts employing similar reasoning. The Didache exhorts: "You shall not turn away the person in need (τὸν ἐνδεόμενον), but you shall share all things in common (συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα) with your brother, and you will not say that they are your own goods. For if you share (κοινωνοί ἐστε) the imperishable good, how much the more should you share goods that are perishable" (4:8). Likewise the Epistle of Barnabas urges: "You shall share all things in common (κοινωνήσεις ἐν πᾶσιν) with your neighbor, and you shall not say that they are your own. For if

Luke follows Mark 6:1–6 in describing the occasion when Jesus taught in the synagogue in Nazareth. Mark presents this event after Jesus has been a public figure for some time; but Luke (4:16–30) modifies his Marcan source in at least three telling ways: 1) he moves the incident to the beginning of Jesus' public activity, 2) he introduces Isaiah 61:1–2a and 58:6, stressing God's anointing to aid the poor, the blind, the captives and the oppressed, into the narrative followed by Jesus' proclamation: "Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing" (4:21), and 3) he stresses the radically inclusive character of Jesus' intention by linking it with the special help given to outsiders (non-Israelites) by the great prophets Elijah and Elisha. Luke thus presents Jesus' mission in very specific terms, identifying him "with the Servant of Yahweh's task of restoring a torn creation and a broken human family to wholeness."[47] By this striking editing, Luke "highlights the special place the poor have in the scheme of salvation."[48] And the "poor" are not only the economically impoverished but all outcasts, all who are excluded from a secure place in the community.

When presenting Mark's tradition (10:17–31) regarding a rich man who was challenged by Jesus to sell what he owned and give the money to the poor (who in Mark are apparently outside of the Jesus-movement), Luke (18:18–30) revises his source in at least four significant ways: 1) he identifies the man as a ruler (ἄρχων); 2) he has Jesus challenge him to sell *all* that he owns; 3) he changes Mark's command "give" (δὸς) to "distribute" (διάδος), thus preparing the reader for the later positive example of the relatively wealthy Christians in Jerusalem (Acts 4:34–5) who were selling land or houses in order to distribute (διεδίδετο) their gain to the others in the community according to need; 4) he eliminates Mark's note that the rich man "was shocked and went away grieving," reporting instead that "he became sad, for he was very rich," with no indication that the man left the group. Luke thus leaves the impression that the wealthy man remained attached to the Jesus-community and that his sadness should serve as a negative example for the rich Christians among Luke's readers.

Luke had prepared his better-off readers for such a personal confrontation by Mary's proleptic song of praise in response to Elizabeth's blessing: "God has brought down the powerful from their thrones and lifted up the lowly; he has filled the hungry with good things and sent the rich away empty. He has helped his servant Israel in remembrance of his mercy" (Luke 1:52–54 NRSV).

From further material unique to Luke, perhaps the story of the rich man and Lazarus (16:19–31) most vividly displays this reversal of status and power, a reversal that is also predicted in Jesus' "woes" to those who are rich, full and laughing (6:24–25). The rich man had not listened to either Moses or the Prophets regarding God's mandate that he use his wealth to benefit the entire community, especially the poor. As Halvor Moxnes correctly stresses, Luke does not present the communal responsibility of this rich man as something new—"rather he phrases it as a return to the 'old' ways with justice and rights for the

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you share (κοινωνοί ἐστε) the incorruptible good, how much the more will you share corruptible goods" (19:8).

47 Hanson, *The People Called*, 464.

48 Esler, *Community and Gospel*, 167.

poor and the needy."[49] And I would add: Luke's use of this story is rooted in his Israelite conception of God as willing the forming of a community characterized by the practice of justice and mercy to everyone.

When this God is permitted to rule, the poor will be honored (Luke 5:20). When this God is ruling, the kind of indebtedness that leads to debt-slavery will be forgiven (11:4). This God "will grant justice to his chosen ones who cry to him day and night" (18:7). Those who give generously to the needy are agents of this God's compassion and love (6:31–36).[50] When this God is ruling Samaritans will help Judeans in need and Judeans will accept the aid (10:29–37). This God will create a new community that is not based on blood or traditional kinship ties but on a moral commitment to this God's ruling (18:29–30): "Truly I tell you, there is no one who has left house or wife or brothers or parents or children, for the sake of the rule of God, who will not receive very much more *in this age*, and eternal life in the age to come" (my emphasis).

When this God is ruling everyone will have enough to eat and be welcome at the table of God's people. In answer to the implied question, "Who will eat bread when God is ruling?" Luke tells the parable of the "Great Feast," a vivid metaphor for God's intended community, with special emphasis on the host's interest in including both "the poor, the crippled, the blind, and the lame" and a second group, mentioned only by Luke: those from the "roads and the lanes" just outside the city walls. (14:15–24).[51] As Richard Rohrbaugh has cogently argued, the people in this group are not those from the rural villages (the impression created by the translation: "highways and hedges") but rather the despised persons who lived just outside the walls of the city because they were not permitted to live inside. Such people were excluded because among them were tanners, traders, beggars, and prostitutes; and they would have needed to be "compelled" to come to the feast because of their sense of place in a social system that in principal kept them out of the city except for business purposes.[52]

Rohrbaugh suggests that Luke presents here "a rather blunt statement about participation in the Christian community," namely: "those who reject the community by shunning association with its less reputable members will no longer be invited to participate." On the other hand, the central point of this story is that a member of the city's elite, who can afford to host a very large feast, makes a break with his social system "in the most public and radical sort of way.

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49 Halvor Moxnes, *The Economy of the Kingdom: Social Conflict and Economic Relations in Luke's Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 151.

50 "God acts as the patron of the poor and the needy through human patrons." See the excellent analysis of Luke's critical use of the patronage model of personal relations that was endemic to life in the Roman Empire by Halvor Moxnes, "Patron-Client Relations and the New Community in Luke Acts," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation*, ed. J. H. Neyrey (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1991) 241–268.

51 Luke's emphasis is placed in relief by the parallel stories that are found in Matt 22:1–14 (where the meal is a wedding feast for a king's son, to which in the end "both good and bad" are invited) and *Gos. Thom.* 64 (where "buyers and sellers" are too busy to participate in the feast and those who happen to be out on the streets are brought in to eat). See the analysis by B. B. Scott, *Hear Then the Parable: A Commentary on the Parables of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989) 161–174.

52 Richard L. Rohrbaugh, "The Pre-Industrial City in Luke-Acts: Urban Social Relations," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, ed. J. H. Neyrey, 145.

How far will the host go in making the break? The second invitation removes all doubt."[53]

This is a host who imitates the God who creates a radically inclusive community.[54] It is not simply a matter of rich Christians struggling with their love of money. It is the question of whether they are willing to risk rejection by their peers as a result of their close associations with the non-elite of the city and social outcasts.[55] In Rohrbaugh's terse phrase: "If becoming part of the Christian community provided a social haven for the poor, it occasioned a social disaster for the rich."[56] This God challenges rich Christians to surrender the comfortable expectation of a social life based on mutual reciprocity, inviting only those with the means to repay the invitation (14:12), in order to practice general reciprocity to everyone in God's radically inclusive community, to become merciful as God is merciful (6:36), to be "rich toward God" (12:21). Repayment will be made by inclusion in the "resurrection of the righteous" (14:14).

Looked at from a related angle, the data show Luke calling in serious question the competition for honor in order to become respected as "the greatest" (9:46–48; 22:24–27) that characterized ancient Mediterranean life, including life in the mystery groups. Luke strikingly edits his Marcan source to place the disciples' dispute about who should be regarded as the greatest into the context of their final meal with Jesus before his execution. There the "greatest" is redefined as one who uses his power for the sake of the community, as one who leads by serving, including serving those of lower status.

As he sought to influence Christian Gentiles to embrace and practice this radical, biblical understanding of justice and mercy for all, especially persons in need, Luke astutely pursued this goal via an additional angle, namely, that of employing the familiar language of Hellenistic friendship ("friends have all things in common, they share what they own" and "friends share one soul"—Aristotle). He used this important concept counter-culturally with the purpose of radically expanding its range of inclusiveness. The God of Israel calls for friendship to be practiced across every social and economic line that had formerly permitted and even justified inequity, exploitation, and mercilessness among these Gentiles who had become God's people. Luke "portrays the early Jerusalem community in Acts as a community of friends to show how friendship can continue across status lines and the poor can be benefited by the rich."[57] Barnabas was honored and remembered not only because of his encouraging demeanor and whole-hearted generosity but also because of his willingness to

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53 Rohrbaugh, "The Pre-industrial City," 145.

54 See H. C. Kee, *Who Are the People of God?* 187–207, for a thorough summary of the evidence for "the inclusive strategy of Luke and Acts."

55 In his ground-breaking article, R. J. Karris, "Poor and Rich: The Lukan Sitz im Leben," concluded that "Luke is primarily taken up with the rich members, their concerns, and the problems which they pose for the community." In *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*, ed. Charles Talbert (Danville, Virginia: Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, 1978) 124.

56 Rohrbaugh, "The Pre-industrial City," 146.

57 Alan C. Mitchell, "The Social Function of Friendship in Acts 2:44–47 and 4:32–37," *JBL* 111 (1992) 272. David P. Seccombe correctly concludes that "Luke describes a central fund whereby the *needy* were assisted, not a communal fund on which *all* drew" (my emphasis). *Possessions and the Poor in Luke-Acts*, SNTU Series B, Vol. 6 (Linz, Austria: A. Fuchs, 1982) 208.

ignore his greatly superior social position (as a Levite and landowner) when he humbly permitted Galilean fishermen to administrate his gift (by laying his money "at the apostles' feet"—Acts 4:37).[58]

In the early chapters of Acts, Luke presents the messianic community in Jerusalem as a model of obedience to Jesus' vision of life when God is ruling. Central to Luke's theology is his conviction that the Holy Spirit has a "Jesus-shape" (Luke 4:18–19 and Acts 2: 33: "having received from the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he [Jesus] has poured out this that you both see and hear"). The primary gift of this Spirit as promised in Peter's first speech (Acts 2:38) is the presence of the Spirit, which results in the creation of a new community that embraces both those who had been Jesus' prior followers and those who had earlier called for his death. This Spirit makes possible the κοινωνία and joyous table-fellowship ("breaking of bread") between these formerly hostile groups (2:42–47).

This God's Spirit seeks to continue the work of the historical Jesus, breaking through long-established social and economic barriers and inspiring the kind of general reciprocity and generosity that are expected from kin and friends. According to Luke, then, when believers "get the message" they open themselves to being shaped into communities characterized by "one heart and life," resulting in there being "not a needy person (ἐνδεής) among them" (Acts 4:32–34). As Esler emphasizes, the absence of the term πτωχός in Acts does not signal a sudden lack of interest in the "poor" but rather strikingly indicates that the community was indeed practicing general reciprocity and mercy; that is, God was ruling and thus there were no longer any "poor"![59]

In short, for Luke this God's Spirit creates authentic community.[60] And it is most of all the life of this kind of community, in which not a needy person can be found, that makes credible the claim: God has raised Jesus from the dead (4:32–35)![61]

Conclusion

The author of Luke-Acts, in continuity with major traditions about God in the First Testament read in terms of "all that Jesus did and taught" (Acts 1:1),

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58 Cicero, the Roman rhetorician, strikingly illuminates the gap in social status between Barnabas and the apostles when he ranks occupations, placing owners of cultivated land at the top and fishermen at the very bottom (*De Officiis* 1:150–51). See the reference and comment by Mitchell, "The Social Function," 269. With both Barnabas and the environment of Luke's readers in mind, Esler, *Community and Gospel*, 199, comments: "Let there no doubt that those people from the upper strata of this society who tried to live a Christian life as Luke defines it were required to abandon some of their most cherished beliefs and practices."

59 Esler, *Community and Gospel*, 186.

60 Thus it follows that Luke reports Spirit-inspired "fireworks" ("speaking in tongues") precisely at those points in his narrative when significant boundaries between alienated groups are broken through (see Acts 2, 10, and 19).

61 Rudolf Pesch comments: "The idea that the congregation testifies to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus by fulfilling the promise of Deut 15:4 ["there will be no one in need among you"] is based on the presupposition that the Resurrected One has saved them in order that they become the people of God and fulfill God's will" [my translation]. *Die Apostelgeschichte*, EKKNT 5 (Zürich: Benziger, 1986) 1:182. See Bartchy, "The Credibility Factor," forthcoming.

composed his narratives as he did in large part to persuade non-Judean converts to the "Christian" movement to conform their behavior to an understanding of deity that had been largely unknown among the "nations," namely, as community-forming and community-sustaining power. In Luke's "universe of discourse" this God desired above all to be worshipped by a radically inclusive practice of justice and mercy, especially on behalf of those who were poor, both economically and socially.

A Theology of Sea Storms in Luke-Acts

C. H. Talbert and J. H. Hayes
Wake Forest University

This paper deals with the theology, implicit and explicit, in the narratives about sea storms in Acts 27 and Luke 8:22–25. It attempts to answer two questions: (1) what theological content would ancient Mediterranean auditors have heard in these narratives? and (2) how do the theological implications of these two stories fit into the Lukan whole?[1]

Theological Content in Acts 27 and Luke 8:22–25

Acts 27

We begin with Acts 27. What theological content would an ancient auditor have heard in this narrative? The attempted answer to this question will be developed in three stages: (1) composition, (2) comparative materials, and (3) context.

Composition

Acts 27 belongs to a large thought unit dealing with Paul's journey from Caesarea to Rome. It consists of introductory (27:1–8) and concluding (28:11–16) itineraries enclosing three scenes (27:9–20; 27:21–44; 28:1–10).

Introductory Itinerary (27:1–8)
1. To Myra in a ship of Adramyttium (1–5)
2. To Fair Havens on a ship of Alexandria (6–8)

SCENE ONE (27:9–20)
1. Paul's prediction (27:10) based on the time of year (27:9) is disregarded because of greed (27:11) and an unsatisfactory harbor (27:12).
2. Paul's prediction is fulfilled in three paragraphs:
   a) the south wind blew gently (27:13)
   b) a tempestuous wind struck (27:14–17)
   c) they were violently storm-tossed so that all hope was abandoned (27:18–20).

[1] This way of framing the aim of the paper relegates to irrelevance much secondary literature which either focuses on the question of sources or treats the text of Luke-Acts as something other than a religious document (e.g., a secular narrative).

SCENE TWO (27:21–44)

1. Paul's prediction (27:21–22, 26) is based on an angelic message (27:23–25).
2. Paul's prediction is fulfilled in three paragraphs:
   a) about midnight, Paul gives a warning (27:27–32)
   b) as day was about to dawn, Paul gives encouragement (27:33–38)
   c) when it was day, all escaped to land (27:39–44).

SCENE THREE (28:1–10)

1. Paul is protected from the effects of snakebite (28:1–6)
2. Paul prays effective prayers for healing (28:7–10)

Concluding Itinerary (28:11–16)

1. To Puteoli on a ship of Alexandria (28:11–14)
2. To Rome via the Appian Way (28:15–16)

Acts 27 comprises the introductory itinerary and the first two scenes of the larger thought unit.

Comparative Materials

Acts 27 is an example of the type-scene, sea storm and shipwreck.[2] Narratives of storm and shipwreck are widespread in Mediterranean antiquity. Among the extensive remains we may mention the following:[3] (1) Greek—Homer, *Odyssey*, 4.499–511; 5.291–453; 12.403–428; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 647–666; Herodotus, *Histories*, 7.188–192; 8:12–14; Euripides, *Daughters of Troy*, 77–86; *Iphigeneia in Taurica*, 1391–1498; *Helen*, 400–413; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, 2.1093–1121; Polybius, *Histories*, 1.37; *Ninus Romance* C; Chariton, *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, 3.3; Chion of Heraclea, 4; a fragment of the romance, *Herpyllis*; Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 7.2–7; Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesian Tale* 2.11; 3.2; 3.12; Lucian, *Toxaris* 19–21; *The Ship*, 7–9; Aelius Aristides, *Sacred Tales*, 2.12–14; 2.64–68; Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, 1.1; 3.1–5; the anonymous romance, *Apollonius of Tyre*, 11–12; Heliodorus, *Ethiopian Story*, 1.22; 5.27; Quintus of Smyrna, *The Fall of Troy*, 14.359–527.

(2) Roman—Plautus, *The Rope*, 62–78; Vergil, *Aeneid*, 1.122–252; 3.253–275; 5.14–43; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 11.477–574; *Tristia*, 1,2.1–110; Curtius, *History of Alexander*, 4.3.16–18; Phaedrus, *Fables*, 4.23; Petronius, *Satyricon*, 114; Seneca, *Agamemnon*, 456–578; Lucan, *Civil War*, 4.48–120; 5.560–677; 9.319–347; 9.445–492; Statius, *Thebaid*, 5.360–421; Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*, 1.614–658; Silius Italicus, *Punica*, 17.244–290; Tacitus, *Annals*, 2.23–24. (3) Jewish—Jonah 1:3–17; the Testament of Naphtali 6:1–10; Josephus, *War*, 1.279–280; *Life*, 13–16. (4) Christian—Acts of Philip, 3.33–36; Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*, 1.8.

Practice in composing such narratives was part of the rhetorical training in the Roman imperial period.[4] Such stories shared numerous elements: for

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[2] The language of type-scene is that of Pamela Thimmes, *Studies in the Biblical Sea-Storm Type-Scene* (San Francisco: Mellen, 1992).

[3] The following accounts of sea storms and shipwrecks were collected by J. H. Hayes as part of a project sponsored by the Spire for Individualized Research at Wake Forest University in the summer, 1994.

[4] M. P. O. Morford, *The Poet Lucan: Studies in Rhetorical Epic* (NY: Barnes & Noble, 1967), pp. 32–36; Susan Marie Praeder, "The Narrative Voyage: An Analysis and Interpretation of Acts 27–

example,[5] (a) a warning not to sail (Polybius; Chion; *Herpyllis*; Aelius Aristides); (b) sailing in a bad season (Polybius; Chion; Dio Chrysostom; Lucian); (c) unusually chaotic winds (Homer; Herodotus; Apollonius Rhodius; *Herpyllis*; Lucian; Aelius Aristides; Achilles Tatius; *Apollonius King of Tyre*; Vergil; Ovid; Petronius; Seneca; Lucan; Statius); (d) darkness during the storm (Homer; Herodotus; Apollonius Rhodius; Chariton; *Herpyllis*, Aelius Aristides; Achilles Tatius; *Apollonius King of Tyre*; Heliodorus; Vergil; Ovid; Curtius; Petronius; Seneca; Lucan; Juvenal); (e) horrendous waves (Herodotus; *Herpyllis*; Lucian; Achilles Tatius; Vergil; Ovid; Lucan); (f) sailors scurrying about (Aelius Aristides; Achilles Tatius; Heliodorus; Vergil; Curtius; Petronius; Tacitus; Jonah); (g) cargo or tackle thrown overboard (Lucian; Achilles Tatius; Heliodorus; Tacitus; Juvenal; Jonah; Josephus; Acts of Philip); (h) control of the ship given up and its being driven by the winds and waves (Homer; Herodotus; Apollonius Rhodius; Chariton; *Herpyllis*; Lucian; Achilles Tatius; Heliodorus; Vergil; Ovid; Petronius; Lucan; Juvenal; T. Naphtali); (i) the ship's frame or hull breaking up (Homer; Aeschylus; Euripides; Apollonius Rhodius; Xenophon; Lucian; Achilles Tatius; *Apollonius King of Tyre*; Vergil; Ovid; Petronius; Jonah; T. Naphtali); (j) passengers abandoning all hope (Homer; Herodotus; Apollonius Rhodius; *Herpyllis*; Lucian; Achilles Tatius; Vergil; Ovid; Petronius; Lucan; Valerius Flaccus; Acts of Philip); (k) the ship wrecking on rocks or a shallow beach (Homer; Aeschylus; Herodotus; Euripides; Apollonius Rhodius; Polybius; *Ninus*; Dio Chrysostom; Xenophon; Lucian; Achilles Tatius; Heliodorus; Plautus; Vergil; Seneca; Lucan; Tacitus); (l) survivors drifting on planks (Homer; Euripides; Apollonius Rhodius; Xenophon; Lucian; Achilles Tatius; *Apollonius King of Tyre*; T. Naphtali); (m) swimming to shore or to another ship (Homer; *Ninus*; Xenophon; Lucian; Achilles Tatius; Phaedrus; Josephus); (n) helpful, simple folk on shore (Dio Chrysostom; Petronius).

The common elements justify one's calling such accounts type-scenes (i.e., a literary convention with recurring elements and functions). So predictable were these accounts that they became the object of satire (Juvenal, *Satires*, 12.17–82; Lucian, *On Salaried Posts in Great Houses*, 1–2) and parody (Lucian, *True Story*, 1.5–6).

Some of these sea stories functioned merely as a record of historical events (e.g., Tacitus, *Annals*, 2.23–24); others served primarily as entertainment (e.g., Petronius, *Satyricon*, 114). Certain of the narratives, however, served to teach either theological or moral lessons. Examples of moral lessons taught by sea narratives include:[6] (a) reckless pride leads to destruction (e.g., Polybius, *Histories*, 1.37; cf. Acts 27:9–12); (b) wealth is a burden and is a transient possession (e.g., Phaedrus, *Fables*, 4.23; cf. Acts 27:18, 38); (c) a true friend is willing to risk his life for the other (e.g., Lucian, *Toxaris*, 19–21; cf. Acts 27:31–32); (d) only the true philosopher is calm in a crisis (e.g., Lucian, *Peregrinus*, 43–44; the story of Pyrrho in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 9.68;

28," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, GTU, 1980, p. 243. The Elder Seneca, *Controversiae*, 7.1.4 and 8.6, illustrates the use of stylized sea storm episodes in his declamations.

5 The list that follows is a part of a larger collection compiled by J. H. Hayes, summer, 1994, as part of his individualized research project.

6 Luke T. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), p. 451, recognizes some of these moral lessons.

Acts 27:33–36); (e) when in crisis, pray (*Testament of Naphtali*, 6:1–10; cf. Acts 27:23–26). Most of these moral points function in subsidiary roles in Acts 27.

The theological functions of sea narratives are best seen when the stories are looked at in terms of causality. Viewed in terms of causality, the narratives fall into four categories of the sea storm type-scene:[7] (1) storm caused by gods or God/ outcome also due to gods or God, whether deliverance or death (Homer, *Odyssey* 4.499–511; 5.291–453; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 647–666; Herodotus, 7.188–192; Euripides, *Daughters of Troy*, 77–86; *Iphigeneia in Taurica*, 1391–1489; Apollonius Rhodius, 2.1093–1121; Chariton, 3.3; Vergil, *Aeneid*, 1.122–252; Seneca, *Agamemnon*, 456–578; Statius, *Thebaid*, 5.360–421; Valerius Flaccus, 1.614–658; Silius Italicus, 17.244–290; Jonah 1:3–17); (2) storm caused by gods or God/ outcome due to mortals on the ship (Euripides, *Helen*, 400–413; Plautus, *The Rope*, 62–78); (3) storm due to natural causes/ outcome due to gods or God (*Herpyllis*; Lucian, *On Salaried Posts*, 1–2; *The Ship*, 7–9; Aelius Aristides, *Sacred Tales*, 2.12–14; Achilles Tatius, 1.1; 3.1–5; Vergil, *Aeneid*, 3.253–275; Ovid, *Tristia*, 1,2.1–110; T. Naphtali 6:1–10; Josephus, *Life*, 13–16; Acts of Philip 3.33–36); (4) storm due to natural causes/ outcome due to natural or human agents (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, 4.1228–1247; Polybius, 1.37; *Ninus* C; Chion, 4; Dio Chrysostom, *Oration*, 7.2–7; Xenophon, *An Ephesian Tale*, 2.11; 3.2; 3.12; Lucian, *Toxaris*, 19–21; *True Story*, 1.5–6; 2.47; Aelius Aristides, *Sacred Tales*, 2.64–68; *Apollonius King of Tyre*, 11–12; Heliodorus, 1.22; 5.27; Vergil, *Aeneid*, 5.14–43; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 11.472–574; Quintus Curtius, *Alexander*, 4.3.16–18; Phaedrus, *Fables*, 4.23; Petronius, *Satyricon*, 114; Lucan, 5.560–677; 9.319–347; Tacitus, *Annals*, 2.23–24; Josephus, *War*, 1.279–280).

The first of these categories of narratives of sea storms has received attention of late. Gary Miles and Garry Trompf in 1976[8] and David Ladouceur in 1980[9] have called attention to the Mediterranean assumption that nature is a vehicle of divine Justice and, if so, then storm and shipwreck can be understood as divine judgment on the wicked; and conversely, the absence of storm and shipwreck can be seen as evidence of absence of guilt. It is against this background, they claim, that Acts 27 is to be understood. Two things must be said in response: first, supporting evidence from the first century AD, and second, a question.

(1) The Elder Seneca, in his stylized declamations written in the early first century AD, includes one that is relevant to our concerns (*Controversiae*, 7.1 [LCL]). A son is unjustly convicted of parricide (the attempted murder of his father). As his punishment, he is put on a boat whose rigging was removed. He immediately finds himself in a storm. Seeing this, his brother says: "The sea . . . is waiting for a parricide" (i.e., to punish the criminal). Then he prays: "I commend him to you, Fortune—if he is innocent" (7.1.4). "The seas roll savagely, hurricanes press the ship's sides with the rush of their spray, the boat is beaten on every side by dangers; but innocence is safe" (7.1.10). The boat is "equipped

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7 This typology was suggested by C. H. Talbert and developed as by J. H. Hayes during the summer of 1994 as part of the Spires Program for Individualized Research at Wake Forest University.

8 Gary Miles and Garry Trompf, "Luke and Antiphon," *Harvard Theological Review*, 69 (1976), 259–67.

9 David Ladouceur, "Hellenistic Preconceptions of Shipwreck and Pollution as a Context for Acts 27–28," *Harvard Theological Review*, 73 (1980), 435–49.

by heaven; suddenly sails have appeared, suddenly the ship begins to ride higher and right itself. Innocence is a great shield in danger" (7.1.10). This vindication by heaven is met with wonder: "O seas that are more fair than trials" (7.1.11). In the first century AD the assumption that divine Justice sometimes acts through the sea is common enough that it can be used in the teaching of declamation. (2) If this is really the backdrop of Paul's shipwreck scene, in what way does this cultural assumption serve as the key to Acts 27?

Acts 27 belongs to "category three" of ancient sea storm type-scenes: the storm is due to natural causes; the outcome is due to the divine will. In Acts 27 the narrator makes no mention of divine action in sending the storm. Rather there are references that indicate the natural causes of the storm: (a) the time of year (27:9—"the time of the Fast had already gone by,[10] so Paul warned them"); (b) the apparent greed of the pilot and owner of the ship who want to sail despite the bad time of the year[11] (27:11—"the centurion paid more attention to the pilot and the owner of the ship than to what Paul said"); (c) the search for a suitable harbor in which to spend the winter (27:12—"Since the harbor was unfavorably situated for spending the winter, the majority planned to put out to sea . . . in the hope of reaching Phoenix, a port in Crete"); (d) the fact that other ships had spent the winter in a safe harbor (28:11—"Three months later we set sail on a ship that had wintered at the island"). All of these details make the same point. The storm and shipwreck were not due to divine judgement but rather to a natural cause, namely, the time of the year. Such a depiction of Paul's experience of storm and shipwreck could be understood as a protection against possible misunderstanding in terms of category one: you cannot escape divine Justice; the storm is caused by God as a judgment on a guilty party, Paul. That the narrator was aware of such a possibility is evidenced by the views espoused by his characters in 28:4b: "This man must certainly be a murderer; though he escaped the sea, Justice has not allowed him to remain alive."

Over against any impression that Paul was judged guilty by God because he was involved in a storm and shipwreck, Acts 27 makes explicit that the storm and shipwreck were due to the time of the year (27:9). Over against any claim that Paul's escape from the dangers of the deep was due to human prowess, Acts 27 makes explicit that the deliverance was in accord with the divine plan (27:23–25; 19:21–22; 23:11). The effect of the former is to declare that Paul's involvement in storm and shipwreck was not evidence of any guilt on his part. The effect of the latter is to say that Paul's preservation is part of the divine plan to carry the gospel to Rome by means of this innocent one. You cannot stop the divine plan! This seems likely to be the way an ancient Mediterranean auditor would have heard the narrative, given the cultural conventions about sea storms and ship wrecks.

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10 The Fast refers to the Day of Atonement, 10th Tishri. For Jews, the Feast of Booths five days after the Fast marked the end of the season for sailing. Generally, from May 27 (?)until September 14 was regarded by Mediterranean people as the safe season for sea travel.

11 Since grain was needed in Rome, Claudius had instituted a policy to secure a regular supply. Suetonius, "Claudius," 18.2, says Claudius assumed the expense of any loss suffered by ship owners due to winter storms. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 2.47.125, says that not even the fury of storms closed the sea, because of avarice. David W. J. Gill and Conrad Gempf (eds), *The Book of Acts in its Graeco-Roman Setting* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), p. 22.

Context

The reading suggested above on the basis of comparative material is reinforced by an examination of the immediate contexts of Acts 27. The contexts to be considered are two: (1) Acts 28:1–10, the narrative which follows chapter 27 and which goes together with it as a part of the larger thought unit 27:1–28:16, and (2) Acts 23:12–26:32, the large thought unit which precedes chapter 27.

Acts 28:1–10 constitutes Scene Three in the thought unit, 27:1–28:16. It consists of two parts: 28:1–6 and 28:7–10. In the first part, Paul is bitten by a viper (vs 3) which causes the natives to think he is a murderer who, though he escaped from the sea, has now been caught by divine Justice (vs 4). When he is not affected by the snake bite, the natives change their opinion (vs 5). He is not a murderer; he is a god. Two things emerge from vss 3–4. First, there is an explicit statement by the characters of the Mediterranean assumption that the animal kingdom, often a serpent, functioned as a vehicle of divine Justice. Second, the serpent bite is explicitly understood as a corollary to involvement in storm and shipwreck. Both are believed by the natives to function in the same way, as divine judgment.

Three examples from the Greco-Roman world illustrate one or the other or both of the dimensions of the case. (a) In *The Greek Anthology* 7.290, we read:

> The shipwrecked mariner had escaped the whirlwind and the fury of the deadly sea, and as he was lying on the Libyan sand not far from the beach . . . naked and exhausted by the unhappy wreck, a baneful viper slew him. Why did he struggle with the waves in vain, escaping then the fate that was his lot on the land? (LCL)[12]

Here both dimensions are combined: snake bite and shipwreck as vehicles of divine destiny.

(b) Heliodorus, *An Ethiopian Story* 2.20, tells of a brigand, Themouthis, making his escape, who lay down to sleep, "but the sleep he slept was the final sleep, the brazen sleep of death, for he was bitten by a viper." [13]

(c) An Egyptian papyrus of the 4–5th centuries AD, cited by Cadbury, reads:

> A son having murdered his own father and fearing the laws fled into the desert. As he passed through the mountains he was pursued by a lion; and being pursued by a lion he went up into a tree, and finding a snake as he went up into a tree and being unable to go up on account of the snake he came down again. Wrong doing does not escape the attention of god. The divine always brings the wicked into Dike.[14]

Similar assumptions are expressed in Jewish sources as well. (a) In the Tosefta, Sanhedrin 8:3 [E], R. Simeon ben Shatah (c. 80 BC) said he saw a man with a sword running after a fellow. The two ran into a deserted building. When

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12 Sometimes a villain escaped judgment by the sea because he was destined for a further punishment (e.g., Caesar escapes by being hurled to shore by a miraculous tenth wave [Lucan *Civil War*, 5.672–677] because the parricide was being saved for the death he deserved). Cf. M. P. O. Morford, *The Poet Lucan*, p. 34.

13 B. P. Reardon, (ed), *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 392.

14 Henry J. Cadbury, *The Book of Acts in History* (London: Black, 1955), p. 27.

Simeon entered, he saw the one slain and the other with the sword dripping blood. The rabbi comments: "but He who knows the thoughts of man will exact punishment from the guilty. He did not move from the spot before a snake bit him and he died."[15] (b) In the Jerusalem Talmud, Berakoth 5:1 [XIV.D], there is a tradition about R. Haninah ben Dosa (before AD 70) who, when praying, was bitten by a snake but did not interrupt his prayers. Not only was the rabbi not affected by the bite but the snake died at the entrance to its den. In the Babylonian Talmud, after these events Hanina is reported to have said: "It is not the snake that kills, but sin" (b. Berakoth 33a).[16] A righteous man is unaffected by snake bite, just as a wicked man is punished by it.

This latter point corresponds to the Jewish mindset found in Daniel 6:22 where Daniel says to the king: "My God sent his angel and shut the lions' mouths . . . *because* I was found blameless before him." That this is not limited to a Jewish context is evidenced by the Greco-Roman tradition found in Horace, *Odes*, 1.22. There the poet proves his righteousness with the news that while he was strolling unprotected through the woods, a wolf fled from him, leaving him unharmed. The animal kingdom, like the sea, punishes the wicked as the agent of divine Justice. It does not, however, harm the righteous.

The same cultural mindset is reflected in Christian sources as well. In the Acts of John a villain lusted in vain after the married Drusiana. When she died, he bribed the steward of her husband to open the tomb so he could have his way with the corpse. When they entered but before the act could occur, a serpent appeared and slew the steward with a single bite. The narrator describes this judgment as "such as they deserve to suffer who do such deeds" (70–71). The apostle John, however, who then entered the tomb was unharmed by the serpent (75).[17]

There seems to be no other way to read Acts 28:1–6 in a Mediterranean context. The natives think Paul guilty when he is bitten; they change their minds when he is unaffected. So Paul is declared innocent by God! Neither storm nor serpent bite is to be taken as God's judgement on Paul. Quite the contrary. God protects and vindicates his upright one.

Acts 28:7–10 functions in two ways. First, it refutes the natives' wrong belief that Paul is a god (vs 6). How? In vs 8, in connection with the healing of Publius's father, Paul "prays" for the healing. A god does not pray for a healing but heals out of himself (cf. Luke 8:46). Likewise, a magician with pretensions to deity would not pray but would regard the miracle as his own doing. This is made clear by Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 8.7.9. In Apollonius' defense before Domitian, he contends that he is no magician even though he has eradicated the disease causing a plague in Ephesus. Why? Because he "prayed" to Hercules for the healing. A magician would not do this because he would consider it his own achievement. Contrary to the natives' opinion, Paul is neither a god nor a pretender to divine honors (= a magician; cf. Acts 8:10).

Second, it indicates that Paul is a righteous man. James 5:16b–18, in the context of prayers for healing, uses Elijah as an example to indicate that "the

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15 *The Tosefta: Neziqin*, trans. Jacob Neusner (NY: KTAV, 1981), p. 223.

16 *The Babylonian Talmud: Seder Zera'im*, ed. I. Epstein, trans. M. Simon (London: Soncino Press, 1948), p. 204.

17 M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), pp. 245–246.

fervent prayer of a righteous person is very powerful" (NAB). John 9:31, again in the context of healing, has the formerly blind man declare: "We know that God does not listen to sinners, but if one is devout and does His will, He listens to him". That Paul's prayer is answered is an indication that he is regarded as righteous by God. Paul is not a god but he is a righteous man. Acts 28:1–10 declares Paul innocent by God's decree. This goes hand in glove with the same point being made in chapter 27. Acts 27 says Paul is not guilty even if he was in a storm and shipwreck. Acts 28 says Paul is not guilty even if he was bitten by a serpent. Both affirm Paul is God's servant, a righteous man whose prayers are answered. By God's decree, Paul is innocent.

Acts 23:12–26:32 is the second part of chapter 27's immediate context, the large thought unit that immediately precedes it. This large thought unit is subdivided into four scenes, each dealing with Paul's status before Roman authorities.

SCENE ONE (23:12–35)
- The plot (23:12–15)
- The plot is discovered (23:16–22)
- The plot is foiled (23:23–35) and Paul is declared innocent (23:29)

SCENE TWO (24:1–27)
- Felix hears charges against Paul (24:1–9)
- Felix hears Paul's defense (24:10–21)
- Felix disposes of Paul's case by delay, putting off the Jews (24:22–23) and Paul (24:24–27)

SCENE THREE (25:1–12)
- Festus hears charges against Paul (25:1–7)
- Festus hears Paul's defense (25:8) and appeal to Caesar (25:9–11)
- Festus disposes of Paul's case by agreeing to send him to Caesar (25:12)

SCENE FOUR (25:13–26:32)
- Agrippa hears charges against Paul: privately (25:13–22) and publicly (25:23–27) including a statement of Paul's innocence by Festus (25:25)
- Agrippa hears Paul's defense (26:1–23)
- Agrippa and others, after dialogue with him (26:24–29), give their judgment that Paul is innocent (26:30–32).

The overall thrust of the large thought unit, 23:12–26:32, is that Paul is declared innocent by human authorities (Acts 23:29; 25:25; 26:31; 26:32). This means that the last sections of Acts are concerned to declare Paul's innocence. His innocence is recognized and declared by both human authorities (23:12–26:32) and divine authority (27:1–28:10). The storm and shipwreck function as part of this overall design. At the same time, the deliverance from the storm and shipwreck are understood as part of God's vindication of his messenger, enabling him to carry the gospel to Rome (Acts 19:21–22; 23:11).

Luke 8:22–25

It is now time to turn to Luke 8:22–25 to ask what theological overtones an ancient auditor would have heard in this narrative. Again, the remarks that

follow will be developed in terms of composition, comparative materials, and context.

Composition

This is a miracle story with the usual three parts: problem (vss 22–24a), miracle (vs 24b), and reaction to the miracle (vs 25). Its obvious point is that Jesus has power over the wind and the sea.

Comparative Materials

Ancient auditors might have heard a range of implications from this story. (1) When Luke 8:25b gives as the reaction to the miracle the question, "Who then is this, who commands even the winds and the sea, and they obey him?," certain echoes from the LXX could have been heard. Psalm 88:9 LXX (MT 89:9) reads: "Thou rulest the power of the sea, and thou calmest the tumult of its waves." Psalm 106:29–30 LXX (MT 107:29–30) reads: "And he commands the storm, and it is calmed into a gentle breeze, and its waves are still. And they are glad, because they are quiet; and he guides them to their desired haven." Of course, the one about whom the LXX speaks is Yahweh. The story, then, has the effect of applying to Jesus the attributes of the LORD. Who is this? It is one with Yahweh's power.

(2) The question, "Who is this?," might have evoked other echoes as well. Two biographies of Pythagoras offer relevant data about the kind of popular belief that would have been "in the air" in Luke's time. Porphyry, *The Life of Pythagoras*, 29, says of the philosopher that "he calmed storms on rivers and seas, for the comfort and safe passage of his friends."[18] Similar feats were performed by his followers Empedocles, Epimenides, and Abaris. Iamblichus, *The Life of Pythagoras*, 28, says that one sign of the philosopher's divinity was his "tranquilizations of the waves of rivers and seas, in order that his disciples might the more easily pass over them."[19] Among others who did such things was Empedocles of Agrigentum who was surnamed the "wind-stiller." In 3, moreover, a story is recounted of a journey on a ship taken by Pythagoras during the time for travel to be suspended. "The sailors considered that contrary to their expectations, the voyage had proceeded without interruptions, as if some deity had been on board."[20] Again, the echoes that might have been heard when Luke 8:22–25 was read relate to one who had the marks of divinity.

(3) It is even possible that the question of the identity of Jesus, the storm-stiller, could have had apologetic overtones. Plutarch, in his "Life of Caesar," 38.2–4, tells the story of how Caesar, disguised as a slave, went on board a ship. When a strong wind arose so that the ship could make no progress due to the waves, the captain was about to turn around. Caesar then disclosed himself and said: "Come, good man, be bold and fear naught; thou carryest Caesar and Caesar's fortune in thy boat" (LCL). The sailors forgot the storm and tried to force their way through the waves with the oars. The project proved impossible and so Caesar reluctantly allowed the captain to put about and return to port. In

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18 Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie (ed), *The Pythagorean Sourcebook and Library* (Grand Rapids: Phanes Press, 1987), p. 129.

19 Guthrie, *The Pythagorean Sourcebook*, p. 91.

20 Guthrie, *Pythagorean Sourcebook*, p. 60.

such a story, one hears that Caesar is only a man although he tries to act like a god. In his pretensions to divinity, he is an imposter—unlike Jesus.[21] Such stories about Caesar were likely to have circulated long before Plutarch wrote.

"Who is this that commands the wind and the sea and they obey him?" An ancient auditor would have heard in the story a claim for Jesus' divine authority. Luke 8:22–25, like Acts 27, belongs to category 3 of sea storm type-scenes: the cause of the storm may be natural, but the outcome is due to divine power. The divine power in Luke 8:22–25 is located in the person of Jesus. Contrast Acts 27:1–28:10 where it is located outside of Paul! Indeed, that Paul is delivered from storm and shipwreck in Acts 27 is due to the divine power of the Lord, a power demonstrated in Luke 8:22–25.

Context

Luke 8:22–25 is part of a large thought unit, 8:22–9:6, in which four miracle stories demonstrate Jesus' power (8:22–25; 8:26–39; 8:43–48; 8:40–42, 49–56) and are followed by 9:1–6, a pericope in which Jesus gives power and authority to the Twelve for their mission work.[22] Luke 8:22–25's particular function in this thought unit is to say that Jesus's power includes authority over the sea. His "sent ones" are, therefore, not outside the sphere of his control and protection when they travel on the sea. Moreover, the exorcism story, 8:26–39, set in Gentile territory, in which the demons, now resident in the unclean swine, try to escape Jesus' power by rushing into the waters of the lake, functions in part to say that they are by no means eluding the authority of the one to whom even wind and water hearken. Jesus is lord of the sea and its storms. His "sent ones" may have faith that they are safe in his power for the assigned tasks that lie before them.

Do Acts 27 and Luke 8:22–25 Fit into the Lukan Whole?

The theological perspectives of Acts 27 and Luke 8:22–25 fit nicely into the Lukan whole. Three dimensions of the overall vision of Luke-Acts can be employed to demonstrate this claim: (1) the divine plan, (2) the use of foreshadowing in Luke-Acts, and (3) the use of correspondences between events in Luke and those in Acts.

The Divine Plan

According to Luke-Acts there is a divine plan that stands behind the events of history.[23] It is spoken of as the *boulē tou theou* in Luke 7:30; Acts 2:23; 4:38; 5:38–39; 13:36; 20:27. It is referred to as God's *thelēma* in Luke 22:42; Acts 21:14; 22:14. It is described as God's *exousia* in Acts 1:7.

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21 It is possible that Acts 28:11 reflects the same type of polemic in its context: "three months later we set sail on a ship that had wintered at the island, an Alexandrian ship with the Twin Brothers as its figurehead." While Paul and his company were tossed about on the sea and finally delivered by the God to whom Paul belonged, the Twin Brothers, those famed deliverers of travellers in peril at sea, spent the winter in the safe harbor at Malta (so J. H. Hayes).

22 Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Luke* (NY: Crossroad, 1982), pp. 95–97.

23 For what follows, see C. H. Talbert, "Once Again: The Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts," in *Der Treue Gottes Trauen*, ed. Claus Bussmann and Walter Radl (Freiberg: Herder, 1991), pp. 101–104. John T. Squires, *The Plan of God* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), offers the fullest treatment of the Mediterranean backgrounds of the concept.

Events of history happen according to the divine plan in Luke-Acts. This is sometimes described with the term *dei*, as in Luke 2:49; 4:43; 9:22; 13:33; 17:25; 21:9; 22:37; 24:7; 24:26; 24:44; Acts 1:16; 1:21; 3:21; 4:12; 9:16; 17:3; 23:11; 27:24. It is referred to by *kata to horismenon* in Luke 22:22; by *ho horismenos hupo tou theou* in Acts 10:42; and by *ho horisen* in Acts 17:31. In Acts 26:16 the term used is *procheirisasthai*; in Acts 22:14 it is *proecheirisato*. The expression is *en anagkaion* in Acts 13:46. In Luke 9:31; 9:44; 24:21; Acts 17:31; 26:22–23, in is *mellei* that refers to the fact that events happen according to the divine plan.

The realization of the divine plan is often spoken of in terms of fulfillment. Luke 1:20; 4:21; 21:24; Acts 1:16; 3:18; 13:27, all use *plēroun*. Luke 9:51 uses *sumplērounthai*. Luke 18:31 and 22:37 employ *telein*.

The divine plan can be known by humans. The scriptures of Israel make it known: for example, Luke 4:18–19; 24:45–47; Acts 13:23, 32–33, 37; 15:15; 28:25–27. Angelic announcement reveals it as well: for example, Luke 1:13–17; 1:30–33; Acts 10:3–8, 22, 30–33; 27:23–25. Living humans prophesy in ways that make the divine will known: for example, Luke 1:29–32, 34–35; Acts 21:10–11. Both the pre-Easter Jesus (for example, Luke 9:22, 44; 18:31–33; 11:13) and the risen Christ (for example, Luke 24:49; Acts 1:4–5; 1:8) express the divine purpose for others to know. Sometimes God's purpose is manifest by special appointment, as in Acts 22:14. In various ways, the will of God which lies behind and determines the course of history is made known to humans.

What has been said about the Lukan understanding of the divine plan for history would have been intelligible to a Mediterranean auditor of Luke-Acts. The belief that a divine necessity controls human history, shaping the course of events, was a widespread assumption in Mediterranean antiquity.

A pagan like Polybius reflects this conviction. Early in his career he saw that Roman power was irresistible. As a Stoic, he believed the Roman order of things was part of a divine providence that ruled the world. This belief he expounded in his *Histories*. In 1.4.1–2, he says:

> Fortune (*tychē*) having guided almost all the affairs of the world in one direction and having forced them to incline towards one and the same end, a historian should bring before his readers under one synoptical view the operations by which she has accomplished her general purpose. (LCL)

A Jew like Josephus shared this cultural belief. As a Jew, however, he viewed the divine necessity as deriving from the personal will of God who is a living person and not a neutral necessity. So in *Antiquities* 10.8.2–3 § 142, for example, he tells of Jeremiah's prophecy of the fall of Jerusalem being fulfilled and says that these events manifest the nature of God, "which foretells all which must (*dei*) take place, duly at the appointed hour."(LCL) Pagan and Jew alike believed that history unfolded according to a divine necessity or compulsion that could be expressed in terms of *dei* or *deon esti*. A Jew would have heard it in terms of his belief in a personal deity, but the cultural context was agreed that history unfolded according to a divine necessity. It was in these terms that Luke's language about the divine plan would have been heard.

It was also believed in Mediterranean antiquity that the divine will could be disclosed to and known by humans. This was often connected with oracles in the pagan sphere and with prophecy in the Jewish culture. Indeed, oracles/

prophecy not only revealed the divine plan but advanced it. History moved along its appointed course as a fulfillment of oracles/prophecy. This was true for pagan (e.g., Lucian, *Alexander the False Prophet*; Suetonius, *Life of Vespasian*; Apuleius, *Golden Ass*) and for Jewish settings (e.g., the Deuteronomic history; Qumran; Josephus, *Antiquities*).

Of course, in Luke-Acts there is a major motif of the fulfillment of prophecy. The prologue speaks of "the things fulfilled (*peplērophoremenon*) among us" (Luke 1:1). There follows a narrative that is literally controlled by a prophecy-fulfillment pattern. Prophecy is given by the scriptures of Israel, by living prophets, and by heavenly beings. The prophecies disclose the divine will and the fulfillment of prophecy moves the story along to another stage. In this regard the Lukan writings would have been perfectly intelligible to the Mediterranean hearer, whether Jewish or pagan.

Within this overall scheme, the narrative of Acts 23:12–28:16 fits nicely. In Acts 23:11 there is a prophecy of the risen Christ that controls the rest of the book: "The following night the Lord stood by him and said, 'Take courage. For just as you have borne witness to my cause in Jerusalem, so you must (*dei*) also bear witness in Rome.'" In Acts 27:23–26 Paul speaks to the terrified sailors and passengers on board the storm driven ship:

> I urge you now to keep up your courage; not one of you will be lost, only the ship. For last night an angel of the God to whom I belong and whom I serve stood before me and said,'Do not be afraid, Paul. You are destined (*dei*) to stand before Caesar; and behold, for your sake, God has granted safety to all who are sailing with you.' Therefore, keep up your courage, men; I trust in God that it will turn out as I have been told. We are destined (*dei*) to run aground on some island." (NAB)

If the storm and shipwreck of Paul's journey to Rome are shown to be due to natural causes and not divine judgment, his deliverance is shown to be a part of the divine plan that he preach the gospel in Rome before Caesar. In this regard, Acts 27 fits into the overall scheme of Luke-Acts where the events within the plot are part of the divine plan.

Foreshadowing in Luke-Acts

In Luke-Acts there is frequent use of foreshadowing. The employment of foreshadowing in a narrative is widespread in Mediterranean antiquity. In Greek and Roman epics, for example, one finds various devices employed to forecast the future, both the future that finds fulfillment within the narrative and the future whose fulfillment is beyond the narrative.[24] Sometimes the foreshadowing is done by the author, sometimes by a divine being within the narrative, and sometimes by a mortal character in the plot (all of which are found in Luke-Acts). These foreshadowings frequently take the form of prophecies of the future: for example, in the *Aeneid* 7.652–53, the author gives the reader a hint that Lausus will meet his death; in the *Aeneid* 11.587–94, the goddess Diana's words to Opis give the reader a knowledge of the later death of Camilla with the attendant death of her slayer; and in the *Aeneid* 24.725–38, Andromache foresees

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24 George E. Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (NY: Haskill House, 1966).

the future fate of Astyanax and of the Trojans in general. A Greco-Roman auditor of Luke-Acts, therefore, would have understood the evangelist's use of foreshadowing.

The closest parallels to the Lukan use of foreshadowing by prophecy, however, are from the LXX. Luke's repeated use of prophecy-fulfillment, for example, functions as foreshadowing by divine forecast, sometimes within a dream/vision, sometimes apart from a dream/vision.[25] This reflects the same practice in the LXX.

(1) Take the matter of foreshadowing by divine forecast. In 2 Samuel 11 David sins against Uriah. In chapter 12 Nathan the prophet confronts David. In 12:10–12, 14, there is a prophecy of the consequences of David's sin (foreshadowing by divine forecast): (a) the sword will never depart from David's house (vs 10); (b) God will raise up evil against David out of his own house (vs 11a) and will take David's wives and give them to another publicly (vss 11b–12): (c) the child to be born of the illicit union with Bathseeba will die (vs 14).

This foreshadowing serves as a focusing technique, enabling the reader to know what to look for in the narrative that follows.[26] (c) The child dies (2 Sam 12:15b–19). (a) Absalom has his brother Amnon killed (2 Sam 13:28–29, 32). Absalom is killed by Joab and his men (2 Sam 18:14–15). Solomon has his brother and rival, Adonijah, killed (2 Kings 2:23–25). (b) Absalom goes in to his father's concubines in the sight of all Israel (2 Sam 16:21–22). The foreshadowing allows the narrator to dispense with continual enactment of divine intervention that might overschematize the whole plot and to benefit from the artistic gains of "omnipotence behind-the-scenes."[27]

This is very much like the divine forecast of Acts 23:11: "just as you have borne witness to my cause in Jerusalem, so you must also bear witness in Rome." What follows throughout the trials before the authorities may seem like a secular narrative devoid of divine intervention but it is controlled by the foreshadowing of divine forecast. The narrative is theological but it is a theological narrative with omnipotence behind-the-scenes, following biblical models of narration.

(2) Consider also the matter of foreshadowing through dreams/visions in the LXX. In Genesis 37:5–7, Joseph tells his brothers of his dream, the gist of which was that they would bow down to him and that he would have the rule over them (vs 8). The well known events of Joseph's sale into slavery in Egypt follow. Then because of famine the brothers are forced to come to Egypt to seek food. In 42:9 we hear that Joseph remembered the dream. Then when events take a turn for the worse with the brothers, we hear in 43:23 that they bowed down before Joseph, in 43:28 that they did obeisance before Joseph, and in 44:11 that they fell to the ground before Joseph. Again the story is told in terms of divine omnipotence behind-the-scenes. This is very much like Acts 27 where Paul tells the fellow travellers on the ship of the previous night's dream/vision that all would be saved (vss 23–26). The apparently secular narrative that follows is very much a theological one because it is written in terms of omnipotence behind-the-scenes.

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25 Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 105, 285–308.

26 Meir Sternberg, *Poetics*, p. 115.

27 The language is that of Meir Sternberg, *Poetics*, p. 106.

Luke 8:22–25, together with its companion pieces in the large thought unit, 8:22–9:7, also functions as a foreshadowing. In this case, it is not foreshadowing by prophecy but rather foreshadowing by demonstration. One hears both that Jesus' power controls the sea and that he has authority over demons even in Gentile territory. The story of Acts works out that foreshadowing both in terms of the Lord's protection of his servants on the sea (Acts 27) and in terms of authority over the demonic in Gentile territory (Acts 16:16–18; 19:13–20).

This is very much like the LXX's use of foreshadowing by demonstration in the Elijah-Elisha cycles of 1 and 2 Kings. The first cycle dealing with Elijah gives a series of stories of his accomplishments. Then the reader is told that Elisha is anointed to be prophet in his stead (1 Kings 19:16) and that the Spirit of Elijah rests on Elisha (2 Kings 1:15). Following that, there is a series of events connected with Elisha that depict his deeds which have similarities with what one has already been told about Elijah. For example, Elisha parts the water (2 Kings 2:13–14) as Elijah had done (2 Kings 2:8); Elisha promises a gift of water (2 Kings 3:20) as Elijah had done (1 Kings 18:45); Elisha multiplies the oil (2 Kings 4:1–7) as Elijah had done (1 Kings 17:8–16); and Elisha raises a child (2 Kings 4:18–37) as Elijah had done (1 Kings 17:17–24). In these two cycles, the events of the former function as a foreshadowing by demonstration of what will be accomplished in the second by one who has the Spirit of the former's hero. Demonstrations of the Spirit in the Elijah cycle foreshadow events later worked out in the Elisha cycle. Whether it be foreshadowing by divine forecast, by dream, or by demonstration, Acts 27 and Luke 8:22–25 fit nicely into the overall Lukan literary and theological design.

Correspondences between Luke and Acts

Recognition of correspondences between persons and events in Luke and Acts has a long history. Given the evidence, acceptance of such claims seems reasonable since Luke-Acts comes from a time and place in which Vergil could organize the *Aeneid* into two halves, Books 1–6 and Books 7–12, with each book of the second panel balancing the corresponding book of the first.[28] Among the correspondences between Luke and Acts, those between Jesus' last journey to Jerusalem and his destiny in the city on the one hand and Paul's final journey to Jerusalem and its outcome on the other are especially persuasive.[29] Examples include the following.

	Luke 9:51–19:46		Acts 19:21–21:17
1.	Jesus makes a final journey to Jerusalem, a passion journey (9:31, 51; 12:50; 13:33; 18:31–33) under divine necessity (13:33), involving disciples' lack of understanding (9:45; 18:34).	1.	Paul makes a last journey to Jerusalem, a passion journey (20:3; 20:22–24, 37–38; 21:4, 10–11;21:13) under divine necessity (20:22; 21:14), involving friends' lack of understanding (21:4, 12–13).

28 George E. Duckworth, *Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's Aeneid* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), pp. 2–10.

29 C. H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974), pp. 15–23, gives a fuller discussion.

Luke 19:37	2. Acts 21:17–20
Jesus receives a good reception and the people praise God.	Paul receives a good reception and God is glorified.
Luke 19:45–48	3. Acts 21:26
Jesus goes into the temple.	Paul goes into the temple.
Luke 22:54	4. Acts 21:30
Jesus is seized.	Paul is seized.
Luke 22:26; 23:1; 23:8; 23:13	5. Acts 23, 24, 25, 26
The four trials of Jesus (Sanhedrin, Pilate, Herod, Pilate)	The four trials of Paul (Sanhedrin, Felix, Festus, Herod)
Luke 23:4, 14, 15, 22	6. Acts 23:9; 25:25; 26:31, 32
Jesus is declared innocent.	Paul is declared innocent.
Luke 24	7. Acts 27:1–28:10
Jesus is raised from the dead.	Paul is saved from death by God.

Given these correspondences between Jesus and Paul at the end of their respective careers, it is the last two that concern us here. If Acts 23:12–26:32 functions as a declaration of Paul's innocence by human authorities parallel to the declarations of Jesus' innocence by human authorities in Luke 23:4, 14, 15, 22, can his deliverance from storm and shipwreck and from snake bite be seen as a parallel to Jesus' resurrection?[30]

In Luke, Jesus is arrested and then dies in a way that raises the question of whether or not from a human point of view he is a guilty criminal and from the divine perspective is one accursed. Declarations by the human authorities of his innocence make it clear that his death is not the execution of the guilty but the innocent sufferings of a martyr. The vindication of his resurrection and exaltation reveals that he is not accursed of God but is Lord and Christ. Similarly, after Paul is taken into custody he is kept a prisoner, possibly indicating that from a human vantage point he is a wicked man. Moreover, he experiences shipwreck and snake bite, events that might convey to many that he was a wicked man receiving his just deserts from God. Declarations by human authorities of his innocence make it clear that he is no criminal and the circumstances of his shipwreck and snake bite speak forcefully of his innocence/righteousness before God. In this regard, both Gospel and Acts end with declarations of their respective heroes' innocence by both human and divine authority. In the Third Gospel Jesus' vindication by God takes the form of his resurrection and exaltation; in Acts Paul's vindication by God takes the form of his deliverance

[30] M. D. Goulder, *Type and History in Acts* (London: SPCK, 1964), p. 61, describes the events of Acts 27 as Paul's "death" and those of Acts 28:1–10 as Paul's "resurrection," paralleling Jesus's death in Luke 23 and his resurrection in Luke 24.

from shipwreck and snake bite and the fact that his prayers for healing were answered.[31]

The foregoing remarks have attempted to answer the two questions with which we began: (1) what theological content would Luke-Acts' auditors have derived from Luke 8:22–25's and Acts 27's sea storm narratives? and (2) how do these two sea storm narratives fit into the Lukan whole? At least a tentative answer can be given to both queries. Jesus possesses divine power over wind and storm, an authority he uses for the benefit of his "sent ones," both before and after Easter. Paul's being caught in a storm and shipwreck and being bitten by a serpent do not mean he was deemed guilty by God. The sea storm narrative says the storm was due to natural causes, not divine Justice. His deliverance was due to the divine plan, not Paul's own human prowess. The Malta narrative says Paul is not a guilty man because he was bitten by a serpent. Rather he is a righteous man who is untouched by snake bite and whose prayers are answered by God. Acts 27:1–28:10 says, therefore, that Paul is deemed by God as not guilty but rather righteous. God has pronounced him innocent in this thought unit just as human authorities did in 23:12–26:32. These particular points, moreover, fit nicely into the larger Lukan literary and theological landscape.

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31 This interpretation hardly qualifies as a candidate for Luke Johnson's scorned "allegorical" reading of Acts 27 in terms of Jesus's death and resurrection (*Acts*, 457).

Reflections on *1 Enoch* and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment

Randal A. Argall
Iowa City, IA

Introduction

When well-meaning people ask what my research is about I tell them I am attempting to bring two texts and their associated world views closer together on the literary and conceptual spectrum. When I mention that the texts are *1 Enoch* and Sirach and the world views sapiential and apocalyptic, the response is typically bewilderment. Is this not like trying to compare the book of Proverbs with the visions of Daniel? It is not. While the book of Proverbs is ben Sira's "favorite and most often used source,"[1] scholars have noted that some material in Sirach has no parallel in the older wisdom tradition (e.g., Sir 44:1–50:24). And while Daniel was once regarded as the "prototype"[2] of apocalyptic literature, the discovery of manuscripts of the books of Enoch at Qumran has led to the assessment that major parts of *1 Enoch* are earlier than Daniel. This means that some authors/redactors of *1 Enoch* and ben Sira are roughly contemporary.[3] My book attempts to demonstrate that the emerging apocalyptic tradition and the evolving wisdom tradition shared a number of literary and conceptual features.

1 Alexander A. Di Lella, "The Meaning of Wisdom in Ben Sira," in Leo G. Perdue, Bernard Brandon Scott, and William Johnston Wiseman, eds., *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993) 142.

2 Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*, A New English Version Revised and Edited by Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Martin Goodman, vol. III.1 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986) 245.

3 Di Lella dates the publication of Sirach at about 180 BCE (Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* [AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987] 10). On the compositional history of *1 Enoch*, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 150–51. F. G. Martinez has recently summarized the issues involved in dating the Epistle of Enoch (chapters 92–105) and argues for a premaccabean date (*Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* [STDJ 9; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992] 79–92).

The book is, in essence, a specific case study of what John Collins has described as the "generic compatibility" of apocalypticism and wisdom.[4]

The degree of compatibility, with its necessary qualifications, is evident with respect to three major themes: revelation, creation, and judgment. The themes are obviously significant in *1 Enoch.* Is it fair to single them out in Sirach? Ben Sira deals with much more than these three subjects. Still, major poems are given over to these themes and, if my arithmetic is correct, my survey of passages in Sirach includes almost twenty-five percent of the entire corpus. While I have been selective, I have chosen topics that are of great importance for his world view. For example, Leo Purdue has recently concluded that "the affirmation of a cosmic order seems essential to the world view of wisdom throughout its history" and "divine justice was perhaps the most important attribute of God for the theology of the sages."[5]

In this paper, I wish to review and reflect on some of the conclusions of my book. There is much that I cannot pursue here. For example, in the self-designation "scribe" (*1 En* 12:3–4; 15:1; 92:1 [Eth]; Sir 38:24) there are priestly overtones of great importance.[6] Equally important, however, is the self-understanding of our authors as the "wise" (Sir 6:32; 15:10; *1 En* 98:9; 99:10) and their production of "words" (Sir 39:6c; *1 En* 99:10) and "books" of wisdom (Sir 44:4c; 50:27b; *1 En* 82:1–3; 104:12). If we take this as our starting point, then several questions arise that will aid in sharpening the analysis in my book. What is the concept of *revealed* wisdom as it occurs in both traditions? To what degree do events in an upper world play a role in ben Sira's thought? Does ben Sira's doctrine of opposites have any point of contact with created reality as viewed in *1 Enoch*? Granted the different eschatologies in the two books, what common ground is there on the subject of divine judgment? And finally, what does all of this contribute to our knowledge of the social locations of the authors?

I. Revelation

At one stage of its redaction, the book of *1 Enoch* was probably shaped to reflect the genre testament.[7] From this perspective, the structure of the book may be outlined as follows:

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4 See John J. Collins, "Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and Generic Compatibility," in *In Search of Wisdom*, 165–85.

5 *Wisdom & Creation: The Theology of Wisdom Literature* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1994) 46 and 47.

6 See David Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in *1 Enoch* 6–16," *HUCA* 50 (1979) 115–35; George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," *JBL* 100 (1981) 575–600; and most recently, Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish & Christian Apocalypses* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University, 1993), esp. 20–28.

7 Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 150–51; A. B. Kolenkow, "The Genre Testament and Forecasts of the Future in the Hellenistic Jewish Milieu," *JSJ* 6 (1975) 57–71. For the structure of the genre, see H. W. Hollander and M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (SVTP 8; Leiden: Brill, 1985) 29–41.

1 Enoch	Chapters
Opening Passage	1–5
The Body	
Background to biographical elements	6–11
Aspects of Enoch's biography:	
Ascent	12–16
Journey I	17–19
Journey II	20–32 + [ ] 81:1–4
Astronomical Torah as Testament	33–36; 72–80
Closing Passage	
Descent and Fulfillment of Commission	81:5–82:3
Re-creation of the closing testament scene	91:1–10, 18–19
A Major Expansion on the Closing Passage	92–105

In broadest terms, Enoch's testament is presented as "wisdom." The opening passage ends on the note that "wisdom will be given to all the chosen ones" (*1 En* 5:8). The following biographical element includes a visit to the Tree of Wisdom (*1 En* 32). The closing passage forms an *inclusio* to 5:8 when Enoch states how he has fulfilled his commission to write: "I have given you books about all these things . . . I have given you wisdom" (82:1–2). The Epistle, a major expansion on the closing passage, opens with a superscription that describes Enoch's writing as "this complete sign of wisdom" (*1 En* 92:1). The Apocalypse of Weeks represents a forecast of the future typical in testaments and depicts the author's generation as that existing in the seventh week which "shall be given sevenfold wisdom and knowledge" (*1 En* 93:10). Within the Epistle itself, the language of wisdom is also prominent in *1 Enoch* 98:9–99:10 and 104:9–105:2.[8] In sum, at major junctures within the corpus, the Enochic tradition is called "wisdom."

In view, of course, is *revealed* wisdom. Enoch has ascended to heaven, has seen and had explained to him matters relating to the cosmos and the judgment, and has returned to the earth to inscribe this wisdom in books. John Collins has proposed a typology that distinguishes five broad types of sapiential material: 1. wisdom sayings, 2. theological wisdom, 3. nature wisdom, 4. mantic wisdom, and 5. higher wisdom through revelation.[9] The types are not mutually exclusive and as a matter of fact the first three (and possibly all four) are adapted and intertwined in the Enochic tradition. Scholars may attempt to untangle the threads but in the process must not lose sight of the unique texture of the whole. What Purdue has described as the "sapiential imagination"[10] appears to be a substructure at work also in the apocalyptic imagination. That is, wisdom traditions are drawn upon; understanding is reformulated; the world is reenvisioned; God, and the nature and destiny of human beings, is reimagined; and mystery is acknowledged. The principal wisdom tradition drawn upon in the apocalyptic version of this imaginative process wisdom's view of the created order (see below).

There are two respects in which the above presentation ties in closely to Sirach. 1) Ben Sira himself grants a role to Enoch as the imparter of revealed

8 Nickelsburg, "The Epistle of Enoch and the Qumran Literature," *JJS* 33 (1982) 334–45.

9 Collins, 168.

10 Perdue, 52–59.

wisdom.[11] This may seem inconsistent with the fact that ben Sira criticizes the dream-vision (Sir 34[31]:1–8) and the kind of speculative material associated with visions (Sir 3:17–29). I argue in the book that these criticisms may well target esoteric Jewish material such as that found in much of *1 Enoch.* However, it is more precise to say (and on this I was not as clear as I might have been) that ben Sira's critique is aimed at the way some of the esoteric material is developing in the contemporary setting.

Ben Sira may know an early form of the Enoch tradition, written or oral, that he accepts, as indicated in the following remarkable passages:

> (God) did not forgive the primeval giants,
> the rebels of old, because of their might.
> Sir 16:7
>
> (God) himself holds accountable the hosts of highest heaven
> and all humans are dust and ashes.
> Sir 17:32
>
> Enoch walked with God and he was taken,
> a sign of knowledge to all generations.
> Sir 44:16
>
> Few have been created on the earth like Enoch,
> he himself was taken to the heavenly sanctuary.
> Sir 49:14

The statement that God did not forgive the primeval giants (לא נשׂא לנסיכי קדם) is intriguing. The Hebrew Bible contains no story about petitions of forgiveness being offered for the giants. However, there is such a story in *1 Enoch.* The rebel Watchers ask Enoch to write a petition "that they might have forgiveness" (*1 En* 13:4). This petition, which was subsequently rejected by God, concerned the Watchers and their sons, the giants (14:6–7; cf. 15:3). Ben Sira's appreciation for Enochic lore enables him to use the story of God's rejection of Enoch's petition of forgiveness for the rebel angels and giants as one example story among others (Sir 16:6–10).

This acceptable lore includes Enoch's ascent into heaven and return with revelation. Ben Sira's statement that "Enoch walked with God and he was taken" (44:16a) is a condensation of Genesis 5:24 ("Enoch walked with God and he was not, for God took him"). However, the following expression in Sirach 44:16b—"a sign of knowledge to all generations"—has no parallel in Genesis and implies that Enoch has returned to the earth with revelation. The expression appears to be traditional, since it appears also in *1 Enoch* 92:1: "Written by Enoch the scribe—this complete *sign of wisdom.*" In any event, Ben Sira is reading Genesis 5:24 in a penultimate sense because Enoch returned with a message that God did not forgive the giants. The same interpretation of Genesis 5:24 is present in *1 Enoch* 12:1–2. While the Enochic passage represents an expansion of Genesis 5:24, it too reads the taking of Enoch in a penultimate sense. Enoch is taken and walks with the holy ones and is, thereby, in a position to be the mediator of revelation.

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[11] On this point, I must disagree with John Collins, who writes that in ben Sira's review of the biblical history "Even Enoch finds a place, though not as a source of revelation" (Collins, 172).

In sum, ben Sira utilizes a core of Enochic tradition much like that present in parts of *1 Enoch* 6–11 and 12–16. He says nothing to indicate his approval of speculative knowledge related to the origin of evil spirits or the destinies of angels and humankind. As the tradition expanded, ben Sira became an outspoken critic.

2) A more pervasive respect in which ben Sira's material relates to *1 Enoch* is that it displays the same formal structure in its understanding of wisdom as *revealed* wisdom. That is, for ben Sira too an agent has come from heaven with a divine wisdom that becomes inscribed in a book. The book of Sirach may be divided into two major parts, each of which begins with a hymn in praise of wisdom. The two Hymns share the same images and dynamic:

Sirach 1		Sirach 24	
1a	All wisdom is from the Lord	3a	From the mouth of the Most High I came forth
3a	Heaven's height . . .	4a	In the heights of heaven I dwelt
		5a	The vault of heaven I encircled alone
3c	the depths of the abyss—	5b	through the deep abyss I walked
d	who can fathom?		
3b	earth's breadth . . .	6a	Over the waves of the sea, over all the earth I ruled
10a	With all flesh according to his gift	7a	With them all . . . I sought a resting place

Both hymns describe the movement of wisdom from God to humanity. Wisdom is as incomprehensible as the dimensions of creation. It must be revealed by God. Sirach 1:6 raises the question at issue: "To whom has wisdom's root been revealed? Who knows her hidden things?" The answer is that wisdom can only be received as a revelatory gift from God (1:10a; 6:37; 43:33). Major poems in the book detail the process involved in attaining this gift: it requires the discipline of scripture study, prayer, and inspiration. It is a quasi-mystical process (Sir 38:34c–39:8).

Sirach 24 offers a reprise and expansion of the opening poem. In 24:3–6, the extremities of the cosmos are stops along a cosmic journey by a heavenly being. Wisdom is personified and is recounting in the divine throne room her own qualifications as a revealer figure. Thus, the answer to the question "heaven's height, earth's breadth, the depths of the abyss: who can fathom?" (1:3) is Personified Wisdom, for she has journeyed to these very places (24:4–6; cf. *1 En* 93:11–14). God's special gift is that this wisdom from heaven comes to reside in a book or books. "All this is the book of the covenant of the Most High God" (24:23). The book is the Torah which Moses enjoined on Israel. In ben Sira's view, the Torah is a book full of hidden wisdom from heaven. It is his role to elucidate this wisdom or to "pour out teaching like prophecy" (24:33a).

The reference to prophecy in this context is interesting for at least three reasons. First, it suggested that the elements of a prophetic commissioning scene may lay in the background of Wisdom's previous speech in 24:1–9. Zimmerli

describes two basic types of commission or prophetic call narrative.[12] The second type is relevant here. It is not a narrative in the strict sense. While the form is characterized by a great deal of freedom, some of the more stable elements include: a vision of the Lord sitting on his throne, the presence of the heavenly host, a question regarding who can fulfill the task at hand, the heavenly beings suggest various possibilities, the selection of a special agent who may then express inadequacy, and finally, the Lord's command to go and speak (e.g., Isa 6; Ezek 1–2). The account of Enoch's commission in *1 Enoch* 14–16 has close connections to several elements in this type of call.[13]

There is no vision of the Lord on the throne in Sirach 24, but the parallel passage in Sirach 1:1–10 does refer to the "One who is wise, greatly to be feared, sitting upon his throne" (1:8). It is surely this One around whom the hosts are assembled in chapter 24 and from whose mouth Wisdom previously went forth (24:3). Other elements of Wisdom's (earlier) prophetic call in the allusions of her speech have been freely reshaped on the basis that this commission was not received by a human agent but by a heavenly being. There is no question related to the search for a candidate, Wisdom is the obvious choice. She seizes the initiative and raises the question about her task. There is no allusion to Wisdom's inadequacy, she is worthy of the call and recites her qualifications (her cosmic journeys) to dispel any doubts. Rather than the Most High placing his words in the agent's mouth, Wisdom reports coming forth from God's mouth. God does, however, command her to reside in Israel (24:8)—a command she obeys. The older prophetic commission has been adapted to the career of personified Wisdom. As was the case in *1 Enoch*, it is a commission that took place in heaven and authorized a descent to earth.

Therefore, ben Sira can describe his activity as prophetic-like (24:33a) to the extent that he is involved in the process of elucidating this wisdom from heaven which is now present in the Torah.

Second, prophecy implies the imparting of something previously unknown or hidden. The agent has been in the presence of the divine council and has been sent out with a new word from God. This prophetic imagery ties in nicely to the notion of *revealed* wisdom. While the Enochic authors primarily use the vision form and interpreting angels to reveal hidden things, ben Sira employs the equally daring literary form of the *Liebesgeschichte* or Love Story (Sir 4:11–19; 6:18–37; 14:20–15:10; 51:13–30).[14] These stories typically contain erotic images that are then decoded to apply to a school context. In the Love Story, personified Wisdom is portrayed as an attractive, desirable, and elusive lover. Suitors must pursue her and stay devoted to her in order to win her and experience her delights. Among the delights, are her "hidden things:"

My hand opened her gate
and her hidden things (= nakedness) I perceived.
מערמיה אתבונן[ו]

12 Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 1 (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979) 97–100.

13 The parallels between *1 En* 14–16 and Ezek 1–2 were brought together by H. Ludin Jansen, *Die Henochgestalt* (Oslo: Dybwad, 1939) 114–17. See also Nickelsburg, Enoch, Levi, and Peter, 576–82.

14 The form is used more extensively than initially indicated by W. Baumgartner, "Die literarischen Gattungen in der Weisheit des Jesus Sirach," *ZAW* 34 (1914) 161–98.

Sir 51:19cd

This image is significant because it reaches back to Sirach 1:6 to form an *inclusio* around the book. The question raised in 1:6 was: "Who perceives her hidden things?" The Hebrew is not extant for 1:6b, but we may conjecture that the verse contains the same terms as 51:19d (cf. 42:18b which uses the same two Hebrew terms). The answer to the question of 1:6 was that God imparts wisdom to humankind as his gift, which gift God has especially lavished upon Israel. The special gift is the Personified Wisdom of Sirach 24 which resides in the Torah. In a metaphor striking for its boldness, ben Sira depicts himself as the lover of Wisdom who sees her hidden things. The answer to the query of Sirach 1:6 is ben Sira and the students who study in his school. The wisdom ben Sira imparts is a *revelation* of things hidden in the Torah and creation (cf. Sir 3:19; 4:18; 42:19).

Third, prophecy, like a testament, is for future generations. Ben Sira leaves his work "for the generations of eternity" (24:33b). The books Enoch gave to Methuselah were to be preserved and handed down to the "generations of eternity" (*1 En* 82:1); and wisdom from father to son to future sons, "to all the generations until eternity" (82:2). Authors in both traditions think highly of their own books! Ben Sira envisions his book as an object of study by future generations. His book contains inspired essays that reveal the hidden meaning of Torah. In his view, it is authoritative and results in blessedness for those who meditate upon it and do what it says (Sir 50:27–29). The blessing in view is a good quality of life for future generations. The Enochic tradents are likewise occupied in the study of the books of Enoch (*1 En* 104:10–13). Different from Sirach, the Enochic books promise life that transcends death.

In conclusion, not only does ben Sira give a limited role to Enoch as a bearer of revelation, but the formal structure of revelation in his own book shares the model of that present in *1 Enoch.* In this model, wisdom originates in heaven, is brought to the earth by a revealer figure, comes to be identified with a book or books, and is life-giving to those who study and heed it.

In both *1 Enoch* and Sirach, two major subjects of revealed wisdom are the created order and the coming judgment. It is in the arenas of cosmology and divine justice that specific contours of a world view begin to emerge. Nickelsburg has shown that in *1 Enoch* cosmology undergirds eschatology.[15] For ben Sira too the cosmic order guarantees God's justice.

II. Creation

As noted above, the principal wisdom tradition appropriated by the Enochic tradition is wisdom's view of the created order. Martha Himmelfarb has pointed out that the revelation of secrets pertaining to the created world in apocalypses is a development of the wisdom tradition's claim that the created world testifies to its creator.[16] Authors in both traditions utilize standard literary forms (hymn of praise to the Creator, rhetorical questions, onomastica) to emphasize 1) what may be seen of the works of God in heaven, earth and sea, and 2) what Enoch

[15] George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality in 1 Enoch," in *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium*, ed. John J. Collins & James H. Charlesworth (JSPSup 9; Sheffield: JSOT, 1991) 51–64.

[16] Himmelfarb, 4, 72–94.

and personified Wisdom see up close in their travels throughout the tripartite creation. The two emphases combine to legitimate the respective wisdom traditions. The former appeals to the support of empirical reality and the latter lends the revealer figure his/her credentials.

In summarizing ben Sira's view of the created order, I am particularly interested here in the extent to which events or places in the upper world affect humankind. When ben Sira looks at the works of creation, he discerns a built-in polarity. His elaboration of creation's structural polarity has been called the doctrine of opposites.[17] Every element in creation obeys God and carries out the purpose for which it was designed, either for good or evil, blessing or cursing; sometimes the same element can function in either capacity.

This doctrine is expressed or presupposed in a number of poems (Sir 16:24–17:14; 33[36]:7–15; 39:12–35; 42:15–43:33). All use the language of "seeing" or "being shown" the works of God. What ben Sira "sees" in creation is ostensibly empirical but in actuality is revealed to him and to the wise. If one accept his wisdom instruction, then one will see that creation is constituted in terms of the opposites of good and evil. Even the evil elements of creation are "good" because of the need for judgment that they serve.

The polarity of creation holds for heaven, earth, and sea. Ben Sira looks at the heavens and concludes that the luminaries and angels must obey God or they will be held to account (16:26–28; 17:32). Later in the book, he appeals to the luminaries in two distinct ways to illustrate how opposites function over against humankind. As calendrical (33[36]:7–12) and meteorological tools (43:1–12, 21–22), God uses sun and moon to bless or curse humankind.

As with the luminaries, other created elements are used for the same purpose. Ben Sira adapts nature lists within his creation hymns to provide examples of what he means by good and evil things. In terms of the latter:

39:28 There are winds created for judgment,
and in their anger they remove mountains.
And in the time of destruction they pour out their power,
and the spirit of their Maker they appease.
29 Fire and hail, famine and plague,
these also for judgment are created.
30 Carnivorous beasts, scorpion and vipor,
and the sword of vengeance to annihilate the wicked;
all these too are created for their needs,
they are in his storehouse for the time they are appointed.
31 When he commands, they rejoice,
and in their tasks they do not disobey his mouth.

A somewhat different list of "bad things" appears in Sirach 40:8–10. In both lists, ben Sira emphasizes that some phenomena were originally made for the purpose of cursing the wicked. Such things were "created for judgment" (39:28a, 29b), "created for their needs" (39:30c), and "created for the wicked" (40:10). In each case the verb is ברא (ni.) and alludes to Genesis 1:1. God provided good

17 This expression is used by Roland E. Murphy, *The Tree of Life: An Exploration of Biblical Wisdom Literature* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1990) 75.

and bad things "from the beginning" (39:25). Creation was designed with judgment in mind.

There are two aspects of the Hymn in Sirach 42:15–43:33 that we should note for our present purposes. First, in addition to the luminaries (43:1–12) and various winds (43:13–22), the abyss and sea are brought into the perspective of the doctrine of opposites (cf. 24:5b). In an adaptation of images from Psalm 107:23–29, ben Sira states that God in his wisdom and power directs the sea and its great monsters to execute his wrath (Sir 43:23–26). Second, this Hymn is framed in its opening and concluding stanzas with explicit statements indicating that ben Sira's view of the created order is *revealed* wisdom. The introductory stanza incorporates a scene from the divine throne room (42:17). The Most High then "reveals the depths of hidden things" (42:19b), or more modestly at Hymn's end:

> Many more things than these are *hidden*,
> I have seen a few of his works.
> All things the Lord made,
> and to the pious he *gave wisdom.*
> Sir 43:32–33

To summarize, the polarity of the created order applies to the whole of creation, including activity and places in the outer reaches of the upper and lower worlds. The heavenly hosts are held accountable in directing the luminaries in ways that influence calendar, seasons, and climate. God issues direct commands to the storehouses of winds and hail. Monsters from the abyss at the edge of creation obey God's will. While such activity originates from inaccessible places, there is no speculative creation material as such that is brought within the purview of ben Sira's opposites. Personified Wisdom journeyed throughout the cosmos, but she did not reveal the geography of the upper world.

Enoch, however, does see opposite places in his travels in the upper reaches of the cosmos. In fact, verbs indicating those aspects of creation that were "created" or "prepared" for judgment appear in Enochic tradition with reference to the mountain of Sheol (*1 En* 22:3–4, 9–10, 13) and the mountain paradise of God and the Tree of Life (*1 En* 25:7). It would appear that creation's polarity is projected onto the upper world to guarantee the eschatological judgment. In Enochic tradition the good things of creation, such as trees, rivers, mountains, and pleasurable experiences are held in reserve for the righteous in the upper regions of the cosmos.

Does Enochic tradition allow for any functioning of creation's opposites upon the earth? There is no explicit statement of the doctrine. However, the Enochic authors do state that the created elements teach the lesson of obedience/blessing and disobedience/judgment. The semi-poetic piece in *1 Enoch* 2:1–5:4 uses the vocabulary and *topoi* characteristic of the creation Hymn. Form analysis has shown that it represents the expanded "reproach" or "accusation" element of a late prophetic form known as the "salvation-judgment

oracle."[18] Sinners are urged to understand the message of creation before it is too late. This message is twofold. First, the works of God on each level of the tripartite creation do not disobey God. In contrast, sinners have forsaken the ordinances of God and need to return to the norms practiced by the elect community which are based on the eschatological gift of wisdom (5:8–9). Second, a climatic condition of summer is joined to the accompanying human response. In summer, when the sun and the earth burn, human beings try to escape the heat (4:1). There is an implied lesson here about escaping the judgment which becomes explicit in 5:9a when the chosen are assured that "they will not die in the heat of wrath." The idea of the sun's heat as an instrument of wrath was present also in Sirach 43:3b, 21. The difference is that in *1 Enoch* the import of the lesson is not left on the temporal level but becomes a sign of eschatological judgment.

Other Enochic traditions that give a role to the created elements are found in *1 Enoch* 100:10–13; 101:1–9; and 102:1–3. Here the obedient sun, moon and stars will testify against sinners (100:10) and God will direct the cloud, mist, dew and rain to withhold their blessings (100:11–12; 101:2–3). Sinners will experience snow, frost, and cold winds as instruments of judgment (100:13), precisely as in one of ben Sira's poems on opposites.

For if the snow and the
frost and its cold hurl
themselves upon you, and
the winds and their chill
and all their scourges,
then you will not be able
to endure before the cold
and their scourges.

1 En 100:13

Like flocks of birds he lets out his snow,
and like locusts settling is its descent.
Its impressive whiteness puzzles the eyes,
and its showers confuse the mind.
And also the hoarfrost he pours out like salt,
and it sprouts like thorn bush blossoms.
The cold north wind, he brings back,
like a clod, he congeals the fountains.
He covers every pool of water,
and like armor the pool puts (ice) on.

Sir 43:17c–20d

In *1 Enoch* 101:4–9, expanded treatment is given to the works of God on the sea. As was the case in 4:1, the element of human response is included to bring home the lesson. When God sends the storm at sea, sailors fear and toss their goods into the sea. The implication is that sinners should fear the Most High who made the sea and in the present distress dispossess themselves of their ill-gotten gain. The "shaking" of the ship at sea anticipates the "shaking" of the heavens, earth, and all humankind in final judgment (102:1–3).

This brief review indicates that one can speak of created opposites in Enochic tradition only in the sense that the created elements used in temporal judgment are a prelude to something greater; namely, the eschatological judgment. Ben Sira never employs created opposites in this sense.

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[18] E. Rau, *Kosmologie, Eschatologie und die Lehrautoritt Henochs: Traditions- und formgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum äth. Henochbuch und zu verwandten Schriften.* Diss., Universität Hamburg, 1974, 106–24, esp. 151, 121.

III. Judgment

On the subject of the judgment, the authors of *1 Enoch* and ben Sira adapt the same literary forms: Divine Warrior Hymn, Disputation Speech, and Woe-oracle. The survey to follow is geared toward our search for any common ground in perspective.

The authors of *1 Enoch* offer a full complement of Divine Warrior motifs in passages spread throughout the corpus (1:3c–9, 5:5–9; 10:11–11:2; 25:3–6; 91:5–9; 99:3–10, 100:1–6; 100:10–13, 102:1–3). Motifs typical of the genre and present in *1 Enoch* include threat, combat victory over enemies, victory shout, theophany, salvation of the nation, fertility and new creation, universal reign, procession to the temple, and banquet.[19] Some motifs are modified in peculiar ways. For example, in the description of the theophany in the opening passage, the presence and reaction of the Watchers is substituted for that of humankind (1:5).

Ben Sira's use of Divine Warrior motifs in connection with "the end" is limited to two adjoining passages (Sir 35[32]:22b–26 and 36:1–22 [33:1–13a, 36:16b–22]) which offer his reinterpretation of prophecies from the book of Isaiah. In contrast to the authors of *1 Enoch,* ben Sira omitted two typical ingredients of the Warrior Hymn: the descent of the Warrior and cosmic upheaval (theophany) and cosmic renewal. It is significant that the divine Warrior does not "come down" and that there is no dissolution and revitalization of creation. For ben Sira the original creation is good and the doctrine of opposites precludes the necessity for drastic renewal. Ben Sira's version of national eschatology does retain the combat motif from the Warrior Hymn and, in this respect, a point of similarity exists with *1 Enoch.* In both books, salvation and destruction take place in the end-time by means of a graphically depicted battle of Holy War (*1 En* 100:1–3; Sir 35:22d–33; 36:12). However, in *1 Enoch* this battle is a precursor to the descent of the Warrior and his angels (100:4), who decide its outcome. For ben Sira, the battle itself will be decisive because God will apparently employ the nations against one another in mutual destruction.

In both *1 Enoch* and Sirach, the vocabulary of salvation (*1 En* 1:1; 5:6f; 99:10; Sir 35:25b; 36:1) and destruction (*1 En* 1:9; 5:5b; 10:16; 91:8; 99:9; Sir 36:11b) expresses the result of the battle. There is some difference, however, in terms of the recipients of salvation and destruction. In *1 Enoch,* the Warrior saves an oppressed group within Israel and destroys this group's Jewish adversaries along with the wicked among the nations. In Sirach, the nation as a whole is saved and the Gentile oppressors are destroyed. In spite of this difference (and there are antecedents in older Warrior Hymns to either scenario), both ben Sira and the Enochic authors envision obedient Gentiles among the saved. The motif of universal kingship is held in common (*1 En* 10:21; 91:9; 100:6; Sir 36:5, 22c-d).

Yet another difference lies in the conceptualization of salvation and destruction. The ideas have a cosmic and mythic dimension in *1 Enoch.* The saved inherit a renewed earth and live peaceful lives. The defeated are gathered for judgment and confined to an accursed valley forever. In Sirach, those saved and those destroyed experience deliverance and defeat solely on the historical level. Moreover, references to salvation and destruction in Sirach are applicable to the

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19 These motifs were identified in *1 Enoch* by Lars Hartman as elements of a pattern of thought present in several Jewish apocalyptic texts (*Prophecy interpreted: the Formation of some Jewish Apocalyptic Texts and of the Eschatological Discourse Mark 13 par.* [Lund: Gleerup, 1966] 23–49, 55).

recompense an individual will receive within his lifetime (Sir 2:11; 5:7c-d) as well as in the nation's end-time. In *1 Enoch*, the fate of the individual righteous or sinful person is tied solely to the cosmic and mythic events of the end-time.

Ben Sira's denial of cosmic upheaval is most clearly stated in Sirach 16:17–22, in which he puts the language and imagery characteristic of Enochic Warrior contexts into the citation of a contemporary opponent:

17 Do not say, "From God, I am hidden;
and on high, who will remember me?
Among numerous people, I am not known;
and what am I among the whole (number) of spirits?
18 Behold, the heavens, and the heaven of heavens,
and the abyss and the earth,
at his visitation they tremble.
19 Also, the roots of the mountains and the foundations of the earth,
shake exceedingly when he looks at them.
20 Surely, he will not set his heart upon me;
and my ways, who will understand?
21 If I have sinned, no eye will see me;
and if I tell lies in total secrecy, who will know?
22 Who will inform him of any righteous deed;
and what hope is there that I be righteous (in my) duty?"
23 Those without sense conceive these things,
and a foolish man will think this.

It is imperative to bear in mind that the account of cosmic catastrophe in Sir 16:18–19 occurs in the speech of a fool.[20] The fool reasons that if God's appearance for judgment results in cosmic upheaval, then the elements of creation will not discriminate between the one and the many. All persons will be annihilated, no one will be singled out. Ben Sira's response is to call the catastrophic notion itself into question. The catastrophic view totally negates the polarity and precision built into creation. In the preceding instruction in 16:5–14, ben Sira illustrates from a number of example stories in Jewish tradition that there is an exactitude to God's corporate judgment. Judgment upon the many in no way overlooks the deeds of one person. The stories demonstrate the precision of God's use of the created elements to punish or bless. Judgment is not always immediate but it is certain.

The fact that ben Sira puts the vocabulary of cosmic upheaval in the mouth of a fool may indicate that some of his students have been taught this view by other sages. Ben Sira recognizes how this view could lead some people to a careless disregard for the precise nature of divine judgment upon the individual. The solution lies in jettisoning the catastrophic view altogether and affirming the doctrine of opposites.

The Disputation Speech is a form the author of the Epistle of Enoch and ben Sira use to engage adversaries who question the reality or validity of God's judgment. For the author of the Epistle, it is always the eschatological judgment that is at stake (*1 En* 97:8–10; 98:4–8; 102:4–104:8). In contrast, ben Sira views eschatological judgment only in terms of Gentile oppressors and employs no

20 This point was urged by Baumgartner, "Die Literarischen Gattungen," 176.

Disputation Speeches on this topic. In Sirach, the Disputation Speeches revolve around the issue of the validity of judgment within the parameters of individual human existence or at the time of death (Sir 5:1–8; 11:14–28; 15:11–16:23; 23:16–21).

The citations of the opponents in *1 Enoch* and Sirach, introduced by the debate formula ("Do not say . . .") are similar in content. In both traditions, adversaries are brought forward to state a number of common erroneous ideas:

	1 Enoch	Sirach
The righteous life is not rewarded.	103:6c, 7b	11:23; 16:22
Sinners escape judgment in their lifetime.	103:6	5:4
No one sees or knows their sins.	98:7	16:21; 23:18
Wealth enables one to do what one desires.	97:8–9	5:1–3; 11:19

The replies that the author of the Epistle and ben Sira offer to this challenge share a few basic traditional assumptions: human beings are responsible for their deeds (*1 En* 98:4–5; Sir 15:13–20), they will be recompensed according to them (*1 En* 100:7c; Sir 16:12b), and God sees (or in the case of *1 Enoch*, the angels see and record) all human deeds (*1 En* 98:6–8; Sir 15:19; 23:19). But the distinctive content of their respective responses is derived from radically different sources. The author of the Epistle uses the vision traditions of Enoch's cosmic journeys to answer each disputant. He agrees with the charge that in this lifetime the righteous receive no reward and sinners escape punishment. He counters these facts with what he knows about the separate existence of the righteous and wicked in Sheol, the promised resurrection, and the preparedness of the cosmos for future judgment. God's justice will be dispensed in a post-mortem judgment that is universal and cosmic in scope.

Ben Sira too is dependent on source material when answering adversaries. He uses example stories from scripture, esoteric tradition, wisdom instruction, and his own observations to argue that God sees and knows everything and directs the elements of creation in precise ways to judge every person according to his deeds. In contrast to the author of the Epistle, ben Sira does not agree that the righteous have no reward and sinners escape judgment in their lifetime. The appropriate time will always come when wealthy, powerful and adulterous sinners get what they deserve. Judgment is received within an individual's lifespan or at the moment of death.

The Woe-oracle,[21] like motifs from the Warrior Hymn, is more prevalent in *1 Enoch* than Sirach. There are seven Woe-chains in the Epistle of Enoch (94:6–10; 95:4–7; 96:4–8; 97:7–10; 98:9–99:2; 99:11–16; 100:7–9) that begin with a concentration against the wealthy and powerful (series 1–4) and shift to false teachers and their practices (series 5–7).[22] Sirach offers no examples of Woe-oracles against the wealthy and powerful. The Woe-string in Sirach 2:12–14 and the single oracle in 41:8 are directed at those who compromise the way of wisdom and Torah.

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[21] On the form, see Waldemar Janzen, *Mourning Cry and Woe Oracle* (BZAW 125; New York/Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972); and Patrick D. Miller, Jr., *Sin and Judgment in the Prophets: A Stylistic and Theological Analysis* (SBLMS 27; Chico, CA: Scholars, 1982).

[22] George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Apocalyptic Message of *1 Enoch* 92–105, *CBQ* 39 (1977) 310–11.

The characterization of the addressees in the formula and its extended context is similar in the two traditions. Clearly the author of the Epistle and ben Sira are drawing upon standard rhetoric when they employ terms such as fools/foolish, hardhearted/fainthearted, evil, lawless, sinners, and stray/turn aside. This stereotypical language depicts person who do not practice wisdom and interpret Torah as the respective authors do. It fits well with an intra-Jewish polemic between rival teachers and schools.[23]

The threat of punishment in the Woe-oracle is differently conceived in the two traditions. In the Epistle of Enoch, the Woe-strings often employ the *Talionsstil* or some variation of it. The punishment is often fully developed through linkage to a Divine Warrior passage in the broader context. As a result, the threat of punishment is always related to the eschatological judgment. Ben Sira, for his part, will use the technical terms often associated in Enochic tradition with catastrophic judgment (reproach, disgrace, curse). However, these "bad things" in his doctrine of opposites are experienced in the lifetime of the sinner or at the time of death.

Conclusion

One must be cautious in drawing any firm conclusions about the social locations and connections of our authors. The large number of correspondences, however, does suggest the openness and accessibility of the two traditions. Authors in both traditions offer to instruct students in wisdom (Sir 51:23; *1 En* 105:1). Students must have moved about freely among the sages. Ben Sira himself had sought out the instruction of wisdom teachers (Sir 33:16–17; 51:13) and recommends his students do the same (6:34–36). There is every reason to assume that the bearers of Enochic tradition also moved about. The themes, forms, motifs, and vocabulary shared with ben Sira have been given to both traditions by their social and religious environment.

It is against the background of these commonalities that the differences and polemic must be assessed. Ben Sira is basically content with the *status quo*. He advises his students to make decisions and engage in practices that show respect and support for current institutions. Ben Sira's world view includes the mechanisms (the created elements) that insure the world will always function in a just manner. In contrast, the authors of *1 Enoch* anticipate the overturning of the *status quo*. People in positions of influence and power are totally corrupt. They have abused their positions and oppressed their adversaries, who subsequently found hope in the great wisdom of Enoch. Only the radical intervention of God, who has preserved the goodness of creation in the upper regions, can set the world right through eschatological judgment.

Though cut from the same cloth of revealed wisdom and a cosmology that guarantees justice, the two world views differ fundamentally on 1) the extent to which creation's opposites include esoteric material in the upper regions, and 2) the issue of whether there is a cosmic, eschatological judgment that transcends death. These differences are the stuff of conflict and could explain the polemic present in the two books. That is, each tradition may view the other among its

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[23] Cf. Luke T. Johnson, "The New Testament's Anti-Jewish Slander and the Conventions of Ancient Polemic," *JBL* 108 (1989) 419–41.

rivals. Ben Sira complains about the esoteric material to which some of his students have been exposed (Sir 3:21–24) and disputes the notion of cosmic judgment (16:17–23). The author of the Epistle of Enoch is aware of other sages who disparage his wisdom (*1 En* 94:5) and write lies that lead many astray (*1 En* 98:15). The reference to "many," if accurate, means that the rivals must be very influential, which brings ben Sira to mind. Later, the author of the Epistle again refers to the perversion of "many," but is slightly more informative when he identifies the rivals as those who "compose writings in their names" (104:10). A plurality of opponents is in view but ben Sira certainly qualifies on this score as well (Sir 50:27).

The Function of Apocalyptic and Wisdom Traditions in Romans 9–11:[1] Rethinking the Questions

E. Elizabeth Johnson
New Brunswick Theological Seminary

At the oral defense of my dissertation in 1987, one of my teachers, David Adams, asked me the most telling question of the afternoon: Why, he wondered, should we consider this one dissertation instead of two? It looks as though there are two entirely separable lines of research being pursued here, one about Paul's argument in Romans, particularly chapters 9–11, and the other about the relationship between wisdom and apocalyptic traditions in early Judaism and Christianity. As is customary in such contexts, I defended myself passionately, quoting myself liberally to justify the logical unity of my project. It was necessary to set a context for understanding Paul's use of confluent traditions, I said, in order to make sense of the way he uses them in this specific text. The faculty was apparently sufficiently persuaded that they gave me my degree, but I don't think I answered Dave's question very well that day and I've been both relieved and puzzled that none of the reviewers of my dissertation[2] has raised the issue since.

This is one of the several questions I wish to rethink in the present essay—now eight years after that oral defense—but it is only fair to the current reader to summarize first the case I made then. After raising questions about my initial project—and likely raising other questions in the minds of thoughtful readers—I will change hats a bit and respond to the 1994 conversation of the Wisdom, Apocalyptic, and Early Christianity section from the perspective of Paul's letters.

I

My curiosity about the relationship between apocalyptic and wisdom was initially piqued by the hymn Paul quotes in Rom 11:33–36. Why should such an apparently traditional[3] praise of God's wisdom follow an argument that is

1 SBLDS 109; Atlanta: Scholars, 1989.

2 Susan R. Garrett in *RSR* 17 (1991) 163; James M. Scott in *JBL* 110 (1991) 742-744; John Paul Heil in *CBQ* 53 (1991)138-140; David C. Sim in *AusBR* 40 (1992) 89-91; Ramón Trevijano in *Salmanticensis* 37 (1990) 371-373; and R. Sanz Valdivieso in *Bibliografia* 8 (1992) 936.

3 Paul is certainly capable of elegant poetic composition, but in Rom 11:33-36 the abundance of non-Pauline language and vocabulary used in unfamiliar ways, the intricacy of the hymn's structure, the religious and cultural plurality of the apparent sources of its parts, and the existence of several remarkably similar compositions with similar functions in contemporary

patently apocalyptic in character and conclusion? Why does the *revelation* disclosed at 11:25–26 prompt Paul to glorify God's *wisdom*—rather than, say, God's providence or mercy or sovereignty or power? Most interpreters pass over the wisdom character of the hymn and attend rather to its doxological function.[4] Käsemann notes its similarity to language in *2 Baruch* and says, "Paul stands here in an apocalyptic-enthusiast tradition,"[5] but he does not ask what sort of apocalyptic tradition it is which speaks this way about God's wisdom. Throughout my study of the hymn in Rom 11:33–36, I encountered a nearly canonical distinction in the scholarly literature between sapiential and apocalyptic modes of religious discourse that required Paul to belong to one club or the other, but not both.

My history of Pauline research uncovered a long-standing divide between advocates of Paul the sage and Paul the seer, with only a few attempts to bridge the gap. Particularly proposals by Hans Conzelmann[6] and Robin Scroggs,[7] neither one of which deals with Romans 9–11 in particular, encouraged me to pursue my hunch that Paul's employment of a wisdom hymn in Rom 11:33–36 was not unrelated to his apocalyptic convictions.

The next step was to examine some Jewish literature in which I found both apocalyptic and wisdom traditions—Wisdom, *1 Enoch*, 4 Ezra, *2 Baruch*, and some texts from the Qumran Library—and to ask what they might have in common with each other and with Paul. Conventional descriptions of wisdom and apocalyptic literature highlight the differences between two ways of looking at God and human experience. The classical wisdom corpus and the Jewish apocalypses of the second century BCE to the second century CE, when divided this way, offer clearly alternative ways to make sense of life.

(1) For the "ideal" sage, the meaning of life is immanent; accessible in the present, the mundane, the human experiences of God and nature. For the archetypal seer, meaning is virtually absent from those spheres, and is rather located in the future, the supramundane, the transcendent realms.

(2) The wisdom writer finds meaning in the proper conduct of this life—social relations, personal integrity, the pursuit of happiness and prosperity. The apocalyptic writer, on the other hand, finds meaning in divine activity yet to occur and his own preparation for that activity.

(3) Wisdom is available to all who seek it; revelations are granted only to specific persons. The sage finds wisdom by observation and active study; the seer receives revelations passively from other-worldly beings.

Jewish literature combine to tip the scales in favor of traditional origin (*Apocalyptic and Wisdom Traditions*, 164-174). Joseph Fitzmyer alleges most recently that "there is no reason to think that Paul borrowed this hymnic composition from some source" (*Romans* [AB33; New York: Doubleday, 1993] 633) but surely such a claim requires substantiation.

4 E.g., C. E. B. Cranfield, *Romans* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979) 2.588-592. Notable exceptions are Ulrich Wilckens, "σοφία, κτλ" in *TDNT* (1971) 7.518, and A. T. Hanson, *The New Testament Interpretation of Scripture* (London: SPCK, 1980) 20-96, but both draw conclusions about the alleged christological function of Paul's wisdom language with which I find serious difficulty.

5 *Commentary on Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 320.

6 "Paulus und die Weisheit," *NTS* 12 (1965) 231-244.

7 "Paul: ΣΟΦΟΣ and ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ," *NTS* 14 (1967) 33-55.

(4) The wisdom writer experiences boundless confidence in the order, balance, and harmony of God's creation and his own rightful and appropriate place in that creation. His life can make sense if he aligns himself with the world's God-given order: virtue is rewarded, sin is punished. The writer of an apocalypse, on the other hand, despairs of all order this side of the eschaton: the godly seem to be punished and the wicked rewarded, and creation itself is decaying. His life makes no sense apart from his hope that God will soon break into human history and rescue him from his plight. For the sage, the present has great potential for experience of the good, and this life carries with it responsibility for faithful ethical action that can bear fruit. For the seer, only the eschatological future is potentially good, and this life is a matter of (none-too-patient) waiting in which one's primary responsibility is to discern the signs of the times and prepare for divine visitation and redemption.[8]

Despite these differences, though, there are undeniable points of contact between the two bodies of literature that suggest more of a conceptual spectrum between two ideal poles than a stark dichotomy. The revelations in *1 Enoch*, 4 Ezra, and *2 Baruch* make abundant reference to God's wisdom, their authors call themselves and their discerning readers wise, and they employ vocabulary, images, and ideas familiar from wisdom books. The Qumran convenanters, a patently apocalyptic sect by almost any definition, similarly praise God's wisdom and define that wisdom as the apocalypses do, as Torah (and its proper interpretation) and as mysteries of God's counsel. And Wisdom narrates a picture of the last judgment that, while never explicitly labeled a revelation, shares substantial language and imagery with numerous apocalypses (4:20–5:23).

The widely diverse definitions in the scholarly literature of wisdom and the remarkable lack of consensus about what constitutes an apocalyptic tradition make such observations difficult to analyze, though. Justice Harry Blackmun's infamous quip about pornography also applies to many of the inquiries into the relationship between wisdom and apocalyptic: "I may not be able to define it, but I know it when I see it." So rather than perpetuate the reigning unclarity, and in an attempt to set some controls on the search, I created two lists of minimally descriptive criteria designed to isolate characteristically wisdom and apocalyptic passages in documents customarily designated as representatives of the other tradition. In essence, words, forms, and conceptual themes distinctive of apocalypses (as defined by the SBL Genres Project) that occurred in wisdom books, and words, ideas, and themes typical of the classical wisdom corpus that were used in apocalypses served as indicators of what I called confluent traditions.[9]

Because each author appears to use confluent traditions to varying degrees, it became possible to look at them in relation to one another along a conceptual spectrum between ideal wisdom and apocalyptic poles according to their reconstructed answers to specific questions about God's wisdom.

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8 *Apocalyptic and Wisdom Traditions*, 70-71.

9 The full criteria are outlined in *Apocalyptic and Wisdom Traditions*, 62-70.

	1 Enoch	4 Ezra	Qumran	2 Baruch	Wisdom
Where is wisdom located?	Revealed mysteries and correct interpretation of Torah	Revealed mysteries and correct interpretation of Torah	Revealed mysteries; correct interpretation of Torah; the wisdom of the elect community	Torah and the wisdom of the elect community	Creation and God's Spirit
Who has access to wisdom?	Enoch's readers	The righteous and readers of apocalyptic books	The elect community	The righteous	All who seek for it
What is the means of access?	Secret books such as Enoch's	Torah righteousness and secret books	Membership in the community	Torah Righteousness	Study of creation and the gift of God's Spirit
What is the content of wisdom?	God's plan for the future	Torah and God's plan for the future	Torah and God's plan for the future	Torah	The good life on earth and access to immortality
Does the author expect meaningful life before the eschaton?	No	No	Only in the community	Only in the community	Yes

In sum, "the more an apocalyptic author employs traditional wisdom language and motifs, the more he sees potential for meaningful human life before the eschaton. Similarly, the more transcendent is God's wisdom, the more it is hidden in heavenly mysteries, the more the author locates hope for meaningful life in the disjunctive future."[10]

At this point, I turned to Paul's argument in Romans 9–11. My exegesis of the passage suggests that Paul argues a single sustained case for God's integrity rather than three mutually exclusive attempts to explain Israel's destiny. Paul describes God's righteousness as constituted by a tension he maintains between God's impartiality and God's covenant faithfulness. I then looked specifically at the traditionally apocalyptic features of the passage (which are widely recognized) and its frequently overlooked wisdom themes: Paul's employment of the metaphor of a potter's vessels in Rom 9:20–23 which is drawn from Wis 12:12–13, his exegesis of Deut 30:12–14 which is influenced by Bar 3:29–30 in Rom 10:6–8, and the hymn he quotes in Rom 11:33–36 with its similarities to two Qumran Hodayot and *2 Bar* 75:1–5. According to the criteria I set up to examine the other Jewish texts, Paul stands on my conceptual spectrum closest to Qumran and *2 Baruch*, at some distance from the "ideal" wisdom position that sees God's wisdom as immanent in creation, but also a step removed from the apocalyptic pole that despairs of all redemption this side of the eschaton.

10 *Ibid.*, 207.

My final conclusion about the function of apocalyptic and wisdom traditions in Romans 9–11 was that "the intersections . . . afford Paul the means of maintaining a theological tension between God's faithfulness and God's impartiality, a tension he never resolves because it is constitutive of the character of God."[11] "The confluence of those traditions enables Paul to maintain a balanced tension between God's impartial treatment of all and God's faithfulness to Israel."[12]

The sturdiness of this conclusion was the point of Dave Adams's question at my oral defense, and today—in a less defensive context, I trust—I wish to answer it differently. I now think that I now made a classic research error in assuming that simultaneity somehow indicates causation. What I actually demonstrated was (1) that Paul uses language and imagery about God's wisdom much as some of his contemporaries do: to describe God's freedom in election, to describe the nearness of God's revealed wisdom in the law (which Paul thinks finds its goal in the gospel), and to talk about revelations of divine mysteries concerning the eschatological future. I showed that Paul is yet another apocalyptic Jew of the second-temple period who interprets sapiential traditions and is concerned about God's wisdom. I also showed (2) that the tension Paul maintains between God's impartiality and God's covenant faithfulness propels the argument of Romans 1–8 to its provisional conclusion in chapters 9–11. I did not, however, demonstrate any causal relationship between those two conclusions. The fact that I could make essentially the same case for the argument of Romans 9–11 in another context[13] with virtually no recourse to Paul's use of confluent apocalyptic and wisdom traditions suggests that there is nothing *necessary* about it to his argument about God's impartiality and faithfulness.

One reviewer of my dissertation tried to make sense of the claim by simplifying—and thus misrepresenting—my argument. "The confluence of wisdom and apocalyptic traditions in Romans 9–11," he explained, "enables Paul to maintain a balanced tension between God's impartial treatment of all (= wisdom tradition), and God's faithfulness to his people (= apocalyptic tradition), as well as a tension between the already and the not yet."[14] It is perfectly understandable to me that he should think that; a number of participants in my oral defense attempted the same tidy assignment of concepts to literary traditions. The problem with such a move—and the reason I did not make it—is that it is exegetically indefensible. God's impartiality is affirmed in wisdom, apocalyptic, prophetic, legal, and other literary contexts in ancient Israel and early Judaism, and God's covenant faithfulness is similarly impossible to credit to a single religious voice. The problem with my conclusion about the function of apocalyptic and wisdom traditions in Romans 9–11 is not that it wrongly assigns individual conceptual features to literary traditions. The problem is that I make two separate cases for *what* Paul argues and *how* Paul argues and then wrongly claim that the former is determined by the latter.

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11 *Ibid.*, 175.

12 *Ibid.*, 208.

13 "Romans 9-11: The Impartiality and Faithfulness of God" in *Pauline Theology: Volume 3: Romans* (ed. David M. Hay and E. Elizabeth Johnson; Minneapolis: Fortress, forthcoming).

14 James Scott in *JBL* 110 (1991) 743.

The first question I want to rethink about my project, then, concerns the scope of its results. I can say with confidence that Paul, like several of his ancient contemporaries, blurs the boundaries between literary categories that modern scholars have long kept separate. He speaks both as a seer and as a sage and therefore calls into question honored academic distinctions between forms of religious language and world view in the first century. I cannot say that Paul's refusal to remain within modern scholarly definitions makes an appreciably *direct* impact on the substance of his argument in Romans 9–11. Because Jews like Paul understand the law of God to reveal God's wisdom, and revealed μυστήρια such as the one he quotes in Rom 11:25–27 to contain God's σοφία, Paul invokes a traditional praise of God's wisdom in 11:33–36. This is in itself apparently somewhat traditional, since *2 Baruch* and two Qumran psalmists do likewise. That Paul believes God's righteousness is constituted by God's dealing with all impartially and God's remaining faithful to Israel is a function of his interpretation of the fact that the God of Israel is also the God who raised Jesus from the dead.

The second question I raise about my project concerns its method more narrowly. In my dissertation I deliberately set aside the questions raised by those who were looking for genetic historical relationships between two theological "movements" and attended instead to the functions of specific language and ideas in discrete texts, since the function of those traditions was also my concern in Romans 9–11. My so-called conceptual spectrum was unapologetically ahistorical, and I remain comfortable about the severe restrictions I put on my search for confluent traditions. While the lists of descriptive criteria by no means circumscribe the bodies of literature we have conventionally called wisdom and apocalyptic, they do allow exegetical comparisons to be made with some controls. My refusal to begin my search with Daniel or even include it, however, continues to trouble me. I attempted to cover myself with an extended footnote[15] that offered two excuses: the two halves of Daniel are literarily distinct and the "wisdom" spoken of in the second half is nowhere defined. What H.-P. Müller describes as "*mantische Weisheit*"[16] in the wise courtier's dream interpretations in chapters 1–6, though, surely blurs genre boundaries as much as do the seer's repeated calls for wisdom to understand his visions in chapters 7–12. This question needs to be pursued more vigorously than I did it, and it needs to be put in tradition-historical perspective. Why is it that *before* Daniel we hear people talk about wisdom in "traditional" ways (that is, like Proverbs) but *after* Daniel we hear many people talk about wisdom in ways that appear to be modified by apocalyptic categories or at least to stand side by side with them? Is Daniel itself influential in the shift or is it merely the first example we have of the phenomenon? The nearly universal dismissal of von Rad's thesis merits careful rethinking such as John Collins's in his "Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and Generic Compatibility."[17]

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15 *Apocalyptic and Wisdom*, 72-73.

16 "Mantische Weisheit und Apokalyptik," *Congress Volume Uppsala* (VT Sup 22; Leiden: Brill, 1972) 268-293.

17 *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (ed. Leo G. Purdue, Bernard Brandon Scott, and William Johnston Wiseman; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993) 165-186.

II

My second set of comments responds directly to the 1994 Wisdom, Apocalyptic, and Early Christianity discussion, particularly the questions grouped under the headings "Community", "Traditions", and "World View."

Compared with many of the second-temple texts under consideration, Paul's letters afford us considerable access to the social locations and contingent situations of their author and first readers. Particularly the question, "Does your text display an attitude of openness to outsiders or is 'salvation' only for insiders?" brings into focus the distinctiveness of these apocalyptic Christians who talk about their experience of God's wisdom. In Romans 10:6–8, Paul says redemption is for insiders (that is, those who believe and confess), but it is precisely its character as wisdom that shows the gospel to be God's saving righteousness: it is near to all without distinction even as it is faithfully offered to Israel. We know the Pauline Christians (or at least their founder) to be singularly devoted to expanding the boundaries of their communities. The urgency of Paul's missionary effort is reminiscent of Pseudo-Solomon's optimism when he invites kings to be wise (6:1ff). Both fully expect their message to be heard and accepted. Paul even attributes Jewish resistance to his gospel to God's wise plan to save the whole world (Rom 11:25–27).

In another example, the Corinthian Christians have apparently heard Paul describe his gospel as God's wisdom and assumed that their appropriation of it has made them wise (1 Corinthians 1–3).[18] The Corinthian elite believe that wisdom sets them apart from the unredeemed world, and Paul agrees. But because Paul refuses to allow wisdom to be honored as a human characteristic and asserts instead both its divine origin and content, he modifies their sense of wisdom's immanence with what can only be termed apocalyptic transcendence: the inadequacy of the Corinthians' wisdom, he says, is a function of their confusing God's wisdom, which cannot be known fully until the end (1 Cor 2:9), with human wisdom.

The audiences presupposed by Paul's letters are Christian communities whom the Apostle expects, to a certain extent, to share his missionary stance toward outsiders (e.g., 1 Cor 14:13–25). Paul has a sectarian view of salvation that limits it to insiders, but he also identifies himself and his communities with God's expanding sphere of redemption. This qualifies his answer to the question about insiders and outsiders. In an another attempt to understand the relationship between apocalyptic and wisdom traditions in Paul's letters, I concluded,

> Paul is therefore both sage and seer, as customarily defined, but he is finally neither. He calls himself ἀπόστολος, and his commission to preach the gospel impels him to make use of the whole of his religious heritage to understand and appropriate God's action in Christ.[19]

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18 This is the case I attempt to make in "The Wisdom of God as Apocalyptic Power," in *Faith and History: Essays in Honor of Paul W. Meyer* (ed. John T. Carroll, Charles H. Cosgrove, E. Elizabeth Johnson; Atlanta: Scholars, 1990) 137-148.

19 "Wisdom and Apocalyptic in Paul," in *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (ed. Leo G. Purdue, Bernard Brandon Scott, William Johnston Wiseman; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993) 283.

On a related subject, it seems to me that in the texts in which Paul uses confluent traditions—or merges apocalyptic and wisdom language and world views or at the very least blurs the boundaries between them—he most often focuses on the value of the present moment even as he maintains the horizon of the end time. In Rom 5:3–5, for example, it is the apocalyptic modification of a traditional wisdom exhortation to profit from suffering ("suffering produces endurance, endurance produces character, and character produces hope") that grounds Christian hope in God's glory rather than in human observation about the educative value of suffering. Christians do not have hope only because God can be trusted to vindicate them in the disjunctive future. Christians boast in hope—and even boast in tribulation—because *even now* the God who raised Jesus from the dead is bringing life out of death as the Spirit pours God's love into their hearts (5:5).

Two related questions raised in the 1994 conversation refer to wisdom and Torah in ways that Paul's letters appear to address:

> Does your text have an interest in Torah and the priestly performance in the temple?
>
> Is there any use of the tradition of wisdom's descent to find a home on earth? Does wisdom find its home in Torah or somewhere else?

A long-standing debate among Pauline scholars about the possibly sapiential roots of Paul's christological language and thought[20] has tended to obscure the fruitfulness of this line of inquiry because it draws untenable lines in the sand. People either espouse or dismiss the entire package, frequently on the basis of whether or not they affirm Pauline authorship of Col 1:15–20.[21] It is possible to understand Rom 9:30–10:13, however, where Paul posits of Χριστός and τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως what his contemporaries claim about God's law, to refer not to the person of Christ but to the gospel Paul preaches. The controversy about wisdom in 1 Corinthians 1–3 focuses not on the person of Christ, but on the nature of Christian preaching and preachers. If Paul in fact believes that God's law finds its divinely appointed destination in the Christian proclamation of God's righteousness, then his use of wisdom language to describe that proclamation is very traditional indeed, even if he has transformed the tradition substantially. And one need not subscribe to some overly complex—and finally insupportable—theory of christological speculation (Christ = law; law = wisdom; therefore Christ = wisdom) to make sense of the fact that Paul seems to think, as many of his neighbors do, that God's wisdom is to be discerned in God's law.

The discussion of wisdom and apocalyptic last year asked the question, "Does your text display wisdom's interest and grounding in creation and providence as the basis for theology? To what extent may creation be known?" Here again, Paul's invocation of natural theology shares characteristics of both apocalyptic and wisdom literature. In Rom 1:18–32, he says that creation indeed reveals God's power and divinity, but the pseudo-wise respond with idolatry rather than

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20 Most recently revived by E. J. Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul: A Tradition Historical Enquiry into the Relation of Law, Wisdom, and Ethics* (WUNT 2/16; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1985) 236-263.

21 See my discussion of the history in *Apocalyptic and Wisdom Traditions*, 23-37.

worship because of the universal power of sin. This description of human sinfulness as the confusion of creation with Creator is certainly reminiscent of the diagnosis in Wisdom 12–13, but it is prefaced with Paul's solemn warning about the present manifestation of God's wrath, which calls to mind apocalyptic predictions such as *1 Enoch* 91:5, 7.[22] Here again, the confluence of apocalyptic and wisdom traditions marks a point at which Paul's awareness of the in-breaking of the new aeon focuses his attention on the present experience of human beings—in this case, the experience of God's wrath—that his more traditionally apocalyptic neighbors generally consider to be a characteristic of the disjunctive future.

Further questions about world view also give Paul opportunity to contribute to the discussion of wisdom and apocalyptic.

> Is your text interested in the fulfillment of biblical prophecies? Does it have its own prophecies (especially eschatological) that are to be fulfilled? Do these prophecies reflect an interpretation of existing prophecy or are they new, revealed prophecies? Is eschatology an issue? Does your text display an apocalyptic notion of revelation of divine mysteries? Are such mysteries knowable or unknowable?

The short answer is, of course, "All of the above." Although Paul's uses of scripture are remarkably diverse and complex,[23] he shares with other apocalyptic exegetes of his time a conviction that the biblical word is addressed to and understandable by his community alone (1 Cor 9:10; 2 Cor 3:12–18). He reports his receipt of numerous heavenly revelations (2 Cor 12:1–7) and himself reveals two of them (1 Cor 15:51–57 and Rom 11:25–27), both of which include prophetic interpretations of scripture. Even in letters where Paul does not particularly concern himself with eschatology, details of Jesus' parousia, or the last judgment, his thinking is, as Leander Keck aptly puts it, "two-age" in character.[24]

One final question highlights the extent to which Paul is finally more characteristic of what we call apocalyptic than wisdom writers of the period. "Does your author present his/her instruction and teaching as inspired? Is the inspiration immediate or is it derivative, dependent on study?" Paul is not only privy to the mysteries of God's counsel, he also claims authority for his interpretation of received tradition. In 1 Corinthians 7, he alternates in his responses to questions about marriage between "I say" and "the Lord says" without any noticeable difference in authority (cf. 7:6, 8, 10, 12). Even at his most defensive (or uncertain?) he is confident of his own charismatic authority: "Now concerning virgins, I have no command of the Lord, but I give my opinion as one who by the Lord's mercy is trustworthy" (7:25; cf. "and I think that I too have the Spirit of God," 7:40). So also, in the context of his rebuttal of the Corinthians' ideas about wisdom, he assures them that all Christians are endowed by God's

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22 "Wisdom and Apocalyptic in Paul," 273.

23 See particularly Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

24 "Paul as Thinker," *Int* 47 (1993) 27-38.

Spirit with "the mind of Christ" (2:16) and thus ought to be sufficiently wise to make judgments among themselves (6:1–6) and even to judge the world (6:2).

At a time when great controversy swirls around questions about the possibility of a relationship—or the necessity of an alternative—between apocalyptic and wisdom in the teaching of Jesus, it is helpful to have another first-century Jew whose writings clearly draw from both and whose theological vocabulary and outlook are somewhat less controversial. My initial foray into the questions netted not nearly as much as I first claimed, but it may have made possible the asking of more reasonable questions now.

Touched by a God: Aelius Aristides, Religious Healing, and Asclepius Cults

Steven C. Muir
University of Ottawa

Introduction

In his formal orations, and particularly in his less formal reminiscences (*The Sacred Tales*), Aristides reveals a religious view that combines what at first glance seem to be quite diverse elements. On the one hand, Aristides displays an intense interest in the beneficial actions of healing deities—an attitude which seems understandable, even pragmatic, given his recurring health problems. Yet, above such a practical interest, he also displays a deeply religious, even mystical perspective. Aristides understands his healings as in some way comparable to the mystery religions, and these healings are not only epiphanic encounters with the deity but become the foundational elements in Aristides' on-going, personal relationship with the god. In worship of Asclepius, Aristides was able to satisfy his various religious needs.

My research indicates that this combination of practical, worldly concerns with devotional or mystical attitudes is not as unusual as it may appear to modern sensibilities. In the ancient world, attitudes towards health and healing often did not involve the dichotomization between the physical realm and the mental or spiritual realm that is common today. In many cases, gods and other supernatural beings were believed to be involved in everyday existence, and a miraculous healing could be interpreted as an epiphany. My thesis has two parts, each of which challenges some of the conventional assessments of Aristides. [1] Aristides' writings on the subject of his healing reflect genuine religious sentiment, not merely rhetorical convention. Aristides valued healing as a religious act: his comparison of healing with the mystery religions demonstrates that he viewed healing as an initiation or transformation that brought him into personal contact with the god. [2] Aristides was not unique or even particularly unusual in this attitude towards religious healing. There is evidence that others in the Greco-Roman world shared a similar understanding.

If my thesis is true, then this raises interesting questions about the relationship between religious healing and the worship of healing deities in the Greco-Roman world. The conventional assessment of religious healing views it largely as a pragmatic affair involving votive offerings, prayers, some rituals and a perfunctory thanksgiving if the cure was successful. The affective or emotional factor tends to limited to the issue of the person's faith or belief in the healer. My research suggests that a reappraisal of the evidence may be in order. Healing

could have been prized as a religious act in its own right, one which was a sign of transformation at the spiritual as well as physical level, and which was a means of communion with a god.

Healing, the Asclepius Cult, and the Mysteries: the Evidence of Aristides

Aelius Aristides was a second-century CE rhetorician from Mysia in north-west Asia Minor. He was a devotee of the healing deity Asclepius, and Aristides' writings offer modern researchers a wonderfully detailed account of personal piety and religious activity in the Greco-Roman world. The standard scholarly works on Aristides are Behr 1968, 1973, 1986; cf. Edelstein 1945a, 1945b; and Festugière. It is apparent that Aristides considers healing to have more than a physical component: he attaches a spiritual and religious dimension to it. For him, healing is a physical event that brings him into contact with the divine, most typically his personal patron and saviour, Asclepius. This attitude is reflected in Aristides' writings by the striking way he draws upon ideas from mystery religions in his discussion of healing. Aristides uses terms from the vocabulary of the mystery religions, his view of Asclepius is fashioned by syncretism with the Egyptian gods Isis and Sarapis who were famous for healing and who headed a mystery cult, and he draws upon concepts which have an affinity to the mysteries: close communion with the deity, secrecy, and transformation.

Mystery Religions Terms

Aristides discusses his healings using a variety of words and concepts from the vocabulary of mystery religions. Aristides often uses the word *teleioō*, which, in addition to a general meaning of "completing" or "bringing to an end," was also a technical term in Hellenistic mystery religions which meant "consecrating" or "initiating into mystery rites" (Burkert: 9; Bauer: 810). Aristides uses this term in various contexts: symbolic rites of healing (*Or.* 48.28), dream-visions (*Or.* 48.32-33, cf. Aristides' vision of Sarapis in *Or.* 49.47-48), the entire process of visions and prescribed cures (*Or.* 2.66-67; 50.7), and the Asclepius cult in general (*Or.* 42.1) In *Or.* 23.16, Aristides uses the titles of participants and officiants in the Eleusinian mysteries ("fellow pilgrims," "Torch-bearer," "Mystagogue," cf. *Or.* 4.2 "fellow pilgrims") to describe his fellow incubants at the temple and Asclepius (Behr 1986: 366 n. 11). Edelstein (1945b: 129) estimates that Aristides here is saying that the true mysteries of Asclepius are his healings. Near the end of his life, Aristides selected from his diary some accounts of his many illnesses and cures, put them into an informal biography, and titled this collection the "Sacred Tales" (*Hieroi Logoi*) (*Or.* 47-51). The title *Hieroi Logoi* typically was used in Hellenistic literature to refer to a sacred legend revealed in divine revelation, justifying a rite of special worship such as a ceremony of initiation (Festugière: 88, cf. Burkert: 69-70). By so naming his text, Aristides demonstrates that he sees in his healings a manifestation of the divine and a justification of his devotion to Asclepius. Finally, one time as Aristides prepared for an incubation in the temple, he states that he felt himself to be "consecrated and possessed" by Asclepius (*Or.* 50.4; cf. a similar feeling of possession during oratory in *Or.* 28.110ff).

Syncretism

Aristides' relation with Asclepius is shaped by syncretism. Aristides had a conventional Hellenistic piety towards the entire pantheon of Greek gods. In one oration, Aristides declares that Zeus is the supreme creator-god, and that the various gods assist Zeus, Asclepius by healing (*Or.* 43.7f, 25, cf. 43.30). In addition to Asclepius he credits Apollo and Athena with healing (*Or.* 48.18; 48.40). Aristides freely admits that other gods heal, however he feels he has been singled out for a special association, a client-patron relationship, with a particular god—Asclepius (*Or.* 2.75, 430; 33.2, 42.3; cf. Behr 1968: 159-160). This relationship entitles Aristides to protection, guidance, and treatment. Also significant is the fact that Aristides had a particular interest in the Egyptian gods Isis and Sarapis (e.g. *Or.* 45), who healed and headed mystery cults. Perhaps the influence of the mystery religions associated with Isis and Sarapis contributes to Aristides' devotion to Asclepius, which has elements of the mysteries. Aristides sees in a dream the combined figures of Sarapis and Asclepius (*Or.* 49.46, cf. Edelstein 1945b: 129); in another dream (*Or.* 47.24-25) Aristides sees a figure who is first a priest of Apollo (in mythology, the father of Asclepius), then of Isis. As I show below, some of Aristides' imagery of death and resurrection in healing also may derive from concepts associated with the Isis-Sarapis religions.

Communion with the God

In addition to specific references and allusions to the mystery religions, there are elements in Aristides' writings which share an affinity with the mysteries. He claims that he is in no way inferior to seers who have been initiated into the service of the gods and have knowledge from them. In his case, his healings are the means through which he acquired this knowledge (*Or.* 2.67). Aristides suggests that his dream-visions, experienced both in incubation and in normal life, are a personal and ineffable encounter with the divine. Apart from the benefit of the specific prescription for healing contained in the dream, he prizes the dream itself as an experience, as a communion between himself and the god (*Or.* 48.32-33, *Or.* 48.21; cf. *Or* 48.41 concerning Athena). The idea that the god was encountered during dreams was common in the Greco-Roman world. However, Aristides also interprets the feeling of physical and mental well-being resulting from a cure or cessation of illness as an epiphany of the god (*Or.* 48.21-23) and an initiation (*Or.* 50.7; cf. Behr 1968: 164). Even anticipating a night of incubation brings about a feeling of possession, peace and joy in Aristides (*Or.* 50.4). In statements which may be rhetorically extravagant but which likely still express a sincere belief, Aristides terms his illnesses as an advantage (*Or.* 23.16; cf. *Or.* 50.27), since they bring him into contact with his healing savior. Aristides was able to find meaning, even consolation in his recurring illness, since he also felt the continued presence and concern of Asclepius (Behr 1968: 39-40, 60; Festugière: 86).

Behr finds that Aristides "infused himself with the presence of Asclepius in a sort of non-contemplative mystic union" (Behr 1968: 158; cf. Angus: 135-6). Conditions of ecstasy, exhilaration, and altered consciousness were a common feature in mystery religions. These mystical states usually were interpreted as being the result of possession by the deity (Angus: 101-104). Aristides' conviction that he was the instrument of Asclepius (e.g. *Or.* 42. 12, "I am the actor of your

compositions") is typical of the close identification of devotee to deity in the mystery religions (Angus: 105) as is the personal bond of intimacy and friendship (Angus: 117-118; Mylonas: 284; Festugière: 98) Aristides sensed from his god.

Secrecy

Another element in Aristides' writings which supports his association between healing and the mystery religions is the motif of secrecy. References to sacred secrets and details which must not be revealed to the profane or uninitiated audience—a theme common in mystery religions (cf. Meyer 1987: 4)—color some of Aristides' references to healings (e.g. *Or.* 47.71; cf. *Or.* 45.32). Another element which may relate to the notion of secrecy is the figure of Telesphorus, the infant son of Asclepius. I will go into more detail about Telesphorus in the following section, so here I will only note that some scholars have associated Telesphorus with Harpocrates, the stock figure of secrecy in the iconography of mystery religions. Aristides has a particular interest in Telesphorus: he dreams of his Temple at Pergamum (*Or.* 49.21) and of Telesphorus himself (*Or.* 49.23), he dedicates inscriptions to him (Behr 1986: 425), and Telesphorus is involved in some of Aristides' healings (*Or.* 48. 2, 27; 49.15). Telesphorus was a prominent figure in Pergamum, the site of most of Aristides' activities (Behr 1968: 153; cf. *Or.* 49.21; 50.16, 46).

Transformation

There are elements in Aristides' writings about healing which present images of transformation. For instance, Aristides adopts a new name. To his full name Publius Aelius Aristides he added the name "Theodorus" (gift of God). According to *Or.* 50.53-54, Aristides received this name in a dream, along with the distinguished title of Asiarch, and he counted these (like everything else in his life) as gifts from Asclepius. Aristides adopted this name around 147 CE, near the end of his two-year incubation at the Temple of Asclepius in Pergamum (Behr 1968: 47). The change or addition of a name is a common feature in rites of initiation, symbolizing a rebirth or new identity (Van Gennep: 62; Eliade: 28, 74-5; Angus: 90).

Aristides uses the concept of regeneration to discuss his illness and cures. He refers to his sickness as death or a near-death condition (*Or.* 48.39; 49.3; 50.2) from which he recovers. He notes that many people claim to have been resurrected by Asclepius, and he cites this statement as conventional wisdom (*Or.* 42.6-11). He himself claims to have lived not one, but many lives, due to the intervention and continued patronage of Asclepius (*Or.* 23.16). He calls Asclepius a "great wonder worker" who works for man's salvation (*Or.* 39.14). He states that "many unexpected things occur in the Temple of Asclepius" (*Or.* 4.5). There are also two cases in which Aristides records the opinion that his life has been spared in exchange for another's: someone dies in his place, and he is healed and continues to live (*Or.* 48.44; 50.22-25). In his use of death and resurrection imagery for healings of Asclepius, perhaps Aristides syncretized imagery from the Isis-Sarapis cults. We know Aristides had an abiding interest in Sarapis (Behr 1968: 148-151). Aristides cites a conventional Hellenistic view that Sarapis was both a healer and a guide and resurrecter of the dead (*Or.* 45.18, 25,

29). In Hellenistic thought, Sarapis often symbolized the underworld (Behr 1968: 149).

Particularly interesting with respect to resurrection are two instances in which rituals symbolizing death are part of the process of cure for Aristides. In the first (*Or.* 48.26-28), Asclepius appears in a dream and states that Aristides is fated to die. Although this state of affairs is "inevitable" according to the god, Aristides is granted divine permission to perform acts which ritually dramatize and thus avert his actual death. He conducts special sacrifices and tosses away money. At first he is ordered to cut off part of his body, then the god relents and Aristides is allowed to part with his finger-ring. In the second instance, (*Or.* 50.2) the god orders him to sprinkle white earth on himself, "in place of being buried"; and then to bathe in snow which had "covered everything, the ground, the trees, and the springs." These ritual acts are a symbolic and surrogate death, and Aristides survives these ordeals. Cutting off part of the body, symbolic burial, and divesting oneself of previous belongings are all common elements in rites of passage. What must be kept in mind is that Aristides, along with the assistance of his friends and temple functionaries at the Asklepieion, came up with these interpretations. The meaning of his dreams came out of a world-view and expectations common in the Greco-Roman world.

The idea of transformation is an important part of Aristides' conception of the healing process as well as his entire relationship to Asclepius (e.g. *Or.* 50.52). Aristides has a dream in which Asclepius removes and replaces his damaged bones and nerves (*Or.* 49.15). In another place, Aristides estimates that his entire body was formed and given to him as a gift by Asclepius (*Or.* 42.7). Once, he compared his successful healing to the victorious crown won by an athlete (*Or.* 49.31): the implication is that by persisting in the treatment recommended by Asclepius he has been transformed from a person struggling with illness to a victor over his problem. Finally, there is the entire course of Aristides' life, which may be categorized in summary as transformations from ill to well, from struggling rhetorician to successful orator. To this list we may a third transformation, one from a typically eclectic polytheist of Hellenistic society (Behr 1968: 148) to a faithful, even ardent devotee of Asclepius. Aristides comes to count Asclepius as his personal patron in everything. Although he had and continues to have setbacks in both areas, he never feels abandoned by his saviour Asclepius (*Or.* 50.8-9).

There is another item which may demonstrate connections between Aristides' devotion to Asclepius and initiation and the mystery religions. There is a recurring motif in Aristides' writing in which he compares himself to Odysseus, and the course of his life (particularly his healings) with the Odyssey (e.g. *Or.* 33.18; 48.39, 42; cf. 48.65; 42.14). While quotations of Homer were not uncommon in Greek orations, this should not make us dismiss Aristides' use of this theme as strictly a rhetorical convention. In general, the travels of Odysseus may be seen as paradigms of transformations in an individual's life (Campbell: 58). In this regard, Festugière characterizes Asclepius' healing prescriptions as a "series of ordeals," which Aristides meets successfully (Festugière: 86). Furthermore, an important episode in Odysseus' quest was the voyage to the underworld, where he conversed with many dead heroes. The story of Odysseus

includes a motif of a voyage to death and back, a theme which may have been attractive to Aristides and which is reflected in how he describes his healings.

Analysis of Aristides' Writings

Now it has been objected that in all of the above, Aristides draws upon the concepts of the mysteries, such as initiation and possession by the gods, in a strictly metaphorical sense (e.g. Behr 1968: 34; 1986: 366 n.11; Festugière: 95, 171 n.27). Such usage would therefore be purely rhetorical, detached from Aristides' personal convictions or emotions. It is true that Aristides was a classically-trained and apparently accomplished Greek rhetorician, and elegant and imaginative phrases were his stock in trade. The lexicon of the mysteries was part of the Hellenistic world, and it is true that Aristides' use of the above terms is not restricted to references to healing. However his other use of these terms concerns the one area of equal passion in his life to his health, namely his career as an orator (*Or.* 2.75; 28.109f; 33.20, cf. Behr 1968: 45f, 107, 149). The idea of the gods inspiring oratory was common in Greek thought, so we are not surprised to encounter it in Aristides. Similarly, his idea of encountering the god in healing, especially in dreams, is not novel. However the way he uses healing and oratory as means of communing with the god is striking. Furthermore, his belief in these matters rises above rhetorical convention to the level of emotional faith. The two areas—healing and oration—that affected him most deeply, and those which he felt were under the patronage of Asclepius, each were described in deeply emotional and mystically religious mystical terms. The depth of his convictions in this regard, beyond rhetorical conventions, is evident (cf. Festugière: 97).

It could also be objected that this usage reflects only Aristides' idiosyncratic view (Behr 1968: 159; Behr 1986: 366 n.11; Festugière: 98), one which was not commonly shared by other participants in the healing cult of Asclepius. Festugière finds that conventional piety towards Asclepius recognized his healing ability, but typically did not include elements of what we would call personal religion such as devotion or single-minded adoration (Festugière: 95). Similarly, Behr estimates that worship of Asclepius typically was a simple and direct affair, with none of the secrecy or paraphernalia of the mystery religions (Behr 1968: 33-34). The ill petitioner offered homage to the god, had a dream, followed its prescriptions, felt better, offered a sacrifice in thanksgiving, and departed with apparently no more thought to the matter. While the available records of incubations in temples to Asclepius do follow the above outline of events, we lack information on how most incubants felt personally about the process. While I would not claim that every person who received a healing by Asclepius shared in Aristides' view, we should not assume that Aristides was unique. The cult of Asclepius was widespread and popular in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. There was likely considerable diversity in forms of worship and theology.

It is worthwhile to keep in mind that conventional cultic activities, such as festivals and offerings in honor of the mystery-gods, were open to the uninitiated public and existed alongside those esoteric and private activities of the mystery cults that were restricted to the initiated (Burkert: 10, Nock: 57-58). Abundant evidence for public rites does not negate the existence of private rites, whether these are in the recognized mysteries or in healing cults. What is involved here is

a spectrum of worship options, rather than mutually exclusive areas. Particularly in the mystery religions, the element of personal choice determined the extent of involvement and participation (Meyer: 4). Another factor that should be kept in mind regarding the evidence from Aristides is that, with the exception of *The Sacred Tales*, his writings are a record of formal orations. The statements Aristides makes therefore must reflect some degree of conventional wisdom: arguments are not very persuasive if they are not shared by the audience. Aristides himself provides evidence of such a shared perspective. In *Or.* 2.68 Aristides mentions many others like him who have been rescued from illness by Asclepius or Sarapis, and who share his understanding of healing. In *Or.* 48.8 he alludes to parchment books which contain records of cures, visions, oracles, and prophecies of Asclepius. These seem to be on public record and may be aretalogies. In *Or.* 42.6-11 he alludes to many people who claimed that their healing was a resurrection from the dead by Asclepius. He states that "their stories are accepted, of course, and it is an old practice of the god." The records of their claims are to be found in oral accounts, and inscriptions on votive offerings.

As I will demonstrate in the next section, there is evidence from other sources that Aristides' view was more common than has been supposed. The connection Aristides makes between healing on the one hand, and initiation and mystery religions on the other, is not unique to him.

Healing, the Asclepius Cult, and the Mysteries: The Evidence Apart from Aristides

The study of the so-called "mystery religions" of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods has had a long and complex course. Scholars have debated at length the origins and development of these groups, and their influence upon general Greco-Roman religious belief and practice. Given the scope of this paper, it is not possible to discuss in detail their findings. Angus, Kerényi, Mylonas, Nock, Ferguson, Koester, Burkert, and Meyer present arguments in the area. Recent scholarship tends to make modest assertions about the mysteries (in comparison to earlier, more comprehensive claims), recognizing that there was considerable diversity in practice and belief in among various groups and even within similar groups in different locations and time periods. Despite this diversity however, it is usually agreed that there are some broad features common to most of the ancient mystery groups. Among these, there are two features relevant to my thesis that there were points of contact between healing and the mysteries. First, in most mystery religions the members sought a personal encounter and relationship with the deity. Second, the mysteries had something to do with transformation, whether this is understood as an imitation of the cycle of nature; a process of death and resurrection, birth or rebirth; or the bestowing of a type of enlightenment (cf. Meyer: 8-9; Burkert: 7-11).

As I will demonstrate, there are many affinities between the mystery religions and healing cults of the Greco-Roman world. Aristides expressed a particular, but by not means unique, understanding of the relationship between these two religious realms. I will consider the evidence of how people in Greco-Roman healing cults drew upon the terms, deities, and concepts (communion with the god and transformation) of the mystery religions. I will examine this issue under

three headings: healing cults in general and the mysteries, the Asclepius cult and the mysteries, and specific points of contact between the Asclepius cult and the most influential mystery of the ancient world, the Eleusinian mysteries.

Healing Cults and the Mysteries

Like the mysteries, healing often involved a personal encounter with a god. The mystery gods were primarily savior gods (Angus: 137): these gods were capable, because of their own transformation (often resurrection or rebirth), of bestowing redemptive transformation upon their devotees, those people in special personal relationship to them. Gods such as Asclepius and Sarapis were invoked as *sōtēr* (savior) in their capacity as healers and deliverers from disease and death. For example, a saying of Marcus Aurelius likely states a commonplace view: evidence of the god's power to assist humanity may be found in dreams, mysteries, healing and oracles (Fronto: 51). Bonner estimates that there were popular beliefs in Hellenistic times that viewed certain gods as having a kindly and personal solicitude for people. This belief could take two directions: the mystery religions, with the gods helping the initiate achieve a happy afterlife; and the healing religions, with the gods healing the person in this life (Bonner: 122-23). While Bonner too narrowly limits the goals of the mysteries to the next world or afterlife, he is correct in pointing out the complimentary natures of healing and mystery cults.

The story of Lucius as written by Apuleius in his book *Metamorphoses* or *The Golden Ass* provides a fascinating parallel to what we have seen in Aristides. Griffiths provides a recent and comprehensive study of this work; see also the discussions of Festugière, Nock, and Dibelius. A second-century writer and contemporary of Aristides, Apuleius drew upon a Hellenistic (Greek-Egyptian) folktale or romance to tell the humorous story of how Lucius fell into the snares of magic, had a series of misadventures as an ass, and was restored through the miraculous intervention of the goddess Isis. Many scholars agree that the last section (Book XI) of this work, which recounts the initiation of Lucius into the Isis mysteries, reflects Apuleius' own experiences and attitudes and can be used as a source of information on the cult (Festugière: 76-77; Nock 138, 149f; Griffiths 3-6). There are several elements in Book XI which are also found in Aristides' work: it is a personal account, the god appears in a series of dream visions or oracles, these visions produce an ineffable feeling of joy in the beholder which is an end in itself apart from the benefits of the vision, and the person assumes a close client relationship with the patron deity. Most significant for my thesis is the fact that a physical transformation proves to be the turning-point in each character's life: it is more than a restoration since it marks the beginning of their new relationship to the god. In Aristides' case, his initial cure is the beginning of his devotion to Asclepius; for Lucius his resumption of human form marks his change from a pawn of Fortune to someone under the protection of Isis (chapter 15). As we have seen, Aristides uses the language of initiation to describe his cures, and Apuleius has a similar understanding of what has happened to Lucius. Lucius' transformation is described as a rebirth (*renatus*) in chapter 16, and this state is a foreshadowing of the voluntary death and rebirth of his formal initiation in chapter 21 (Griffiths: 51-53; Festugière: 71, 78). Griffiths states: "Lucius has been born again in the sense that he has been

restored to human shape; he has also been born again spiritually in his acceptance of the protection and favour of Isis (Griffiths: 258)." Lucius' transformation is comparable to a religious healing, as Nock has noted (Nock: 140). Isis was a well-known healing deity. The reaction of the crowd in chapter 13—awe and praise at the power of the goddess as evidenced in the miracle—is typical of those recounted in aretalogies and other accounts of miraculous healings. The many points of comparison between Apuleius' story of Lucius and the writings of Aristides demonstrate that Aristides' point of view was not unique in the Greco-Roman world.

The dream visions of Aristides and Apuleius were a common feature in the Greco-Roman world. These visions were part of the practice of incubation, a prevalent means of receiving treatment in a variety of healing cults. The god would appear in a dream vision and either cure the person directly (usually by touch) or he would offer diagnostic and prescriptive advice. In either event, this vision was considered to be a direct encounter with the god, a personal healing unmediated by physicians (Kerényi 1959: 34, 51; cf. Edelstein 1945b: 156-157). The divine epiphany and encounter with the god in incubation is comparable to what occurred in the initiations and sacred dramas of the mysteries, which had as their focal-point the *epopteia,* a vision or revelation of the deity. What was the emotional state of incubants? The information available from inscriptions and ancient writers generally portrays incubation in Asklepieia as a straightforward affair involving a few preparations (bathing, sacrifices), the dream-vision in the incubation hall, the cure, and the return to everyday life. We are left guessing as to the affective quality of the activity. It doesn't seem likely that a person who had gone to the trouble of incubation, had "met the god" and received some kind of cure or relief from their ills, would be unaffected by the experience (apart from the healing).

We know that poor people set up and maintained little roadside shrines to saviour gods, and wealthy patrons established cultic sanctuaries in their hometowns, all in on-going gratitude for the benefits they had received (Edelstein 1945b: 119; Festugière: 8). Temples often contained votive inscriptions either petitioning or thanking the gods for healings and other favors. Burkert has an excellent discussion of the affinity between votive religion and the mysteries (Burkert: 12-19). He emphasizes that both are expressions of personal religion: they are religious activities governed by private decision rather than public obligation and they both seek salvation through closeness to the divine. Burkert estimates that votive religion and the mysteries had similar quests: both sought to effect a change in the person's present life, whether through salvation from danger or a transforming initiation. He cautions that scholars should not underestimate the intensity of feeling of persons offering votive offerings (Burkert: 13).

As far as we can penetrate the secret rites of the various mysteries, many had the feature of a sacred drama, a ritual reenactment of the death and resurrection of the god which was intended to facilitate some kind of transformation, usually relating to the afterlife, for the participants in the ritual (Eliade: 109-110; Angus: x). Some of the mystery religions originally were vegetation or fertility cults. Ancient ceremonies commemorating the dying and growing forces of nature, originally meant to renew the life-forces of the community, were appropriated in

the Hellenistic and Roman periods for rituals of personal transformation and rebirth (Angus: ix; Mylonas: 282; Van Gennep: 91-92; Eliade: 111-114). The idea of transformation also is central to healing and healing cults. This fact is so obvious that it often has been overlooked: in healing there is change from sickness to health. This change need not be restricted to the physical dimension. Deities such as Sarapis were considered to be healers of both the body and the soul. Further, healing often was considered to be a purification or cleansing, and such a cleansing was an important preparatory step in initiation into the mysteries (Angus: 78ff, 90). Finally, the sacred drama which symbolized transformation in many mystery religions involved the person enacting the death and resurrection of the god. Could not a healing rite, where illness was understood as a kind of death and cure as a rebirth, fill the same purpose? (See the cautious discussion of the evidence for this issue in Burkert: 23, 75, 99-101.) Incubation rituals often occurred in caves or other tomb-like structures, which could symbolize the settings of burial and resurrection (Coffman: 414). Incubation, involves the elements identified by cultural anthropologists as belonging to a rite of passage: ritual separation, transformation, and integration. It is a ritual concerned with the transformation of a person.

The Asclepius Cult and Mystery Religions

Affinities between the Asclepius cult and mystery religions tend to be discounted in much modern research. For example, Edelstein makes a typical assessment when he contrasts the Asclepius cult with mysteries. He estimates that incubation in the Asclepius cult was usually a simple, open and public affair; with none of the strange, elaborate, or secretive rituals and symbols associated with oracular or mystery religions (1945b: 149-150). There is some truth in this estimation, however I have noted above the danger of interpreting incubation without taking into account its affective elements. Furthermore, in addition to the general religious aspect of healing there were many specific elements in the Asclepius cult which had connections to the world of the mystery religions.

The first of these elements is the chthonic dimension. The Asclepius cult was a typical Greek hero-cult, with mythological and thematic connections to the earth and the underworld, oracles and incubations, frequent epiphanies by the god, and the use of snakes in iconography and religious ritual. In the Hellenistic world, healing gods also often functioned as oracles, and oracular gods often gave healing advice (Kerényi 1959: 36; Jayne: 218-220). Being a chthonic deity, certain elements are to be expected for Asclepius: oracular possession; images of death, burial, and rebirth; associations with serpents and the underworld. The snake, often associated with Asclepius (for example in the twin snakes on his staff), has a rich store of connotations. It had apotropaic functions: there were many folk-beliefs in the healing power of the touch or lick of a snake (ASCS: 28). There were also mystical images connected with snakes. It is associated with the underworld, and as such had mantic, divinatory or prophetic significance (D'Irsay: 456). It also had a well-accepted reputation for wisdom and knowledge. The serpent shedding its skin was a common motif for rebirth (cf. Edelstein 1945a: 366-367).

The next element in the Asclepius cult with connections to the mysteries is Telesphoros, a minor child deity who was part of Asclepius' retinue. Not much is

known about him. Jayne notes that some ancient writers associated him with the Egyptian god Harpocrates, who was a commonplace figure for the secrecy associated with divine mysteries (Jayne: 60, 348-350, cf. Burkert: 40-41). The presence of this figure in the Asclepius cult therefore may indicate mystery connotations. This fact is particularly significant when we note the prominence of Telesphoros in Aristides' writings and in Asia Minor, where Aristides lived. Perhaps Asia Minor was the site of a particular emphasis on the mystery aspects of healing and Asclepius worship, and Aristides demonstrates one example of this emphasis.

Epidauros was the site of the largest and most important temple to Asclepius in the ancient world. The temple structure here had a curious and unique design which may have a connection to mystery religions. There was a large rotunda or *tholos* attached to the temple which was built in the shape of a labyrinth. In Greek tradition, a labyrinth is a typical motif in heroic initiation, for example the myth of Theseus and the Minotaur (Eliade: 109). A labyrinth is a maze with something unexpected in the centre: it could be a structural representation of the process of initiation into the mysteries. Kerényi notes that the walls of the Epidaurian *tholos*-labyrinth were adorned with frescoes of Dionysian figures, and he speculates that this structure may have been the site of initiation into mystery rites (Kerényi 1959: 43, cf. D'Irsay: 459; Jayne: 264). Edelstein (1945b: 191) notes that the incubation chamber in the Asklepieia, where the patients slept and met the god in a dream-oracle, was called the *abaton* or *adyton*, names customarily given to the most sacred part of a temple where the god made epiphanic appearances (cf. Koester: 174, 176).

Edelstein speculates that there may have been religious ceremonies of the Asclepius cult in the late Roman period which were not open to the public (1945b: 213; cf. Koester: 176). He notes that cults of the ancient world included a religious play, a *dromenon*, which portrayed their central divine myth. Nothing is known of this "holy play" at Epidauros, yet we do know of Epidaurian festival days that were sacred to the god. An inscription at the temple to Asclepius at Epidauros mentions people with the title *hierophantes*. This word comes from *hiero* (sacred, holy) and *phainen* (to show). It is the usual title for priests who presided at sacred mysteries, especially the high priest at the Eleusinian mysteries (cf. Edelstein 1945b: 213; Kerényi 1959: 39.) The Asclepius-Eleusinian connection will be explored further in the next section. Here I will note that whether Eleusinian priests were involved in the ceremony, or whether Asclepian religious functionaries borrowed the title and practices from the Eleusinian mysteries, there does appear to be a case for some kind of religious mystery-drama in the later period at Epidauros.

The next element of affinity between the realm of Asclepius and the mysteries concerns human healers. In the ancient world, many physicians and healers called themselves "*Asklepiadai*" (sons of Asclepius). They considered Asclepius to be the patron deity of their craft, and their craft-association was organized as a fictive clan of Asclepius' descendants (cf. Edelstein 1945b: 54-60). Jayne develops the thesis that this association had some of the features of a mystery cult: they had sacred secrets (perhaps knowledge, techniques, and rituals) which were revealed only to those inside the group (Jayne: 273-275).

The prominent and popular mystery cult of Isis and Sarapis cult has many points of comparison with the Asclepius cult: they both had incubation with hieratic interpretations, temple staff acting as physicians, serpent imagery. As I noted previously, a dream-vision of Aristides combines the figures of Sarapis and Asclepius (*Or.* 49.46-48), and this syncretistic connection was not unusual in the ancient world. The deities are mentioned together in coins and inscriptions, and sometimes Sarapis is depicted in a syncretistic manner with the emblems of Asclepius, the tripod or the serpent and staff (Jayne: 347-348, 492; cf. Hamilton: 103). In one temple, Asclepius' image is placed between Isis and Sarapis (Edelstein 1945b: 216). The Isis-Sarapis cult was a well-known cult in the Hellenistic world. If it had combined healing and mystery elements, there is no reason that other cults such as that of Asclepius, could not do likewise in some cases (cf. Burkert: 15). For example, Apuleius, in *Apologia* 55 justifies his claim to knowledge of Asclepius by stating that he had participated in several sacred mysteries (Edelstein 1945a: 337). I have mentioned previously the many points of comparison in the writings of an initiate in the Isis mysteries (Lucius/Apuleius) and a devotee of Asclepius (Aristides).

Themes of transformation and rebirth, found in mystery religions, are also in the Asclepius cult. Mythological legends about Asclepius credit him with resurrecting people such as Hippolytus. A commonplace summary of Asclepius' accomplishments was that he healed the sick and raised the dead: by healing people Asclepius snatches them from the doors of Hades and gives them health and new life (cf. Edelstein 1945a: 37-93). The idea of personal transformation (likely apart from healing) can be found in the Asclepius cult: an inscription at a temple to Asclepius states, "Enter a good man, leave a better one (*bonus intra, melior exi*) (Edelstein 1945a: 319, cf. 212). Finally there is an intriguing little story recorded by Suetonius (*Claudius* 25.2), that recounts how many Roman slave owners sought to escape the burden of caring for their ill slaves by sending them to the island of Æsculapius on the Tiber, and then neglecting them. This became such an abuse that Claudius passed a law which freed all slaves who recovered after being sent to the sanctuary (cf. Jayne: 467, Edelstein 1945a: 451). Doubtless there are pragmatic economic issues behind this account, however it seems to me that a possible element implicit here is the notion that the slaves who were ill had in a certain sense "died," and/or their recovery involved a kind of rebirth or new identity. In either case they were now freed from their old status and legal obligations.

Mystery religions sought a personal encounter with the god. The personal relationship Aristides enjoys with Asclepius the healer and saviour is distinctive but not unique in the ancient world, as I noted with the character of Lucius in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses.* Generally, Asclepius was considered by the ancients to be a kindly god, the paradigm of a good physician and a figure often inspiring personal devotion (Edelstein 1945b: 65, 81-82; Hamilton: 6; Ferguson: 110-111). He appeared to hundreds of people in dream-visions at incubation, touching and soothing them, performing "operations," and offering detailed advice and prescriptions. Furthermore, Aristides' conception that Asclepius is his complete patron and guide in all affairs of life, not just healing, is also not unique. Edelstein makes the following astute observation (1945b: 104) about how Asclepius often became the guardian of a household: "The help in disease has a

natural affinity to the life of the family, for the family no less than the individual suffers from the burden and dangers of diseases, is troubled over their outcome and rejoices over their healing." As an oracular god, Asclepius was consulted on a variety of matters, not restricted to health. Furthermore, in late Neoplatonic thought, Asclepius was described as the cosmic physician, whose task it was to maintain the health of not just the individual but the universe (cf. Edelstein 1945b: 106).

In his account of Alexander the false prophet, the second-century CE satirical writer Lucian provides us with an intriguing portrait of how an Asclepius healing cult could be combined with elements of a mystery religion. Since satire draws its humor from its relation to real events, we should take seriously the possibility that such combinations existed in the ancient world. Lucian describes how Alexander initially trained and learned from a public physician (5), then went on to practice quackery, sorcery, and magic (6). Seeing the popularity of oracles, he founded a prophetic shrine (8) and an Asclepius cult (10f) based on predictions and oracles and the prescription of medical treatments and diets (22). He spread rumors that he had healed the sick and raised the dead (24). Especially interesting are the statements that in this cult he established a 'celebration of mysteries' (*teletēn*), 'performed the mysteries' (*teleisthōsan*) (39) and enacted mystery rites (*mystikois*) (40).

The Asclepius Cult and the Eleusinian Mysteries

We have abundant evidence that one mystery religion, the Eleusinian mysteries, was closely associated with the Asclepius cult. Several researchers have recognized a basic affinity between these two religious movements. For example, Coffman estimates that the Asclepius cult and the Eleusinian mysteries (along with early Christianity) "were subtly interconnected in the public mind as saviour-healing cults" (Coffman: 425). Kerényi similarly notes (1959: 38-39), ". . . unlike the oracles, the cult at Epidauros created in its devotees the expectation of a great culminating experience In this essential point Epidauros comes close to Eleusis. Indeed Epidauros and Eleusis had more in common than the general character of mystery common to both temples." Edelstein has the most extensive discussion of the above connection. Speaking of Demeter, the goddess of the Eleusinian mysteries, he says, ". . . there was a natural affinity between the goddess of agriculture and the god of medicine. Both husbandry and medicine preserve life." (Edelstein 1945b: 127). He goes on to develop the theory that there was a symbiotic relationship between the two cults. The Asclepius cult was concerned primarily with matters of this world such as cures and health: the Eleusinian mysteries were concerned with the next life. The process of sickness and healing, however, can be seen as a foreshadowing of death and rebirth. Healing could be a kind of preparatory initiation (or rite of passage) which could lead the thoughtful person to the Eleusinian Mysteries, and Asclepius and Demeter could have functioned in complimentary or parallel roles (Edelstein 1945b: 128-129). He states, "Asclepius, by allying himself with Demeter, by joining together this world and the other, gave to his worship a significance far beyond that of a merely materialistic healing cult." (Edelstein 1945b: 129).

The myth of the mother goddess Demeter who searches for her daughter Persephone (Kore) and eventually obtains her seasonal release from the

underworld was well-known. This myth was the basis for the Eleusinian mysteries, which was the most influential of the ancient mysteries. As with any mystery religion, the exact nature of the *dromenonon* and rituals are unknown, however most scholars agree that they involved a celebration of Kore's death and rebirth. It may be that initiates ritually reenacted and vicariously identified with the goddesses' resurrection. The events of the Eleusinian mysteries appear to follow the structure of a rite of passage. There were elements of separation (purification, preparation), transformation (the initiation, symbolic death/rebirth, resurrection), and integration (cf. Mylonas: 238ff; Van Gennep: 90-91; Eliade: 110-111).

The Asclepius cult was integrated into the mysteries of Demeter and Kore in 421 BCE when the Asclepius cult was established in Athens (Mylonas: 251, 316; Jayne: 295; Coffman: 426). The fourth day of the annual Eleusinian festival known as the "Greater Mysteries" was given the names "Epidauria" and "Asklepieia." This became a festival in honor of Asclepius and the relations between his cult and that of Demeter and Kore. The mythological story of Asclepius' initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries was recounted. The ceremonies were held in the Asklepieion in Athens, and Eleusinian priests and priestesses played a part at the ceremonies. Nothing is known of these rites, but since they commemorated the god's initiation, it is reasonable to assume that they were of similar character (cf. Jayne: 295; Coffman: 414, 425; Kerényi 1959: 39).

We have a variety of historical evidence which attests to the integration of the two cults. Hellenistic writers such as Pausanias (*Descriptio Graeciae* II.26.8) and Philostraus (*Vita Apolloni* IV.18) describe Asclepius' initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries (cited in Edelstein 1945a: 315-16). Worshippers of Asclepius associated him with the Eleusinian goddesses, as evidenced in inscriptions (Edelstein 1945a: 314-15) and relief art (Coffman: 425-26). In the late Roman era, many worshippers of Asclepius were also devotees of Demeter, imitating their god's friendship with her. Many dedications to Demeter were found at Epidauros (Edelstein 1945b: 128). The Eleusinian office of hierophantes became associated with the Epidaurian temple, as I noted previously. Participants in the Eleusinian mysteries likewise knew and worshipped Asclepius. Coffman notes that in the *telestērion* (initiation hall) at Eleusis, initiates drank a special potion as part of the ritual. Special chalices (*paterae*) were fashioned by artists for him: Asclepius and Demeter were associated together as savior-healers (Coffman: 426). In a temple of Demeter and Kore there was a panel at the entrance showing Asclepius and his daughter Hygeia (Edelstein 1945a: 348; 1945b: 215).

Another connection between the cults concerns the etymology of the name "Asclepius." Among ancient writers there was general agreement that the second half of this name, *epios* ("mild"), referred to some aspect of Asclepius' kindly character or gentle treatment. Some writers derived the first half of the name, *askl*, from *a* and *skellō* ("not to make harsh, dry, withered") (Edelstein 1945a: 124-128; 1945b: 80-81). This meaning is significant in the context of the mythology of Demeter and Kore. In the southern Mediterranean, the dormant season is not the winter but the harsh and dry summer, when Kore is in the underworld. The planting and growing season is seen as a time of rebirth, and it is symbolized in Kore's return or resurrection to earthly life. Kore's resurrection is celebrated in

the Eleusinian mysteries. The connotation of rebirth or resurrection may be inherent in Asclepius' name: this was thought to be the case by some ancient writers. Once again there is an affinity and a complimentarity between Asclepius and the Eleusinian goddesses, between healing and the mysteries of resurrection or rebirth.

It is possible that healing was associated with the Eleusinian mysteries in their own right. Evidence for this claim rests upon a few votive offerings which show that Demeter was at times worshipped as a healing goddess (van Straten: 121-2, fig. 56; Kerényi 1967: 95-98; Burkert: 20, 141 n. 37). One inscription at Eleusis suggests that a person was healed of blindness and had a vision of the goddess Demeter. The meaning of this inscription is open to interpretation: is it metaphorical (referring to the initatiory revelation or *epopteia* having banished the 'blindness' of ignorance) or does it refer to an actual healing? In any event, healing and the revelations of the mysteries are not incompatible concepts.

Conclusion

I have demonstrated that the religious sentiment of Aristides was genuine and not an unique phenomenon in the ancient world. His combination of healing, mysticism, and initiation into the mysteries is distinctive but it is not unusual. The personal transformation that takes place in healing is analogous to that which occurs in initiations and encounters with the divine. There are a great many examples of similar associations and connotations in Greco-Roman texts, inscriptions, and art. The religious experiences of Aristides was shared by others, during what was a truly syncretistic period of religious thought and practice.

The implications for the above in assessing healing in the ancient world are important. We cannot limit our view of healing in the ancient world to its physical dimension. For the people of that time, there was the potential to view healing as a profound and satisfying religious experience in its own right, as a means of communing with the god. The range of Greco-Roman religious practice and belief was rich, pluralistic, eclectic and innovative. In many cases, a person's religious life was characterized not so much by rejection of old ideas and acts; rather it was a new emphasis, focus, and combination of them. Aristides is an example of this tendency.

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The Nuptial Chamber Revisited: The *Acts of Thomas* and Cultural Intertextuality

Richard Valantasis
St. Louis University

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> The Lord [did] everything in a mystery, a baptism and a chrism and a eucharist and a redemption and a bridal chamber.
>
> Gospel of Philip 67:27b–30a:

Over the past few years of this SBL seminar on Intertextuality and New Testament Apocrypha, the dominant model of intertextuality has been more closely akin to "source criticism" than to a more literary or cultural understanding of intertextuality. The seminar, probably because it consists primarily of New Testament scholars who are most comfortable with philological relationships, has sought to uncover the historical sequence of the writing of the various apocryphal acts of the apostles by discovering the sources used by the author/compiler in the creation of a particular apocryphal act. In other words, this seminar has turned primarily to the question of which apocryphal act came first and, therefore, which one could have been used in the production of a later text. The model for invoking and creating texts has been based on the literal dependence of systems of language, or sequences of narratives, or correlations of scenes and characters. We have sought to define intertextuality at its most literal level.[1]

Although I found this approach to the intertextuality of the apocryphal acts interesting, I perceived that the seminar had not yet begun to address some larger questions of intertextuality. It was Averil Cameron's analysis that spurred me to explore wider horizons.[2] In her study of the development of Christian rhetoric through narrative, Cameron emphasized the important cultural role that the apocryphal acts played in the development of an intentionally Christian rhetoric and society. Cameron wrote:

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[1] According to Willem S. Vorster, the dominant New Testament method is Redaktionsgeschichte (Redaction Criticism) rather than Intertextuality. See his excellent article, "Intertextuality and Redaktionsgeschichte" in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honour of Bas van Iersel*, ed. Sipke Draisma (Kampen: Uitgeversmaatschappij J. J. Kok, 1989) 15–26.

[2] Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse* (Sather Classical Lectures, 55; Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1991).

> Like these Christian *Lives* in the fourth century and later, the stories in the apocryphal *Acts* had an important part to play in the creation of a Christian universe of myth, which would be both totalizing in itself and capable of development at different intellectual and literary levels. The canonical Gospels had left many loose ends and required expansion from an early date; since they themselves constituted stories—at least in part—this expansion also naturally took story form. That it frequently resulted in multiple or contradictory versions was a considerable help in achieving elasticity that proved in later years to be such a strength. While second-century writers like Clement of Alexandria developed a presentation of Christian ideas in the terms of Greek philosophy, and Tertullian applied to Christian themes the skills of traditional rhetoric, these works, "popular" or even heretical by orthodox standards, created a set of Christian stories for the next generations. Not just in the canonical books, or through official church teaching, but in the whole spread of Christian inventiveness in the first centuries it was thus established what kind of reality Christianity would construct for the empire when the time came.[3]

Cameron suggested a strong correlation between these texts and the development of a complex and highly interactive social and religious culture. The apocryphal acts signified in a larger arena than that of the textual production of the apocryphal acts: these acts constructed cultural realities, mediated symbolic universes, suggested alternative understandings of social relations; they invoked not just other literary texts, but other cultural processes. Cameron further extended the cultural dynamic in these texts:

> The apocryphal *Acts* cannot be marginalized; they too were integrally related to the general culture of the second and third centuries. But more specifically, they provided for Christians a set of texts in which the Christian self was expounded, first in narrative terms and then in terms of asceticism; the writing of Christian texts would shape Christian lives.[4]

Cameron's constellation of text and Christian identity points toward a wider appreciation of the intertextuality of literary text, rhetoric, and cultural formation.

It is this wider understanding of intertextuality as a cultural phenomenon that I wish to address in this paper to the seminar. And that wider understanding begins with the consideration of the term "text" and what might be construed or accepted as a "text."[5] Our seminar has taken "text" at its literal level: a unified written document (even though that "unity" may in fact refer to a compilation or

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3 Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire*, 113–15

4 Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire*, 116.

5 See James W. Voelz, "Multiple Signs and Double Texts: Elements of Intertextuality") in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings*, pp 27–34. Voelz argues (p. 28) that "texts" are products of a variety of cultural discourses, and, therefore, "that intertextuality concerns itself, not only with the relationship of text of verbal signs and other texts of verbal signs (or, more specifically, between a text of written verbal signs and other texts of written verbal signs), but it also and especially concerns itself with the relationship between a text of signs of any sort and other sets of signs as text, whether verbal or non-verbal in nature."

construction from a variety of sources). I would suggest a different approach to textuality that will also lay the foundation for cultural intertextuality.

Although there has been much recent literary and theoretical study of the phenomenon of "text" and "canonical text", two scholars of social semiotics, Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress, best articulated for me the cultural aspects of textuality. Hodge and Kress differentiated text from discourse:

> . . . the field of semiosis does not consist simply of an accumulation of messages. Messages pass in clusters back and forth between participants in semiotic act. In the study of verbal communication two words are generally used for this larger unit of semiotics, 'text' and 'discourse'. We will use 'text' in an extended semiotic sense to refer to a structure of messages or message traces which has a socially ascribed unity. 'Text' comes from the Latin word *textus*, which means 'something woven together'. 'Discourse' is often used for the same kind of object as text but we will distinguish the two, keeping discourse to refer to the social process in which texts are embedded, while text is the concrete material object produced in discourse. 'Text' has a different plane, where it has meaning insofar as it projects a version of reality. 'Discourse' refers more directly to the semiosic plane. [6]

This understanding of "text" may be summarized in this way: gathered messages form texts which are the material objects imbedded in discursive practice. Texts are instruments for sending messages, for communicating, and for articulating. Umberto Eco described this relationship of text to discourse in this way:

> I am saying that usually a single sign-vehicle conveys many intertwined contents and therefore what is commonly called a 'message' is in fact a *text* whose content is a multilevelled *discourse*. [7]

Texts materialize cultural systems of communication and discourse: a text, that is, may be construed as any cultural phenomenon which communicates discursively provided that it has some material base; while a discourse may find its textual referent in a wide variety of cultural and material expressions. Both text and discourse, however, are systems of communication differentiated primarily by their mode of expression.

Intertextuality, therefore, is not limited merely to written or literary texts, but may revolve, in fact, about the invocation and interaction of cultural "texts" which would include performances, concepts, images and metaphors, as well as literary texts and any number of other cultural phenomena interrelating materially. It is this sort of cultural intertextuality that this paper will investigate. I will look at the intertextuality of the nuptial chamber based upon the end [chapters 12, 14, and 15] of the first act in the *Acts of Thomas*. [8] This nuptial chamber scene describes what is a common cultural phenomenon which we

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6 Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress, *Social Semiotics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988) 5–6.

7 Umberto Eco, *A Theory of Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 57.

8 The "rough" and literal translation is my own, based on the Greek text in *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ed. R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1959), 2:116–122

know from a wide assortment of early Christian literature as "the nuptial chamber".

The end of the first act in the *Acts of Thomas* provides three rich interpretations of the nuptial chamber from the perspectives of the three main characters: Jesus, the bride and the groom. Each of these characters presents a different understanding of the nuptial chamber, and each of these different interpretations are, in turn, related to different discourses. These interpretative reactions to the nuptial chamber display differing interpretations according to the gender of the person, and each of these interpretations creates a different meaning for the cultural phenomenon of the nuptial chamber by invoking different cultural systems for their understanding. Jesus presents the nuptial chamber as a means of constructing an immortal and impassible life, far distant from the cares and tribulations of physical marriage and childrearing, and from the distractions which these physical children provide. The bride characterizes the nuptial chamber as a marriage to an impassible husband, modeled on the traditional understanding of social marriage, but transferred to a spiritual realm. The groom extols the bridal chamber as the means of union with a divinity. Each of these invoke other discourses, that is, each of these relate intertextually to different cultural phenomena: the philosophical systems of impassability of the spiritual, the social understanding of marriage, the initiation of entitled males into philosophical community, and the extension of that male system of formation to women.

This paper presents three intertextual theses (the inter-religious intertextuality; intra-traditional intertextuality; and discursive intertextuality) based upon the nuptial chamber in *Acts of Thomas.* Each thesis argues a different sort of intertextuality expanding the applications for interpreting the nuptial chamber scene, and each thesis advances the analysis with reference to cultural phenomena beyond the texts themselves.

The First Thesis—Inter-Religious Intertextuality

The first thesis relates that an intertextual reading of the groom's response to Jesus' invitation and exhortation shows that Christianity incorporated non-Christian philosophical systems of male formation into Christian formation. The nuptial chamber was a site for the grafting onto Christian formation of the system of male formation and initiation known to us in the Hermetic treatise *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth.* This form of intertextuality shows how cultural patterns function as texts which may be invoked in totally different environments.

It is generally acknowledged that *The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* exemplifies a treatise of initiation by a mystagogue of an initiant into the higher realms of the philosophical religion of Hermes Trismegistus.[9] The Coptic text represents the earliest witness for Hermetism, preceding the Latin and Greek texts, because it represents a third century text in an early fourth century

[9] See my chapter on the Hermetic documents from Nag Hammadi in *Spiritual Guides of the Third Century* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991) 63–104; Lewis W. Keizer, *The Eighth Reveals the Ninth: A New Hermetic Initiation Disclosure (Tractate 6, Nag Hammadi Codex VI)* (Seaside, CA: Academy of Arts and Humanities, 1974); these cite most of the relevant bibliography.

papyrus; it is roughly synchronous with the developing apocryphal acts of the apostles (although it may have older philosophical and religious derivation[10]).

The *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* revolves about the transformative relationship between the mystagogue who guides the initiation and transfers power from the outer regions of the cosmos to the initiant.[11] The divine power comes to reside in the mystagogue, and through him, in the initiant at the point of his illumination. The goal of the initiation in the *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* is the enlightenment of the initiant, and this enlightenment completes the human quest for self-knowledge and understanding: "I will offer up the praise in my heart, as I pray to the end of the universe and the beginning of the beginning, to the object of man's quest [ⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲍⲏⲧⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ], the immortal discovery, the begetter of light and truth, the sower of reason, the love of immortal life" (*Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* 60:17–25). Enlightenment evolves from the search inaugurated in the relationship between initiant and mystagogue.

The relationship between the initiant and the mystagogue is marked by intense love which infuses both with the divine power for transformation: "Let us embrace each other affectionately, O my son. Rejoice over this! For already from them the power, which is light, is coming to us. For I see! I see the indescribable depths" (*Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* 57:26–32). The interior power bubbles forth into the mystagogue and transfixes his attention: "I have found the beginning of the power that is above all powers, the one that has no beginning. I see a fountain bubbling with life. I have said, O my son, that I am Mind. I have seen! Language is not able to reveal this" (*Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* 58:10–16). The discourse emphasizes the surplus of presence, the overabundance of power and superabundance of mentation located in the ritual embrace of the initiant and the mystagogue. The relationship mediates (or transfers) power from the cosmic spheres to the mystagogue and (after the embrace) to the initiant, and it is signified in a sign of love (the performative embrace).

The mode of expression in *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* is hymnic. Although the content of the illumination remains revelatory, and the orientation of the mystagogue is intellectual and oriented toward the study and production of books,[12] the response of the initiant consistently explodes into various hymnic expressions:

> "O Grace! After these things I give thanks by singing a hymn to thee. For I have received life from thee, when thou madest me wise. I praise thee. I call thy name that is hidden within me. a ô ee ô êêê ôôô ii ôôôô ooooo ôôôô uuuuuu ôô ôôôôôôôôô ôôôôôôô ôô ôô. Thou art the one who exists with the spirit. I sing a hymn to thee reverently." (*Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* 61:3–17)

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10 See I. Hadot, "The Spiritual Guide," in A. H. Armstrong, ed., *Classical Mediterranean Spirituality: Egyptian, Greek, Roman* (New York: Crossroad, 1986); and P. Hadot, *Exercices Spirituels et Philosophe Antique* (2nd ed.; Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1987); and Paul Rabbow, *Seelenführung. Methodik der Exerzitien in der Antike* (Munich: Koesel, 1954).

11 All of this analysis is based on my thesis *Spiritual Guides of the Third Century*, 86–104.

12 Valantasis, *Spiritual Guides of the Third Century*, 147–55.

Ecstatic utterance and adulation define the discourse of this communication, so that the process of initiation appears to result not so much in understanding, but in an *experience* of enlightened understanding. The hymnic quality underscores the ecstatic basis of the initiation and its enlightenment and emphasizes the transcendent impulse in the relationship between initiant and mystagogue.

The chief benefit of the initiation (beyond the illumination) is that the initiant joins a fellowship of other men who have been initiated into the brotherhood:

> "Therefore, O my son, it is necessary for you to recognize your brothers and to honor them rightly and properly, because they come from the same father. For each generation I have called. I have named it, because they were offspring like these sons." "Then, O my father, do they have (a) day?" "O my son they are spiritual ones For they exist as forces that grow other souls. (ⲱ ⲡⲁⲱⲏⲣⲉ ϩⲉⲛⲡⲛⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲯⲟⲟⲡ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲉⲓⲁ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲁⲩϫⲁⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲩⲭⲏ). Therefore I say that they are immortal. (*Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* 53:6–21)

The brotherhood produced by these initiations consists of spiritual people who claim immortality; their spiritual status defines their primary identity. The initiation process births communities of men having similar experiences.

The *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* presents a model of male philosophical and religious formation and initiation which revolves about the intense relationship between a mystagogue and an initiant and which results in a fully empowered male participant in an elite community. That same model stands behind the response of the groom to Jesus' exhortation in the *Acts of Thomas*, chapter 15.

In the *Acts of Thomas*, Jesus presents the option to the groom of entering the bridal chamber, giving birth to spiritual children, and entering a place of immortality and light:

> "But if you are persuaded and preserve your souls pure for God, you will birth living children whom those damages cannot attack; and you will be free from care as you lead an undisturbed life without grief and concern, and as you expect to receive the marriage which is incorrupt and true; and you will be bridal attendants in it, entering together into that bridal chamber which is full of immortality and light."

The difference here between what Jesus offers and what the groom describes is that both men and women are in the bridal chamber, whereas in the Hermetic treatise and the groom's response, only men are described. The goal remains consistent with the Hermetic treatise, even though the composition of community has shifted.

The groom describes Jesus in a hymn, addressed to the Lord who is made manifest through the Jesus: "I give thanks to you, Lord, who was preached by the strange man and was found in us" (Εὐχαριστῶ σοι κύριε ὁ διὰ τοῦ ξένου ἀνδρὸς κηρυχθεὶς καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν εὑρεθείς). The hymnic mode of expression underscores that Jesus functions as a mystagogue in the narrative, one "who indicated himself to me and who revealed to me everything concerning me in which I am" (ὁ σαυτόν μοι ὑποδείξας καὶ πάντα τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ ἐν οἷς εἰμι ἀποκαλύψας μοι) and "who led me to search after myself and to know who I was

and who and how I now exist, so that again I might become that which I was" (ὑποδείξας μοι ζητῆσαι ἐμαυτὸν καὶ γνῶναι τίς ἤμην καὶ τίς καὶ πῶς ὑπάρχω νῦν, ἵνα πάλιν γένωμαι ὅ ἤμην). At the heart of the groom's response is the relationship of initiant and mystagogue, a relationship expressed through praise and adulation. That new relationship not only sets the groom to searching, but also transforms him: power is released to the groom to find himself and to know his origin and his destiny. The address of the groom's response replicates the posture in the Hermetic treatise: the initiant gives praise to "the Lord" (in this case) in the presence of the mystagogue (Jesus in the nuptial chamber), even as the initiant recognizes that power has been posited within his immediate relationship to Jesus, his mystagogue.

The relationship of the groom to Jesus exhibits the same intensity and love as that *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth*, founded as it is on the unequal relationship of guide to disciple. The groom says that Jesus "cheapened himself down to me and to my smallness in order that, setting me upon your greatness, you might unite me to yourself" (ἵνα ἐμέ τῇ μεγαλωσύνῃ παραστήσας ἑνώσῃς σεαυτῷ) and that his "love boils within me (οὗ ἡ ἀγάπη ἐν ἐμοὶ βράσσει), and I am not able to speak as it is proper, but that which I proceed to say about him is short and altogether little and happens not be analogous with his glory." The parallel concerns between the *Acts of Thomas* and *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* are striking: there is discussion of propriety and proper expression of profound love, of the interconnection of the very high with the very low (both in their relationship and in the cosmos), and of the insufficiency of language to articulate the profundity of their experience. The emphasis in both treatises on the need for proper deportment, proper language, and the unequal nature of the relationship indicates that this form of male initiation began with inequality and ends with equality.

These two texts are in dialogue with one another. Although each one may be understood apart from the other, together they speak of a common cultural phenomenon that crosses the boundaries of religious theology and practice. Uniting the discourses in two very different communities (ascetic Christianity and the Hermetic communities of males), the formative initiation of males into elite religious community seems to have pervaded the cultural milieu while transgressing a wide assortment of social, religious, and philosophical boundaries. That initiation, perhaps taken for granted by educated or entitled males, probably found its entry into Christianity through such mysteries as the nuptial chamber, where Jesus could easily become the mystagogue, and the initiant the groom. This form of intertextuality opens possibilities for interpreting the apocryphal acts in wider religious and cultural perspective.

The Second Thesis—Intra-Traditional Intertextuality:

The second thesis relates that an intertextual reading of texts transmitted under the name of "Thomas" (Didymus Judas Thomas) indicates that intertextual conversations were themselves taken seriously by transmitters of traditions and that they used the intertextual identification of "Thomas" to provide a medium for their transmission. In this case the *Acts of Thomas* and the *Gospel of Thomas* are intertexts simply because they transmit messages under the common sign "Thomas" and, therefore, they establish themselves as

communicating one with the other. One part of their communication revolves about the role of women, and their spiritual formation: the *Gospel of Thomas* Saying 114[13] provides and intertextual correlative to the bride's response in the *Acts of Thomas.* The tradition of male formation exhibited in the male formation of the groom's response (invoking the system of formation displayed in the *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth*) is authorized for women in saying 114 of the *Gospel of Thomas,* under the direct authority of Jesus. Moreover, the ambiguous gender issues regarding Jesus and his various spouses in *Acts of Thomas* are made more explicit in the trinary (rather than binary) gender structure of the *Gospel of Thomas* saying.

The *Gospel of Thomas* Saying 114 consists of three parts. In the first part, Peter complains about Mary's presence: "Simon Peter said to them: 'Let Mary leave us, for women are not worthy of life'"(ⲡⲉⲇⲉ ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲓϩⲁⲙ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲛⲧⲛ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥϩⲓⲟⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ). The denigration of women as unworthy of life and as not deserving participation in the community sets the stage. Simon Peter's objection, however, is made to a larger group of males (the "us" is plural) and seems not to be addressed to Jesus alone. Simon Peter's predominantly male community seems peripherally to have included Mary, whom he would like to reject from the community. Peter here represents the sort of male community described in the *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* in which all of the characters and functions are male, even female roles are played by males.[14]

In the second part, Jesus responds to Simon Peter with an offer: "Jesus said, 'I myself shall lead her in order to make her male, so that she too may become a living spirit resembling you males'" (ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲓ̄ⲥ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓⲥϩⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ †ⲛⲁⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲉⲓⲛⲁⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲱⲓⲛⲁ ⲉⲥⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲫⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲫⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ). Jesus finds a way to include the women in the community as it is defined by Simon Peter by his taking on the role of mystagogue and effecting through his guidance a form of gendered transformation. In the Hermetic literature the male mystagogues are frequently described as "pregnant" or as "giving birth to a brotherhood",[15] so that this gendered transformation exactly invokes for women the possibility of attaining the status open only to the other (just as the Hermetic men could take on the gendered functions of women). That Jesus is a mystagogue, a sort of third gender, is made clear by the characterization of Peter and his group as "you males" (not "us males", if Jesus were including himself in the category). Jesus tells Simon Peter (not Mary) that he himself will provide whatever is necessary for Mary to become a full member of the community (in this case articulated as "becoming male" and "resembling . . . males"). The dominant category, however, seems not to be either the woman or the man, nor even the task of becoming male, but the task of becoming a "living spirit" which merely "resembles you males". Jesus the mystagogue may

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13 The text by Bentley Layton and translation by Thomas O. Lambdin for the *Gospel of Thomas* is from *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2–7 Together with XIII,2*, BRIT. LIB. OR. 4926(1), and P. OXY. 1, 654, 655,* ed. Bentley Layton (Nag Hammadi Studies, XX; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989) 1:37–128.

14 Valantasis, *Spiritual Guides of the Third Century,* 83–84.

15 The mystagogue in *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* says, for example: "Indeed the understanding dwells in you; in me it is as though the power were pregnant. For when I conceived from the fountain that flowed to me, I gave birth" [52:16–20].

function in relationship to both males in their formation and females in their formation, and both formations are equally transformative, both formations lead toward "becoming spirit."

This saying, however, relates the spiritual formation instantiated in the *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* to the groom's response in the *Acts of Thomas*, but not the bride's response. In the bride's response to Jesus' exhortation, the bride simply perpetuates the social constraint of marriage through substituting a heavenly or spiritual husband for a social husband: "And that I negated this husband and these marriage activities which pass away from before my eyes [is] because I am bound in another marriage" (καὶ ὅτι ἐξουθένισα τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον καὶ τοὺς γάμους τούτους τοὺς παρερχομένους ἀπ' ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου, ἐπειδὴ ἑτέρῳ γάμῳ ἡρμόσθην). The woman, as bride, perpetuates the social structures in which she is locked, while transferring her allegiance to a permanent, not temporal, husband. The perpetuation of social constraints extends even to sexual intercourse: "And that I do not have intercourse with this temporary man, the end of which exists with lust and bitterness of soul, [is] because I am yoked with a true husband" (καὶ ὅτι οὐ συνεμίγην ἀνδρὶ προσκαίρῳ, οὗ τὸ τέλος μετὰ λαγνείας καὶ πικρίας ψυχῆς ὑπάρχει, ἐπειδὴ ἀνδρὶ ἀληθινῷ συνεζεύχθην). That the bride makes her speech to her father further underscores this patriarchal structure. The lack of equivalence between the bride's response and the groom's response, especially given the intertextuality with the Thomas traditions and Hermetism, is striking.

This intertextuality within the Thomas tradition, then, shows the continuing conversation about the role and status of women. One part of the tradition affirms the equality of women with men in the development of a spiritual status, while another part of the same tradition affirms the control and domestication of women.[16]

This form of intertextuality does not posit a community which transmits information about itself under the heading of "Thomas people" or "Thomas community," but rather an intertextual strategy for making available a number of texts that are related verbally and theologically to one another: the conversation is textual rather than "expressions" of isolated communities. This intertextual strategy may reflect certain aspects of the lives of people in various communities, but the primary identity of these communities may not revolve about the centrality of Thomas to their revelation, so that by intertextual linking these traditions may be understood as in relationship to one another while remaining available to a larger community of people.[17] What was pursued as signs of distinct

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16 Steve Patterson of Eden Seminary (St. Louis, Missouri) has suggested to me in a private conversation about this disjunction that the *Acts of Thomas* parallel the perspective of the Pastoral Epistles, regulating the place of women by restricting an earlier free participation in the Christian life. This would mean the chronologically, the *Gospel of Thomas* logion would precede the *Acts of Thomas* narrative which attempts to redefine the role of women. It would, thus, be parallel to Dennis R. MacDonald's thesis regarding the Pastoral Epistles and the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* in his *The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1983).

17 The analogy here would be to the presence of "Thomas" in John's gospel, where the Thomas-traditions may operate in a totally different environment and even be incorporated into a diametrically opposite narrative agenda. For a fuller discussion see Gregory J. Riley, "Doubting Thomas: Controversy Between the Communities of Thomas and John" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1990).

communities may more profitably be pursued as intertextual relationships capable of being employed in diverse communities.

The Third Thesis—Discursive Intertextuality

The third thesis relates that an intertextual reading of the bride's response indicates that there was a significant conversation about the status and meaning of marriage within Christianity. By placing the discourse in the *Gospel of Philip*[18] beside Jesus' exhortation and the bride's response, the contours of that cultural conversation becomes evident. The nuptial chamber provided the locus for that conversation in the narrative context of the *Acts of Thomas*. The *Gospel of Philip* provides, in a sense, the theological and ascetical underpinning to the nuptial chamber as it is presented by Jesus' exhortation in the *Acts of Thomas*. This form of intertextuality shows how texts within an historical environment may point toward a larger discourse in which a variety of different texts may be participating in diverse ways.

The contours of that conversation revolve about a number of different issues about marriage and heavenly marriage, or the nuptial chamber.[19] The first is the problematizing of children.[20] Both in *Acts of Thomas* and *Gospel of Philip* children represent a serious distraction from spiritual activity. In the *Acts of Thomas* children are portrayed as causing the parents distraction and crushing them:

> "They become either moonstruck or half-dry or crippled or deaf or speechless or paralytic or stupid. And even if they are healthy, they will again be impossible, accomplishing useless and disgusting deeds, for they are found either in debauchery or in murder or in fraud or in fornication and by all these things you will be crushed"(γίνονται γὰρ ἢ σεληνιαζόμενοι ἢ ἡμίξηροι ἢ πηροὶ ἢ κωφοὶ ἢ ἄλαλοι ἢ παραλυτικοὶ ἢ μωροὶ· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ὦσιν ὑγιαίνοντες, ἔσονται πάλιν ἀποίητοι, ἄχρηστα καὶ βδελυκτὰ ἔργα διαπραττόμενοι· εὑρίσκονται γὰρ ἢ ἐν μοιχείᾳ ἢ ἐν κλοπῇ ἢ ἐν πορνείᾳ, καὶ ἐν τούτοις πᾶσιν ὑμεῖς συντριβήσεσθε).

For the *Gospel of Philip*, the act of procreation itself determines the fate of the participants:

> "The human being has intercourse with the human being. The horse has intercourse with the horse, the ass with the ass. Members of a race usually have associated [with] those of like race. So spirit mingles with spirit, and thought consorts with thought, and [light] shares [with light (ⲧⲁⲉⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲉ ⲉϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲧⲱⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ϣⲁϥ̄ⲣ̄ⲕⲟⲓⲛⲱⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ

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18 The text of the *Gospel of Philip* is that of Bentley Layton and the translation is by Wesley W. Isenberg in *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2–7: Together with XIII, 2*, Brit. Lib. OR. 4926(1), and P. Oxy. 1, 654, 65*, ed. Bentley Layton (NHS, XX; Leiden: E. J. Barill, 1989), 1:142–215.

19 The problematizing of marriage among ascetics is not unusual. It is a tradition evidenced in Paul's Corinthian correspondence (1 Corinthians, chapter 7), and which continues throughout earliest Christianity.

20 The male tradition of formation, discussed in the first theme, also problematizes children, by emphasizing the creation of a "brotherhood" of initiated males. The mystagogue in the Hermetic treatise emphasizes his role as womb, mother, producer of male offspring. See Valantasis, *Spiritual Guides of the Third Century*, 83.

> ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ϣⲁⲣⲡⲕⲟⲓⲛⲱⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟ ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ). If you (sg.)] are born a human being, it is [the human being] who will love you. If you become [a spirit], it is the spirit which will be joined to you. If you become thought, it is thought which will mingle with you. If you become light, it is the light which will share with you (ⲉⲕϣⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣⲕⲟⲓⲛⲱⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ). If you become one of those who belong above, it is those who belong above who will rest upon you. If you become horse or ass or bull or dog or sheep or another of the animals which are outside or below, then neither human being nor spirit nor thought nor light will be able to love you. Neither those who belong above nor those who belong within will be able to rest in you, and you will have not part in them." (*Gospel of Philip* 78:25–79:14)

Here, the question of the generation of offspring aside, intercourse itself inaugurates the decadent system of separation and isolation which results in the problematizing of every aspect and effect of intercourse. The act and its logical consequence create problems for those who are searching for their spiritual selves. The option which Jesus presents, therefore, in the *Acts of Thomas* portrays the nuptial chamber as the place for the reversal of that problematization through the production of immortal children: "But if you are persuaded and preserve your souls pure for God, you will birth living children whom those damages cannot attack; and you will be free from care as you lead an undisturbed life incorrupt and true . . . ." (ἐὰν δὲ πεισθῆτε καὶ τηρήσητε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ἁγνάς τῷ θεῷ γενήσονται ὑμῖν παῖδες ζῶντες, ὧν αἱ βλάβαι αὗται οὐ θιγγάνουσιν, καὶ ἔσεσθε ἀμέριμνοι, ἄσυλτον διάγοντες βίον χωρὶς λύπης καὶ μερίμνης, προσδοκῶντες ἀπολήψεσθαι ἐκεῖνον τὸν γάμον τὸν ἄφθορον καὶ ἀληθινόν).[21] Jesus exhorts the couple to enter into a union that will produce spiritual children and that will lead to the sort of contemplative rest necessary for living the spiritual life.

Second, the nuptial chamber in both treatises is a place of union, immortality and light. In the *Acts of Thomas*, Jesus exhorts the couple: ". . . and as you expect to receive the marriage which is incorrupt and true, and you will be bridal attendants in it, entering together into that bridal chamber which is full of immortality and light" (προσδοκῶντες ἀπολήψεσθαι ἐκεῖνον τὸν γάμον τὸν ἄφθορον καὶ ἀληθινόν, καὶ ἔσεσθε ἐν αὐτῷ παράνυμφοι συνεισερχόμενοι εἰς τὸν νυμφῶνα ἐκεῖνον τὸν τῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ φωτὸς πλήρης). The *Gospel of Philip*, with its more developed theology of the sacramental bridal chamber, presents the interrelation of sacraments as spiritual rebirth and light:

> A bridal chamber is not for the animals [ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲥⲧⲟⲥ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲑⲣⲓⲟⲛ], nor is it for the slaves, nor for defiled women; but it is for free men and virgins. Through the holy spirit we are indeed begotten again, but we are begotten through Christ in the two. We are anointed through the spirit.

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21 There are a number of correlative issues which the *Gospel of Philip* presents problematizing children and sexual intercourse: that the perfect man begets children who do not die [58:20b–59:6]; that people become what they look at, so that looking only upon spiritual things creates spiritual people [61:20b–35]; and that the children reflect the image in the woman's mind during intercourse [78:12–24]. These constructions' principles make the production of physical children problematic, creating the theological disposition toward the nuptial chamber as far surpassing, and much more attractive, than the production of earthly children.

> When we were begotten we were united. None can see himself either in water or in a mirror without light. Nor again can you (sg.) 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." (*Gospel of Philip* 69:1–14a)

Jesus underscores this perspective " He said on that day in the thanksgiving, 'You who have joined the perfect light with the holy spirit, unite the angels with us also, as being the images.'" (*Gospel of Philip* 58:10b–14a). The initiation in both treatises involves illumination, a location of one's self within light—a light which signifies immortality.

By linking these texts intertextually (even as briefly as I have just done), the contours of a significant cultural discourse emerge. That discourse revolves about the production of spiritual communities of women and men who have renounced earthly marriage in favor of a heavenly nuptial chamber. It explores the relationship of the heavenly marriage to other sacraments (in the *Gospel of Philip* most notably) and in relationship to the social structures of physical marriage. It addresses the relative valuation of the spiritual over the physical, the light over the darkness, the animal over the human, spiritual brotherhood over the physical brotherhood. All of these, and others that may emerge, point toward a discursive field in which various texts position themselves, the boundaries of which are not visible until all the texts are explored intertextually.

The Nuptial Chamber Revisited—On Intertextual Relations:

The nuptial chamber of the *Acts of Thomas* interacts with a wide variety of cultural processes ranging from male philosophical initiation to an inter-Christian conversation about the role of women. Within the religious culture of late second and third century CE these cultural phenomena formed the complex web in which communication (whether written or spoken, published or performed) occurred. People knew about these aspects of their culture, in the same way that we late twentieth century people know about many things which are not directly part of our own sphere of living (such as militias and Japanese religious cults). A participant within a culture learns these complexes in order, first, to become a part of a culture, and second, to be competent to communicate within a culture. As Christianity developed during the second and third centuries CE, its texts became a part of this cultural fabric, and hence they became part of the intertextual fabric of the time. Cultural intertextuality seems simply to be a fact of life in a communicating culture.

In his magisterial and influential commentary on the *Acts of Thomas*, A. F. J. Klijn[22] lists a plethora of parallel texts to these chapters addressed above. His parallels constellate around the various ideas expressed in the scene: chapter 12 links virginity and the baptismal font; chapter 14 contrasts corruption and incorruption and locates salvation in the incorruptible realm (the unusual marital union is acknowledged, but unexplored); and chapter 15 emphasizes the redemption and self-knowledge sung by the groom (with some comparison to gnostic theology). Parallels form a sort of intertextuality, posited from the

22 *The Acts of Thomas: Introduction, Text, Commentary* (NovTSup 5; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962) 192–199.

perspective that ideas precede textuality and form the basis of comparisons in the author's mind which knows those ideas. The source critical approach to intertextuality favors the listing of parallels where ideas are carried through other media and texts in a given culture, much as Klijn has done. But this is a unidimensional and univocal perspective on intertextuality.

The existence of these parallels beg the question of intertextuality, questioning the relationship of texts both literary and cultural to one another. If, for example, there is no *reference* (either textual or semiotic), no invocation, no intertextual linking of the nuptial chamber to baptism, what makes that connection possible? Why choose baptism over the more explicit sacramental system of the *Gospel of Philip* in which the nuptial chamber forms one of a series, perhaps even a progression, of sacraments? This latter system (or perhaps some other system unknown to us) seems more directly invoked by the *Acts of Thomas* than any sort of Syrian baptismal practice and theology. Ideas, parallels, and correlative systems do not necessarily create intertextual relationships, because the intertextuality (at least for ancient texts) must be located within the nexus of cultural expression.

Cultural intertextuality (as I call it) connects a text to the nexus of "texts" in which it is produced and among which it is situated. I have explored this sort of nexus for the nuptial chamber under three different kinds of headings: inter-religious, intra-traditional, and discursive intertextuality. Although they do not exhaust the possible perspectives through which the nuptial chamber may be viewed in late second and third century Christianity, they provide three different cultural texts (some literary, some performative, some social) which link the nuptial chamber to the wider social and intellectual culture of its day. The nuptial chamber intersected a number of cultural patterns from philosophy, from within Christianity, from the narrative world of the ancient novels, from the theological world of the mystery religions, and from the social world of marriage and childrearing. There are perhaps other connections, other texts, other intertexts which would open yet other avenues of exploration of the nuptial chamber and widen our understanding of so pervasive a cultural and religious process of formative Christianity. Perhaps later ascetic and monastic invocations and explications of the nuptial chamber will open to view other culturally discursive practices from an earlier era. My three examples do not exhaust the possibilities, but the goal, it seems to me, is to read and interpret the text dynamically located in the textual context and world, and to observe (if not experience) the reverberations between texts (both literary and cultural) in any given historical culture. As we know from our own attempts at communication, every expression in a culture links to other expressions (in semiotic theory this is called the theory of infinite semiosis), which means that the texts we invoke in our communication are multitude. I suggest the same occurs in ancient Christian texts: the expressive plane is far more complex and rich than we acknowledge.

The nuptial chamber especially demands cultural intertextual reading. Each time scholars have visited it in any one of the apocryphal acts, new cultural links are made. From Klijn's parallels to my three forms of intertextuality, the nuptial chamber revisited offers almost unlimited potential for connection to other performances, practices, theologies, social relations, symbolic universes, asceticism, gender constructions and power dynamics (to name only a few) which flow so richly in second and third century CE cultural expressions. Like Jesus,

after Thomas, to revisit the nuptial chamber is to create a new intertextual site where the riches of the classical tradition may meet the new understandings of gender and the role of women, and much more, for cultural intertextuality at the careful level of our New Testament study renders more and more complexity, revealing more and more the cultural realities which our texts materialize.

Intertextuality and Intent: John and the Apostolic Mission in the Harris Fragments on Polycarp

Frederick Weidmann
Union Theological Seminary

1. Introduction

In his article, "The Martyrium Polycarpi: A Century of Research" B. Dehandschutter reports that "a hitherto unknown version is referred to by B. Layton, *Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired since the Year 1906*, London, 1987."[1] In fact, as noted also by Layton, this "version" was mentioned earlier by W. E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*: "This interesting text is wholly different in detail from the Greek Martyrdom (Letter of Smyrneans)."[2] Unfortunately for the present century of research Crum provided no further information.

The following study considers briefly "this interesting text" on Polycarp, particularly its treatment of the association of Polycarp of Smyrna with the apostle John and with the apostolic mission generally. Not a "version" of *The Martyrdom of Polycarp*, the Harris fragments on Polycarp present scholars with a unique work on Polycarp which aims to tie closely his life's work with that of John and, more significantly, to equate his death with that of an apostle.

2. The Harris Fragments on Polycarp

Within the Harris Collection of Coptic literary fragments housed at the British Library are four papyrus fragments in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic whose contents are concerned with Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna. In their reconstructed state, these fragments provide 114 manuscript lines on six pages of text, of which no one page is complete. No title for the work survives.[3]

The provenance of the fragments cannot be known for certain, beyond stating that their geographical source is Egypt, likely Thebes. As for dating, the manuscripts in the Harris collection were likely produced around the seventh

1 ANRW II.27.1 [1993] 485–522, 490.

2 Two vols; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1926, 1.205.

3 For further description see F. Weidmann, "The Martyrdom of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna in Early Christian Literature: A Re-Evaluation in Light of Previously Unpublished Coptic Fragments" (Yale University Dissertation; UMI 1994), esp. 11–17.

century CE.[4] The composition of this unique work on Polycarp (FrgPol),[5] then, cannot be after the seventh century CE or before the middle of the second century, the time of Polycarp's death.[6]

3. Polycarp and John

In FrgPol, Polycarp is introduced as "a disciple[e —]" of John. Further, it is stated that John "made him bisho[p over] Smyrna."[7] It is worthy of note that nowhere in the text of the familiar *Martyrdom of Polycarp* is a relationship with John mentioned.

Their relationship is, however, extant in other Christian literature dating from a generation or two after Polycarp's death. Irenaeus of Lyon, who transferred to that location from the city of his youth, Smyrna, wrote repeatedly of Polycarp's association with John "the disciple of the Lord,"[8] Tertullian states, succinctly, that "Polycarp was established at the Church of Smyrna by John just as, at Rome, Clement was ordained by Peter."[9] Other contemporary (that is, late second–early third century) works which contain descriptions of John's activity in nurturing the next generation of church leaders include Tertullian's *Adv. Marc.* 4.5.2; Clement of Alexandria, *Quis Dives Salvetur*; *Muratorian Canon* 10,[10] and, of course, the *Acts of John*.[11]

4. The *Acts of* John in the Harris Fragments on Polycarp

The use of the *Acts of John* (AJ) in the heading above is meant to be, at the same time, both narrow and broad: broad because I do not aim to prove in this paper that any one, particular version of AJ directly influenced the descriptions contained in FrgPol; narrow because I do intend to show how particular

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4 Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius*, 1.196–206, esp. 205.

5 The abbreviation "FrgPol" is used to refer to *the work about Polycarp* which is preserved among the Harris fragments. Page and line references, and translations, used below are those adopted in Weidmann, "The Martyrdom of Polycarp"; transliterations are adapted from the text edition found therein.

6 A consideration of the dating of Polycarp's martyrdom is beyond the scope of this study; see recently Dehandschutter, esp. 497–501.

7 ou mathētē[s —], (b) 7; afaaf nepiskop[os ejn] smurna, (b) 9–10; translations of FrgPol are mine. Further descriptions of Polycarp's close relationship to John, such as Polycarp's faithfulness in teaching his own students that which he himself had been taught by John, are contained on page (c).

8 AH 3.3.4 (= HE 4.14.1–8), AH 5.33.4 (= HE 3.39.1), the "Letter to Florinus" (HE 5.20.4–8), and the "Letter to Victor" (HE 5.24.11–17).

9 *Smyrnaeorum Ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne collocatum refert sicut Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum edit, Praescr.* 32.2.

10 *Ep(iscopi)s suis.* It should be noted that an argument for a considerably later dating of the Muratonian Canon is forwarded by Albert C. Sundberg, Jr. in "Canon Muratori: A Fourth Century List" (HTR 66 [1973] 1–41); *contra* Everett Ferguson, "Canon Muratori: Date and Provenance," (*Studia Patristica* 17 [1982] 677–83).

11 For the dating of the *Acts of John* to the second half of the second century, see recently Martin Hengel, *The Johannine Question* (tr. John Bowden; London: SCM Press, 1989), 26, and Eric Junod and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum, no. 1–2; Turnhout: Brepols, 1983), 700.

descriptions which are transmitted within the extant Acts of John are used within FrgPol in order to bolster the stature of Polycarp.

In FrgPol John, who is apparently introduced to the reader before Polycarp, is immediately remembered for his virginity and (resultant) reprieve from a martyr's death: "of virg[inity - -] . . . instead . . . of the sword and the [- - -]s and the tortures of the [lawcou]rts."[12] Such a description is consistent with AJ, in which the apostle's final prayer recalls, at length, his virginity and the series of divine interventions which occurred in order to prevent him from marrying. Finally, John thanks God "who has contained me from the foul madness associated with flesh, taken me from a bitter death . . . ."[13]

This tradition about John's peaceful death appears again, later in FrgPol, when Polycarp, who is now being pursued by government forces, recalls for his inner circle John's very special charge to him: "Since the Lord granted to me[14] that I die on my bed, it is necessary that you[15] die by the law[co]urt . . . ."[16] In AJ, upon finishing his prayer, the apostle lies down inside the trench or grave in which he had previously "spread out his clothes like a mattress."[17]

Just as there were various descriptions of John's ecclesiastical activity around Asia Minor extant by the late second–early third century, so there were several understandings of (or, compensations for) the prevailing tradition that John had died a peaceful death. Tertullian, for example, counted the fact that John had endured being boiled in oil (and survived!) as the equivalent of the martyr deaths of Peter, Paul and John the Baptist.[18] For Origen, the tradition of the apostle's exile on Patmos in itself counted for John as a "martyrdom."[19] Somewhat later, in a discussion of the miraculous dust at the site of John's tomb (which seems to rise and fall as though someone below the surface were inhaling and exhaling), Augustine worries overtly about the need for a compensation for John's peaceful death. Such a wonder, it seems, is "to commend the value of [John's] death, since it was not commended by martyrdom (since he did not suffer persecution for the faith of Christ) . . . ."[20] FrgPol, it seems, contains another compensation for John's peaceful death: since John did not die a martyr's death, then someone–that is, Polycarp–must.

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12 ṇtparth[enia - -] . . . epma . . . ṇtsēfe mṇn [- - -] mṇṇbasanos ṇṇd[ikastē]rion, (b) 2–6.

13 AJ 113; translations of AJ are mine based on the text as found in Junod and Kaestli, 161–315.

14 John.

15 Polycarp.

16 epeide apjoeis kharize nai etramou [ei]hṃpačloč, hapṣ erok [pe] etrekmou hṃpdika[st]ērion, (e) 16–21.

17 AJn 115; see also AJ 111.

18 *De Praescr.* 36.3.

19 "Commentary on Matthew" 16.6.

20 *ut eo modo commendetur pretiosa mors eius, quoniam non eam commendat martyrium (non enim eum pro fide Christi persecuro occidit)* . . . , Tract. 124, "On the Gospel of John," 3; tr. mine.

5. The Apostolic Mission in the Harris Fragments on Polycarp

FrgPol apparently[21] begins with a description of the Apostolic mission: "[- - - af]ter [the apostle]s of our Lor[d] . . . went out in the whole inha[bite]d world so that each on[e of t]hem might complete his [co]urse within the regions which were [assigned] to them . . . ."[22] Such a mission statement is characteristic of, though not exclusive to, apocryphal acts.[23]

Among those works of early Christian literature, besides the acts of the apostles, which also include a summary statement of the division of the world among the apostles, several genres are represented: gospel, epistle, commentary, and church history.[24] Clearly, FrgPol does not present itself as any of these. What of the genre, acts of the apostles?

Given the very close relationship between Polycarp and the apostle John which is developed within the narrative of FrgPol, particularly surrounding their respective deaths, it is likely that the departure narrative is meant to serve the function of presenting the reader with at least a motif (division of the world), if not a genre (acts), which is associated directly with the apostles.

6. Intertextuality and Intent

In her article "Trendy Intertextuality?" Ellen van Wolde writes, "The text produced by a writer is thus a processing of other (con)texts and also a reply to other (con)texts, with which the writer is maintaining a living dialogue."[25] Above, I have suggested that the (con)text in which our writer is working is that

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21 One cannot be certain of the extent of manuscript text which might have preceded the first extant lines. Nonetheless, since the main character, Polycarp, is introduced well after the departure narrative, and since a summary statement about the central secondary character, John, also begins after the departure narrative (and before the introduction of Polycarp to the reader), it is unlikely that any narrative content precedes the mission statement.

Indeed, it would appear that the work unfolds with a simple narrative logic: general statement about the apostolic mission, focus on a particular apostle (John), focus on a particular student of that apostle (Polycarp). Indeed, Polycarp's association with the apostolic mission is further heightened, within FrgPol, by the statement that "he alo[ne] remained [among the di]sciples of the apos[tles]" (afshōjp maua[af ṇṃma]thētēs nnapos[tolos]), (c) 7–9.

22 [--- ṇ]ter[enapostolo]s ṃpenjoei[s ---] . . . [--- a]ubok ebol hṇtoikou[men]ē teṛs, etrepoua pou[a ṃm]oou jōk ebol ṃpef[dro]mos hṇṇtosh entau[tosh]ou eroou, (a) 1–8.

23 See esp. the *Acts of Thomas*; also the *Acts of Philip* 8, and the *Acts of Peter* 5 (esp. in light of *Kerygma Petrou* 3). Regarding literature on John, the beginning of AJ is not extant; two related works, the *Syriac History of John* and the *Acts of John by Prochorus*, each include a similar mission statement at the top of the work.

A classic scholarly work on the matter is Richard Lipsius, "Die Legende von der Apostelntheilung," *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden* (Braunschweig: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1883) 1.11–34; see recently Jean-Daniel Kaestli, "Les scènes d'attribution des champs de mission et de départ de l'apôtre dans les actes apocryphes " (in *Les actes apocryphes des apôtres*, ed. F. Bovon, *et al*, Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1981, 249–264), esp. 252–259, for further examples of departure statements in the apocryphal acts.

24 See, for example, Matt 24:14, 28:19; Mark 16:15; Luke 24:47; John 17:18; 1 Clem. 42.1–4; HE 3.1.1 (quoting Origen's commentary on Genesis).

25 In Sipke Draisma, ed., *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in honour of Bas van Iersel* (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1989), 43–49, 46.

of Christian literature of the late second–early third century, particularly the acts of the apostles and, more particularly, AJ.

Why does the author engage in such a work? In order to present a particular understanding of Polycarp's violent death and John's peaceful death. More specifically, in order to raise the import of Polycarp's death and diminish the praise which traditions such as AJ, and others considered above, heaped on John. John's career as it was remembered, special though it may have been, had a lack. Polycarp's death filled that lack. Our author's intent is to heighten the importance of Polycarp's memory at the expense of John's.[26]

7. Summary and Conclusion

To summarize, the writer of FrgPol presents a work whose fictive world is opened to the reader via a description of the division of the world for the apostolic preaching, whose central character is "apostolic" by association with the apostle John *and* with the greater apostolic mission, and whose central character suffers a martyrdom defined as a surrogate for that of the apostle John. This is a work about one whose central act, a martyrdom, *is* an apostle's martyrdom.

To my knowledge, FrgPol is unique among early Christian works–about Polycarp or any other figure. To refer to it as *sui generis*, however, would be to do its author a disservice. The sensitive scholar will consider it among the extant acts of the apostles!

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[26] Weidmann, "The Martyrdom of Polycarp . . . ," esp. 193–222, argues that a likely socio-historical setting for the production of such a work lies in the ongoing rivalry between the cities of Smyrna (Polycarp) and Ephesus (John).

Challenging by Confirming, Renewing by Repeating: The Parables of "the Reign of the Heavens" in Matthew 13 as Embedded Narratives

Warren Carter
Saint Paul School of Theology

Recent parable work[1] has removed parables[2] from their gospel frames, scriptural commentary and allegorical statement[3] to reconstitute them textually,[4] and to relocate them contextually in the life of the historical Jesus[5] or of modern interpreters.[6] This work has underlined the importance of context[7] for the comparative and referential dimensions of the genre "parable" ("lay along

1 Space prohibits comprehensive citation or review. See W. Kissinger, *The Parables of Jesus: A History of Interpretation and Bibliography* (ATLA Bibliography Series 4; Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1979); N. Perrin, *Jesus and the Language of the Kingdom* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976) 89–205; D. L. Barr, "Speaking of Parables: A Survey of Recent Research," *TSF Bulletin* 6 (May–June 1983) 8–10; J. R. Donahue, *The Gospel in Parable: Metaphor, Narrative and Theology in the Synoptic Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 1–27; P. Dschulnigg, "Positionen des Gleichnisverständnisses im 20. Jahrhundert. Kurze Darstellung von fünf wichtigen Positionen der Gleichnistheorie (Jülicher, Jeremias, Weder, Arens, Harnisch)," *TZ* 45 (1989) 335–51; C. Blomberg, "The Parables of Jesus: Current Trends and Needs in Research," in B. Chilton and C. Evans (eds.), *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994) 231–54. For a recent contribution, W. Herzog, *Parables as Subversive Speech* (Louisville: John Knox, 1994).

2 I retain the traditional term "parable." See B. Gerhardsson, "The Narrative Meshalim in the Synoptic Gospels," *NTS* 34 (1988) 339–63, esp. 339–42; B. B. Scott, *Hear Then The Parable* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1989) 7–35.

3 For reevaluation of allegory, M. Tolbert, *Perspectives on the Parables: An Approach to Multiple Interpretations* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978) 27–28; C. Carlston, "Parable and Allegory Revisited: An Interpretive Review," *CBQ* 43 (1981) 228–42; J. W. Sider, "Proportional Analogy in the Gospel Parables," *NTS* 31 (1985) 1–23; M. Parsons, "'Allegorizing Allegory': Narrative Analysis and Parable Interpretation," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 15 (1988) 147–64; C. L Blomberg, "Interpreting the Parables of Jesus: Where Are We and Where Do We Go from Here?" *CBQ* 53 (1991) 50–78, esp. 51–54. For discussion in relation to Matthew 13, G. Phillips, "Kingdom Speaking and Kingdom Hearing: Matthew's Interpretation of Jesus' Kingdom Tradition," in J. Kopas (ed.), *Interpreting Tradition: The Art of Theological Reflection* (Chico: Scholars, 1983) 73–91.

4 For example, J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972).

5 For example C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom* (London: Collins, 1961) 84–114.

6 So D. Via, *The Parables* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966).

7 Tolbert, *Perspectives*, 18–23, 48–49, 51–66.

side").[8] Investigations of metaphor have emphasized that "laying one thing beside another" highlights similarities and differences, provides new perspective, transfers meaning from one entity to the other, creates a new vision.[9] Further, this work has emphasized the dynamic impact of parabolic language. Dodd, for instance, asserts that parables "arrest," "leave the mind in sufficient doubt," and "tease [it] into active thought."[10] Via argues they claim the interpreter, challenge pre-understanding, create possibility, require decision.[11] Ricoeur avers they disorient, disclose, reorient.[12] Moreover, this work has underlined the narrative quality of parables.[13] Scott, for instance, includes the phrase "a short narrative fiction" in his definition of a parable as "a mashal that employs a short narrative fiction to reference a transcendent symbol."[14]

Much of this work has been stimulating and insightful. Yet the observation remains that parables appear within and are contextualized by the gospel narratives. What happens, then, in the audience's interaction with parables as part of Matthew's gospel?[15] How do these short parable narratives, with their own plots, characters, settings and points of view,[16] function embedded within

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8 J. W. Sider, "The Meaning of *Parabole* in the Usage of the Synoptic Evangelists," *Bib* 62 (1981) 453–70; Scott, *Hear Then The Parable*, 8–30.

9 For discussions of metaphor, R. W. Funk, "The Parable as Metaphor," *Language, Hermeneutic and Word of God* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966) 133–62; P. Ricoeur, "Biblical Hermeneutics" in *Semeia* 4 (1975) 27–148, esp. 75–106.

10 Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, 16.

11 Via, *The Parables*, 26–69. Funk ("Parable as Metaphor," 155) says they lay "bare the structure of human existence that is masked by convention, custom, consensus, [to] expose the 'world' in which man [sic] is enmeshed . . . ."

12 Ricoeur, "Biblical Hermeneutics," 122–28.

13 S. Rimmon-Kenan (*Narrative Fiction* [New York: Methuen, 1983] 3) identifies the placing of events in sequence as the basic element of narrative. Via (*Parables*, 110–76) uses the movement of the plot to classify parables as tragic or comic.

14 Scott, *Hear Then The Parable*, 8, 35–42. Compare Ricoeur ("Biblical Hermeneutics," 33) who defines a parable as a "conjunction between a narrative form, a metaphorical process and an appropriate 'qualifier.'"

15 For discussion of parables in their Matthean contexts, W. Carter, *Households and Discipleship: A Study of Matthew 19–20* (JSNTSS 103; Sheffield: JSOT, 1994) 146–60; J. Lambrecht, *Out of the Treasure: The Parables in the Gospel of Matthew* (Louvain Theological and Pastoral Monographs 10: Louvain: Peeters, W. B. Eerdmans, 1992; B. Gerhardsson, "If We Do Not Cut the Parables Out of Their Frames," *NTS* 37 (1991) 321–35; D. Harrington, "The Mixed Reception of the Gospel: Interpreting the Parables in Matt 13:1–52," in H. Attridge, J. Collins, T. Tobin (eds.), *Of Scribes and Scrolls* (College Theological Society Resources in Religion 5; Lanham: University Press of America, 1990) 195–201; P. W. Meyer, "Context as a Bearer of Meaning in Matthew," *USQR* 42 (1988) 69–72; Donahue, *Gospel in Parable*, 63–125; J. D. Kingsbury, "The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen and the Secret of Jesus' Divine Sonship in Matthew," *JBL* 105 (1986) 643–55; B. Childs, "Excursus II: Interpretation of the Parables within a Canonical Context," *The New Testament as Canon: An Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985) 531–40; J. Drury, *The Parables in the Gospels: History and Allegory* (New York: Crossroad, 1985); J. W. Sider, "Rediscovering the Parables: The Logic of the Jeremias Tradition," *JBL* 102 (1983) 61–83; J. D. Kingsbury, *The Parables of Jesus in Matthew 13* (Richmond: John Knox, 1969). See also the commentaries.

16 Donahue (*The Gospel in Parables*, 20–25) adds the element of narrative to Dodd's definition of parables.

and laid alongside the larger gospel narrative?[17] What functions does the parables' dynamic language "perform" in this context? What does the gospel's authorial audience do with these parables and what do the parables "do" to it?[18]

Noting scholars' claims about the transformative impact of the historical Jesus' parables,[19] Thiselton asks:

> J. D. Crossan writes, "Myth establishes world . . . satire attacks world. Parable subverts world."[20] But if parable *always* subverts world, does this mean that it subverts, on a second reading, the new world of Jesus' world for which it has already made space, or alternatively that the parable can say nothing to one whose world has already been subverted?[21]

This paper will address these issues. Because of space, attention will be restricted to the function of the parables of "the reign of the heavens"[22] in Matthew 13. My claim is that the audience's interaction with these parables can be helpfully understood as a neglected aspect of the gospel's pervasive redundancy, within which the "reign of the heavens" functions as a "tensive" and "expanding"

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17 For embedded stories, M. Bal, "Notes on Narrative Embedding," *Poetics Today* 2 (1981) 41–59; J. Barth, "Tales within Tales within Tales," *Antaeus* 43 (1981) 45–63; M. Berendsen, "Formal Criteria of Narrative Embedding," *Journal of Literary Semantics* 10 (1981) 79–94; R. Shryock, *Tales of Storytelling: Embedded Narrative in Modern French Fiction* (American University Studies II.206; New York: Peter Lang, 1993).

18 This formulation reflects the emphasis on the performative or functional (rather than propositional or informational) dimensions of language in J. L Austin, *How to Do Things with Words?* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1962); J. Searle, *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1969). It also reflects my assumption of a dialogical interaction between text and interpreter. Also Barbara Herrnstein Smith, "Narrative Versions, Narrative Theories," *Critical Inquiry* 7 (1980) 213–36.

19 Tolbert's warning (*Perspectives*, 41–43) about exaggerated claims for the power of parables should be noted.

20 J. D. Crossan, *The Dark Interval: Towards a Theology of Story* (Niles, Ill.: Argus, 1975) 59.

21 A. C. Thiselton, "Reader-Response Hermeneutics, Action Models, and the Parables of Jesus," in R. Lundin, A. C. Thiselton, C. Walhout, *The Responsibility of Hermeneutics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985) 79–113, esp. 89. Compare U. Luz (*Matthew in History: Interpretation, Influence and Effects* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994] 14), "Many, if not most, of the parables of Jesus are understood only when a change in the life of the reader or listener takes place." How, then, are parables understood after a change has taken place?

22 Translation is difficult. 1) Translations for βασιλεία reflect an emphasis on space and place (kingdom) or function and action (reign). While "reign" emphasizes function or activity, I recognize the presence of spatial (and temporal) aspects (cf. 5:20; 7:21). J. Louw and E. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (New York: UBS, 1988, 1989) 1. 480; section 37.64, "the fact of ruling". 2) Feminist scholars seek to avoid the patriarchal associations of "kingdom." A. M. Isasi-Díaz ("Solidarity: Love of Neighbor in the 1980's" in Susan Brooks Thistlethwaite and Mary Potter Engels [eds.], *Lift Every Voice: Constructing Christian Theologies from the Underside* [New York: Harper & Row, 1990] 31–40, 303–305, esp. 304, note 4) employs "kin-dom" to emphasize the formation of a new community or "kin." 3) W. J. Everett proposes "God's Federal Republic" as a means of restating "kingdom of God" for contemporary US churches (*God's Federal Republic: Reconstructing our Governing Symbol* [New York: Paulist, 1988]; idem, "Sunday Monarchists and Monday Citizens," *Christian Century* 106 [1989] 503–5). I will employ "reign of the heavens" as a literal translation of the Matthean phrase.

symbol.[23] The parables in chapter 13 contribute to the authorial audience's developing understanding or experience[24] of the "reign of the heavens" not so much by revealing new insights, but by repeating and re-presenting material familiar to the audience from other literary forms in chapters 1–12 and from pre-gospel traditions about Jesus. This repetition, though, is not to be viewed as unnecessary or as "merely" another attempt to communicate previously conveyed information. Rather the restatement in embedded metaphoric narratives functions in a performative and dynamic way to confirm and challenge, strengthen and subvert, repeat and renew the authorial audience's experience of the "reign of the heavens."

The term "authorial audience" derives from the audience-oriented criticism of P. J. Rabinowitz.[25] It refers to the audience the author has "in mind" in composing the gospel. The author assumes that this audience possesses the socio-cultural "knowledge" and interpretive skills necessary to actualize the text's meaning. It is "a contextualised implied reader," understood not only from textual features but also from "an examination of the interrelation between the text and the context in which the work was produced."[26]

For Matthew's gospel the authorial audience is the author's image or perception of the community or communities of disciples of Jesus for which he writes late in the first century CE.[27] This community or communities consisting of men and women[28] existed as a minority and socially marginal community[29]

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[23] E. K. Brown (*Rhythm in the Novel* [Toronto: University of Toronto, 1950] 9) discusses "expanding symbols" (contrasted with "fixed" symbols) as symbols which grow as they "accrete meaning from a succession of contexts." Perrin (*Jesus and the Language*, 29–30) uses P. Wheelwright's language of "tensive" rather than "steno" symbols in his discussion of the reign of God. See J. C. Anderson, *Matthew's Narrative Web: Over, and Over, and Over Again* (JSNTSS 91; Sheffield: JSOT, 1994) 197–202.

[24] I use "knowledge," "experience," "insight" and "understand" interchangeably in the sense that "understand" (συνιέναι) is used in 13:10–17. It indicates not just insight and intellectual understanding (though that is included) but also active experience of and commitment to living the way of discipleship ("bearing grain" in 13:8). G. Barth, "Matthew's Understanding of the Law," in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth, H. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* (London: SCM, 1963) 105–12.

[25] P. J. Rabinowitz, "Whirl Without End: Audience-Oriented Criticism," in G. D. Atkins and L. Morrow (eds.), *Contemporary Literary Theory* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1989) 81–100; idem, *Before Reading: Narrative Conventions and the Politics of Interpretation* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1987) 15–46, esp. 21–23; idem, "Truth in Fiction: A Reexamination of Audiences," *Critical Inquiry* 4 (1977) 121–42. The term "audience" is also appropriate in indicating the gospel was probably heard by being read aloud. So G. Stanton, *A Gospel for a New People* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1992) 73–76; B. Knox, "Silent Reading in Antiquity," *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 9 (1968) 421–35; S. Moore, *Literary Criticism and the Gospels: The Theoretical Challenge* (New Haven: Yale University, 1989) 84–88.

[26] Rabinowitz, "Whirl Without End," 85.

[27] For discussion, J. Kingsbury, "'The Reader' of Matthew's Gospel," *NTS* 34 (1988) 442–60; Stanton, *Gospel*, 113–168; D. Balch (ed.), *Social History of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991); W. Carter, *What Are They Saying About Matthew's Sermon on the Mount?* (Mahwah: Paulist, 1994) 56–77.

[28] For the possible roles of women, E. Wainwright, *Towards A Feminist Reading of the Gospel According to Matthew* (BZNW 60; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991) 325–57; A. C. Wire, "Gender

perhaps in and/or around Antioch in Syria, and/or in Galilee.[30] It lives as disciples of Jesus "in-between" his resurrection and parousia.[31] It is assumed to be familiar with Koiné Greek, the Jewish scriptures in Greek, traditions about Jesus, and the cultural conventions, social structures and difficult daily experiences of its urban context.[32] It has probably experienced recent bitter tensions with and perhaps separation from a Jewish community.[33] The gospel story offers understanding of and legitimation for what has happened, as well as identity and direction for its future.[34]

This audience-oriented approach will be attentive to the audience's interaction with the sequence of Matthew's narrative and to its active participation in the hearing process, in supplying "gaps," in asking and answering questions, in formulating and testing tentative conclusions, in reviewing and revising previous ones.[35] I will take account of the "knowledge" that the audience learns through the text, as well as that which it brings to the text (as much as this can be

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Roles in a Scribal Community," in Balch (ed.), *Social History*, 87–121; J. C. Anderson, "Matthew: Gender and Reading," *Semeia* 28 (1983) 3–28; S. Love, "The Household: A Major Social Component for Gender Analysis in the Gospel of Matthew," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 23 (1993) 21–31; Carter, *Households and Discipleship*.

29 D. Duling, "Matthew and Marginality," in E. H. Lovering Jr. (ed.), *1993 SBL Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1993) 642–671; Carter, *Households and Discipleship*, 39–55, 204–14.

30 A. Segal ("Matthew's Jewish Voice," in Balch [ed.], *Social History*, 27) suggests "Galilee and Antioch were merely two fixed points in a rather loosely confederated group of congregations . . . "

31 Kingsbury, "Reader," 457; Carter, *Households*, 52–55.

32 For social and economic conditions, G. D. Kilpatrick, *The Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1946) 124–26; J. D. Kingsbury, *Matthew as Story* (Rev. Edit; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 152–56; M. Crosby, *House of Disciples: Church, Economics and Justice in Matthew* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1988) 39–43; Wire, "Gender Roles," in Balch (ed.), *Social History*, 87–121, esp. 115–118; R. Stark ("Antioch as the Social Situation for Matthew's Gospel," in Balch [ed.], *Social History*, 189–210) describes the difficult daily social experiences (overcrowding, poor water and sanitation, filth, disease, social unrest etc.) of many inhabitants of ancient cities; Duling, "Matthew and Marginality."

33 The relation of Matthew's community to other Jewish groups and/or synagague continues to be debated. Stanton (*Gospel*, 146–168), for example, argues for a recent and bitter separation from a synagogue community by which it still feels seriously threatened. Others (for example, A. J. Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* [Chicago and London: University of Chicago, 1994] 1–2) accept that while there has been "lengthy conflict" and recent separation from the Jewish assembly (either withdrawal or expulsion), it is still identified with the Jewish community by others, there are still "close relations" with the Jewish community, and that the gospel must be seen in the context of post-70 debates envisioning "Judaism in new circumstances" (page 5). Also H. C. Kee, "The Transformation of the Synagogue after 70 C.E.: Its Import for Early Christianity," *NTS* 36 (1990) 1–24; S. C. Barton, *Discipleship and Family Ties in Mark and Matthew* (SNTSMS 80; Cambridge: Cambridge University 1994) esp. 222.

34 Carter, *Households and Discipleship*, 204–14. C. Talbert, *What is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 92–98; R. A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography* (SNTSMS 70; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1992) 149–52, 214–17.

35 W. Iser, *The Act of Reading* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1978); idem, *Prospecting* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1989) 3–69.

reconstructed).[36] The relationship between the parables and the larger narrative will be important.[37]

Matthew 1–12 as the Frame for the Parables in Chapter 13

Six of chapter 13's seven parables are explicitly connected with "the reign of the heavens" (13:24, 31, 33, 44, 45, 47).[38] The noun βασιλεία ("reign") appears six more times (13:11, 19, 38, 41, 43, 52). The audience is familiar with the symbol "reign of the heavens" from its twelve appearances prior to chapter 13. Moreover, as disciples of Jesus, the audience is also familiar with this symbol from its cultural-religious context, especially from the scriptures and traditions about Jesus.

It is not easy to identify precisely the contours of this knowledge. Perrin's influential 1976 work pointed the way to understand the "reign of the heavens" not as a stable concept denoting fixed cognitive content but as, in Wainwright's terms, a "tensive symbol," connotative, experiential, and open-ended, having "a set of meanings that can neither be exhausted nor adequately expressed by any one referent."[39] Perrin's brief study of "Ancient Jewish Literature" demonstrates that the symbol evokes the myth of God's acting on behalf of God's people.[40] But his work, and other studies of Old Testament, Apocrypha, Qumran, Targum and Pseudepigrapha writings,[41] indicate diverse use of the symbol and varied forms of

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36 See M. A. Powell, "Expected and Unexpected Readings of Matthew: What the Reader Knows," *Asbury Theological Journal* 48 (1993) 31–51. Powell identifies four types of knowledge: i) universal knowledge ("generally assumed for all people everywhere"); ii) what is revealed in the narrative; iii) knowledge presupposed by the spatial, temporal, and social setting of the narrative; iv) knowledge of other literature cited within the narrative.

37 For example, Gerhardsson, "If We Do Not," 325–26; Meyer, "Context as a Bearer of Meaning," 69–72.

38 For its central role, J. Gnilka, *Das Matthäusevangelium* 2 vols (HTKNT; Freiburg: Herder, 1986, 1988) 1. 474–75; A. Sand, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1986) 276, 296–99.

39 Perrin (*Jesus and the Language*, 29–34) contrasts the pluralistic tensive symbol with the inadequate monolithic steno-symbol (having "a one-to-one relationship to that which it represents"). The language of "idea" or "conception" is inadequate because it denotes "a constant conception," a "consistent well-defined understanding," not recognizing a set of possible meanings. However a symbol can invoke multiple ideas or conceptions while being connotative, experiential and open-ended. D. Duling, "Norman Perrin and the Kingdom of God: Review and Response," *JR* 64 (1984) 468–483; Scott, *Hear Then The Parable*, 56–62.

40 Perrin, *Jesus and the Language*, 16–32. Perrin (*Jesus*, 22) uses A. Watt's definition of myth as "a complex of stories . . . which . . . human beings regard as demonstrations of the inner meaning of the universe and of human life."

41 Perrin, *Jesus and the Language*, 16–32; J. P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus* Vol 2: *Mentor, Message and Miracles* (New York: Doubleday, 1994) 237–88; D. Patrick, "The Kingdom of God in the Old Testament," in W. Willis (ed.), *The Kingdom of God in 20th-Century Interpretation* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987) 67–79; J. J. Collins, "The Kingdom of God in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," in Willis, *Kingdom of God*, 81–95; B. Viviano, "The Kingdom of God in the Qumran Literature," in Willis, *Kingdom of God*, 97–107; M. Lattke, "On the Jewish Background of the Synoptic Concept, 'The Kingdom of God,'" in B. Chilton (ed.), *The Kingdom of God* (Issues in Religion and Theology 5; Philadelphia, London: Fortress, SPCK, 1984) 72–91; B.

this myth. If Collins is right, for instance, Daniel alone employs "kingdom" in three ways, to designate an eternal, Jewish, political, earthly kingdom (2:44), God's everlasting, kingdom or dominion (3:33 LXX; 4:3 NRSV; 4:34–35), and the yet future kingdom of angels to which righteous human beings are exalted after death (7:18, 27).[42] Psalms of Solomon 17 envisions a national Jewish kingdom. Chilton suggests from Targumic literature that "kingdom of the Lord/your God" indicates God's present self-disclosure and action.[43] Recent work on a possible earliest stratum of Q has emphasized the socially subversive presence of God's reign in Jesus,[44] while others have observed its present and future dimensions (Q: Matt 8:11–12; Luke 13:28–29; Q: Matt 12:28; Luke 11:20).[45]

The recognition of this diverse usage has important implications for this study. Communication theory has indicated that diverse understandings produce "noise" or interference in the communication between author and audience.[46] On account of such diversity, authors who wish to convey particular, predictable understandings may attempt to proscribe understanding. They may try to "fill" a symbol such as "reign of the heavens" with specific content. A repertoire of strategies is available to an author: redundancy (repetition), varieties of discourse, direct explanation, contextualization, examples, conflicting and contrasting points of view etc. The audience utilizes such proscribing to overcome the noise, to formulate particular content for the symbol from among various possibilities, and to have its previous knowledge confirmed and/or expanded through the narrative.

Given this diversity, it is not surprising that the author of this gospel begins the audience's literary education about "the reign of the heavens" at the outset of the gospel.[47] The audience hears in the first two chapters a particular form of

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Chilton, "REGNUM DEI DEUS EST," *SJT* 31 (1978) 261–270; A. Kretzer, *Die Herrschaft der Himmel und die Söhne des Reiches* (SBM 10; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1971) 37–49; B. Chilton, "The Kingdom of God in Recent Discussion," in Chilton and Evans (eds.), *Studying the Historical Jesus*, 255–80.

42 Collins, "Kingdom of God," in Willis, *Kingdom of God*, 81–84; for a dissenting view, Meier, *Marginal Jew*, 2.276–79, notes 34, 53.

43 Chilton, "REGNUM DEI DEUS EST," 268, 270.

44 L. Vaage, *Galilean Upstarts: Jesus' First Followers According to Q* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1994) 55–65; B. Mack, *The Lost Gospel* (San Francisco: Harper, 1993) 123–27; Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her* (New York: Crossroad, 1989) 105–159.

45 I. Havener, *Q: The Sayings of Jesus* (Good News Studies 19: Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1987) 50–57; also J. R. Michaels, "The Kingdom of God and the Historical Jesus," in Willis, *Kingdom of God*, 109–118; M. E. Boring, "The Kingdom of God in Mark," in Willis, *Kingdom of God*, 131–45.

46 For summary and bibliography, Anderson, *Matthew's Narrative Web*, 34–43. C. Cherry, *On Human Communication* (Cambridge: MIT, 1957); N. Petersen, *Literary Criticism for New Testament Critics* (GBS; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978) 33–48; S. Wittig, "Formulaic Style and the Problem of Redundancy," *Centrum* 1 (1973) 123–36; S. Suleiman, "Redundancy and the 'Readable' Text," *Poetics Today* 1 (1980) 119–42.

47 B. B. Scott, "The Birth of the Reader in Matthew," in J. T. Carroll, C. H. Cosgrove, E. E. Johnson (eds.), *Faith and History: Essays in Honor of Paul W. Meyer* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1990) 35–54. For the "reign of the heavens" in Matthew, J. D. Kingsbury, *Matthew: Structure, Christology, Kingdom* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) 128–160; R. Farmer, "The Kingdom of God in the Gospel of Matthew," in Willis (ed.), *Kingdom of God*, 119–130. For (unsuccessful) attempts to distinguish

the myth of God acting on behalf of God's people (to use Perrin's terms) before it encounters the symbol "the reign of the heavens" in 3:2.[48]

The opening genealogy provides the audience with a version of the history of God's activity on behalf of God's people (1:1–17). It offers not a record of human "biological productivity but a demonstration of God's providence . . . , the working out of God's plan of creation in a history of salvation."[49] The audience's attention is drawn to three particular moments in that history by 1:1b, the repetition in verses 1b-2a (Abraham), 6 (David) and 11–12 (exile), and by the summary of verse 17. Abraham, David and the exile provide moments in which God's promises and plans for God's people seem thwarted but God faithfully and powerfully acts to save the people.

The audience gains more specific understanding of the myth of God's activity on behalf of God's people in the first kernel or key scene which launches the plot (1:18–25).[50] The scene discloses that Mary's newly conceived child results from God's initiative and action by the Holy Spirit (1:18d, 20d), not from human intercourse (1:18b-c, 19, 23a, 25). The audience learns of God's purposes for this baby from the explanations of the names. The "angel of the Lord," the angel sent from God to establish God's will, instructs Joseph to call the baby "Jesus," which means "to save his people from their sins" (1:21). The author explains that the baby fulfills the promise of one who would be "Emmanuel," "God with us" (1:23). This naming is God's commissioning. It establishes the mission for Jesus' life and death. God's saving activity and presence, previously experienced in the call of Abraham, the kingship of David and the disaster and rescue of exile, are now focussed in and to be manifested by Jesus. Operative in this scene is what Perry calls the "primacy effect," the crucial influence of initial placement on an audience's understanding.[51] From this scene, the audience learns the divine point of view by which to understand Jesus' subsequent teaching and actions, including his use of the symbol "reign of the heavens."

The rest of the first narrative block or section to 4:16 elaborates this scene. The satellites, or sub-scenes, in chapter 2 enable the audience to see various responses to God's action in Jesus (2:1): the (Gentile) magi joyfully worship (2:2,

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between "Kingdom of Heaven" and "Kingdom of God," Kretzer, *Die Herrschaft der Himmel*, 21–31; M. Pamment, "The Kingdom of Heaven According to the First Gospel," *NTS* 27 (1981) 211–32. See also J. C. Thomas, "The Kingdom of God in the Gospel According to Matthew," *NTS* 39 (1993) 136–46.

48 Because of space limitations, our discussion of chapters 1–13 will be largely restricted to the uses of the symbol "reign of the heavens." I readily concede that material in these chapters which does not employ this symbol also contributes to the audience's experience and knowledge of the symbol.

49 R. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah* (New York: Doubleday, 1977, 1993) 68.

50 I utilize my previous analysis of the gospel's plot; W. Carter, "Kernels and Narrative Blocks: The Structure of Matthew's Gospel," *CBQ* 54 (1992) 463–81; idem, *Understanding Matthew's Gospel* (Peabody: Hendrickson, forthcoming 1995) chapters 10–11; also F. J. Matera, "The Plot of Matthew's Gospel," *CBQ* 49 (1987) 233–53; M. A. Powell, "The Plot and Subplots of Matthew's Gospel," *NTS* 38 (1992) 187–204. For the language of kernels and satellites, S. Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1978) 53–62.

51 M. Perry, "Literary Dynamics: How the Order of a Text Creates Its Meanings," *Poetics Today* 1 (1979–80) 35–64, 311–61, esp. 53–58.

10–11); the religious leaders know the scriptures but do not interpret them correctly (in relation to Jesus) and do not act on their knowledge (2:4–6); Herod explodes in murderous rage (2:16–18). God protects the child Jesus, Emmanuel, from the danger of the sinful world, thus guiding and protecting God's initiative and purposes (2:13–23). The audience interprets the four citations of the scriptures (2:6, 15, 18, 23b) as further confirmation that God's purposes are unfolding in these events.

The account in these two opening chapters of God's activity among God's people in Jesus, commissioned to save from sins and manifest God's presence (1:21, 23), provides the context for the audience's first encounter with the symbol "reign of the heavens" in John's preaching (3:2, ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν). The audience formulates understanding from the symbol's form, the context of chapters 1–2, and its existing knowledge. It will test, expand or revise these understandings as it continues with the narrative.

The form in which the symbol is expressed (a nominative noun with a genitive of origin)[52] highlights the origin and nature of the reign. The audience knows "the heavens" to be the abode of God (Pss 11:4; 14:2; confirmed by Matt 5:34, 45; 6:1, 9 etc.). The verb ἤγγικεν ("has drawn near") employs a perfect tense[53] to indicate something temporal and spatial that has already happened but which has continuing impact.[54] The "reign of the heavens" which John proclaims has "come near" thus denotes God's "coming near" to rule.[55] In the context of chapters 1–2, the audience understands this "coming near" not to indicate a general myth of God's kingly activity or an apocalyptic, future-oriented event, but God's presence in Jesus, Emmanuel.[56] If Luz is correct in arguing that Matthew's language and theology are generally those of his community, this christological use of βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν reflects knowledge and experience familiar to the audience.[57] The audience fills John's symbol with content from

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52 BAGD, *Lexicon*, 135.

53 BDF, *Grammar*, 318 (4), "a condition or state as the result of a past action."

54 Louw and Nida, *Lexicon*, 2.69; BAGD, *Lexicon*, 213; BDF, #340. For review of the debate about the meaning of ἤγγικεν, see R. Berkey, "ΕΓΓΙΖΕΙΝ, ΦΘΑΝΕΙΝ, and Realized Eschatology," *JBL* 82 (1963) 177–87. Berkey concludes that it is impossible to limit these terms to, or precisely distinguish between, either "nearness" or "arrival." He insists that this ambiguity is crucial for understanding the present and future dimensions of the reign of God. "While ἤγγικεν may very well suggest initial arrival, the meaning of the verb is not exhausted at that point" (185).

55 Compare this construction of a noun with a genitive of origin with the same movement from God to human beings evident in the key scene of 1:18–25, as well as through chapter 2. The phrase "angel of the Lord" (1:20; 2:13, 19) designates the angel's origin with God as the basis for its role as the emissary of the divine will.

56 Commentators generally overlook the contribution of chapters 1–2. So D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew* (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972) 90; D. R. A. Hare, *Matthew* (Interpretation: Louisville: John Knox, 1993) 18–19. Given the failure of the linguistic debate to establish one clear meaning for ἤγγικεν, the context and the audience's knowledge established through chapters 1–2 prior to 3:2 are crucial but frequently neglected indicators of meaning.

57 U. Luz, *Matthew 1–7* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1989) 77–78, 167. Redaction and source criticisms may aid in establishing some of this existing knowledge, though it can not be assumed that the audience knows exactly what the author knows. Unfortunately space does not allow such an investigation here. However, if Luz is right, the audience may already "know" (with

the first two chapters and from its religious experience. It associates the symbol with the myth that God has initiated a further display of God's saving presence in Jesus commissioned to save from sins (1:21, 23). John urges repentance (3:2) as the necessary human response to the proclamation in preparation for encountering Jesus. Repentance means "bearing (good) fruit" in one's living (3:7–10).

This christological locus for God's action is confirmed for the audience by 3:11–12 as John declares further aspects of Jesus' commission, to baptize with the Spirit and determine human destiny in the judgment. Functions typically associated with God are here assigned to Jesus.[58] The audience discerns John to speak reliably on God's behalf because various conventions in the pericope ally him with God's point of view established in chapters 1–2.[59] John's announcement thus adds to the audience's understanding of the "reign of the heavens" encountered in Jesus. God's action involves God's saving presence, judgment and gift of the Spirit.

Jesus' baptism also adds to the audience's understanding. Jesus consents to carry out God's commission from 1:21, 23 (3:14–15),[60] John's word about the presence of the Spirit with Jesus is confirmed (3:16) and God expresses approval from heaven (3:17).

In the temptation (4:1–11) Jesus demonstrates loyalty to his commission as God's son or agent (4:3, 6). Jesus resists the devil's attempt to define his mission and make him the devil's agent, not God's. Ironically the devil parades before him "all the kingdoms (βασιλείας) of the world and their glory" but Jesus rejects the devil's claim. He remains faithful to God's commission to manifest God's saving presence or reign (4:8–11; cf. 1:21, 23).

In 4:12–16 the audience encounters a reprise of the myth that informs its understanding of the "reign of the heavens." Jesus' move to Capernaum in "Galilee of the Gentiles" fulfills the scriptures in that light now shines on people in darkness (4:15–16). The audience knows that darkness in the Jewish scriptures denotes death and judgment, while "light" symbolizes God's saving presence.[61] The citation in 4:15 of Isa 9:1–2 invokes God acting with salvific intent in a time of "distress and darkness," as well as promises of God's presence (Isa 7:14,

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reference to "the reign of the heavens") most if not all of what it will hear in the gospel. If this is so, the question of the function/s of the gospel's reuse of the familiar material about the "reign of the heavens" becomes more pressing.

58 W. Davies and D. Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (ICC: Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988, 1991) 1.309–320. They conclude that one, not two functions, are in view.

59 The place "in the wilderness" (3:1) invokes God's deliverance in the exodus (Exod 13); "Judea" recalls chapter 2's presentation of Judea as a place of danger and divine protection (2:1, 22); his proclaiming confirms Isaiah's word (3:3); his garments link him with the prophets, especially Elijah (3:4; 2 Kings 1:8); he opposes the religious leaders (3:7–10) whose inadequate response to God's action has been shown in 2:4–6.

60 I understand "fulfill all righteousness" as not primarily indicating moral conduct, but Jesus carrying out the saving activity of God as revealed in 1:21, 23. So J. P. Meier, *Law and History in Matthew's Gospel* (AB 71: Rome: Biblical Institute, 1976) 75–80. For options, Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1.325–27.

61 Exod 10:21–27; Isa 8:22; 13:9–13; Joel 2:2, 10–11; cf. Matt 8:12; 25:30. For "light," Ps 27:1.

"Emmanuel;" 8:8, 10, "God with us"). The addition of ἀνέτειλεν ("has dawned") in 4:16 (λάμψει in Isa 9:2) from Isa 58:8–11 emphasizes divine presence as a key aspect of God's salvation. The audience thus understands this closing scene of the first narrative block to restate the significance of Jesus' presence (cf. 1:18–25). Jesus manifests the saving presence of God which can deliver people from judgment.

Immediately after 4:12–16, the audience encounters the second use of "reign of the heavens" in a scene which initiates new action in the plot. In this second kernel (4:17–25) at the beginning of the second narrative block (4:17–11:1), Jesus begins his public ministry.[62] He demands repentance, proclaims that the "reign of the heavens has come near" (4:17), calls four fishermen to follow (they respond positively, 4:18–22), preaches "the gospel of the reign (βασιλείας[63])," and heals the sick (4:23–25).[64]

The audience makes sense of Jesus' words and actions by using what it knows about Jesus' commission from the first narrative block (1:1–4:16). His proclamation concerning "the reign of the heavens" reminds the audience of John's use of this symbol in 3:2 to refer to Jesus' mission to manifest God's saving presence (1:21, 23). It understands Jesus' proclamation as one means of carrying out his God-given task of manifesting the light of God's saving presence among darkness (4:12–16). In sequence, his actions of calling followers (4:18–22), of preaching and of healing (4:24) also carry out this commission. Jesus' words and actions make this alternative reality, the "reign of the heavens," the saving activity of God, available to people in a new community and in acts of healing and wholeness. Those who respond positively to his words and actions encounter the "reign of the heavens," God's saving activity.[65]

In these actions the audience witnesses the disruptive and transforming presence of the "reign of the heavens." That reign, performed in Jesus' call to the four fishermen (4:18–22), disrupts the brothers' economic and social (household) structures. Their "repentance" means a new focus and priorities, and creates a new community centered on Jesus. The audience engages the continuing story to find out further aspects of their new life. God's saving activity also brings wholeness and new possibilities for those who are healed (4:23–24). The presence of God's saving activity in Jesus is dynamic in its impact, though modest in its scope.

The second narrative block (4:17–11:1) elaborates the kernel's focus on the "reign of the heavens" (4:17–25). In the sermon on the mount (chs. 5–7), the audience learns more about the life created by the "reign of the heavens," its blessing (5:3–12), responsibilities (5:13–7:12) and future accountability (7:13–

62 Carter, "Kernels and Narrative Blocks," 474–77.

63 An objective genitive, BDF, *Grammar*, 162.

64 See W. Carter, "Matthew 4:18–22 and Matthean Discipleship: An Audience-Oriented Perspective," *CBQ*, forthcoming.

65 Such presence does not mean that future manifestations are not possible. Berkey, "ΕΓΓΙΖΕΙΝ," 181–87. D. Hagner ("Matthew's Eschatology," in T. E. Schmidt and M. Silva [eds.], *To Tell The Mystery: Essays on New Testament Eschatology in Honor of Robert H. Gundry* [JSNTSS 100; Sheffield: JSOT, 1994] 49–71, esp. 51) comments on the use of ἤγγικεν in 3:2 and 4:17, " . . . the kingdom has come in some sense, but short of the expected apocalyptic consummation."

27).[66] In chapters 8–9, the audience's understanding of God's saving presence expands as Jesus manifests God's rule over disease, nature, demons, sin, people, religious, ethnic and gender barriers, and death.[67] In chapter 10, it sees Jesus commission disciples to proclaim the reign's presence and to perform works of saving power (10:7, 8; cf. 4:17, 19).[68]

Space prevents a consideration of the audience's interaction with all of the second narrative block (4:17–11:1). Discussion of the symbol "reign of the heavens" in this block indicates something of the audience's ongoing "filling in" or expansion of the symbol. "Reign of the heavens" appears eight times after 4:17 (5:3, 10, 19 [2x], 20; 7:21; 8:11; 10:7) along with five variants: "gospel of the reign" (4:23; 9:35); "your reign" (6:10); "reign [of God]"[69] (6:33); "the children of the reign" (8:12). The audience observes the importance of the symbol from the frequent repetition, the variant forms, and the use of different literary forms and contexts (beatitudes, aphorisms, miracle stories, conflict stories). It experiences[70] further dimensions of the symbol and myth of God's activity in Jesus which the symbol invokes from chapters 1–2.

"Reign of the heavens" appears in the sermon's first and eighth beatitudes.[71] In the first beatitude (5:3), the audience hears Jesus bless not the privileged and powerful but, surprisingly, the poor in spirit, those lacking possessions, power and hope who experience God's saving presence.[72] The present tense in 5:3b

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66 R. Guelich, *The Sermon on the Mount* (Dallas: Word, 1982) 27–33, 97–111; J. D. Kingsbury, "The Place, Structure, and Meaning of the Sermon on the Mount Within Matthew," *Int* 41 (1987) 131–43; Carter, *What Are They Saying About Matthew's Sermon?* chaps. 4–5.

67 For discussion, Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2.1–5.

68 For discussion and bibliography, D. J. Weaver, *Matthew's Missionary Discourse: A Literary Critical Discourse* (JSNTSS 38; Sheffield: JSOT, 1990).

69 The UBS third and fourth editions of the Greek New Testament place τοῦ θεοῦ in square brackets. It is missing from, among others, Sinaiticus and Vaticanus. B. Metzger (*A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* [London: UBS, 1971] 18–19) explains that the square brackets indicate "conflicting interpretations" on the Committee. A minority view saw τοῦ θεοῦ as a "natural supplement, which, if present originally, would not have been deleted." The majority view noted that Matthew "almost never employs βασιλεία without a modifier . . . and explained the absence of a modifier in several witnesses as due to accidental scribal omission."

70 I continue to use this verb to denote the interaction of the audience with the text. The English words "know" and "understand" are too restrictive and cerebral. For the authorial audience to understand is to live (13:10–17).

71 For discussion of the beatitudes, Carter, *What Are They Saying?* 82–84; R. Guelich, "The Matthean Beatitudes: 'Entrance-Requirements' or Eschatological Blessings?," *JBL* 95 (1976) 415–34; Guelich, *Sermon*, 109–111; 66–67; M. A. Powell, "Matthew's Beatitudes: Reversals and Rewards of the Kingdom," *CBQ* forthcoming.

72 I follow Powell, "Matthew's Beatitudes: Reversals and Rewards." He argues (pages 4–5, manuscript) that while the usual association with the *ănāwîm*, Israel's dispossessed and abandoned who trust in God, is "surely correct," two considerations indicate a Matthean modification of this link: i) Matthean universalism (5:13–16), and ii) the addition of "in spirit" which is redundant if the *ănāwîm* are in view. Powell concludes that "in spirit" emphasizes "the negative spiritual consequences of poverty," that they lack hope in circumstances of want rather than display piety. This view gains support from 5:8 where the parallel phrase τῇ καρδίᾳ (cf. τῷ πνεύματι) indicates the sphere of the purity, and from Psalm 33:19 (LXX; Eng 34:18), τοὺς

(ἐστιν) indicates that the reign is theirs already (so also 5:10) while the tenses in 5:4–9 disclose a future dimension to God's purposes.[73] The audience learns from 5:3 that the "reign of the heavens" undermines conventional values and social structures to create a community with different perspectives and social constituencies. The beatitude conceptualizes the experience narrated in 4:24. Jesus' healing of the demoniacs, epileptics and paralytics, those who frequently lacked material support and social acceptance and whose diseases were widely understood to result from curses and spells, evil powers, sin or divine wrath, manifests God's saving action or reign.[74]

The eighth beatitude (5:10) conveys God's favor on those persecuted ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης.[75] To so live means expressing the reality of God's saving presence and reign manifested in Jesus in one's daily life (ἐστιν, 5:10b). The beatitude indicates that the different way of life based on this alternative reality results in conflict with the standards and values of one's society[76] (the world of sin [1:21], death and darkness [4:16]), though some recognize God's activity (5:14–16). The remaining beatitudes depict further aspects of the present blessing, implicit demand, and future completion of the "reign of the heavens."[77]

Three references in 5:19–20 to the "reign of the heavens" shift the audience's attention to participation in the future dimension of God's activity.[78] Entry to, and one's place in, the future manifestation of God's purposes depend on living faithfully to one's present experience of God's reign and will made known by Jesus.[79] Initial response and ongoing accountability to God are basic stances of

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ταπεινοὺς τῷ πνεύματι σώσει ("he will save the crushed in spirit). I appreciate the use of Powell's work.

73 Guelich, *Sermon*, 110–111, 66–67; D. Hagner, *Matthew 1–13* (Dallas: Word, 1993) 91–92, 96. For a different reading, G. Strecker, *The Sermon on the Mount* (Abingdon: Nashville, 1988) 30–34; Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 232–35.

74 B. J. Malina and R. Rohrbaugh, *Social-Science Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 70–72, 79–80; H. Kee, *Medicine, Miracles and Magic in New Testament Times* (SNTSMS 55; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1986) for example 122–24.

75 B. Pryzybylski (*Righteousness in Matthew and His World of Thought* [SNTSMS 41; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1980] 1–2) sets out four options for interpreting righteousness: 1) God's demand; 2) God's gift; 3) demand subordinated to gift; 4) varying usage depending on context. I understand 5:10 to indicate human behavior based on and expressive of God's saving presence.

76 Guelich, *Sermon*, 93, 107–9.

77 Guelich, *Sermon*, 62–118; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1.439–441, 445–447; Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 235; Powell, "Matthew's Beatitudes."

78 In advocating the language of symbol rather than concept, Perrin (*Jesus and the Language*, 39–40) does not think it legitimate to use categories of "present" and "future." I agree that the discussion can not be limited to or even focus primarily on the question of the presence or futurity of the reign, but I am not clear that the symbol must be devoid of any temporal dimension. For a similar claim, see Farmer, "Kingdom of God in the Gospel of Matthew," 123, n. 18; Chilton, "REGNUM DEI DEUS EST," 268.

79 E. Schweizer (*The Good News According to Matthew* [Atlanta: John Knox, 1975] 105) suggests that to be "least in the reign" (5:19a) parallels 5:18 and indicates exclusion and punishment. This, though, is unlikely given rabbinic and Matthean recognition of rank in heaven and varying rewards (5:12; 10:41–42; 18:4). So Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 109; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1.497.

discipleship. These references highlight God's reign more as a place or realm and goal, than as an action.[80]

In the Lord's prayer (6:9–13), the audience recalls its community prayer[81] for God to manifest God's reign (6:10, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου). In parallel with the other petitions, this petition seeks God's reign to be known in the present through divine and human actions in accord with God's will, as well as in the future completion of God's purposes.[82] The coming of God's reign in the present means familial relationship with God (6:9b), God's redemptive presence (6:9c), doing God's will (6:10b-c), provision of daily necessities (6:11), forgiveness (6:12) and protection from evil (6:13). To pray the prayer challenges pray-ers to do God's will, to show forgiveness and maintain communal unity, to live on the basis of and in the hope of God's reign (6:10, 12b, 14–15, 19–7:11).[83] The result is the unity of heaven and earth in the conforming of earth, the realm of humans, to the heavens, the sphere in which God's rule and will are now done.

Jesus' instruction about possessions and anxiety (6:19–34) concludes with an exhortation that the audience, in contrast to the Gentiles' concern with daily material needs, trustingly gives itself to the pursuit of God's reign (6:33). To seek God's reign is to continue to make (ζητεῖτε, present tense) God's saving presence the focus and basis for everyday living as well as to look for the completion of God's purposes.[84] It is to refuse to understand and live life in terms circumscribed by the Gentiles' efforts to gain material possessions. It embraces an alternative reality. The saving presence of God is experienced as a life free of anxiety which trusts God to supply what is needed.

The final sermon reference (7:21) recalls the audience to the three references in 5:19–20. Entry to, and one's position in, the future manifestation of the "reign of the heavens" depends on living faithfully to one's present experience of God's reign and will. While the false prophets perform miraculous deeds, they do not do God's will (7:21). By not encountering God's reign in the present they will not participate in its future.[85]

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80 Guelich, *Sermon*, 149, 160–61, 168–7; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1.497–501.

81 Luz (*Matthew 1–7*, 77–78, 369–70) argues that Matthew's version of the prayer derives from Matthew taking over the community's liturgical form. Also Strecker, *Sermon*, 110, 210 n. 57, 123; J. Schlosser, *Le Règne de Dieu dans les dits de Jésus* (Etudes Bibliques, 2 vols; Paris: Gabalda, 1980) 1.285–90. See W. Carter, "Recalling the Lord's Prayer: The Authorial Audience and Matthew's Prayer as Familiar Liturgical Experience," *CBQ*, forthcoming.

82 For the Prayer's future orientation, R. Brown, "The Pater Noster as an Eschatological Prayer," *New Testament Essays* (New York: Paulist, 1965, 1982) 217–53; for various combinations of the present and future, Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 376–85; Guelich, *Sermon*, 309–316; Schweizer, *Good News*, 149–159.

83 G. Bornkamm, "Der Aufbau der Bergpredigt," *NTS* 24 (1977–78) 419–32; Guelich, *Sermon on the Mount*, 322–81.

84 Guelich, *Sermon*, 344–45; Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 165–66; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1.660–661; Schweizer, *Good News*, 166. Some see a reference only to the future reign: Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 407; Strecker, *Sermon*, 139–40.

85 Guelich, *Sermon*, 399–400; also Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1.713, who conclude that it is not possible to identify precisely what the false prophets do wrong.

Chapters 8–9 expand the summary account of Jesus' miracles in 4:23–24 to demonstrate the transforming impact of God's reign. In the healing of the Gentile centurion's servant (8:5–13), the audience witnesses the importance of human recognition of Jesus' authority and of having faith in his transforming power which effects release from suffering.[86] Jesus' comment on the lack of faith in Israel indicates that response to him, not ethnicity (cf. 3:9) constitutes the community who experience the reign in the present and future (8:11–12). The Gentile centurion's faith in Jesus (8:10, 13) is thus a paradigm for present and future participation in (or dismissal from) God's purposes. But the paradigm displays again that the unexpected surprisingly participate while the "rightful" heirs are excluded.[87]

In 9:35 the audience recognizes a repetition of 4:23. Jesus' speech and deeds, motivated by and expressive of his compassion (9:36), proclaim and perform the "gospel of the reign," the good news of God's saving presence and activity.[88]

Both elaboration and repetition are at work in 10:7. The disciples are, in continuity with John (3:2) and Jesus (4:17), to proclaim that the "reign of the heavens," God's saving presence and activity in Jesus, is among human beings.[89] This command, part of the instructions about mission throughout chapter 10, elaborates Jesus' word in 4:19 that disciples will "fish for human beings."[90] Their proclamation is accompanied by the same actions as Jesus performs to manifest God's saving presence (10:8; cf. 4:24).[91] The presence of the reign creates

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86 H. C. Kee (*Miracle in the Early Christian World: A Study in Sociohistorical Method* [New Haven and London: Yale University, 1983] 187) argues that these two areas—"(1) the faith of the beneficiaries and (2) the authority by which Jesus is able to produce results"—are the two primary areas of interest in the Matthean miracle stories.

87 Who are the "children of the reign"? The usual interpretation understands a contrast between unbelieving Israel (not all Israel since there are believers in Israel [the disciples, the leper, 8:1–4, Peter's mother-in-law, 8:14–15, etc].) and believing Gentiles represented by the centurion. So Schweizer, *Good News*, 212–16. However, Davies and Allison (*Matthew*, 2.27–28) argue that "the many [who] will come from east and west" does not indicate Gentiles but Jews of the diaspora (cf. 19:28). "In Israel" (8:10) designates a geographical not ethnic reality. The "children of the reign" would then be Jews in Israel who reject Jesus and are rejected, while Jews not privileged to live in the land or to hear his preaching find eschatological salvation. On this reading the Gentile "in Israel" manifests the faith that others "in Israel" should exhibit. R. Gundry (*Matthew* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982] 145) is not convinced, arguing that a distinction of Palestinian and Diaspora Jews with salvation only for the latter was not possible since no one doubted the salvation of diaspora Jews. Hagner (*Matthew 1–13*, 205) is also not convinced, seeing the "exclusivism" of the tradition (the return of Diaspora Jews, so Ps 107:3) "turned on its head in an apparent reversal of salvation-history" with the calling of Gentiles. The centurion represents the beginning of this inclusion. In either reading, the "children of the reign" are no longer constituted by ethnicity but by response to Jesus.

88 Davies and Allison *Matthew*, 1.414; Kingsbury, *Matthew: Structure*, 136–37.

89 The verb μετανοεῖτε ("repent") present in 3:2 and 4:17 is missing in 10:7.

90 See J. Manek, "Fishers of Men," *NovT* 2 (1958) 138–41; C. Smith, "Fishers of Men," *HTR* 52 (1959) 187–203; W. Wuellner, *The Meaning of "Fishers of Men"* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1967) esp. 213–16; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1.398–99; D. Garland, *Reading Matthew* (New York: Crossroad, 1993) 48.

91 In chapters 8–9, Jesus has healed the sick (8:5–13, 14–16; 9:1–8, 20–22, 27–31, 35), raised the dead (9:18–19, 23–26), cleansed lepers (8:1–4), and cast out demons (8:16, 28–34; 9:32–34).

improved bodily, religious and social well-being through healing. As with Jesus' mission, it also effects division through people's responses (9:32–34; 10:16–25).

The third narrative block extends from 11:2–16:20. In the kernel (11:2–6) the audience identifies the block's central issue to be the recognition of Jesus' identity as the one commissioned by God.[92] John poses the key question: Is Jesus the one commissioned by God (11:3)? Jesus responds to John's question by pointing to his actions (narrated in the second kernel and narrative block) as the means by which people can recognize who he is (11:4–5). God's blessing rests on those who discern God's saving presence or reign in him (11:6). The negative phrasing of the beatitude ("not scandalized") suggests the possibility that some will be offended. The audience knows from chapters 5–10 that this is so.

This third narrative block (11:2–16:20) describes the division which the revelation of "the reign of the heavens" in Jesus' words and actions brings about. Some encounter God's saving presence by these means (11:25–30; 12:46–50; 13:10–17, 58; 14:22–33; 15:21–28; 16:13–20) while others (certain cities, religious leaders, and the crowds[93]) do not "understand" or recognize it. They express hostility and rejection (11:16–24; 12:1–14, 22–45; 13:10–17, 53–58; 14:1–12; 15:1–12; 16:1–12). The parables in chapter 13 evidence this division and offer some explanation for it.[94]

The symbol "reign of the heavens" appears twice in the third narrative block prior to chapter 13 (11:11, 12), with a variant in 12:28 ("reign of God").[95] The audience perceives division in response to God's saving presence in Jesus in each instance.

The first satellite scene of the narrative block elaborates John's transitional and double role in relation to the "reign of the heavens" (11:7–19). John is a prophet who bears witness to God's reign in Jesus (3:1–12; 11:9a), yet he is more than a prophet, caught up in the beginning of God's reign (11:12–13), and who like Abraham, Isaac and Jacob will participate in the completion of God's purposes (8:11). The reference in 11:11b to the "least in the reign" being greater than John highlights the first role. It recalls that previous references to being least in the reign assessed present actions and teaching in the light of the rewards of the future judgment (5:19)[96] and identified disciples among the least (10:42). In this context "the least in the reign" contrasts disciples with John who bears witness to Jesus but who is not yet certain of God's actions in Jesus (cf. 11:2–6).[97]

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92 See Carter, "Kernels and Narrative Blocks," 476–77, 80.

93 For the crowds' roles, W. Carter, "The Crowds in Matthew's Gospel," *CBQ* 55 (1993) 54–68.

94 Garland, *Reading Matthew*, 145–52; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2.374–75; Kingsbury, *Parables*, 16, 42–52, 130–32.

95 For completeness the two other uses of βασιλεία before chapter 13 appear in 12:25, 26. In 12:25 it refers to political kingdoms and reign; in 12:26 to Satan's reign. The two references provide the context for 12:28 and Jesus' explanation that the "reign of God" is present in his exorcisms.

96 5:19 uses ἐλάχιστος while 11:11 uses μικρότερος. Louw and Nida (*Lexicon*, 1. Section 79.125) list them as synonyms.

97 Davies and Allison (*Matthew*, 2.251–52) consider three identifications of "who is least in the reign": 1) Jesus (by humility, by being younger than or a disciple of John); 2) anyone in the reign when it comes in the future; then the least in the reign will be greater than the greatest in the

The difficult verse 12[98] indicates violence and opposition to God's reign.[99] The audience knows John to be in prison (11:2), an act that bears witness to God's reign. Jesus has warned about opposition to himself and to disciples in the proclamation of God's reign (10:16–18, 22–25). Division and opposition accompany God's saving presence, will and activity.

Such opposition provides the context for the remaining usage of "reign of the heavens" before chapter 13. In 12:22–32, the audience hears again the religious leaders' interpretation that Jesus' exorcisms display Beelzebul's activity (12:24; cf. 9:32–34). The audience knows their claim is false. It has seen the leaders' inability to recognize God's activity in Jesus and has heard Jesus' verdict on them as "evil" (9:4; confirmed by 12:34–35, 39, 45).[100] It has seen Jesus express allegiance to God and as God's agent reject Satan's attempt to direct him (3:13–17; 4:1–11). It has also witnessed Jesus' exorcisms which in 4:24 follow his declaration of the presence of God's reign (4:17).

The audience's verdict on the religious leaders' claim is confirmed by Jesus' rejection of the leaders' analysis (12:25–28). Jesus observes that "every kingdom (πᾶσα βασιλεία) divided against itself is laid waste" (12:25). This statement provides the basis for saying that it makes no sense to claim that Jesus is Satan's agent who employs his powers to destroy Satan's reign (ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ, 12:26). Rather Jesus is God's agent in whom God's activity to save from Satan's opposing and destructive reign is encountered. His exorcisms display the presence of the Spirit, bringing well-being and new life for those set free (able to speak and see, 12:22). They exemplify God's active and powerful presence, God's reign, which delivers people from Satan's reign (12:28). Jesus' exorcisms perform his God-given commission (1:21, 23).[101]

To summarize, by the time it reaches chapter 13, the audience understands a great deal about the "reign of the heavens." This symbol represents the myth of God's commission to Jesus to manifest God's saving, transforming presence among human beings (1:21, 23) in his words and deeds (4:17–25; 11:2–5). For those who repent and follow Jesus (4:17–22), who live in desperate circumstances

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present age who is not in the reign. The comparison is between eras (Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 306). 3) A reference to "anyone now in the reign." This option assumes the reign to be present but John is not included in it. Hence even the least in the reign is greater than John. Davies and Allison consider options 2 and 3 but favor 2 since 11:12 indicates John is included in the reign.

98 Davies and Allison (*Matthew*, 2.254–56) offer 7 options. They prefer option 3, Perrin's view that the symbol invokes the myth of the war between God and forces of chaos and evil. John the Baptist, disciples and Jesus are caught up in this conflict.

99 The verb βιάζεται is best taken as a passive not a middle; attack is made on the reign of the heavens.

100 In chapter 13 the audience will understand from Jesus' description of the Devil as the "evil one" (13:39) who has children ("children of the evil one," 13:38) that the religious leaders are agents of the Devil in opposing God's purposes. Hence in 16:1 and 19:3 they "test" or "tempt" Jesus (the verb πειράζω), just as the Devil did earlier (4:1 πειρασθῆναι). J. D. Kingsbury, "The Developing Conflict between Jesus and the Jewish Leaders in Matthew's Gospel: A Literary-Critical Study," *CBQ* 49 (1987) 57–73, esp. 60, 64; Carter, *Understanding Matthew's Gospel*, chapter 15.

101 12:27 indicates that others do exorcisms. Distinctive about Jesus' exorcisms is their display of God's saving presence. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2.339; Kee, *Medicine, Miracle*, 73.

(5:3), who have faith in Jesus (8:5–13), it means the blessing and demand of God's presence in the present and accountability in the future judgment. The presence of God's reign disturbs and reorients human existence (4:18–22). It provides new priorities, possibilities and focus, an alternative reality out of step with the commitments of the surrounding society (6:19–34). It releases people from the destructive impact of disease and demons, creating wholeness and community (4:23–24; 9:32–34; 12:28). It results in hostility (5:10–12; chs 11–12) as well as vindication in the judgment (7:21). To reject Jesus' proclamation is to reject God's reign and to face condemnation in the judgment (10:32–33, 40–42).

Matthew 13 and the Parables of the "Reign of the Heavens"

In this framework we can assess the audience's interaction with the parables of the "reign of the heavens" in chapter 13.[102] Chapter 13, a satellite in the third narrative block (11:2–16:20), explains in part the division in Israel evident in the diverse responses to the manifestation of God's saving presence in Jesus' ministry (chapters 11–12). It also instructs the audience on how disciples live out their positive response until the judgment.[103]

The audience knows from two observations that "the kingdom and its fate in the world"[104] are central to the chapter. The opening phrase of 13:1, "that same day," enables the audience to link this chapter with the previous chapter's content about Jesus' "true" family (12:46–50) and his protracted dispute with the religious leaders over the "reign of the heavens" (12:22–45). In addition, the audience finds in chapter 13 the greatest number of uses of the "reign of the heavens" in the gospel. The symbol appears eight times (13:11, 24, 31, 33, 44, 45, 47, 52), with four variant expressions, "the word of the reign" (13:19), "the children of the reign" (13:38; cf. 8:12), "from his [the Son of Man's] reign" (13:41), "in the kingdom of their father" (13:43).[105]

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102 For discussion of various proposals about the structure of chapter 13, Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 362–65.

103 Commentators have emphasized both functions: i) an *apologetic* function: it depicts the reception of "the reign of the heavens" and explains Israel's reaction to Jesus in contrast to that of the disciples or church; so W. Wilkens, "Die Redaktion des Gleichniskapitels Mark. 4 durch Matth.," *TZ* 20 (1964) 305–27, esp. 318, 322, 324–25; Kingsbury, *Parables of Jesus*, 36–37, 52, 130–37; Drury, *Parables in the Gospels*, 81–85; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2.370–450, esp. 374–75 (including bibliography); Gnilka, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, 474–75; Garland, *Reading Matthew*, 144–52; Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 361–402, esp. 367, 369, 376 (including bibliography); Lambrecht, *Out of the Treasure*, 286–87. Harrington ("The Mixed Reception of the Gospel," 195–201) takes a similar approach but emphasizes "an inner-Jewish" context (196). ii) a *paranetic or catechetical* function: it instructs disciples or the church how to live until God completes God's purposes. Kingsbury, *Parables of Jesus*, 36–37, 52, 108–10, 134–37; J. Dupont, "Le point de vue de Matthieu dans le chapitre des paraboles," in M. Didier (ed.), *L'Evangile selon Matthieu: Rédaction et théologie* (BETL 19; Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1972) 221–59; Sand, *Das Evangelium*, 276, 283; Donahue, *The Gospel in Parable*, 66–70; Lambrecht, *Out of the Treasure*, 286–87; Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 372.

104 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2. 449; Gnilka, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, 474–75.

105 At this point a detailed reading through the sequence of the parables in chapter 13 is required. Space prevents the inclusion of such work. The following paragraph is a brief summary of some observations which emerge in such a reading. See the commentaries and bibliographies.

The beginning of chapter 13 focuses the audience's attention on the present appearance of God's reign. As the chapter progresses, attention moves more to God's future purposes. The opening parable (the sower and the seed, 13:3–9) describes the manifestation of God's reign in Jesus' preaching and its positive and negative reception.[106] The parable provides the disciples with the opportunity to ask why Jesus uses parables to address the crowds. The audience learns that parables confirm the division between understanding disciples who have received the divine revelation of God's action in Jesus and nonunderstanding or hardhearted crowds (13:10–17). Jesus elaborates the parable of the sower by naming factors which influence negative and positive responses to Jesus' proclamation of God's saving presence ("the word of the reign," 13:18–23). He then tells a further parable emphasizing that the "reign of the heavens" coexists in the world with opposition until the judgment (13:24–30).[107] The parable of the mustard seed (13:31–32) elaborates the nature of God's present activity. It contrasts the apparently insignificant way in which the reign now appears in Jesus' ministry with its very different future. The audience finds a repetition and extension of the contrast between present appearance and final purpose in the parable of the woman working with leaven. The parable, utilizing the audience's experiences of and religious traditions about leaven, portrays the reign's secretive, corrupting and transforming presence in Jesus and the community of disciples (13:33).[108] After a statement of the revelatory function of parables (13:34–35), the audience hears Jesus explain the "parable of the weeds in the field" (13:36–43) to the disciples. God's saving presence in Jesus has produced a community of disciples ("children of the reign," 13:38) as well as opposition to God's reign from the devil. God's purposes will, though, prevail in the future judgment. Two further parables of the man finding treasure (13:44) and of the merchant buying the pearl (13:45–46) highlight for the audience the searching for, intense commitment to, and rejoicing which God's reign requires. The final parable of the net with fish of every kind anticipates the judgment in which all are held accountable (13:47–50).

Two questions can be pressed: what does the audience hear about the "reign of the heavens" in these parables and what is the significance of the means by which it hears, namely stories embedded within a larger story?

Also J. P. Heil, "The Parables Discourse in Matthew 13:1–52: Narrative Progression and Pragmatics."

106 In the context of Jesus' preaching and teaching since 4:17, and the accounts of diverse responses, the audience identifies Jesus as the sower in 13:3, 24, 31 long before the self-referential explanation in 13:37.

107 D. Carson ("The ΟΜΟΙΟΣ Word-Group as Introduction to Some Matthean Parables," *NTS* 31 [1985] 277–82, 279) argues that the use of the aorist passive in 13:24 (ὡμοιώθη) indicates "the kingdom of heaven *has* (already) *become like* this." This tense contrasts with the use of the future passive (ὁμοιωθήσεται) which points to the "apocalyptic advent of the kingdom" (7:24, 26; 25:1) and with the phrase ὅμοιός ἐστιν (13:31, 33, 44, 45, 47, 52) in which the primary emphasis is not on temporal aspects (280–281).

108 For the ambivalent valuing of leaven, see R. Funk, "Beyond Criticism in Quest of Literacy: The Parable of the Leaven," *Int* 25 (1971) 149–70; idem, "The Looking-Glass Tree Is for the Birds, *Int* 27 (1973) 3–9; Susan Praeder, "The Parable of the Leaven," in *The Word in Women's Worlds* (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1988) 11–35.

In relation to the first question the audience hears much familiar material about the "reign of the heavens":[109]

i) The parables remind the audience that this reign is present in Jesus' proclamation and actions (13:3–8, 18–23, 24, 31, 33, 37–38, 44, 45–46, 47; cf. 3:2; 4:17–25; 5:3–10; 11:11–12; 12:28). Well-being, new priorities, different values and new community attest its disturbing, transforming presence.

ii) The parables remind the audience that the presence of the "reign of the heavens" expresses and results from God's action and initiative (cf. 1:18–25). Jesus proclaims its presence because God has commissioned him to do so (13:3, 11, 16–17, 24, 31, 33, 34–35, 37). While humans search for and discover God's reign (13:44–46; cf. 7:7–11), it remains God's creative action and gift of revelation (13:11, 16; cf 11:25–27).

iii) The parables remind the audience of the reign's divisive impact. Some people believe and receive it ("understand"), while others do not (13:3–8, 10–17, 18–23, 44, 45–46; chs 5–10, 11–12).

iv) The parables remind the audience that participating in the reign requires they "invest" everything to live on this basis (13:44–45). Receiving the reign (advent) means the undoing of past priorities and commitments (reversal), and openness to new possibilities (actions).[110] The call of the first disciples in 4:18–22 (who abandon the family fishing business) and the subsequent instruction in chapters 5–7 have established this pattern for the audience.

v) The parables remind the audience that encounter with the "reign of the heavens" means persevering in a new way of life, an alternative reality and community, even in the midst of evil and opposition, until God's purposes are completed (13:5–8, 20–23, 30; so chs 5–7; 12:46–50). The audience is warned of danger from opposing human beings (13:21; cf. 5:10–12; 10:16–25; 12:1–14) and from commitment to wealth (13:22 cf. 6:19–34). The audience's prior experiences of life in God's reign as being out of step with and in conflict with societal values is confirmed.

vi) The parables remind the audience that the presence of this reign results not only in joy (13:20, 44; cf. 2:10) but also in opposition from Satan and Satan's allies (13:19, 25, 38–39; cf. 4:1–11, 24; 8:28–34; 12:22–32). God's reign and the community constituted by it exist at present alongside, as an alternative to, and in struggle with the reign of Satan (cf. 13:26–30, 37–41; cf. 12:25–28).

vii) The parables, especially the mustard seed and the leaven (13:31–34), remind the audience of the apparently ordinary mode by which the reign is present. The audience already knows that God's reign, God's saving presence,

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109 Parable scholarship (for instance, Ricoeur, "Biblical Hermeneutics," 80) has highlighted the "untranslatable" nature of metaphors. Ricoeur recognizes, though, that this claim "does not mean they can not be paraphrased, but the paraphrase is infinite and does not exhaust the innovation in meaning." Rabinowitz (*Before Reading*, 15–20) notes that paraphrase or restating is one of two fundamental ways in which we display understanding. I recognize that the following discussion does not exhaust the meaning of the parables and that it utilizes a different form of discourse than that experienced in the parables. The discourse could be said to be "second-order" statement in that it generalizes the particular experience of the parables.

110 For this language, J. D. Crossan, *In Parables: The Challenge of the Historical Jesus* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973) 27–120.

has not drawn near in an overwhelming, cosmic display of divine power to destroy all evil (cf. 13:24–30) but in Jesus' words and actions (4:17–25; 11:2–6). Some are not able to recognize God's presence in him (8:5–13; 9:3–4, 32–34; 10:14–33; 11:16–24; 12:1–14, 22–32). Nevertheless the audience knows and is reminded by the images of the small mustard seed and of leaven that God's reign, even though many may be incredulous, is disruptive, corrupting and transformative (the actions of the man and the merchant, 13:44, 45–46; the teaching of 5–7; the actions of 8–9, 11:2–6).

viii) The parables remind and reassure the audience of the ultimate, yet-future completion of God's purposes despite its present, apparently modest manifestation and the prevalence of unbelief and opposition (13:24–30, 31–33, 36–43, 47–50). God's purpose to save from sin will be completed in a universal judgment which vindicates the righteous and condemns the evil, and overcomes Satan's opposition. This action involves Israel, the nations (cf. 1:5–6; 2:1–12; 8:5–13)[111] and the church just as God's present actions in Jesus do. The audience knows of human accountability to God for its response to the presence of God's saving action or reign (3:11–12; 7:21–27). It has also been previously instructed that the task of judgment belongs not to them in the present but to God/Jesus in the future (7:1–5; cf. 13:24–30).[112]

Along with these restatements of the familiar, two new understandings perhaps emerge for the audience. The first concerns explanations for negative responses to the "reign of the heavens." While in a sense none of the four explanations is new, their collection into one section is new. People do not embrace God's reign in Jesus because: a) God has not revealed it to them (13:11, 16, 35; cf. 11:25–27); b) they are hardhearted and other commitments prevent allegiance (13:15, 21–22; cf. 6:19–34; 12:22–45); c) Satan hinders God's actions (13:18, 25, 39; cf. 4:1–11); and d) some, such as the "evil" religious leaders, do not recognize God's working in Jesus (13:24–30, 31–34; 9:32–34; 12:16–21, 22–34).

The second aspect concerns the contrast between the apparently insignificant way in which God is presently at work and God's future action. The audience is aware of the future, glorious completion of God's purposes (3:11; 7:21–27; 8:10–12; 10:32–33). Yet it also knows that the gospel has not presented Jesus' present activity as insignificant. Jesus carries out God's purposes (1:18–25). His birth distresses a king and all Jerusalem (2:3). Foreigners come to worship (2:1–12). Opposition, displacement and death result (2:13–23). Crowds from all over Galilee, Judea and "beyond the Jordan" follow Jesus (4:25). "Great crowds" (8:1) seek healing (8:16; 9:35–36), glorifying God (7:28–29; 9:8) and marveling (9:33). The audience has heard Jesus instruct the disciples to pray for more laborers for

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111 "the field is the world," 13:38; the reference to the birds nesting in the branches of the mustard tree in 13:32 has been interpreted as representing Gentiles using Ezek 17:23; 31:6; Dan 4:9, 18; Joseph and Asenath 15; so Kingsbury, *Parables*, 82; Gundry, *Matthew*, 267; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2.420. Funk ("The Looking-Glass Tree," 7) claims the parable is a "light-hearted burlesque," a "serious satire," of these traditions.

112 Kingsbury (*Parables*, 73) notes that the servant in 13:28b proposes the present separation of the weeds and the wheat. This task does not at this point belong to the community of disciples.

the great harvest (9:37–38). He has commissioned them to mission (ch 10). His presence is so disruptive that some religious leaders plot his death (12:14).

The parables of the mustard seed and the leaven enable the audience to place this activity and popular excitement in a different perspective. What is happening now is small in contrast to the cosmic goal of God's purposes. The present co-existence of the "reign of the heavens" alongside that of Satan, contrasts greatly with the time when God overcomes all evil. The audience gains a sense of this larger context and in this perspective views the present of the narrative. The contrast may also confirm its prior knowledge of the "reign of the heavens." If that knowledge consisted of apocalyptic expectations of God's reign as well as experience of its presence, the parables confirm both aspects.

In sum, the parables of chapter 13 seem to repeat previous material about the "reign of the heavens" more than they reveal new understanding (cf. 13:34–35). The parables disclose in their plots, characters, settings and perspectives the "reign of the heavens," yet that disclosure is commensurate with the audience's understandings gained from the first twelve chapters. But several factors indicate that the audience's interaction with the parables in chapter 13 "does" more than repeat largely familiar content.

Redundancy, Expanding Symbols and Performative Language

J. C. Anderson defines redundancy as "the availability of information from more than one source."[113] It functions to "increase predictability by decreasing the number of possible alternatives. This reduces uncertainty, facilitating the communication process." By repeating key points, redundancy enhances cohesiveness in the audience's understanding, overcomes forgetfulness and "noise," persuades the hearer, limits meaning, and solicits assent. Anderson summarizes its functions:

> to highlight or draw attention;
> to establish or fix in the mind of the implied reader;
> to emphasize importance;
> to create expectations, increasing predictability and assent (anticipation);
> to cause review and reassessment (retrospection);
> to unify disparate elements;
> to build patterns of association or draw contrasts.[114]

Along with verbal repetition, Anderson notes other examples of redundancy: "symbol, imagery, theme and setting." In these items, conveying fixed information does not always occupy the central place. Other aspects of language are to the fore, particularly its performative role and polyvalency. These dimensions, evident in our discussion above of the audience's interaction with the "reign of the heavens in chapters 1–13, are elaborated in E. K. Brown's work on expanding symbols.[115] For Brown an expanding symbol is one in which the

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113 Anderson, *Matthew's Narrative Web*, 23–25, 34–45, esp. 36.

114 Anderson, *Matthew's Narrative Web*, 44.

115 Anderson, *Matthew's Narrative Web*, 25, 193–202; Brown, *Rhythm in the Novel*, 33–59.

audience's experience of the symbol grows as the symbol appears in a range of contexts through the narrative. It provides glimpses of a reality that is too big to be grasped in one view but aspects of which can be revealed in "sudden flashes."

> The expanding symbol is a device far more appropriate for rendering an emotion, an idea, that by its largeness or its subtlety cannot become wholly explicit . . . the expanding symbol is repetition balanced by variation, and that variation is in progressively deepening disclosure . . . By the use of an expanding symbol, the novelist persuades, and impels his [sic] readers towards two beliefs. First, that beyond the verge of what he [sic] can express, there is an area which can be glimpsed, never surveyed. Second that this area has an order of its own which we should greatly care to know . . . The use of the expanding symbol is an expression of belief in things hoped for, an index if not an evidence of things not seen.[116]

Brown's discussion indicates that repeated symbols require the audience to participate in creating meaning through retrospection and anticipation. The audience reviews previous uses, it carries forward a body of associations and experiences which expands as it connects with and is reshaped by new usages. The symbol both limits options and opens up new areas. It conceals and reveals. It "represents" content as well as performs diverse functions. Our discussion above of the audience's interaction with the symbol "reign of the heavens" has evidenced both aspects.

The importance of the informative and performative dimensions of the audience's interaction with the symbol "reign of the heavens" is further underlined by Richard Shryock's work on the relationship between embedded stories and embedding stories.[117] He argues that it is inadequate to see this relationship primarily in terms of a communication model. This model understands the relationship of embedded narrative to embedding narrative referentially, as communicating "information" or a message from author to audience. Shryock invokes the insight of speech act theory that language does not only convey information or represent a world, it also functions to do things to an audience. Without discarding referential dimensions, Shryock emphasizes the perlocutionary functions of embedded narratives.

What happens, then, when the audience interacts with these embedded stories in chapter 13 after the first twelve chapters of the gospel? If Brown and Shryock are right, the interaction does not merely illustrate an already known referent, the "reign of the heavens." Something more happens for the audience, which enables the audience to experience the referent in a different way.[118]

Gerhardsson formulates the audience's interaction with the parables in performative terms, to "understand" ("to take it to their hearts"), "agree" and "bear fruit in action".[119] Using the rhetorical handbook *Ad Herennium* (IV.xlv-xlviii.59–61), he argues that the parables perform these functions in their gospel

116 Brown, *Rhythm in the Novel*, 56–59.

117 Shryock, *Tales of Storytelling*, 1–15, esp. 12–13.

118 Scott presses this question, *Hear Then the Parable*, 42–51.

119 Gerhardsson, "If We Do Not Cut," 325–29.

frames by illustrating, clarifying, concretizing, and making vivid aspects of the "reign of the heavens."[120] But his analysis is inadequate precisely because he does not take his own argument seriously enough. To "not cut the parables from their frames" means not detaching them not only from the immediately preceding or following verse,[121] but from the document or text of which they are a part. The point of pressing the question of the parables' function in performative terms is not just to recognize that they illustrate or clarify the "reign of the heavens" named in the introductory formula. Rather the question concerns what happens when the audience interacts with parables about the "reign of the heavens" after it has experienced twelve chapters of narrative about that reign and (if Luz is right[122]) when it has experienced this reign in its living and traditions before the gospel is written.

Attention to at least two aspects of parables offers insight into the impact of the redundancy at work in them as narratives embedded in the larger gospel narrative.

One aspect concerns the nature of the interaction between an audience and a narrative. Some critics emphasize that an audience's perceptions and values are challenged and overturned through its participation in the narrative. Narratives re-present reality. Reality is redrawn. Iser, for instance, argues that the interaction enables the audience to absorb "the unfamiliar into [its] range of experience . . . [and] . . . discover what had previously seemed to elude our consciousness."[123] Others, though, criticize Iser for a onesided focus. Rabinowitz and Eagleton point to his neglect of the possibility that a text may legitimate and provide insight into what is already experienced. It may order the known rather than reveal the unknown.[124]

Given Matthew's authorial audience's experience of discipleship and familiarity with traditions about Jesus, as well as with chapters 1–12, the latter view of Rabinowitz and Eagleton seems more likely. The parables in chapter 13 seem more to confirm what is already known about the "reign of the heavens" than to reveal new insights. But that is not to say they are "merely" illustrative. Paradoxically, the familiar includes the knowledge or experience that the presence of God's reign in Jesus is disruptive and dynamic, as yet incomplete, surprisingly transformative given its modest means of being present, requiring a

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120 Gerhardsson, "If We Do Not Cut," 326–27. The author of *Ad Herennium* identifies four possible functions for a *similitudo* (parable); Gerhardsson finds the last two applicable to Matthew 13. For *Rhetorica ad Herennium* see H. Caplan's Loeb edition, *[Cicero] Ad C. Herennium De Ratione Dicendi (Rhetorica ad Herennium)* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1954); M. H. McCall, *Ancient Rhetorical Theories of Simile and Comparison* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1969) 57–86, esp. 65–74.

121 Gerhardsson, "If We Do Not Cut," 325, note 4.

122 Luz argues (*Matthew 1–7*, 167) that "the usage of his community has guided the evangelist."

123 Iser, "Reading Process," 65–68; idem, *Act of Reading*, 152–59. Ricoeur ("Appropriation," in J. B. Thompson [ed.], *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences* [Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1981] 182–93, esp. 185, 189–90) speaks of the "metamorphosis" of the reader.

124 Rabinowitz "Whirl without End 93–94; T. Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1983) 78–80; Judith Fetterly, *The Resisting Reader* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1978).

commensurate lifestyle accountable in the yet-future judgment. The latter piece of knowledge does not permit the audience's familiarity to breed contempt or even indifference. By interacting with the re-presentation of the parables, by participating in their plots, characters, settings and points of view, the audience confronts again the reality of God's active and transforming presence. As familiar as that reality may be, interaction with the parable narratives offers the audience the opportunity to reencounter the reign, to have its expectations and experiences shaped anew, and its commitment strengthened. The parables enable the audience to experience the reign with fresh and refreshed, "understanding" eyes, aware anew of its gift, claim and power for living. The redundancy confirms, repeats, strengthens, and thereby challenges, renews and subverts the familiar.

The second dimension involves the metaphoric nature of parables. It has been customary, rightly, to emphasize the vibrant impact of metaphor on the audience. Metaphor is "a bearer of the reality to which it refers. The hearer not only learns about that reality but participates in it."[125] Metaphors bring together the familiar and unfamiliar, the similar (epiphor) and the different (diaphor), the everyday and the extravagant, realism and hyperbole. By bringing into proximity two entities that were previously distant, they redescribe, disclose, create. They say something "new about reality," they create a new vision, they provide the properties of one entity as the lens for seeing the other. They disrupt "normal" seeing.[126]

Has the authorial audience's familiarity with the parables as part of the traditions about Jesus tamed the metaphors? Does interaction with the parables of chapter 13 "merely" repeat and confirm their previous experience and information?

Such claims would be reductionist unless the performative nature of "confirming" is underlined. Such claims overlook what happens in the act of hearing a metaphoric narrative. The familiar is relived. The audience participates in the reality to which the metaphor refers. It encounters again the destabilizing and disturbing presence of the "reign of the heavens" in the metaphoric transfer accomplished through the narrative. The redundancy functions to re-present the familiar, but the "familiar" reality of the parables, the "reign of the heavens," is subversive, dynamic, surprising, transformative.

Conclusion

By participating in the reality narrated by 1:1–13:52, the audience has been discipled for the "reign of the heavens" (13:52), and more discipling awaits it in chapters 14–28. Disciples understand the mysteries of God's reign, the action of God's saving presence in Jesus' actions and teaching. To them it has been given to know (13:11). To them Jesus has revealed "what has been hidden since the foundation of the world" (13:35). Interaction with the parables of chapter 13

125 A. Wilder, *The Language of the Gospel: Early Christian Rhetoric* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964) 92.

126 So, for instance, Ricoeur, "Biblical Hermeneutics," 75–106, 114–118; Funk, "Parable as Metaphor," 133–62; Scott, *Hear Then the Parable*, 42–51.

confirms the audience's social and literary experiences of God's reign. But such confirmation and repetition challenges the audience to renews its commitment and experience. Being discipled for the "reign of the heavens" remains a continuing dynamic, transformative, disturbing, communal experience because it requires disciples to live this reality in its ongoing daily (Antiochene?) existence, in the time "in-between" their call and the yet-future completion of God's purposes.[127]

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Matthew's Parables and Roman Politics: The Imperial Setting of Matthew's Narrative with Special Reference to His Parables

J. Andrew Overman
Macalester College

A somewhat neglected aspect of the study of formative Judaism and Christianity, and Matthew in particular, has been the possible role and impact of Roman imperial realities on Second Temple texts. Much of what we now consider Judaism and Christianity were shaped within a Roman colonial context. I have been interested in the extent to which that reality gave shape to these movements and their texts. In this paper I will briefly sketch the degree to which Galilee and Judea were ensconced within this early Roman imperial reality. Then I will discuss two Matthean parables which I believe were informed by, and must be interpreted in light of, this broader imperial political context.

We are all aware that sometimes this broader political context, what I will refer to as the Roman imperial reality, does not *seem* to impact certain texts. The Romans are hardly or never mentioned in many texts from this period. Not every text should be nor need be viewed as a commentary on the political realities of the early Roman period. Yet some texts do explicitly engage issues involving or surrounding Roman power and politics and that signals to us this reality in the world of these texts. Parts of the Gospels, and certain aspects of Matthew's narrative in particular, are examples of texts which reflect the shadow and influence of the Roman imperial system in participant's lives and in local politics. Let me add, however, a caveat about Second Temple texts which do not explicitly engage Romans or Roman politics and power.

There is much we do not know or understand about the lives of the people behind Second Temple texts and issues which appeared as paramount to them. But, we also know some things about the authors' world that they may not have known. The participants in Josephus' narratives had not read Dio, or Tacitus, Suetonius or Matthew. We can understand some events and developments in their world in certain respects better than they. We certainly have a different and broader perspective on these events. So, the caveat would be that there are events in the lives of people in Roman Palestine that the participants may not see as related to Roman power. We, however, with a variety of sources and hindsight can see the events as important elements in and reactions to Roman political reality.

Let me provide an example of what I mean. Jesus' death in the Gospels has a broader political framework into which this event could easily be placed. That

framework is the rather pervasive context of resistance, social disruption and banditry, and revolt which characterized Roman Palestine in this period. This reality is hardly touched upon in the Gospels or conspicuously absent. But after reading Josephus and a smattering of other sources Jesus' death, the charge, being numbered with *LESTAE*, and the perception of the Jesus movement(s) as seditious on the part of the political authorities seems understandable and usual.

The Gospels portray this as an almost singular event. Yet there is a broader political framework to Jesus' death to which the writers barely allude. Are the writers aware of this broader picture? Do we know more than they about the prevailing political context into which Jesus' death may be placed, or is this part of the more or less taken for granted knowledge of their audience and does not warrant reiteration? The near absence of explicit engagement with Romans and Roman politics does not always mean this reality does not inform the text. Matthew may be unaware of the history and context Josephus supplies. He may not know all about the broader tensions and issues that would have contributed to this event. What *may have seemed* like a singular event for him—or some other writer with some other event in mind (e.g. Qumran and their falling out with the "wicked Priests" in Jerusalem)—is also, at the same time, an instance in a larger political picture. I am interested here in the intersection between the instant (as depicted in the text) and the larger political period and the developments associated with it. How does the larger political reality influence the Gospel stories? Are the authors aware of such influence? Do they offer a commentary, either passing or veiled, on these broader political issues and realities? More specifically, how did the Roman imperial reality influence Matthew? How might an awareness of that reality influence our interpretation of his story?

Judea and Galilee within the Roman Imperial Setting

By the first century BCE at least Rome had arrived at the conviction that the world was their's to run and to rule; and indeed it was. The empire extended from the Euphrates to Gibraltar. The gods had destined Rome to rule lesser nations and the rulers and elite of the early empire seem to have taken that charge with great seriousness. "For these people I have set no limits, world or time, but make the gift of empire without end, Lords of the world, the toga bearing Romans" (Virgil, *Aen.* I). By the end of the first century CE *Rhetorica ad Herennium* boasts Rome's mandate is "to rule the entire earth" (IV.13).

It was the preference of Rome to rule indirectly through local elites (Alcock 1989). As Strabo said, "Asia was administered through the agency of kings. When the line failed, or they would revolt, then they were subject to the Romans, or rulers appointed by them." It was the long standing policy of Rome to employ kings as instruments of servitude (Tacitus *Ag.* 14.1). Judea is very much a player in this empire wide political structure. The imperial structure of various levels of administrators from the Emperor to local elites with governors and other appointed Roman officials in between can be characterized as a rather intricate web of relationships involving expectations, benevolences, embassies, requests and responses (Mitchell 1987).

That the events and decisions in Judea were for the most part bound up with larger Roman political developments and decisions is clear in several ways. The

frequency of *embassies* from Palestine during the early Roman period is a sure sign of that regions involvement in the broader political drama. In *War* and *Antiquities* both the population of Judea is seen repeatedly appealing to the Emperor in person for decisions in their affairs (Millar 1992: viii). A contingent from Gadara petitioned Augustus to be released from Herod's kingdom and incorporated into Syria (*Ant.* 15.354ff.). When they determined they were not going to prevail with Augustus they committed suicide. *Antiquities* 17.298ff. describes the embassy of Archelaus to Augustus following Herod's death. The Governor Varus in Syria supports Archelaus and sends along Nicolaus of Damascus to argue on Archelaus' behalf. (Nicholas had previously argued successfully before the Emperor for Herod on behalf of Jews in Asia Minor). In a separate but not unrelated matter Jews and Samaritans bring charges against Archelaus which ultimately results in his exile to Vienna. Following this the territory belonging to Archelaus was added to Syria (*Ant.* 17.355); unfortunately, too late for the before mentioned group from Gadara. Josephus himself boasts success with Nero in Rome while Felix was procurator of Judea. He made friends with a favorite actor of Nero's and used this interest, together with Poppaea's support, to secure the release of some imprisoned Priests (*Life* 13–16).

Such petitions need not always take place in Rome. A group of Samaritans petitioned the governor Vitellius, "not as rebels against Rome (*apostasei ton Romaion*) but as refugees from the persecution of Pilate" (*Ant.* 18.88ff.). Vitellius, who was in charge of the Tiberius' eastern policy (Tacitus *Ann.* 6.32), dispatched Marcella his friend to take charge of the administration of Judea and sent Pilate packing back to Rome. It is important to recall that at the outset of the first revolt the chief priests, leading Pharisees and other powerful people (*dunatoi*) of the city (*J.W.* II.411), after failing to prevail upon revolutionaries to allow for sacrifice by foreigners in the Jerusalem sanctuary, sent envoys to Florus and to Agrippa asking them both to come up to the city with their troops to crush the revolt (*J.W.* II.419).

The legends involving both Josephus and Yohan ben Zakkai petitioning Vespasian during the first revolt reflect again, in highly stylized and redacted fashion, some form of embassy where certain elites seek the help and support of the ruler. Josephus appears essentially to save his own skin and serves as a sort of seer and royal historian (*J.W.*3.400), and Yohan is depicted as seeking Vespasian's favor in order to save Yavneh/Jamnia (Jerusalem in *Lam.Rab.*) so that he might found a school there. (Saldarini 1975). This is a typical example of the passive model of petition and response which guided so many of the political developments and decisions in the Roman imperial structure (Millar 1992). The examples of Josephus and even more Yohan ben Zakkai reflect far more than a passing knowledge of this system, how it worked, and how to work it. This was certainly the case also for many Second Temple texts, including Matthew.

On occasion the masses too, not just elite personae, could have an impact on imperial policy, as in the instance of the Jewish masses convincing the governor Petronius to prevail upon Caligula to remove his orders to put up his image in Jerusalem (*Ant.* 18.270ff.). Also, and interestingly, there were many envoys to Herod in celebration of his completion of the building of Caesarea Maritima (*Ant.* 16.136ff.).

Embassy, homage, and petition was the stuff of the Roman imperial system. It was a passive system built on the honor of the ruler and the dependence of the subjects—even local client lords; a model of petition and response. With regard to Matthew's Gospel, if there were three *magoi* that came from the east, and if they really were visiting someone they believed to be a king, as Matthew reports, then the gold, frankincense and myrrh had a price. Nothing is for free in this system of honor, request, and response. Unless this was an embassy like no other in the Greek east, the three men wanted something. This Matthean vignette from the birth narrative is significant, among other things, for the way in which it exposes Matthew's familiarity with this fundamental Roman imperial convention.

The familiar story of the sons of three Parthian rulers recorded in several classical sources is an instructive example. These three sons whom Pliny calls "Magoi" came with Tiridates the newly crowned king of Armenia to pay homage to Nero. In Dio this group, incidentally, also takes leave of Nero "by another way" (Dio 63.7; Davies and Allison 1988:252; cf. Suetonius, *Nero* 13). But in the year 66 Tiridates returned to the east with permission from Nero to rebuild the city of Artaxata which had been destroyed in 58. He brought back money and artisans provided by the Emperor. The rebuilt city was named *NERONIA*. His and the Magoi's journey to the king had been worthwhile (Mitchell 1987:361)

While having interesting implications for the relationship between Matthew's story and Roman politics, the Magoi's visit to Nero and their securing of a rebuilt city reminds us of the role of buildings and cities in this imperial system. A somewhat less explicit but no less dramatic symbol that Judea and Galilee were deeply insinuated into the imperial political system are the prominent building projects in this region during the first and early second centuries. There are many ramifications to these projects under Herod, Herod Antipas, and later Hadrian (War 1.422). But, they also clearly announced Judean and Galilean participation in a pattern involving the expectation of public building, royal benefaction, and civic appreciation at all political levels. The Herodes understood this system and these expectations well. The building projects of the early Roman period celebrate Judea and Galilee's membership and participation in the imperial game of *largesse* and ingratiation (Overman 1988). Life in Judea and Galilee in the first century was profoundly influenced by the Roman imperial system. Texts like Matthew's Gospel are products, and are indebted to, that system and reality.

There were many actions and reactions these building projects provoked. There was doubtless a wide range of responses to the grand symbols of the cities and other benefactions which signalled the rather deep Judean and Galilean involvement in the larger Roman political arena. An oft quoted passage from B.Shabbat 33b captures the range of reactions and the ambivalence such prominent symbols of political power and brinkmanship provoked.

> Rabbi Judah said, "Look, how fine are the works of these people! They have made streets, they have made bridges, they have erected baths." Rabbi Jose sat silent. Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai said, "All that they have made, they have made for themselves; they have built market-places to put harlots in, baths to rejuvenate themselves, and bridges to levy tolls for them."

Here Rabbi Judah, a son of proselytes the passage tells us, praises the Roman works encountered on his walk. Rabbi Jose refuses to take the bait, while Rabbi Simeon gives expression to at least one interpretation of these public benefactions. How widespread was, for shorthand, Judah's view, Simeon's, and how should we interpret Jose's silence? Much work remains to be done on how, and the various ways in which, the material statements (as opposed to textual) were interpreted. While the material statements were far more prominent, mundane, and available to all, very little work has been done on who would have interpreted these statements and in which ways (Zanker 1988). These buildings and benefactions were a bold statement, regardless of how one viewed the statement, about the engagement of Galilee and Judea in the Roman political system. Indeed, recent archaeology suggests this region of the Greek east excelled at this aspect of the imperial system (Overman 1993).

Coins from Judea and Galilee in this period also underscore the significant or deep involvement of this realm within the imperial political system. Both Alexander Jannaeus and Herod's coins used the title "King of the Jews" (Meshorer 1985; *Ant.* 14.36; 16.311). As Horsley points out these "kings" ruled through the grace of Rome. Indeed, Herod conquered the Jews and claimed the title in 37 BCE with the aid of Rome (Horsley 1989:40; *War* 1.285; *Ant.* 14.381). The coins of Agrippa I declared him both "the Great King" and "friend of Caesar," and Agrippa II pronounced Titus "Autocrator" and pictured Nike holding a wreath (Meshorer 1983:67,140). From the perspective of Rome and the Emperors themselves come the Flavian *Judea capta* coins (Edwards 1992), and Nerva's *fisci Judaici calumnia sublata* coins where Nerva removed the *calumnia* in 96 apparently in response to Domitian (Goodman 1989). These imperial coins continue to demonstrate the thorough insinuation of Judea and Galilee into the on-going imperial system and Roman political power. These Flavian coins, particularly when combined with the other material statements about Flavian dominance over Judea highlighted especially in the arch of Titus, stress the importance of Judea, if only for propaganda purposes, in the Roman imperial system and from the point of view of those in power. Like Domitian's *Germania Capta* coins but more so, the *Judea Capta* coins punctuated what Tacitus later claimed. That not just Britannia and Germany, but Judea, the east, and "the rest of the world was recovered by Vespasian" (*Agricola* I.17).

Coins continued to be a major form of expression about the relationship between a city, its *Demos*, and Rome. The messages and promises the coins carried could be a source of pride locally, if not exaggeration (Strobel 1991). Subsequent numismatic evidence shows that relations, treaties, and interaction between Galilee/Judea, and Rome continued well into the rabbinic period. These statements highlight the support of Rome, and the putative prominence a city or region enjoys through that relationship and the *largesse* this insured (Meshorer 1979; Levine 1979).

Matthew's Parables and Roman Politics

That Matthew is aware and part of this imperial system and structure is made evident in a number of places throughout his narrative. By announcing Jesus' birth "in the days of Herod the King" (2.1), Matthew makes plain the larger

political picture into which his story of Jesus must be placed. Even a cursory reading of chapter two reveals the competition and destruction that results between two rival kings. And as with most royal conflicts geography is crucial. Names of places and land become a focus in chapter two. Places, boundaries, and regions are as much the focus as the events themselves (Stendahl 1983).

We have seen that the visit of the Magi is in keeping with 'how business was done' in the empire. The Magoi's visit highlights the arrival of the one *born* a king (perhaps a legitimate hereditary king, or the revival of the "line which had died out," as Strabo put it), and their visit sets off the contention and rivalry between Jesus and the powers which dogs him throughout the story. Matthew's mention of Archelaus and Joseph being warned in a dream (2:22) to go to Galilee is further indication of Matthew's awareness of the imperial political context into which the story must be placed and read. It is particularly ironic that Joseph should be warned in a dream to avoid Archelaus when about this time Archelaus may well have been having a dream of his own, interpreted by an Essene named Simon, which marked the end of Archelaus' reign (*Ant.* 17.345).

Where the broader political context of Roman power and its impact on Matthew is concerned one has to look at the birth and passion narratives together. There are too many points of contact between these two parts of the story. As most commentators have remarked, the birth is suggestive of or foreshadows the death (Meier 1979:52). And here again we have the other part of the Gospel which explicitly engages the political structure and reality, and names local and Roman officials. It is the other place where the provocative title and claim to rule appears, "King of the Jews," (27:11, 29, 37), and the coalition of chief priests and scribes of the people who conspire with Herod in 2:4 appear again in the passion in 26:5, 57 (along with Caiaphas), 59 and 27:1, 41, 62 (with Pharisees also). The chief priests and elders pay off the guards in the resurrection scene and, significantly for our purposes, promise to protect the guards through their access to and influence with the Governor (28:11–14).

There are some important verbal connections between the birth and the passion in Matthew. The verb "to assemble" (*synagein*) is frequent also in the passion (27:17,27,62), along also with the term *sumboulion* (to take council; 12:14; 28:11). To be deceived (*enepaixthe*—from *empaizo = to mock or 'toy with'*) occurs at 2:16 but also 27:29,31,34, and to destroy (*apolesai*) in 2:13 suggests 27:20 as well as 12:14 where the Pharisees take council as to how they might "destroy him." There is even a dream in the passion (27:19) to parallel the significant dreams in the birth narrative. There are no other dreams in Matthew outside the birth and death narratives. And there are cosmic or seismic signs at both the birth and the death.

Matthew has connected the imperial political reality explicitly with the start and conclusion of the story. Roman power and the political realities that posits locally serve as bookends to his Gospel. Roman power and its effects locally cast a shadow over the book. Yet commentaries on Matthew virtually make no mention of this reality and abiding setting for the Gospel. After reading the birth and seeing the connections therein with the death, the events, relationships, and exchanges that occur *in-between* take on a different hue and significance.

The political power structure which informs Matthew's world involves first the one who must answer to Rome and to the Emperor, or perhaps an official in

Syria in charge of the east for the Emperor. In the birth we take this to be Herod, and at the death we take this to be the Governor. But we know from Strabo, Tacitus, Josephus, and Matthew that the Romans encouraged a system which incorporated also other local (perhaps lesser) elites. These we see in the coalition of chief priests and scribes and/or elders of the people. These people are in and around Jerusalem. They clearly have, and on one occasion boast having, influence with the powerful Roman officials. Matthew would have us believe that in conjunction with this group, or perhaps in their employ, are the favorite Matthean antagonists, the Pharisees. They begin to seek council from others as to how they might get Jesus in chapter 12, and they appear again at 27:62 in a coalition reminiscent of *Jewish War* II.411 before Pilate with the chief priests to tell him what Jesus had said about rising after three days. It is here that they secure soldiers to guard the tomb. The Pharisees emerge as a group vying for, and obtaining influence locally in this colonial political structure.

One of the things we have learned about imperial contexts is that the colonial powers tend to divide the indigenous population. The abiding political reality of Roman rule before and after 70 has set the Matthean group against another, roughly analogous group. On a level down the ladder a couple of rungs from the officials in the birth and death scenes, there was a struggle for voice and influence. Matthew reflects this and is vying for his group's place within the broader Roman imperial power structure. Matthew claims those with whom his group now competes were in some way involved with those responsible for the destruction of the temple, the death of Jesus, and in some vague manner, every significant death in Israel's history (23:29–36). Herein we see Matthew, unwittingly or not, participating in the Roman political system as it manifested itself in the Greek east.

I suggest that at least two important parables in Matthew address the imperial setting, and client relationships which existed in Galiee-Judea in the early Roman period. Does the context we have laid out provoke a different reading of these parables?

In 21:33–46 Matthew takes over a synoptic parable about corrupt and wicked land tenants (Mk.12:1–12 // Lk.20:9–19). In this story a householder (*oikodespotes*) planted a vineyard, built a fence (*phragmos*) around it, put in a wine press, built a tower, let it out to tenants, and went into another country. This parable which Matthew has taken over from Mark and modified captures accurately the economic and political realities of life in an imperial context like Roman Palestine.

The vineyard seems to be Israel. There is now a foreign or absentee owner or occupier of the land who has hired clients to keep the land profitable. The owner has engaged in some building; a fence, a tower for protection and scouting the land and trade routes, and a wine press for additional produce. The client system requires the tenants to pay their fruits (*karpous*) to the one who has taken control of the land. This is very similar to the situation in the land of Israel in the days of Jesus and Matthew. In the Roman imperial system things tended to run smoothly if the local population and those working the land provided payment and the fruits of their labors on time to their Roman lords.

Matthew has changed the man (*anthropos*) of Mk.12:1 and Lk.20:9 to a householder (*oikodespotes*). This term denotes a wealthier, more powerful person

who has servants, owns land, and is almost certainly engaged in trade. It is a term Matthew employs several times when the other Gospel writers do not (10:25; 13:27, 52; 20:1; 21:33). The system, structure, and industry of the household is something with which Matthew is familiar and tends to speak about in positive terms (Crosby 1988). Matthew's congregation of both good and bad is described as a household in 13:27. The protagonist of chapter thirteen, the 'scribe trained for the kingdom of heaven,' is like an *oikodespotes* who brings out of his treasure what is old and what is new (13:52). Jesus himself is called a householder in 10:25.

In 21:34 the *oikodespotes* sends his servant to collect what is due the householder. This is, of course, how the economic system works in a colonial setting and, like it or not, this collection would have been no surprise to anyone, particularly the tenants working the land for the lord. What is unusual in this parable is the response of the tenants. When the owner's servants arrive the tenants seize the servants, beat one, kill another, and stone yet another (21:35). According to the parable the absentee landlord sent a second and larger delegation of servants (*doulous*), and the result was the same. Finally the lord sent his son saying, "they will respect my son" (21:37). But the tenants killed the son and cast him out of the vineyard in the vain hope they might gain the son's inheritance (21:38).

Matthew is addressing two important issues at once in this parable. First is the only thinly veiled subject of the death of Jesus. God the householder has sent servants to those working the vineyard for God and they, like John the Baptist, have not been heard. Finally, when the householder sends his own son, he is treated in the same or even worse manner. The householder's son was killed by wicked people in Israel who were not able to respect and obey the just householder. It was this that ultimately lead to the death of Jesus.

The second related issue of theodicy which Matthew addresses here is the destruction that has happened to Israel in Matthew's day. How and why was Jerusalem destroyed, and who is responsible for this destruction? In this parable the two crucial issues of theodicy which shaped so much early Christian writing are in evidence. They are, how and why was Jesus killed? And, why was Jerusalem and the temple destroyed roughly forty years later? Responses to these two, not unrelated questions shaped a great deal of the writing and thinking of the early followers of Jesus.

Matthew combines these two issues in this parable of the wicked tenants. The wicked tenants have failed to deal responsibly with the householder, and have even killed his son (= Jesus). The tenants failed to provide what the owner had coming. They refused to pay their tribute, or fruits. In 21:40ff. Matthew writes, "What will the owner do to these tenants? He will put those wretches to a miserable death and let out the vineyard to other tenants who will give him the fruits at the right time" (*tous kairos auton*). In 21:42 Matthew, like Mark and Luke, cites Ps. 118:22–23; "The stone which the builders rejected has become the head of the corner. This is the Lord's doing and it is marvelous in our eyes." Matthew, apart from Mark and Luke, concludes with this distinctive passage; "Therefore I tell you that the kingdom of God will be taken away from you and given to a people (*ethne*) producing fruit" (21:43). These tenants, because they have acted recklessly, brought destruction upon them and have lost their chance to serve as

tenants of the land for the owner. The land, and the role of tenant, will be given to those who do 'play by the rules', and pay their fruits on time.

There is little chance of missing the fact that Matt.21:43 has become a Matthean *crux interpretum* recently. Much can be determined about one's read of Matthew from their interpretation of this single verse. Those who see Matthew as a document which details the spilt between early *Christianity* and early *Judaism*, or those who see early Christianity as a gentile or non-Jewish movement from almost the start seize upon this passage and employ a certain interpretation of it. Earlier in the century Jeremias claimed that the parable of the tenants, for which 21:43 is the conclusion, explains the ruin of Israel and the transfer of the vineyard (Israel), to the gentile church. In commenting on this and the related Wedding parable in 22:1–10 J. Meier (1980) offers a similar interpretation of this passage and the meaning of the parable. Stanton claims that this verse is the clearest indication in the Gospel that "the Matthean community saw itself as a separate entity overagainst Judaism." Kingsbury, in stronger language, says that in this and the Wedding parable, "God withdraws his rule from Israel and Israel ceases to be his chosen people (1975:156). J. Lambrecht writes that in this parable we see that another nation has taken Israel's place; the Church has taken Israel's place. Gundry, in a different approach, does not see this passage or this parable containing the categorical denunciation of Israel that so many other Matthean interpreters seem to perceive. "The church does not take the place of Israel as a whole, but the Jewish leaders." Gundry sees believing Jews and gentiles "melting together" in Matthew's community (1994:430).

I would like to suggest Matthean interpreters and sympathizers collectively take some time to tackle this issue and how we go at such an important passage. One way to begin would be a thorough discussion and defense of various views of "the Place of Israel" in Matthew's thought and story. The language about the fate and future of Israel from most Matthean interpreters this century is very strong, and loaded. If we understand 21:43 the way most of the above interpreters have, then it looks as though Melito of Sardis and other related 2nd–4th century *Adversus Ioudaios* preachers read Matthew correctly. That is, Israel is a rejected race and people, and the church has superseded her. Indeed, according to this view, Israel is negated. I do not believe this interpretation of Matthew, and 21:43 in particular is correct. If it is, however, then we need to offer a statement with respect to Matthew's position and not just reiterate it. If it can be argued reasonably that this is not Matthew's view, then we should ask why it remains so plausible and popular a view.

Key to interpreting 21:43 is the term *Ethnos/Ethne.* I have recently discussed at some length my translation of this term and my interpretation of 21:43 (Overman 1995). I have settled on "people" as my rendering of this crucial term. There is absolutely no need to read into this term, as some do, the notion of a "new" group or people. Several interpreters will even, unwittingly I think, supply the term "new" into 21:43. This is a theological notion not found in the text. There is no third race or people implied in this passage. In fact, in 21:45, in support of Gundry's reading, Matthew tells us that "when the chief priests and the Pharisees heard his parables, they perceived that he was speaking about them." These local leaders and clients realized Jesus was taking aim at them. Matthew lets the reader know, explicitly, that he is taking issue with the local

lords and leaders. He is contesting the local manifestation of the Roman imperial system. A greater awareness of this broader political context would help in recognizing this Matthean message to his audience. The kingdom, then, will be taken away from one group (the Matthean antagonists), and given to another group or people who "produce fruit." But not just "produce fruit," 21:41 is very important in terms of the colonial context Matthew is addressing; those who receive the kingdom pay their fruits *on time.* Earlier false leaders and "tenants" failed to do this. The people receiving the kingdom do not and will not make this mistake.

Wicked leaders (= tenants) failed to see the significance of Jesus and his message. In Matthew's day, similar wicked leaders have brought destruction upon Israel and her people. This point is punctuated by the Matthean addition to this story which says, "When the chief Priests and the Pharisees heard his parables, they perceived that he was speaking about them and they tried to arrest him but feared the crowd" (21:46). Matthew makes explicit that these parables are about the leadership in Israel. They killed Jesus, and they were poor tenants who brought the wrath of the land owner upon all of Jerusalem.

There is a clear political sub-text to this polyvalent parable. Indeed, with Matthew and many of his contemporaries politics and theology coalesce. Those people who rejected Jesus and John the Baptist are also related to those people who tried to throw off the imperial system in Roman Palestine. The wicked tenants are people who think they can play fast and loose with the imperial, client-lord system. That attitude is contrary to God's will according to the author, and will bring certain destruction upon Israel. Only poor and corrupt leadership could have cultivated such hubris and brought about the destruction which occurred in Israel as a result of the first revolt against Rome. Consequently God will give the kingdom to those tenants who work the land and pay their fruits to the lords in a timely fashion.

This theme is emphasized again in the next parable of The Great Supper (22:1–14). In Matthew's version a king gave a marriage feast for his son. In Lk.14:16 this is not a marriage feast, but a banquet, and there is no mention of the man's son. Again, Matthew has used this parable to work out the theological questions which surround Jesus, his ministry, and his death. In this parable many people are invited to the marriage feast but find reasons not to come. Again, only in Matthew, the king's servants who invite the people are seized, treated shamefully, and killed (22:6). Luke's version (14:15–24) is missing this violence against the servants and the obvious resistance to this person of considerable means. Instead of the invited guests, other servants are told to invite all those they can find, "both good and bad to the wedding feast (22:10).

Matthew makes the violence against the king's servants the provocation for the king's anger. In his anger the king orders his troops to destroy those murderers and burn their city (21:7). This important passage is only in Matthew. It is a thinly veiled reference to the first revolt against Rome, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the anger of the foreign rulers. Matthew connects the revolt, the destruction of Jerusalem and the wickedness of local leaders with the death of Jesus. For him these events are connected. The same reckless tenants who killed Jesus are related to those leaders who opposed the foreign king, brought about Jerusalem's destruction, and now oppose Matthean Judaism.

Matthew's theology and the political context of his day coalesce. The killing of Jesus and the rejection of his message and, no doubt, the continued rejection of Matthew's message is connected to the upheaval of 66–70 and its aftermath. For Matthew the first revolt and destruction of Jerusalem are directly related to the rejection and death of Jesus. In some manner the same group(s) are responsible for both. Various leadership groups in Israel did not recognize what was happening in their midst, ultimately became 'wicked tenants', and provoked the wrath of the foreign king. This resulted in the destruction of their city. In Matthew's view his community represents those who are now the true leaders. They are responsible, they have heard the message of John and Jesus, they understand Israel's laws and traditions, and they now should have the kingdom passed to them. They can be the tenants who work with the king and can pay their fruits on time. These two parables are not about God rejecting Israel. This is about the people in Israel who have brought distress and destruction upon the kingdom. For Matthew the rejection of Jesus by certain notables in Israel is related to the destruction of the kingdom by the Romans a generation or so later. It is the same sort of person and leader, (Matthew claims they are even relatives of earlier Israelite murders and scoundrels; cf. 23:30), who killed Jesus who provoked Rome's wrath. The same arrogance and self-service lead to both profound and related events.

Somewhat like his contemporary Josephus, Matthew believes the foreign king and the client system is a given. He may even believe that these foreign rulers have been chosen by God, as Josephus claims in many places (cf. *B.J.* 3.399ff.) What is at stake now is who is chosen to work within this imperial structure. Who are God's leaders in Israel now who will lead the people and work with the king or absentee lord? That is what these parables are about; particularly our *crux interpretum* 21:43. Martin Goodman has pointed out recently that there was a failure of the ruling class of Judea which finally lead to the first revolt against Rome. Goodman notes that the sole traditional institution which the Romans allowed to remain in Judea after 6 CE was the High Priesthood. According to Josephus the High Priest was the representative (*prostatēs*) of the nation (*Ant.* 20.251). They represented the nation to the Romans as well as to God. It would be Matthew's contention that representative leaders like these failed. First, they were largely responsible for Jesus' death. More, they did not hear or understand the God of Israel and did not work well with the king or foreign lord. This resulted in the pain, destruction, and chaos of the first revolt. The destruction of Jerusalem was due, at least in part in Matthew's view, to the irresponsible leaders who did not understand the will of God. This is a conviction Matthew also shares with, among others, Josephus. Poor leaders lead to Jerusalem's destruction (cf. *Ant.* 17.251;18.55). The connection between the death of Jesus and the destruction of Jerusalem in Matthew's thinking may also be seen in 27:25, with the additional phrase "...and our children," taken by some to be a reference to the destruction of Jerusalem a generation or so after Jesus' death (Saldarini 1994). It is noteworthy that the chief priests in Jerusalem are counted with the Pharisees as the leaders who perceive Jesus told these parables "about them" and tried unsuccessfully to arrest Jesus (21:45–46). This solidifies the connection between Jerusalem-temple authorities and the Matthean opponents the "Pharisees."

Matthew believes his community constitutes a remedy to this malaise in Palestine. They are the true teachers and leaders in his setting. He believes his are the people to whom the kingdom will be given. In contrast the current leadership, he maintains, they can work with the post 70 realities, pay their fruits to the lords, and be true to Israel's heritage and identity. It must be remembered that Matthew's is not the only group laying claim this role. It is this leadership vacuum in the post 70 period which gave rise to the competition and contention between potential leadership groups; a competition and contention which informs so much of Matthew's church and shapes so much of his Gospel.

Matthew does not take issue with the larger political imperial system. He is a player and a voice in the client system operating on a far more local level. His contention is with the local leadership who, by his own admission (23:1), now possess authority in his setting. They are just as irresponsible and misleading as those who put Jesus to death and brought the destruction of Jerusalem upon the nation. Matthew understands the Roman imperial system alright, and Roman power, I would say. One point he struggles to make, starting with the birth narrative, is that Judea has suffered, not from Roman rule, but from corrupt local client lords and officials. These people were bad tenants. They provoked the king and brought ruin upon us. This all started when they determined not to listen to Jesus and killed him instead. Matthew's solution is to give the kingdom over to those "who produce fruit," a Mattheanism for the righteous in his group. If local leaders had followed the proper king at the outset and not been in league with the false and destructive officials, all this would not have occurred. There is still a solution in Matthew's mind. The events of the last generation confirm the misguided path of the local leadership. His proposal is to let his group become the tenant farmers, the servants through whom the king acts. They will be a people who pay their fruits on time, and will not provoke the anger of the king and his armies and bring destruction upon their land.

Again, the Roman imperial system succeeded in turning local groups against one another. Does Matthew know that this could be a contributing factor to his strong dislike for whoever the Pharisees are? It seems not. Instead, he is playing the game, and seems to apprehend "how business is done." From the birth to the death of Jesus poor local leaders have been forces of instability, corruption, and ultimately, destruction. All that is needed for stability to return is the institution of proper, responsible, and true local authorities to exercise the rule of the king. Those ideal authorities according to the author, it would seem, are the Matthean community.

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Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology in an Early Essene Writing*

Torleif Elgvin
Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology

Cave 4 has greatly enhanced our knowledge of the intertestamental sapiential tradition. The largest body of material is found in Sapiential Work A, a composition preserved in seven fragmentary copies, one from Cave 1 (1Q26) and six from Cave 4 (4Q415,416,417,418a,418b,423).[1] Six copies display early Herodian script (30–1 BC), while one (4Q423) represents a late Herodian hand (1–50 AD). The large number of copies and the fact that this book was copied until a late stage in the history of the Qumran settlement show that it was highly regarded within the Essene Community. Furthermore, probably only copies of the most important books were hidden in Cave 1.[2] Two of the copies (4Q415 and 4Q416) were rolled an unusual way, with the beginning on the inside of the scroll, when they were deposited the last time, a fact which probably indicates that these scrolls were in active reading use by 68 AD.[3]

In spite of the fragmentary character of the material the location of most of the major fragments in the original scrolls has been reconstructed. The length of the book can also be calculated.[4] The original 4Q417 scroll contained between 17 and 20 columns, each of *c.*28 lines of 50-60 letter spaces. The length of this scroll was *c.*260 cm (±30 cm). The 4Q416 scroll contained between 21 and 25 (somewhat smaller) columns and was slightly longer. By way of comparison, the eleven columns of the Rule of Discipline measure 190 cm (this scroll had at least 9 more columns; it also contained the Messianic Rule and the fragmentarily preserved Benedictions).

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1 The Hebrew text of the various fragments is available in B. Z. Wacholder, M. G. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls. The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four. Fascicle Two* (Washington: Biblical Archeological Society, 1992).

2 H. Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus* (Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder, 4th ed. 1994) 89-90.

3 T. Elgvin, "The Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A," forthcoming in *RQ* 16/4 (1995).

4 Ibid.

Genre, literary characteristics

Sap. Work A is a catechism of some sort, which provides instruction for man's relation to God and his fellow man.[5] Throughout the book the wise and understanding individual is addressed in 2nd person singular (occasionally he is described in the 3rd person singular). The 2nd person plural also occurs, and one of the eschatological discourses, 4Q418 69, addresses both the ungodly and the faithful in 2nd person plural.

Large parts of the book consist of wisdom sayings, often in proverbial form, which provide practical admonition for life in family and society through a biblically based *Schöpfungsethik*:[6] relation to parents, wife and children, financial matters (loans and surety), working ethics (relations to superiors and subordinates), agricultural matters (seasons and festivals, sanctification of the first-born of the livestock) etc.

A lengthy section with such material, approximately four consecutive columns, is preserved by the overlapping fragments 4Q417 1/4Q416 2 (this section probably covered cols. III-VI in both scrolls). The sentences are often introduced by אל or ואל[7] as well as אם or ואם.[8] The negative clause of result is introduced by פן[9], the positive clause with ואז.[10] 4Q416 V 5-8 (4Q416 2 iii 5-8) provides a good example: two admonition sayings with three subdivisions including a warning, ... פן ... אל ... אם, and another with a positive result clause, ... ואז ... אל ... אם:

> If]someone entrusts you [with some prop]erty, do not stretch out your hand toward it lest you be burned [and] your body be consumed in fire. What you received return to him with joy.
>
> If you declare yourself free from him or from any man you do not know, do not accept riches lest it add to your poverty. If <God> commits <you> to die in your poverty, entrust yourself to Him and do not rebel against Him in your spirit. Then you will rest with the truth, and in

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5 For an introduction to the contents of Sap. Work A, see T. Elgvin, "Admonition Texts from Qumran Cave 4," *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site. Present Realities and Future Prospects* (M. O. Wise, N. Golb, J. J. Collins, D. G. Pardee, eds.), New York 1994, 179-94; D. Harrington, "Wisdom at Qumran," *The Community of the Renewed Covenant. The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. E. Ulrich, J. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) 137-52. The eschatological passages of Sap. Work A are presented in T. Elgvin, "Early Essene Eschatology: Judgement and Salvation according to Sapiential Work A," forthcoming at E. J. Brill in the Proceedings of the Judaean Desert Scrolls Conference 1995 of Brigham Young University.

6 In its ethics based on the order of creation, Sap. Work A shares a common background with Sirach, Jubilees, 4Q422 (4QParaGenExod), the psalm 4Q381 and 4QDimHam. See T. Elgvin, "Admonition Texts," 186-9.

7 4Q417 1 i 4, 7, 9 (2x), 10, 13, 14, 18, 20, 21, 22 (2x), 25; 4Q416 2 ii 3, 6 (2x), 8 (2x), 9 (2x), 10 (2x), 14 (2x), 15, 16, 17, 18 (3x), 19 (2x), 20, 21; 4Q416 2 iii 5, 6, 8 (2x), 12.

8 4Q417 1 i 17 (2x), 19, 21, 25; 4Q416 2 ii 2, 9, 10, 12; 4Q416 2 iii 3 (reconstructed), 5, 6, 9, 19;.

9 4Q417 1 i 1 (2x), 10, 20; 4Q416 2 ii 3 (reconstructed), 11, 20; 4Q416 2 iii 4, 6.

10 4Q416 2 iii 7, 9.

your death your remembrance will blosso[m for eve]r, and in the end you will inherit joy.

Another characteristic of Sap. Work A is discourses which deal with eschatology and the revelation of God's mysteries to the elect. An eschatological discourse on the coming judgement and the lots of the elect and the ungodly occupies two full columns of the book (4Q416 frg. 4 = last three lines of 4Q416 col. VI, 4Q416 frg. 1 = col. VII, 4Q416 frg. 3 = col. VIII lines 9–15). Another discourse which elaborates on the future judgement of the wicked and salvation of the righteous occupies almost a full column (4Q418 69 4-15). Further, exhortations which deal with the hope of the righteous are interspersed in the middle of the proverbial material. A lengthy discourse on the revelation of God's mysteries is followed by a fragmentarily preserved exhortation to praise the God who provides knowledge (4Q417 frg. 2).

Rhetorical questions are often used as part of the argument, as are imaginary counter-arguments in a debate.[11] In 4Q417 1 i 14-17 is found a *Niedrichkeitsdoxologie*[12] similar to those of the Hodayot: "For before His wrath nobody can stand, and who can be deemed righteous in His judgement? And how can the poor one [stand] without forgiveness?"

4Q418 frg. 81 preserves almost a column of text which stands out among the preserved parts of Sap. Work A with its lofty, poetic language. The main theme is the inheritance of the elect and the remnant community, which are described in different ways. Phrases and sub-themes are frequently repeated.[13]

Collins distinguishes five broad types of sapiential material: (1) wisdom sayings, (2) theological wisdom, (3) nature wisdom, (4) mantic wisdom, (5) higher wisdom through revelation.[14] Among these, types 1, 2 and 5 are represented in Sap. Work A.

Biblical verses are either alluded to or freely integrated in the running text of the admonitions, not introduced with quotation formulas. Such a sectarian characteristic as pesher exegesis is not found in the book.

Sap. Work A is a composite work, often without any logical line between consecutive passages. Possibly a writer close to the early Essene community

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[11] For rhetorical questions see e.g. 4Q417 1 i 11-12, 16-17; 4Q418 69 3-5, 11-14 ; 4Q418 55 5-6, 11-12. Rhetorical questions are a common feature also in the Epistle of Enoch.

[12] A *Niedrichkeitsdoxologie* contrasts man's lowly estate with the might of God. This term was coined by H-W. Kuhn, see *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil. Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran mit einem Anhang über Eschatologie und Gegenwart in der Verkündigung Jesu* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966) 27-29. See also S. Tanzer, *The Sages at Qumran: Wisdom in the Hodayot* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1987) 20-24.

[13] The root קדש is represented in lines 1, 4 (3x), 11, 12 (2x); המשילכה "He gave you authority" in lines 3, 9, 15; separation (מר, בדל) from flesh (רוח בשר, תעבות נפש) in lines 1, 2 (2x); inheritance (נחלה, ירש) in lines 3 (4x), 11, 14; wisdom phrases (שכל, לקח, לב, חכמי, חכמה, בין) in lines 9, 15 (2x), 17 (2x), 18, 19, 20 (2x); the elect community (אנשי רצון, מטעת עולם) in lines 10, 13; the fountain image (מקור) in lines 1 (2x), 12; God's creation and preordination in lines 2, 20. The inheritance of the elect is described with the words כבוד (l. 5); בכור (l. 5); טוב [l. 6 (2x), l. 19]. See below on the relation of this passage to the Solomon tradition.

[14] "Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and Generic Compatibility," *In Search of Wisdom* (L. Perdue, B. B. Scott, W. J. Wiseman, eds.; Louisville: John Knox Press, 1993) 165-85, p. 168.

has adapted various pre-sectarian admonition sayings and compiled it together with material of his own. It would then be this second literary layer which deals with God's mysteries and revelation as well as eschatology. Such a combination of sectarian and non-sectarian wisdom material has a parallel in 4Q420/421 (4QWays of Righteousness): the first part of this work deals with the organisation of the *yaḥad* and inclusion of new members into the community. The second part consists of proverbial sentences about the righteous man, and towards the end of the scroll comes a section dealing with temple issues.[15]

Community

Those passages in Sap. Work A which deal with practical admonition for human life do not reflect the situation of a narrow sectarian community and are rooted in early Israelite wisdom as is the Book of Sirach.[16] Some passages have parallels in The Proverbs of Ahiqar.[17] The admonitions presuppose life in a regular society, although the addressee is related to some kind of community.[18] He has knowledge of the community's interpretation of the Scriptures and God's mysteries and is exhorted to continue his meditation and study. Some of the passages deal with the life of the farmer and his obligations.

Sap. Work A does not display any characteristics of the organisation and structure of the *yaḥad*, which probably was an elite group within the wider Essene movement with higher standards of ritual purity.[19] The work does not

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15 See T. Elgvin, "Wisdom in the *yaḥad*: 4QWays of Righteousness," forthcoming in *RQ* 17 (1996).

16 For a comparison with Sirach, see Harrington, "Wisdom at Qumran." 4Q416 2 iii 16-19 shares a common tradition with Sir 3:1-16 in its interpretation of the fifth commandment. Compare "Honour your father in your poverty and your mother while you walk. For as God is to man so is his father, and as masters (כאדונים) are to a fellow so is his mother, for they are the furnace that conceived you" with Sir 3:7 "He who obeys the Lord, honors his mother, and serves those who bore him like masters (ὡς δεσπόταις)"; כבד איש כבוד אביו with Sir 3:11 כבדם למען כבודכה ... למען חייכה ואורך ימיכה,"a man's honour gives honour to his father" and 3:6 "whoever honours his father will live a long life."

17 Ahiqar saying 43 "Do not take a heavy loan from an evil man. And if you take a loan, give your soul no peace until [you have re]pa[id it"; 4Q417 1 i 21-22 "If men lend you riches when you are in need, do not [slee]p day or night and do not let your soul rest [until] you have paid back to y[our l]ender." Compare also Ahiqar saying 54 "With one who is more exalted than yourself do not pick a quarrel" with 4Q417 1 i 1-5 (see text in part III below) which deals with a dispute with somebody in a superior position. The Proverbs of Ahiqar probably have their origins in north Syria in the 7th and 6th cent. BC, J. M. Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar* (Baltimore, London: John Hopkins University Press, 1983) 19-20.

18 The Epistle of Enoch, although reflecting a specific group, is marked by an openness to outsiders, cf. G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Epistle of Enoch and the Qumran Literature," *JJS* 33 (1982) 333-48, p. 346.

19 See e.g. E. Qimron, "Celibacy in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Two Kinds of Sectarians," *Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21. March 1991* (J. Trebolle Barrera, L. Vegas Montaner, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 287-94; H. Stegemann, "The Qumran Essenes—Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times," *ibid.* 83-166, esp. 155-6.

reflect a hierarchically structured community like the *yaḥad*.[20] Purity matters are not mentioned (4Q418 103 ii 6-9 requires that the farmer in his commerce should not mix yields of different kinds). The members of the community live in an open society where they also deal with outsiders. This context reminds us of Philo's and Josephus' descriptions of the Essenes living around in all towns and villages in Judea.[21] Different from CD there are no references to the history of the community, neither is the community connected to the concept of the renewed covenant. There are no hints to any exilic origin of the community.

The address אביון אתה "you are poor" is often found, as are the words רוש/ראש "poor/poverty" and מחסור "need." While אביון could have the spiritual meaning "humble" as in biblical psalms and sectarian writings, the frequency of רוש/ראש and מחסור is an indication of the social status of the members of the community. Different from the Epistle of Enoch there is no indication of oppression of the poor by wealthy co-Israelites. There is no reference to any persecution of righteous Jews, which probably indicates a time of origin later than the Maccabean uprising. In its eschatology Sap. Work A is apocalyptic, not restorative, which indicates a distance from the Maccabean/Hasmonean establishment.

In contrast to central sectarian writings Sap. Work A does not call upon its readers to understand themselves as set apart within the larger religious community of Israel and as preserving the true values of Israel against the failures of the larger community.[22] "All Israel" is not condemned as ungodly, although the discourses clearly distinguish the just from the unrighteous, both in the present and the hereafter. The elect shall separate himself from the ungodly.[23] While only the addressees are enlightened and have received knowledge of God's mysteries, the text does not state explicitly that all outsiders are unrighteous who have no hope of eschatological salvation.

The idea of the remnant community within the people of Israel is prominent: the community is the true remnant of Israel.[24] The members are the

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20 Cf. Stegemann's comment "Die Qumrangemeinde unterscheidet sich von diesen Chasidim im wesentlichen dadurch, dass sie die Dominanz des 'Laien-Elementes' gebrochen und eine priesterlich-hierarchische Gemeindestruktur eingeführt hat," "Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde für die Erforschung der Apokalyptik," *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (D. Hellholm, ed., Tübingen: Mohr, 1983) 495-530, p. 521.

21 *Quod Omnis* 12:76, *Hypothetica* 11:2, *War* 2:124. I have previously tentatively proposed that the book could be a catechism for members of the wider Essene movement in Judea, "Admonition Texts," 193-4. S. J. Pfann has proposed (oral communication) that the book could be instruction for the enlightened members of the sect who do not need to hear about the basics. Stegemann classifies Sap. Work A as wisdom from the 3rd cent. BC, *Die Essener*, 142-3.

22 4Q418 frg. 81 possibly represents an exception within Sap. Work A in this regard. Cf. C. A. Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (W. H. Propp, B. Halpern, D. N. Freedman, eds.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 167-187, pp. 178-9.

23 4Q418 81 1-2, 4Q423 5 7. Similar admonitions are legion in sectarian literature.

24 See especially 4Q418 81 7-14: "in favour toward all who] love Him and in mercy and kindness toward all who keep His word and ob[serve His commandments] He opened for you insig[ht], gave you authority over His storehouse and determined the accurate

elect ones, those who already enjoy God's pardon and favour, they are אנשי רצון [cf. 1QS VIII 6 בחירי רצון, 1QH^a IV 32-33, XI 9, בני רצונכה/רצונו, 4Q298 (4QcrA Words of Sage to Sons of Dawn) I 3-4 ו]דעים דר[ש]ן א[לה והשיב]ו א[נשי רצו]נו חיים [לדרך], Luke 2:14 ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας]. Similar to the Enochic books Sap. Work A does not ascribe to the remnant community a clearly defined role in history as do later sectarian writings, although the designation "eternal planting" (4Q418 81 13, 4Q423 1-2 7) indicates that the community is the nucleus of the future restored Israel. In sectarian parlance the "planting," a tiny plant which will grow into a large tree which will cover the earth (Isa 60:21, Ezek 31), refers to the group of the elect, now few but destined to rule the world in the future.[25]

Nickelsburg has noted that CD I and 1QS VIII reflect a tradition common to the Apocalypse of Weeks and the Animal Apocalypse. All these texts describe the founding of a community which saw itself as a righteous remnant constituted in the end-time by the reception of divine revelation that pertained to biblical interpretation and an understanding of God's times.[26] Sap. Work A testifies to the same tradition, and may represent a link between these Enoch traditions and the sectarian writings.

The author/redactor seems to be a lay teacher who addresses "the enlightened," the members of his community. His advice is related to the everyday life situations of his readers, to the challenges posed by family life, business matters, finances and job relations. At the same time he is occupied by eschatological issues: the hope of the righteous and his knowledge of the secrets of God shall provide perspective for his everyday situation, and he needs to be reminded of this.[27] Although Sap. Work A is a literary product, the book reflects the experience of a teacher relating to a specific audience. The active use of a wide range of literary traditions points to scribal circles as the milieu of origin.

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ephah [for you] they are with you. It is in your hands to turn aside wrath from the men of <His> favour and appoint[ ] with you. Before you take your portion from His hand, honour His holy ones, and be[fore you] He open[a foun]tain <for> all the ho[ly] ones, all who by His name are called holy o[nes, they will be] for all the eras the splendours of His sprout, as an [ete]rnal planting [ ] will walk all those who will inherit the land, for by [His] name[are they called." The same remnant concept is found in CD. According to P. R. Davies this is the ideology of the pre-Teacher Essene movement, *The Damascus Covenant. An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1983), 53-4, idem. "Eschatology at Qumran," *JBL* 104 (1985) 39-55.

25 1QS VIII 5-6, XI 8, CD I 7, 1QH^a VI 15, VIII 4-26, cf. 1 Enoch 10:16, 84:6, 93:5, 10, Jub 1:16, 36:6. On the imagery of the eternal plant in QL and rabbinic tradition, see J. Licht, "The Plant Eternal and the People of Divine Deliverance" (Hebrew), *Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of E. L. Sukenik* (C. Rabin, Y. Yadin, eds.; Jerusalem: Hekhal ha-Sefer, 1961) 1-27; D. Flusser, "He has planted it [i.e. the Law] as eternal life in our midst" (Hebrew), *Tarbiz* LVIII (1988-89) 147-53; D. Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period. Apochrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, (M. E. Stone, ed.; Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1984) 483-550, p. 539.

26 G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "*1 Enoch* and Qumran Origins: The State of the Question and some Prospects for Answers," *SBLSP* 1986, 34-60, pp. 342-5, 356-8.

27 Such a combination of ethical exhortation with an eschatological dimension is found in a number of writings with apocalyptic motifs, among them T. 12 Patr.

Temple matters or priestly traditions are hardly to be found in the book.[28] An exception is 4Q423 3 3-5, which in a section addressing the farmer seems to provide a liturgical formula for the sanctification of the firstborn to the Lord.[29] Calendrical matters are scarcely mentioned: 4Q423 5 5-6 deal with מועדי הקיץ, the appointed times (festivals?) of the summer. 4Q416 1 7-9 deal with the heavenly luminaries and their appointed times.

Use of Traditions

A wide range of biblical texts and motifs are used by our author, and we will mention some examples. Gen 1-2 are important source texts for the *Schöpfungstheologie* of the admonitions, for man's relation to creation and specifically for his superior role vis-a-vis his wife (4Q416 2 iii-iv, 4Q415 9 7-9). The fate of Adam is contrasted with the glorious lot of the elect (4Q423 frgs. 1-2). The farmer is addressed as איש אדמה, words used about Noah in Gen 9:20. The fifth commandment is interpreted and elaborated in 4Q416 2 iii 16-19 (see above, note 20). Deuteromic warnings not to forget the Creator in days of plentiful crops recur in 4Q423 frg. 4 (=1Q26 frg. 1).[30] 4Q418 81 2-3 and 4Q423 4 3-4 reinterpret God's promise to Aaron that He will be his portion as a promise to the individual elect. 4Q418 81 7-8 provides a free rendering of the promise of the second commandment of Exod 20:6, probably reinterpreted as a promise for the elect only (על כול] אוהבהו ובחסד וברחמים על כול שומרי דברו וק[ימי מצוותיו?). The phrase ביד משה, which refers to what is commanded in the Books of Moses, occurs twice.[31]

Isa 60:21 and 61:3 provide source material for the use of the phrase מטעת עולם "eternal planting" about the remnant community (4Q418 81 13, 4Q423 1-2 7). 4Q417 1 i 10-11 rephrases Isa 61:3 and borrows משחת עולם from Isa 61:7: "Gaze upon the mystery to come, understand the birth-times of salvation and know who will inherit glory and corruption. Will not[garland be given for their

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28 Nickelsburg sees priestly circles connected to the development of the Enochic traditions, "*1 Enoch* and Qumran Origins," 358-9.

29 The passage runs as follows:

3 לא]חוזת ארץ ועל פיהו הרחה כל[רחם

4 לבוא לפני יהוה אלוהיכה] ע[ם ראשית פרי בטנכה ובכור כל [בהמחכה

5 ובאתה לפני יהוה אלוהיכ]ה לאמר וקדשתי כו[ל פתר רחם ליהוה?

"as a po]rtion of land. On His word will bear every [womb to come before the Lord your God ? wit]h the first fruit of your womb and the firstborn of all [your cattle and you shall come before the Lord you]r[God] and say: 'And I sanctify everyone[who opens the womb to the Lord' ?"

Further, priestly material is possibly found in 4Q418 188: קודש] בדברי ישגו פן "lest they err regarding the holy things" (the parallel text in 4Q423 9 reads קודש] בדרכי ישגו פן "lest they err on the ways of holiness").

30 The text runs:

03.] your crops [

04.] when He opened your ear to the mystery to com[e

1. to you. Tak]e care[lest you] get [p]roud from it and[

2. and you will be cursed on a]ll [your] crops [and ban]ned in all your deeds, in [

31 4Q418 184 1, 4Q423 11 2, cf. 1QS I 3, VIII 15, 1QH^{a} XVII 12, 1QM X 6.

ashes] and eternal joy for their sorrow?"[32] The community behind Sap. Work A sees itself as the remnant and nucleus of Israel which represents a fulfilment of the prophesies in Isa 59-61. Similar to 4QpPs^a it draws upon Ps 37, Prov 2:21-22 and passages from Trito-Isaiah for its teaching on the end-time; the ungodly will be annihilated, the pious will inherit the land.[33] In its discourses on the coming judgement and salvation Sap. Work A draws upon various passages from biblical prophets and psalms.[34]

Biblical sapiential material also is used. A paragraph about paying back loans as soon as possible, 4Q417 1 i 21-26, draws upon Prov 6:1-5 (a warning about surety). Phrases from Job 28:20-28 and Isa 40:12 describing how God measured out the universe recur in Sap. Work A: God has established the world and mankind, therefore He will also test and judge them (4Q415 frgs. 9 and 11, 4Q418 frg. 127).[35]

There is no clear reference to or quote from the Book of Daniel, although Danielic phrases and motifs, especially related to wisdom, revelation and the elect, appear in Sap. Work A. The similarities could point either to a closeness in time and milieu or a literary dependence. The occurrence of the phrases למד]ינה ומדינה in a stereotype listing of the objects of God's judgement (4Q416 1 4-5/4Q418 1 1-2) indicates some kind of relation between our text and the Book of Esther: our text knows either Esther or a related tradition.[36]

The sentence "Then you will understand what is bitter for a man and what is sweet for a fellow" (4Q416 2 iii 15) has close parallels in later stoic maxims.[37]

The terminology of Sap. Work A is closely related to The Rule of Discipline, the Damascus Document, the Hodayot and The Book of Mysteries (1Q27, 4Q299/300/301).[38] One phrase known from 1QH X 27-28 also occurs in

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[32] A similar use of this biblical verse is found in 1QH^a XVIII 15. Isaiah chs. 59-61 played an important role for the sectarians, and the same is reflected in Sap. Work A. The sectarians saw themselves as מטעת עולם "the eternal plant" of 60:21, 61:3 (1QS XI 8, 1QH^a VI 15, 4Q418 81 13, 4Q423 2 7). They are the שבי פשע "the penitents" of 59:20 (cf. CD II 5) who long to see "the coming of the redeemer to Zion." They are the ענים "the poor ones" of 61:1 that mourned for Zion and have a glorious future (ענו and אביון are common self-designations of the sectarians, Sap. Work A prefers אביון). Cf. N. Wieder, *The Judean Scrolls and Karaism* (London: East and West Library, 1962) 125-6.

[33] Cf. D. Michel, "Weisheit und Apokalyptik," *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings* (A. S. van der Woude, ed.; Leuven: Peeters, 1993) 413-34.

[34] E.g. Isa 61 – 4Q417 1 i 11-12; Nah 1:6 – 4Q417 1 i 15-16; Ps 77:17 – 4Q416 1 12.

[35] Cf. 1 Enoch 61:1-4 where angels are measuring the righteous.

[36] מדינה ומדינה occurs nine times in Esther, 1:22; 3:12(2x), 14; 4:3; 8:9, 13, 17; 9:28. 4Q550 (4QProto-Esther ar) has demonstrated that stories related to the biblical Esther were known in Qumran, J. T. Milik, "Les modèles araméens du livre d'Esther dans la grotte 4 de Qumrân," *RQ* 15 (1992) 321-406.

[37] Musonius Rufus (on the relation of a king to his people) "a benefactor must know what is good for a man and what is bad," τί μὲν ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώπῳ (frg. 8.60.6-10); further three times on the Stoic position that one must marry; "it is fitting for a man" ἀνθρώπῳ προσηκόντων (frg. 14.92.6-9, 14.94.32.); Dio Chrysostom "on what is fitting for men" περὶ τῶν προσηκόντων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις (Or. 13.12.-13.); 1 Cor 7:1 (probably a Pauline quote from a letter from the Corinthian church) καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικὸς μὴ ἅπτεσθαι.

[38] On sectarian terminology in Sap. Work A, see T. Elgvin, "Admonition Writings," 184-6.

Sap. Work A: לפי דעתם יכבדו איש מרעהו "according to their knowledge they shall be honoured, each one by his neighbour," 4Q418 55 10. Since my tentative conclusion is to date Sap. Work A before the Hodayot, either this hodayah quotes from Sap. Work A, or both depend upon a common tradition.

Apart from early sectarian writings, the books of Enoch seem to be the closest relative of Sap. Work A. Most parallels are found in the Book of Watchers and the Epistle of Enoch. Our work shares with 1 Enoch the themes of the final judgement of the wicked and the glorious hope of the righteous. In both books divine wisdom is given the elect of the remnant community only through revelation. Terminological similarities indicate some kind of dependence between these writings. Both works foresee that the elect shall "inherit the earth" (1 Enoch 5:7, 4Q418 81 14, cf. Matt 5:4) and use the phrase "eternal planting" for the elect community (1 Enoch 10:16, 84:6, 93:5,10, 4Q418 81 13, 4Q423 1-2 7). Both these phrases recur in sectarian writings (CD I 7-8, VIII 14-15; 1QS VIII 5-6, XI 8, $1QH^a$ VI 15, VIII 6,10,20, $4QpPs^a$ II 2-11). The phrase "they shall walk in eternal light" occurs in both compositions.[39] The eschatological understanding of history and its periods, which are among the mysteries of God revealed to the elect, unites Sap. Work A both with 1 Enoch and sectarian literature.[40]

Theological Characteristics

Creation, Anthropology, and Providence

The two eschatological discourses describe and praise God's creation of the universe with the heavenly objects (4Q416 1 7-14, cf. 4Q418 69 9-15). As in 1 Enoch 2 and 72-82 this Lordship of God over the universe functions as a reason for His approaching judgement of evil.

Sap. Work A does not stress the sinfulness of man—including the men of the Community—as do the Hodayot and the hymn in 1QS X-XI; its admonitions seem to express a more optimistic anthropology. Similar to 4Q422 (4QParaGenExod) Sap. Work A uses Gen 1-3 and 8-9 as well as Ps 8 as basic texts of reference for its thinking on man's place in God's creation and his tasks on earth.[41] Man is put above creation: man is God's steward on earth as

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39 1 Enoch 92:4, 4Q418 69 14. In the same line of this passage on the eschatological lot of the elect we find the triad רוב הדר ... כ]בוד ... אור עולם. The same triad is found in the description of the bliss of the righteous in 1QS IV 7-8 וכליל כבוד עם מדת הדר באור עולמים and in $1QH^a$ XII 15 about the lot of the elect הדר כבודכה לאור ע]ולם.

40 See especially 4Q417 1 i 10-12, 4Q416 frg. 1, 4Q417 2 i 12-14, 4Q418 frg. 69, 4Q418 123 ii 2-5. Cf. Dimant's characteristic of Qumran eschatology: "... the sequence of periods is enigmatic and mysterious, and therefore is designated by the term 'the mysteries of God' (רזי אל). Only the knowledge of these mysteries enables a true understanding of the historical process, its direction and its approaching End," "Qumran Sectarian Literature," 536; S. Talmon, "Waiting for the Messiah—The Conceptual Universe of the Qumran Covenanters," *The World of Qumran from Within* (Jerusalem, Leiden: Magnes, Brill, 1989) 273-300, esp. 294-7.

41 4Q422 I 9-10 "He set mankind on ? the ear]th, He set him in charge to eat the fru[it of the soil ... and decreed ?]that he shoul[d n]ot eat from the tree that gives know[ledge of good and evil," *DJD* XIII 421-3, T. Elgvin, "The Genesis Section of 4Q422 (4QParaGen

Adam was in Eden. The phrase המשיל is a key phrase in the interpretation of Gen 1-2 in the 2nd. cent. BC; it describes man's place under God and above creation. The idea of God setting man to rule creation is found both in biblical, pre-sectarian and sectarian texts. Sap. Work A elaborates and blends this motif with other theological themes in a unique way. The addressee is twice addressed with the words אתה אדמה א]ש, "you are a man of the earth" (4Q423 5 5, 4Q423 26 2), an allusion to Noah, Gen 9:20 (on Noah as receiver of divine revelation, see below). Gen 8-9, which describe man and his tasks in the post-diluvian situation, are suitable as reference texts for this kind of *Schöpfungsethik*.

Compared with Sirach, Sap. Work A stresses more God's activity in choosing the righteous and the responsibility of the righteous to act according to his calling.[42] God is more active and involved in creation and human affairs compared to the thinking of Sirach. In this aspect Sap. Work A is possibly closer to the biblical tradition than the more hellenistically influenced Sirach. In the exhortations we meet the consequences of being elected by God and illuminated by his mysteries. The addressee is repeatedly admonished to meditate upon God's mysteries and not loose his inheritance. These admonitions seem to presuppose the possibility that one can loose the status of being elect. The appeal to man's will and his calling cannot reflect an absolute determinism, as often is supposed to be sectarian doctrine. In its anthropology Sap. Work A chooses a *via media* between Sirach's doctrine of the pairs and the dualism of the Two-Spirit Treatise.

Sap. Work A does not reflect the developed philosophical dualism of the Two-Spirit Treatise in 1QS III-IV and the War Scroll. Dualistic concepts, however, do appear (more in the discourses than in the sections with practical admonition, cf. especially 4Q416 frg. 1, 4Q418 frg. 81): God has separated the elect from "the spirit of all flesh" and given him his spiritual inheritance. Hence he shall separate himself from all (or: from everyone) hated by God, 4Q418 81 1-3, 4Q423 5 7 קוד]שים א]ש שכל את בעל אולת ה[בדל מכ]ל, cf. 1QS I. This ethical dualism is reflected in the pairs *truth and evil, wisdom and folly*: when he meditates on the mystery to be, the elect "will know truth and evil, wisdom [and fol]ly," 4Q417 2 i 6-7. The eschatological discourse of 4Q416 frg. 1 discerns "the sons of evil" from "the sons of truth." There comes a day of judgement on all iniquity, and the period of truth shall be completed. God will overcome the evil powers opposing Him. The extant fragments do not mention any demonic prince that rules the spirits of men, an idea we encounter for the first time in Jubilees (Belial, 1:20, Mastema, chs. 48-49) and which recurs in the sectarian writings (cf. 1 QS I 18,23-24, II 19 and the Two-Spirit Treatise, CD V 18, XIX 14, 1QH^a III 28-29, 1QM XIII 4, 11-12, XVIII 1).[43] It is likely that Sap.

Exod)," *DSD* I (1994) 180-96. Cf. G. Vermes, "Genesis 1-3 in Post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic Literature before the Mishnah," *JJS* XLIII (1992) 221-225. The following is discussed more elaborately in T. Elgvin, "Admonition Writings," 186-9.

42 Harrington, "Wisdom at Qumran," 149-51.

43 Cf. Collins, "Was the Dead Sea Sect an Apocalyptic Movement?" 42-3; Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," 493. If מח]לכת רשעה is correctly reconstructed in 4Q418 212 1/4Q416 1 10, we are close to a cosmic dualism with a supernatural pover of evil opposed to God. The Book of Mysteries, which is closely related to Sap. Work A, possibly refers to such powers: "and all the adherents of the mysteries of evil are to be no more" (1Q27 1 i 7).

Work A and the Book of Mysteries exercised considerable influence in the development of sectarian dualism.[44]

Wisdom and Revelation

Righteous conduct is admonished, but "Torah" does not seem to be an important concept for Sap. Work A. Different from the Epistle of Enoch there are no references to any debate about the right interpretation of the Torah. Wisdom is not equalled with Torah, as in Sirach 24 and Bar 3:9-4:4. 4Q417 2 i 14-17 contrasts the Mosaic Torah which was "engraved by God for all iniquity of the sons of perdition" with the heavenly Book of Hagi which is revealed only to the spiritual community.[45]

Wisdom and mystery, however, are essentials. The enlightened reader, to whom the end-time mysteries of God have been revealed, is admonished to continue to reflect on these mysteries and his eschatological hope. The text achieves its persuasiveness by referring to the spiritual inheritance of the elect (through the community he has experienced God's blessings) and to the *raz nihyeh* (the mystery which is coming into being, the unfolding mystery), God's mysterious plan for creation and history, for mankind and redemption of the elect.[46] The author does not present his own instruction as inspired,[47] the *raz nihyeh* and the Book of Hagi, however, have divine origin. The addressee is exhorted to meditate on the *raz nihyeh*, which must be a well-known concept for him. It is not clearly stated whether this meditation also

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44 Davies, "Eschatology at Qumran," 50-52, asserts that cosmic dualism was a secondary development of the sect well after the time of the Teacher. The eschatology of Sap. Work A does not support such a conclusion. On the dualism of Sap. Work A, see ch. 2 in A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in der Textfunden von Qumran*, forthcoming at E. J. Brill.

45 According to Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, this passage merges the Mosaic Torah with the preexistent divine order (*raz nihyeh*) described in the Book of Hagi, similar to Ber. R. 1:1.

46 *Raz nihyeh* is connected to the periods of history, 4Q418 123 (see note 73 below). 4Q417 2 i 4-10 relates this concept both to the sequences of history and the creation of the woman: "then you will see]what was and what comes into being with what[will b]e, in all [the periods of eternity ... look upon]deed and d[eed, day and]night meditate on the mystery to] come, and search always. Then you will know truth and evil, wisdom [and fol]ly. Understand the deeds of men in all their ways with their destiny in all the periods of eternity and the eternal destiny. Then you will discern between [goo]od and [evil in their]deed[s,] for the God of knowledge is the secret of truth. With the mystery to come He separated the woman, her deeds with their de[stinies] and for all their[,]her inclination and the reign of her deeds for a[l]l her[." See further Elgvin, "Admonition Texts" 189-91; Harrington, "Wisdom at Qumran"; Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*; L. H. Schiffman "4QMysteries[a]. A Preliminary Edition," *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots. Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, M. Sokoloff, eds.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995) note 11. נהיה is probably a *Niphʿal* participle of *haya* (not a *Niphʿal* perfect as stated in Elgvin, "Admonition Texts" 189, see 4Q418 123 ii 3-4, where כול הנהיה (participle of *haya*) occurs in line 3 and רז נהיה in line 4.

47 Cf. CD I and 1QS VIII, which attribute revelation to the community, but do not claim themselves to be pieces of such revelation, G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "*1 Enoch* and Qumran Origins: The State of the Question and some Prospects for Answers," *SBLSP* 1986, 34-60, pp. 342-3.

means study, but I suppose it is connected to study of biblical and some kind of "sectarian" books.

According to the main sectarian writings, the primary medium of revelation is inspired exegesis, along the lines established by the Teacher, "the Interpreter of the Law." The authority accorded to the Teacher is probably a major reason why the sectarians did not need to write new apocalypses; the problem of authority and revelation was solved.[48] Maybe Sap. Work A should be connected with the phase of the Teacher in the sectarian movement, and the *raz nihyeh* with the inspired exegesis in his footsteps. The word *raz* becomes a central phrase in sectarian theology. Further, some of the references to *raz nihyeh* in Sap. Work A have close parallels in sectarian writings (1QS III 15, XI 3-4, CD II 10).

The elect is repeatedly addressed ואתה מבין "you that have knowledge," he is also called משכיל "man of understanding." The meditation upon God's mysteries will provide him with knowledge from above: phrases like ואז תדע/תבין/תראה "and then you will know/understand/see," recur.

Sap. Work A lacks a number of the central characteristics of apocalyptic literature,[49] and should not be counted as an apocalyptic book *per se.* The wisdom of this book is not revealed through angels or a sage from Israel's early history (see however, below on the reference to Noah in 4Q418 201; further, לאנוש in 4Q417 ii 16 can be interpreted both as "to mankind" and "to Enosh").[50] Visions or auditions are probably not a central feature in the revelation of divine wisdom.[51] Different from Daniel, dreams and their interpretation are not mentioned at all.

Apocalyptic motifs, however, are to be found in Sap. Work A. Similar to the main sectarian writings we find an eschatological understanding of history and its periods, but not a detailed apocalyptic view of history. The theme of esoteric divine wisdom revealed to the elect is central. The word pair *raz* and *galah*, frequent in Daniel, indicates some kind of esoteric knowledge which cannot be attained by Israelites in general.[52]

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48 Collins, "Was the Dead Sea Sect an Apocalyptic Movement?" 41.

49 For a listing of these characteristics, see Stegemann, "Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde," 526-7.

50 I differ from Wacholder and Abegg's interpretation of 4Q417 2 i 14-18: that the heavenly Book of Hagi was given to Seth and by him to Enosh, *A Preliminary Edition, Fascicle Two*, xiii. I translate these lines as following: "For] the engraved law has come, deciding every commandment, for engraved is the law <= the Law of Moses> by God for all iniquity (?) of the sons of perdition (בני שית). And the Book of Memory was written before Him for those who keep His word. It is the Vision of Hagi and a Book of Memory. He bequeathed it to mankind (לאנוש) with a spiritual people, for He fashioned it as a model for the holy ones. He had not yet given the Hagi to the spirit of flesh, for he could not discern between [goo]d and evil with the judgement of his [sp]irit."

51 Cf., however, the designation of the Book of Hagi as הזון ההגי, 4Q417 1 i 16. Some lines below (line 22) we find the admonition כול הזון דע, but it is not clear to what kind of visions this line refers.

52 Also Sirach asserts that wisdom is a gift bestowed by God only on those who love him, 1:10, 39:1-8., cf. A. A. Di Lella, "The Meaning of Wisdom in Ben Sira," *In Search of Wisdom*, 133-48. The apocalyptic motifs of Sap. Work A, however, sets it apart from Sirach. In its thinking of wisdom and revelation Sap. Sol. occupies a position between traditional wisdom and the apocalyptic writings, G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism

Wisdom is not only transcendent, it is attainable on earth. Divine wisdom has been revealed to the elect of the remnant community. According to 4Q417 2 i 11-12 will the secrets of God be revealed to the elect, ובכושר מבינות נו[ע]ס[תרי מחשבתו "in a proper understanding he will know the hid]den things of His plan." For the sectarians נסתרות are the hidden secrets of God which He reveals to the elect community, cf. CD III 13-14, 1QS V 11, 5Q513 (5QSectarian Rule) 1 11. In the sectarian view the Bible contained both 'clear laws' (נגלות) and 'hidden laws' (נסתרות). The latter could be discovered through the covenanters' careful searching in the Scriptures. הבין נסתרות (cf. the word מבינות above) means to understand God's secrets through study of Scripture.[53] This passage in Sap. Work A reflects the same concept.

The enlightened community shares the glory of Adam and the wisdom of Solomon. Similar to 1 Enoch the reception of wisdom is constitutive of salvation and life eternal.[54]

In 4Q422 (4QParaGenExod) I 10-12 the eating from the tree which gives knowledge of good and evil introduces man's rebellion against God. The admonitions of Sap. Work A, by contrast, portray the man of knowledge that positively can discern between good and evil. 4Q423 frgs. 1-2[55] use a paraphrase of Gen chs. 2-3 as contrasting background for a description of the inheritance of the elect and his part in the eschatological community, the eternal plant (lines 7-8] ן[ב]מ . . . הטוב יודע ה[רע ?מואס והוא חילו ה]נ[לם עו]ב[מטע ת] דרכו ודרך ה[ר "and in an ete[rnal pl]anting He gave [him inheritan]ce, [and he, rejecting ?] what is evil and knowing what is good, . . . [under]standing his own way and way of ["). The elect can attain what Adam did not acquire, life-giving wisdom from above. While Adam's unfaithfulness toward God led to burdensome conditions for man, the elect now has access to the source of divine wisdom. It is likely that this passage served as a main source for 1QH[a] VIII 4-27, where the Teacher uses the Eden-theme to describe his inheritance and his community.[56]

We encounter a 'realised eschatology' that perceives the enlightened, to whom God's mysteries have been revealed, as partaker of God's knowledge. Like 1 Enoch 24-32 Sap. Work A seems to reflect a radical exegesis of Gen 3:6

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in Early Judaism: Some Points for Discussion," *SBLSP* 1995, 715-32, p. 723.

53 Qimron and Strugnell, *DJD* X, 132.

54 G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality of 1 Enoch," *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium* (J. J. Collins, J. H. Charlesworth, eds.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991) 51-64. Cf. Sap. Sol. 9:13-18: God has given heavenly knowledge to men, "and through wisdom were they saved." Also for Syr. Bar. 14:8-13 and 4. Ezra 4:10-11 can wisdom provide men with saving knowledge, see M. E. Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature," *Magnalia Dei. The Mighty Acts of God. Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright* (F. M. Cross, W. E. Lemke, P. D. Miller, eds.; New York: Doubleday, 1976) 414-52.

55 Q423 frgs. 1-2 (olim frgs. 2 and 1) should be juxtaposed, together they preserve most of the upper part of a column. See "The Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A."

56 4Q265 uses the Eden narrative in a different way: as an explanation for the laws of postpartem purification, J. M. Baumgarten, "Purification after Childbirth and the Sacred Garden in 4Q265 and Jubilees," *New Qumran Texts and Studies. Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organisation for Qumran Studies* (G. J. Brooke, ed.; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994) 3-10.

ונחמד העץ להשכיל "the tree was desirable to give knowledge" (quoted in 4Q423 1-2 1-2 and 4Q423 9 1) and 3:22 הן האדם היה כאחד ממנו לדעת טוב ורע "lest man be like one of us to know good and evil." 1 Enoch 28-32 portray the choice trees of paradise including "the tree of wisdom, which gives great wisdom to those who eat from it" (32:3, cf. 4 Ezra 8:52). The elect of the community of Sap. Work A already have a taste.[57]

The text of 4Q418 frg 81 represents a radical reinterpretation of the Solomon tradition. Close parallels to Solomon's prayer and God's promise to him in 1 Kgs 3:6-14 can be observed,[58] which indicates that the wisdom God gave Solomon (cf. also 1 Kgs 3:28, 4:29, 14:17, 2 Sam 14:17,20) now is bequeathed to the elect in the community of the eternal planting.

In this context one should note the historic allegory in 1 Enoch 89:45-50 which describes Solomon more glorious than David. This *Tendenz* points to wisdom circles as milieu of origin. The importance of the Solomon-tradition for Sap. Work A might indicate that the description of the elect as a firstborn son of God (4Q418 81 5 וישימכה לו בכור, 4Q418 69 15 ואתה בן[בכור, 1Q26 3 2 כי אתה לו לבן בֿ[כור) has a main source in Nathan's promise about the Davidic king as the adopted son of God, 1 Sam 7:14, 1 Chr 17:13.

"Royal wisdom" might be a key word in Sap. Work A's interpretation of biblical traditions which now are related to the individual: the royal categories in which Adam is described (Gen chs. 1-2, Ps 8), the wisdom of David (2 Sam 14:17,20) and Solomon, wisdom as a messianic quality (Isa 11:2, Jer 23:5), Wisdom regarded as royal (Prov 8:23),[59] Wisdom bestowing upon her disciple a beautiful crown (Prov 4:9).[60] While Sirach attributes royal categories to the

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57 For a related exegesis cf. CD III 20, 1QS IV 23, 1QH^a XVII 15, which seem to indicate that the enlightened members of the Community already have a share in the glory of Adam, כבוד אדם. Cf. also 4Q504 (4QDibHam^a) 8 recto 4-6 אדם א[ביני יצרתה בדמות כבוד[כה ...; Sir 17:1-11 "The Lord fashioned man from the earth ... He gave them authority over everything on earth. He clothed them with strength like his own, and made them in his own image. ... He filled them with knowledge and understanding, and revealed to them good and evil. He put his own light in their hearts ... He set knowledge before them, he endowed them with the law of life"; 49:16 "above every living creature is Adam"; as well as Apoc. Adam 20, 2 Enoch 30:11-12, Targums Neofyti and Pseudo-Jonathan on Gen 3:21. Already the biblical narrative describes Adam in royal categories [see e.g. I. Engnell, "'Knowledge' and 'Life' in the Creation Story," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (M. Noth, D. W. Thomas, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1969) 103-19], which serves as a point of departure for later exegetes.

58 Cf. the following phrases which recur in 4Q418 81: 1 Kgs 3:6 חסד גדול (2x) – line 8 ובחסד וברחמים; 1 Kgs 3:9 להבין בין־טוב לרע – a theme recurring in Sap. Work A, 4Q417 2 i 10, 4Q418 2 7, 4Q423 1-2 7; 1 Kgs 3:9, 11, 12 להבין, נבון, הבין, – line 15 ואתה מבין; line 18 ואו תבין; 1 Kgs 3:9, 11 לב שמע לשפט, הבין לשמע משפט – line 7 דרוש משפטיו; 1 Kgs 3:12 לב חכם ונבון – line 20 וטובתי לכה; line 6 וכבודכה הרבה מואדה – line 5 נתתי לך גם־עשר גם־כבוד 1 Kgs 3:13; וכול חכמי לב השכלו ואם תלך בדרכי לשמר חקי ומצותי 1 Kgs 3:14; line 19 תמלא ושבעתה ברוב טוב; line 19 ואתן ואתה {ל}הלוא לכה טֿ֯בו – line 8 יתהלכו כול נוחלי ארץ; line 14 ובאמונתו הלך תמיד line 6 כול שומרי דברו וק[ימי חוקיו.

59 Cf. H. Ringgren's translation "I was installed from everlasting, From the beginning, at the origin of the earth," *Word and Wisdom. Studies in the hypostatization of divine qualities and functions of the ancient Near East* (Lund: H. Ohlssons: 1947) 99-102, 141-43.

60 Also Ezek 28, Sap. Sol. 4:20-24 testifies to a persistent Israelite belief in the connection between wisdom and royalty, N. W. Porteous, "Royal Wisdom," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East*, 247-61.

Torah (24:4,11-12), Sap. Work A addresses the elect who has received royal wisdom from God and therefore is called a firstborn son of God. It is possibly not incidental that no saying about a future messianic ruler is preserved from Sap. Work A: it would be difficult to find a place for such a figure in this democratised messianism. In traditional Ancient Near Eastern wisdom the figure of the sacred king empowered with divine wisdom played a central role. The Israelite adaptation of this motif is reshaped in Sap. Work A.[61] Further, the promise to Aaron "I will be your share and your inheritance among the Israelites," Num 18:20, is interpreted as a promise to the individual (1Q27 1 7, 4Q418 81 3), and the saying of Exod 20:6 "I show kindness to thousands of those who love me and keep my commandments" is reinterpreted on the elect of the new community only (4Q418 81 7-8).

Nickelsburg has noted the number of apocalyptic terms in 1QS XI 3-9: "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."[62] All these concepts seem to be inherited from Sap. Work A, which moulds traditional wisdom in a framework of apocalyptic concepts.[63] In its understanding of world and man Sap. Work A is determined more by apocalypticism than by traditional wisdom.

4Q417 2 i 14-18 (see note 50 above) portray the Book of Hagi as a heavenly book which has been revealed only to the spiritual community (עם רוח). The imagery of the heavenly book where God has recorded the righteous is an old Sumerian theme which is adopted in biblical and Jewish tradition.[64] The heavenly book of knowledge which is revealed only to a restricted circle is an idea found in pre-sectarian literature known in Qumran such as 1 Enoch and Jubilees.

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61 Cf. J. Smith, "Wisdom and Apocalyptic," *Map is not Territory. Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 66-87: "Apocalypticism is Wisdom lacking a royal court and patron and therefore it surfaces during the period of Late Antiquity not as a response to religious persecution but as an expression of the trauma of the cessation of native kingship" (p. 86).

62 "Wisdom and Apocalypticism," 724.

63 Michel, "Weisheit und Apokalyptik," 432-4.

64 A "tablet of life" [im-nam-ti-la, or "tablet of (one's) curriculum"] is found in a prayer to the God Haia for King Rim-Sin, ll. 51-2, "Setze für den Fürsten Rimsin mit (deiner) Hand in rechter Weise eine freudige Regierungseit für lange Tage. Auf die Tafel des Lebens, die für ewig unveränderlich ist, setze (?) ihren (= der Regierungszeit) Namen!" Ll. 2, 5 of the same text portrays the scribal God Haia holding the "great tablets," he is responsible for "the tablet of destiny," H. Steible, *Ein Lied an den Gott Haja mit Bitte für den König Rimsin von Larsa*, Freiburg 1967, 10, 15. The same words for a tablet of life are found in a hymn about the goddess Nungal, Å. Sjöberg, "Nungal in the Ekur," *AfO* 24 (1973) 19-46. The most important biblical references to the heavenly book are Exod 32:32-33, Isa 4:3, Mal 3:16, Ps 69:29, 139:16, Dan 7:10, 10:21, 12:1. From the post-biblical tradition can be mentioned Jub 30:19-23, 1 Enoch 47:3, 103:2, Apoc.Zeph. 3:15-4:13, 14:5, 4Q504 (4QDibHam^a) 1-2 recto vi 14, כול הכתוב בספר החיים, 1QH^a I 23-24, 4Q180 3 והוא חרות על לוחות, Luke 10:20, Phil 4:3, Hebr 12:23, Rev 3:5, 13:8. See S. Paul, "Heavenly Tablets and the Book of Life," *JANES* 5 (1973) 335-49; G. Widengren, "The Ascension of the Apostle and the Heavenly Book," *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis* 7 (1950) 7-115.

The Book of Hagi is known from two early sectarian works: CD X 6, XIII 2 decree that both the ten judges of the community and the priest of the *minyan* shall know this book well, מבונן בספר ההגי. 1QSa I 6-8 states that the members of the community shall be taught the Book of Hagi from their youth, as well as learning the laws of the covenant. The identity of the Book of Hagi has been hotly debated among scholars. It has been proposed that the Book of Hagi is identical with the Pentateuch[65] (or Bible), an option which should be discarded in light of our text. Other scholars have voiced the opinion that the Book of Hagi was the code of sectarian halakha[66] with the Temple Scroll as one option.[67] The parallel between "the Book of Hagi" and "the laws of the covenant" in 1QSa makes it probable that both entities contain sectarian instruction which only is available for the members of the community. According to our text Hagi is a book with instruction that ordinary man ("flesh") could not comprehend, but only "a spiritual people." The eschatological outpouring of the holy spirit in the community (cf. CD II 13, 1Q34^{bis} 3 ii 5-7), promised by the biblical prophets, which go together with the renewed

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65 So recently Schiffman and Stegemann following Wieder, Rabinowitz and Licht: L. H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1975) 44, note 144; idem., *Law, Custom and Messianism in the Dead Sea Sect* (Jerusalem: Merkaz Shazar, 1993, Hebrew) 63, 70 (on p. 158, however, he equates the Book of Hagi with the whole Bible); Stegemann, *Die Essener,* 162; N. Wieder, *The Judean Scrolls and Karaism,* 215-51, J. Licht, *The Rule Scroll* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965, Hebrew) 255-6; I. Rabinowitz, "The Qumran Author's *spr hhgw/y,*" *JNES* XX (1961) 109-14. Rabinowitz sees the Book of Hagu as "a generic designation for all the books which were regarded by the Qumran writers as Holy Writ," including the Pentateuch, the prophets and an unknown number of other writings (113-4). Wieder points to the use of the noun *hegeh* to signify the act of reading the Law and the *Shema'*, and sees *hege* synonymous with *miqra,* "reading," an appellation for the Bible. For him the Book of Hagi is the whole Bible.

66 So Ginzberg, Rabin, Goshen-Gottstein, Honeyman, Yadin and Baumgarten. L. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminaary of America, 1976) 49-50, based his conclusion an the use of הגה for "explaining words of Torah" in rabbinic literature: "ספר ההגו is nothing other than 'the book of interpretations,' that is, the authoritative interpretation of Scripture as given by our sect, accordingly a kind of 'sectarian Mishnah.'" C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954) 50, sees Hagi as an etymological substitute for *mishnah,* and refers to Gen. R. 49.2, where הגא is "working out new *halakhah.*" According to A. M. Honeyman, "Note on a Teacher and a Book," *JJS* IV (1953) 131-2, "it is justifiable to regard hagu as the type of study and exegesis characteristic of the Zadokite sectaries and to translate the title of their autoritative work as 'book of exposisiton, study and interpretation,'" M. Goshen-Gottstein, "'Sefer-Hagu'—The End of a Puzzle," *VT* VIII (1958) 286-8, suggests that "the Sefer Hahege contained basic commandments and customs of the sect." J. M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law* (Leiden: Brill, 1977) 16, note 13, sees this book as a sectarian, written *Mishna.* If Stegemann is right in his suggestion that the Qumran version of CD was the final *Mishna* of the Essenes (*Die Essener,* 164-7), CD would be a natural candidate for the Book of Hagi for those who see this book as the code of secterian halakha.

67 Y. Yadin discusses the possibility that the Temple Scroll might be the Book of Hagi, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983) vol. I, 393-4, 397, without drawing clear conclusions. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination,* sees the Hagi as a heavenly book which was revealed to Enosh. "Inhalt dieses Buches ist die präexistente Ordnung von Sein und Welt, welche die Schöpfungsordnung, die Aufteilung der Wirklichkeit in Gut und Böse, Weisheit und Torheit, Wahrheit und Frevel, Geist des Fleisches und Volk des Geistes und die sich in der Thora artikulierende ethische Ordnung der Welt (= raz nihyeh) enthält."

covenant (cf. CD III 13, VI 11,19, VIII 21, 1QSa I 7, 1QS I 16–III 12), enables the members to comprehend the teaching of the Hagi. The Hagi is a heavenly book written in the presence of God, given as a blueprint for the holy ones: it is instruction for the members of the community. I would like to suggest that the contents of this book are less halakhic and more concerned with "salvation history," that it provides the basic keys to understand the times (cf. בזכרון ה[עו]ן, 4Q417 2 i 14): that the present age is the eschatological one promised in the Scriptures, and the Essene congregation the endtime community. The frequent admonition in Sap. Work A "to meditate (הגה) on the mystery to come" fits well with this understanding of the book of Hagi. The name ספר ההגי means the *Book of Meditation* or *Interpretation*, the book provided the right (eschatological) interpretation of the Scriptures.[68] Cf. 1QpHab VII, where the Teacher of Righteousness has given the key to this understanding of the Scriptures and the ages. This book was among "the books of the sect" which, according to Josephus, every novice swore to preserve carefully (*Wars* II, 142). Some scriptural verses possibly suggested the name ספר ההגי: Josh 1:8, where Joshua is admonished to meditate, והגית, on "this book of law"; Ps 1:2 ובתורתו יהגה יומם ולילה,[69] Ps 77:13 והגיתי בכל־פעלך, cf. also the use of the verb in 1QH[a] XI 21. None of the Qumran writings published so far has been proven a convincing candidate to be this mysterious Book of Hagi. The mention of the Book of Hagi is a strong indication of some kind of sectarian provenance for Sap. Work, the work could be related to the pre-sectarian community reflected in the earlier strata of CD.[70]

Eschatology

In its eschatology Sap. Work A is a close relative of 1 Enoch, Jubilees and the main sectarian writings, and it differs from a more biblically oriented restoration eschatology as represented by the Words of the Luminaries.[71] As mentioned above, Sap. Work A shares with 1 Enoch (cf. especially the Apocalypse of Weeks and the Animal Apocalypse) and sectarian writings an eschatological understanding of history and its periods. History is divided into

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68 Honeyman, "Note on a Teacher and a Book," 132, notes that the term הגה is used only thrice in the Mishnah, and never on formal study of the law, it "would almost appear as if the literature of normative Judaism avoided the term." The frequent sectarian use of the word הגה both in "the Book of Hagi" and in the admonitions to meditate on God's mysteries, could explain this caution of the rabbis. An old wisdom text from the Geniza preserves the saying אשרי אדם מצא חכמה ויהגה בתורת יי.

69 Cf. 4Q417 2 i 6 יום ו]לילה הגה ברז נהיה.

70 Cf. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant. An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document."* P. R. Callaway, *The History of the Qumran Community. An Investigation* (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1988) 98, notes that some expressions in the Laws of CD (ספר ההגי, מושב, משכיל) never occur in the Admonition. The Laws belong to an older stratum of CD than the Admonition, cf. M. A. Knibb, "The Place of the Damascus Document," *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 149-62. Knibb proposes a pre-Teacher date for the Laws, around the middle of the second century BC. If Stegemann is correct in his understanding of 1QSa as the oldest community rule of the Essenes (*Die Essener*, 159-62), we have references to the Book of Hagi only from the earliest strata of Essene literature. This has implications for the discussion of the origins of Sap. Work A.

71 Cf. Collins, "Was the Dead Sea Sect an Apocalyptic Movement?" 44.

periods.[72] In the present period God has chosen to reveal the mysteries of history and the eschaton to the elect.[73] God's judgement will put an end to קץ הרשעה "the period of evil." While the term קץ רשעה, 4Q416 1 10-11, is frequent in sectarian teaching of the periods, קץ האמת "the period of truth," 4Q416 1 13, does not occur in the main sectarian writings. This might indicate that Sap. Work A derives from a time before sectarian theology was fully developed. It is not explicitly stated that the present time of the community is קץ רשעה or that the author's time is marked by violence and deceit, cf. 1 Enoch 93:9.

Sap. Work A has a clear conviction of the coming judgement and salvation, but there are no clear signs of a tense *Naherwartung*.[74] Similar to sectarian writings Sap. Work A describes the endtime judgement of the cosmos with separation between the righteous and the evil ones. The eschatological discourses in 4Q416 frg. 1 and 4Q418 frg. 69 have close parallels in 1QS IV 6-14, CD II 5-10, 1QH^a III 29-36, 4QAmram^f ar 1-2 ii 4-10.[75]

At the same time we find a *realised eschatology*: the hope for the eschaton is combined with the knowledge that salvation is a present reality, as is fellowship with God and participation in His mysteries: "in a proper understanding he will kn[ow] the hid]den things of His plan when he walks in [p]urit[y in all]his d[eed]ds. Seek them always, and look [at al]l their outcome. Then you will have knowledge of [eterna]l glory [wi]th the mysteries of His wonder and His mighty deeds," 4Q417 2 i 11-13. The same consciousness is known from major sectarian documents.[76]

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72 The idea that all history is divided into a set number of period is found both in Jewish and non-Jewish sources in the Hellenistic period and is probably influenced by Persian millennial speculation, see D. Flusser "The Four Empires in the Fourth Sibyl and in the Book of Daniel," *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972) 148-75.

73 4Q418 123 ii 2-5: "at the coming of the years and the going of the periods [ ] everything that is in it with what came into being and what will be [ ] its period, as God opened the ear of those who understand for the mystery to come [and] you that understand when you meditate upon all these things [, in] her [ha]nd are balanced your deeds with [their times]."

74 The earliest Enoch literature, the Book of Watchers and the Astronomical Book as well as Jubilees are more concerned with the inevitability of the judgement than its proximity, while the Epistle of Enoch expects an imminent judgement. Cf. Collins, "Was the Dead Sea Sect an Apocalyptic Movement?" 33; Nickelsburg, "The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality of 1 Enoch," 54.

75 This eschatological passage from 4QAmram^f ar (4Q548 frg. 1) displays "sectarian terminology" ("sons of truth," "sons of light," "sons of darkness"). E. Puech, who dates the Visions of Amram to *c.*200 BC, remarks "the attribution of this manuscript to Visions of Amram is not certain, only probable," "Messianism, Resurrection, and Eschatology at Qumran and in the New Testament," *The Community of the Renewed Covenant*, 235-56, p. 247, note 33. If it does belong to Visions of Amram, this manuscript could have been reworked by a sectarian writer. Judged from its sectarian vocabulary a date around 200 BC does not seem probable. The only option would be to ascribe to this manuscript the invention of the terms "sons of light" and "sons of darkness," and postulate a later adoption of these terms from 4QAmram^f ar by the sectarians.

76 Cf. Kuhn's characterisation of the Hodayot with the words "Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil" (see note 12), and Newsom's comment on 1QS "the separation and purification characteristic of the eschatological age are already embodied in the language of the community's discourse. To speak such a language is an implicit claim to participate already in eschatological reality," "Apocalyptic and the Discourse of the Qumran

None of the eschatological passages of Sap. Work A mentions any restoration of Zion or the people of the twelve tribes, a Davidic king or any other eschatological figure.[77] There is no eschatological war between the sons of light and the sons of darkness, as in the War Scroll, 4QPseudo-Daniel and 4QNew Jerusalem.[78] As in the main sectarian writings the eschatology of Sap. Work A is not centred around a messianic figure, but around an eschatological community, it displays a "collective messianism."[79] Based on the Bible and contemporary writings, it would be strange if Sap. Work A did not share the expectation of a messianic ruler, but this figure did not occupy a crucial role in the eschatological drama. Only in a post-formative stage of the Essene movement was the expectation of specific eschatological figures incorporated in the theology of the community.

The detailed eschatology of the midrashim and pesharim is not found in our composition. The phrase אחרית הימים "the end of days" does not occur.[80] Similarly, the phrase דור אחרון "the last generation" which is used by the pesharim about the generation of their time, does not occur. It seems that Sap. Work A testifies to an earlier period of the movement which later produced works like 4QMidrEschat and 11QMelch.[81]

In a recent article D. Flusser has demonstrated a direct influence from an eschatological passage in the Book of Mysteries (1Q27 1 i 5-6) on one of the Musaf prayers for Rosh Hashanah, תן פחדך.[82] He points out that the same phrases occur in both texts, and that this synagogal prayer reflects the tense sectarian dualistic view of this world and its coming end rather than common rabbinic theology. The Book of Mysteries is possibly the closest relative of Sap. Work A. One of the eschatological discourses in our composition, 4Q416 frg 1, provides further support for Flusser's proposal. A number of phrases from this

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Community," *JNES* 49 (1990) 135-44, p. 141.

77 A similar eschatology can be found e.g. in 1 Enoch, Test. Moses and Sap. Sol.

78 Puech, "Messianism, Resurrection, and Eschatology at Qumran and in the New Testament," 247.

79 D. Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature"; 538, A. Caquot, "Le Messianisme Qumrânien," *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (M. Delcor, ed.; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1978) 231-47, p.231.

80 In QL אחרית הימים is a central sectarian phrase for "the last period of time" which primarily belongs to the pesharim and midrashim. The earliest sectarian references are in 4QMMT C 14, 16, 21, 1QSa I 1. Cf. A. Steudel, "אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran," *RQ* 16 (1993) 225-46. The only occurence in a non-sectarian Qumran text is 4QDibHam^{a} 1-2 iii 13. I concur with Steudel and Chazon in their classification of The Words of the Luminaries as a pre-sectarian composition, contra Puech [Steudel, ibid. 227; E. G. Chazon, "Is *Divrei ha-me'orot* a Sectarian Prayer?" *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Forty Years of Research* (D. Dimant, U. Rappaport, eds.; Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1992) 3-17, E. Puech, "Messianism, Resurrection, and Eschatology," 248].

81 According to Steudel the detailed scheme for the last days was developed by the sectarians towards the end of the life of the Teacher (end of 1st cent. BC) with 4QMidrEschat and 11QMelch as primary examples, "אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran," 233-42.

82 D. Flusser, "'The Book of Mysteries' and a Synagogal Prayer," *Knesset Ezra. Literature and Life in the Synagogue. Studies Presented to Ezra Fleischer* (Hebrew, S. Elizur, M. D. Herr, G. Shaked, A. Shinan, eds.; Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1994) 3-20. Flusser sees the Book of Mysteries as a sectarian composition, which is not obvious.

passage recur in the Musaf prayers. The discourse portrays Noah as receiver of divine revelation about the coming judgement "He made known to Noah [the end] which was to come" (4Q416 1 3, reconstructed with 4Q418 201), a saying which rephrases 1 Enoch 10:1-2.[83] Noah is mentioned in a similar way in the liturgy; "And you remembered Noah in love and endowed him with the word of salvation and mercy." The Musaf prayers might be directly influenced by Sap. Work A and the Book of Mysteries. Alternatively, all these sources could reflect a common eschatological tradition in the 2nd cent. BC.

Provenance of Sapiential Work A

Relation to the Books of Enoch, Daniel and Qumran Literature

Apart from the Similitudes, the various books of Enoch developed in the period 250-150 BC.[84] Milik supposes that by the beginning of the 1st cent. BC five separate Enochic books were united into a pentateuch.[85] A large number of copies of these books have been found in Qumran. Consequently, there must have been a considerable interest in the Enoch traditions within the community, at least in the earlier stages of its existence. Milik concludes (maybe too easily) from the date and condition of the Qumran manuscripts of Enoch that the community gradually lost interest in these traditions. The main part of the Book of Watchers dates back to the 3rd cent BC.[86] Chs. 1-5 was probably composed in the mid-second century BC as an introduction to chs. 6-36.[87] The Epistle of Enoch was probably composed in pre-Essene circles slightly before the middle of the 2nd cent. BC.[88]

The main sectarian documents, 1QS, CD and Hodayot, have their origins in the second half of the 2nd cent. BC. Some strata in CD contain older, pre-Essene material.[89] The pesharim and eschatological midrashim belong to a

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83 Cf. Nickelsburg's characterisation of 1 Enoch 10: "The biblical description of the postdiluvian restoration of the earth (Genesis 9) is rewritten as a scenario of eschatological recreation," "Enoch, First Book of," *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 2, 508-16, p. 510.

84 J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), J. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptical Tradition* (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984). See also the works of Nickelsburg referred to below.

85 *The Books of Enoch*, 4-7.

86 Milik dates the script of 4QEn^{a} to the first half of the 2nd cent. BC, and proposes that this ms was copied from a third century original, *The Books of Enoch*, 140-41.

87 L. Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning. A Study of 1 Enoch 1-5* (Lund: Gleerup, 1979) 138-45; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Qumranic Transformation of a Cosmological and Eschatological Tradition (1QH 4:29-40)," *Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 649-59.

88 Nickelsburg, "The Epistle of Enoch and the Qumran Literature"; idem. "*1 Enoch* and Qumran Origins," VanderKam, *Enoch*, 142-9; J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination. An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity*, (New York: Crossroad, 1984) 52-3; idem. "Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and Generic Compatibility." Later dating of the Epistle of Enoch are still held by Koch (the time of Hyrcanus) and Sacchi (between mid-first cent. BC and mid-first cent. AD): K. Koch, "Sabbatstruktur der Geschichte: Die sogenannte Zehn-Wochen-Apokalypse (I Hen 93:1-10 91:11-17) und das Ringen um die alttestamentlichen Chronologien im späten Israelitentum," *ZAW* 95 (1983) 403-30, p. 420; and P. Sacchi, "Henochgestalt/Henochliteratur," *TRE* 15 42-54.

89 Murphy O'Connor, Davies and Stegemann see CD as a pre-Essene document

second, later stage in the development of Essene thinking, probably to be dated from the end of the 2nd cent. BC and until the middle of the 1st cent. BC. Is it possible to locate Sap. Work A somewhere in these milieus?

The concentration on concepts as mystery, revelation, wisdom and enlightenment reminds us of the Hebrew portions of Daniel. A number of 'Danielic' phrases recur in Sap. Work A.[90] But Sap. Work A is no apocalypse. We do not meet a detailed apocalyptic view of the last weeks of history, as in the Enoch Apocalypse of Weeks (1 Enoch 91 and 93), the Aramaic parts of Daniel or 11QMelch. As there is no clear literal dependence between Sap. Work A and Daniel, it seems more probable that both are dependent on a common tradition.[91] The circles behind Sap. Work A might be related to the *maskilim* of the Book of Daniel,[92] although our book must be dated well after the persecution of Antiochus. Both books reflect scribal activity and a quest for divine communication, neither is concerned with the sacrificial cult of the temple.[93]

We have documented a close relation between Sap. Work A and the Book of Watchers and Epistle of Enoch. Our book shares with 1 Enoch the theme of the final judgement of the wicked, but this theme seems less urgent than in 1 Enoch. The glorious hope of the righteous is a theme which recurs in both books. As both books draw upon biblical theophanies when they describe God's coming in judgement, these sections of Sap. Work A do not necessarily presuppose knowledge of 1 Enoch. Some important Enochic themes are not mentioned in Sap Work A: the fall of the angels, the interest in cosmology, the spatial dualism between heaven and earth, the ontological dualism between humans and the world of the spirits.

Sectarian elements which are not found in Sap. Work A

How valid are argumenta e silentio for a discussion of the provenance of Sap. Work A? I have elsewhere calculated the approximate length of Sap. Work A to be between 26,000 and 31,000 spaces.[94] When one takes the material from all seven copies together it would be a fair guess that 80-90% of the lines in a given copy of the work are represented among the extant fragments. Important passages which could shed light on the thinking of Sap. Work A might still be missing. But with such a large part of the work preserved, it seems reasonable to draw conclusions also based on issues which are not mentioned in the extant material.

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reworked by the *yaḥad*, see P. R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant. An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document."*

90 The most important are שכל/משכיל/השכיל, להבין/מבין, יודע/דעת, רז, גלה, קץ, קדוש/קודש/ חיי עולם, חרפה, קדשים.

91 Six copies of Daniel are found in Qumran, as well as three copies of a pseudo-Danielic work.

92 Cf. J. J. Collins, "Was the Dead Sea Sect an Apocalyptic Movement?" *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls—the New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (L. H. Schiffman, ed.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990) 25-51, pp. 28-9.

93 P. R. Davies, "Reading Daniel Sociologically," *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, 345-61.

94 "The Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A."

As noted above, in Sap. Work A there is no reference to eschatological figures, the anointed of Israel and Aaron or the eschatological prophet.[95] Puech notes that we find the two messianic figures, the priestly and the davidic Messiah, in the Rules and in texts which are roughly contemporaneous with them (CD, 4Q175Test), in the slightly later 4QMidrEschat (4Q174+177), in 4Q252 (4QpGen[a]) and in the pesharim. During the lifetime of the Teacher there was no need to expect a prophet like Moses or a priestly Messiah, the Teacher filled these roles.[96] 1QSa II 11-12 "when God brings forth the Messiah among them," however, testifies to the hope for a Davidic Messiah already in the early days of the covenanters. Sap. Work A mentions no Teacher of Righteousness, Evil Priest or Interpreter of the Law, but neither of these figures from the formative days of the Essene movement is mentioned in 1QS. The fact that the Teacher is not mentioned in Sap. Work A does not exclude the option that the book was composed while he was active in the community. Most of the explicit references to the Teacher in sectarian literature were written after his death.

In contrast to 1 Enoch 91:13, Jub 1:17,29, 11QT[a] XXIX 8-10 and 4QFlor I 2-5, but similar to 1QS there is no mention of the new temple of the last days. The community is not described as a spiritual temple, and we do not encounter a hierarchically structured community. The remnant community is not connected to "the renewed covenant." The developed angelology of 1 Enoch and many Qumran writings is not reflected (in 4Q418 frg. 81 the phrase "the holy ones" is used on the angels and probably also on the elect, in 4Q417 2 i 17 it refers to the elect).

We do not encounter purity halakha, a polemical situation or anti-pharisaic front as in 4QMMT, which usually is dated to the middle of the 2nd cent. BC. MMT probably has its origins in one of the groups which later developed into the Essene sect and derives from the period before the Teacher of Righteousness arose.[97]

Conclusions

The differences between Sap. Work A and the literature of the *yaḥad* indicate that our book predates the *yaḥad* as an established community. In its terminology, however, Sap. Work A seems to be closer to the milieu of the Qumran covenanters than to the Enoch literature. The question remains, does Sap. Work belong to a pre-Essene stage, or does it derive from the first

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95 1QS has only one reference to the two anointed ones, 1QS IX 11. This passage lacks in 4QS[e] which "jumps" directly from 1QS VIII 15 to IX 12. For Charlesworth it is conceivable that 4QS[e] preserves an earlier version of the Rule, "and that the Qumranites under the direction of the Righteous Teacher did not necessarily believe in the coming of a "Messiah," and that this messianic idea was an aspect of the development of Qumran theology," *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 1. Rule of the Community and Related Documentsk* (J. H. Charlesworth, ed.; Tübingen: Mohr; Louisville: John Knox Press, 1994) 54.

96 Puech, "Messianism, Resurrection, and Eschatology," 238, 241.

97 Contra Qimron, *DJD* X, 109-21. So L. H. Schiffman, D. Schwarz and F. Garcia Martinez on the SBL Meeting in Chicago 22.11.94, cf. J. Strugnell, "MMT. Second thoughts on a Forthcoming Edition," *The Community of the Renewed Covenant*, 57-73.

formative phase of the Essene movement, before sectarian theology had crystallised?[98]

Some "sectarian" phrases are used in a non-sectarian way in Sap. Work A. This could point to a pre-Essene origin of the work. The phrase "the prince of your people" נשיא עמכה in 4Q423 5 2 does not carry any messianic connotations as does נשיא in later sectarian writings. In 4Q423 5 4 the "proselytes," גרים are included with the native born within the people. A similar view of the proselytes is found in the Damascus Document and the Temple Scroll, but not in 4QMidrEschat.[99] The word משכיל, 4Q417 2 i 25, does not have the precise meaning "instructor" as in 1QS and 1QH^a.

The presupposition of the remnant community could point to a situation between MMT (160–152 BC) and 1QS/CD (last decades of 2nd cent. BC), before sectarian theology had crystallised, for the origin of Sap. Work A. In this case, Sap. Work A should be seen as a representative of the wider Essene movement, not of the *yaḥad*.

The other option is to ascribe Sap. Work A to the pre-teacher community mentioned in CD I. If so, Sap. Work A would have its origins in one of the groups which provided the background for the Essene movement, and which used the Enoch literature and possibly authored parts of it.[100] Sap. Work A testifies to the intensive contact between scribal and apocalyptic circles in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.[101]

In any case, Sap. Work A seems to have exercised considerable influence in the framing of sectarian thought and terminology, especially with regard to Essene theology relating to creation order, eschatology, the remnant community, and revelation of God's wisdom to the elect. Sap. Work A represents a bridge between the apocalyptic Enoch literature and the clearly defined sectarian community. If this preliminary conclusion is correct, Stegemann's assertion that in the early Essene community eschatology was of secondary importance compared with Torah observance, can hardly be sustained.[102] The evidence of Sap. Work A rather supports the positions held

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98 Cf. Newsom's *caveat*: "... texts that lack such clear marks of origin (explicit references to the organizational fearures of the group or its history) but do employ a diction, style, and theologcal slant that has significant overlap with what one finds in the core group of texts that are of sectaran authorship ... In such cases perhaps it would be better for heuristic reasons ... to regard such texts as of non-Qumran origin," "'Sectually Explicit' Literature," 176-7.

99 In Qumran usage גר means "proselyte," not "stranger." CD XIV 4 lists the גרים as a fourth class within the Essene "camps," after the priests, the Levites and the sons of Israel. 11QT^a XXXIX 5-7 rules, based on Deut 23:8-9, that only the fourth generation descending from the convert has an equal religious status with other Israelitess, cf. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, vol. I, 247-8, L. H. Schiffman, 'Exclusion from the Sanctuary in the Temple Scroll,' *HAR* IX (1985) 301-20. 4QFlor I 4 places the גר among the groups excluded from the eschatological temple, while CD XIV 4, 6 includes them in the community. Sap. Work A is closer to CD when it says (4Q423 5 4) that the proselytes will be judged by God along with the native born Israelites.

100 Nickelsburg has proposed that the Epistle of Enoch derives from circles ancestral to the Essenes, "The Epistle of Enoch and the Qumran Literature," 347-8. Sap. Work A is closer to the sectarian thinking than is the Epistle.

101 Nickelsburg, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism."

102 "Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde," 523. See also note 44 above.

by Licht, Cross and Hengel: that the Dead Sea Community developed from the apocalyptic streams in 2nd. cent. Judaism.[103]

The lack of connections between Sap. Work A on the one hand, and MMT and priestly sectarian traditions on the other, does indicate that the sectarian movement represents a merger between two different streams: a lay community which fostered the apocalyptic and dualistic traditions of 1 Enoch and Sap. Work A, and a priestly group which brought with it Zadokite temple traditions and the wish to structure hierarchically the new community.

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103 J. Licht, "The Plant Eternal"; F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*, II/1961, 76-78; idem. "New Directions in the Study of Apocalyptic," *Apocalypticism, Journal for Theology ond the Church* 6 (R. W. Funk, ed.; New York: Herder, 1969) 158-9; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974) I, 218.

The Angelic Spirit in Early Judaism

John R. Levison
Duke Divinity School

Several Israelite and early Jewish literary texts present רוח or πνεῦμα as an angelic being which exists and acts both in relation to and independently of God. The purpose of this essay is to traverse the landscape of Israel and Early Judaism diachronically, beginning with the earliest pre-exilic Israelite texts, pausing at length in the post-exilic period, and concluding with early Jewish translations and texts of the Greco-Roman era prior to 135 CE, in order to sketch possible foregrounds for conceptions of the divine spirit in the Fourth Gospel, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Ascension of Isaiah, three relatively early Christian texts in which the divine spirit can arguably be interpreted as an angelic being.[1]

I. Pre-Exilic Israel: The Canonical Former Prophets

A. Saul and David

A constellation of references to the spirit of God enfolds the narrative of Saul's rise and demise in 1 Samuel (10:6, 10; 11:6; 16:13–23; 18:10; 19:9; and 19:20, 23–24). This cycle of narratives is marked by a pronounced use of repetition which suggests an identity between the natures of the spirit which first rushes upon Saul and the evil spirit which torments him.

10:6	וצלחה עליך רוח יהוה והתנבית
10:10	ותצלח עליו רוח אלהים ויתנבא
11:6	ותצלח רוח־אלהים על־שאול . . . ויחר אפו מאד
16:13	ותצלח רוח־יהוה אל־דוד מהיום ההוא ומעלה
16:14a	ורוח יהוה סרה מעם שאול
16:14b	ובעתתו רוח־רעה מאת־יהוה
16:15	רוח־אלהים רעה מבעתך
16:16	בחיות עליך רוח־אלהים רעה
16:23a	בהיות רוח־אלהים אל־שאול
16:23b	וסרה מעליו רוח הרעה
18:10	ותצלח רוח אלהים רעה אל־שאול ויתנבא
19:9	ותהי רוח יהוה רעה אל־שאול
19:20	ותהי על־מלאכי שאול רוח אלהים ויתנבאו גם־המה

[1] Due to the length of this essay and time constraints on readers of the *Seminar Papers* prior to the Annual Meeting, I have pared notes to a minimum. Alternative interpretations in secondary literature, in particular, are not cited unless they require refutation. Biblical quotations, unless otherwise indicated, are from NRSV.

ותהי עליו גם־הוא רוח אלהים וילך הלוך ויתנבא עד־באו 19:23

In these numerous references to רוחות, several parallels in vocabulary unify the portraits of the good and evil spirits. First, the most distinctive is the repeated references to both spirits as "spirit of God" (רוח אלהים) in 10:10; 11:6; 16:15, 16, 23a; 18:10; 19:20, 23, or "spirit of Yahweh" in 10:6, 16:13, 16:14a (cf. 16:14b); 19:9. Second, both spirits "rush upon" (צלח) Saul in 10:6, 10; 11:6; 16:13; 18:10. Third, both spirits can have the same effect, depicted by the same verb, נבא, in the hithpael, in 10:6, 10 (cf. 10:13); 18:10; 19:20, 23. Fourth, both spirits are said to depart (סור) from Saul in 16:14, 23b. The unreserved use of similar vocabulary to describe both spirits, their activities, and their effects suggests that they are understood as similar beings. What distinguishes these two spirits of God is not their differing natures but rather that one is evil (רעה). When the spirit of God departs Saul, another spirit, similar but evil, torments him.

The similarity between these spirits is evident as well in the mirror images provided by Saul's first (10:6, 10) and last prophetic experiences (19:20, 23–24). In both the "spirit of God" brings about an experience of "prophesying." In the former, this prophesying accompanies Saul's transformation into another person (10:6), but in the latter such prophesying issues in Saul's spending the night in an undignified state of nakedness. This difference led Ralph W. Klein to suggest that, in the latter context, "the spirit may have been the evil spirit from God previously referred to (cf. 16:14)."[2]

This interpretation, though unusual, is not without exegetical support. First, the preceding instance of Saul's "prophesying" took place when the *evil* spirit of God rushed upon him (18:10). Second, the idiom employed to describe the spirit's presence in 1 Sam 19:19–23, הוה על, is employed otherwise in this narrative only of the *evil* spirit (16:16, 23; 19:9). Third, each of the seven prior references, from 16:14 to 19:9, is to the evil spirit, and its presence is so established that in 16:23 it can be described simply as "spirit of God," without the adjective, "evil." To these may be added the more general observation that the appearance in 1 Samuel 19 of the evil rather than good spirit of God would accentuate, by means of contrastive parallel with 1 Samuel 10, the irony of Saul's rise and demise: although Saul prophesies both at the beginning and end of his reign, the source of his experiences are as different as night and day.

The spirits of God in 1 Samuel 10–19, then, are angelic—or demonic—beings. The narrator provides no clues that the spirits are of different natures, that the evil spirit of God is a demon but the good spirit of God is God's breath, essence, or power poured out like water. On the contrary, the two spirits are described similarly, participate in similar actions, and can produce similar effects. They are in fact so similar that one cannot finally be certain which of the two thwarted the plans of Saul and his messengers.

In addition to these literary observations, some Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions which depict exorcisms also illuminate the nature of the spirits in 1 Samuel 10–19. The relevance of exorcism texts to the Saul cycle of stories is hardly surprising, for the highest concentration of references to spirits in 1 Samuel 10–19 occur in 16:13–23, in which David functions as royal musician cum exorcist. One such Babylonian inscription reads:

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2 *1 Samuel* (WBC 10; Waco: Word, 1983) 198.

When I draw near unto the sick man,
When I lay my hand on the head of the sick man,
May a kindly Spirit, a kindly Guardian stand at my side.
Whether thou art an evil Spirit or an evil Demon,
Or an evil Ghost or an evil Devil . . .
Be thou removed from before me,
Out of the house go forth![3]

As in 1 Sam 16:13–23, this Babylonian account refers to the good or kindly spirit which accompanies the exorcist and the evil spirit which must leave the person possessed. Moreover, this person may be the king. The Babylonian exorcist pleads:

May a kindly Spirit, a kindly Guardian,
Enter the house.
May no evil Spirit or evil Demon,
Or evil Ghost or evil Devil,
Or evil God or evil Fiend,
Draw nigh unto the king.
By Heaven be ye exorcised! By Earth be ye exorcised![4]

Although these Babylonian exorcism texts cannot be construed as direct influences on 1 Samuel 10–19, they suggest nonetheless that the interpretation of the good and evil spirits of God in 1 Samuel 10–19 as co-ordinate independent spirit beings is at home in an ancient world in which guardian spirits were called upon and evil spirits exorcised.

B. Micaiah ben Imlah and the Prophets of Ahab

Four related depictions of spirits occur in a story which recounts the opposition between the prophets of Ahab, led by Zedekiah, who support Ahab's upcoming battle at Ramoth-Gilead, and Micaiah ben Imlah, who stands alone in opposing Ahab's military plans.

The first reference is the clearest depiction of God's spirit as an independent being. To substantiate his view that Ahab will be killed and his army defeated, Micaiah relates a vision in which the prophets of Ahab are depicted as lying. Yahweh is on the throne, surrounded by the entire host of heaven (כל־צבא השמים). This scenario suggests the presence of the angelic host which gather around God, as in Isaiah 6 or Ps 103:19–22:

The LORD has established his throne in the heavens,
and his kingdom rules over all.
Bless the LORD, O you his angels (מלאכיו),
you mighty ones who do his bidding,
obedient to his spoken word.
Bless the LORD, all his hosts (כל־צבאיו),
his ministers that do his will.

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[3] Tablet 3.150–58, in R. Campbell Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia* (2 vols.; London: Luzac, 1903) 1.17. Cf. 1.19–23 (tablet 3.179–203).

[4] Thompson, *Devils*, 111–13; tablet 16.306–13.

Bless the LORD, all his works,
in all places of his dominion.
Bless the LORD, O my soul.

The spirit which comes forth from among the heavenly host is portrayed as an independent being: standing in the presence of Yahweh; conversing with Yahweh; volunteering for the task of deceiving Ahab; and responding when God asks, "How?" with a specific plan. Moreover, the use of masculine verbs to describe the spirit's activity points to its personal nature, as in Job 4:15–5:1, where a spirit (רוח) glides (יחלף), stands (יעמד) and is heard to say: "Even in his servants he [God] puts no trust, and his angels (ובמלאכיו) he charges with error . . . ."[5]

The second and third references to the divine spirit (1 Kgs 22:22–23) are to "a lying spirit in the mouth of all the prophets:"

רוח שקר בפי כל־נביאיו . . .
ועתה הנה נתן יהוה רוח שקר בפי כל־נביאיך אלה

The unusual expression—a spirit in the mouth—is due to the influence of Deuteronomy 18, which contains the kernel of the issue at stake in 1 Kings 22, namely, the distinction between true and false prophecy. Micaiah's prior avowal to speak only what Yahweh would say to him (22:14) identifies him as a true prophet, according to the standard of Deut 18:18, even as the subsequent fulfilment of Micaiah's prophecy in 1 Kgs 22:29–40 echoes the single reliable criterion offered in Deuteronomy for discerning the presence of true and false prophets, that is, (non-)fulfilment of a prediction (18:21–22). What the prophets of Ahab experience, in contrast, is the opposite of the experience of the true prophet of Deuteronomy:

Deut 18:18	ונתתי דברי בפיו
1 Kgs 22:23	נתן יהוה רוח שקר בפי

While the true prophet (Micaiah) receives the words of God in his mouth, the prophets of Ahab receive a lying spirit in their mouths.

The explanation of why the spirit should become a "lying spirit" rather than "lying words"can also be made on the basis of Deut 18:18: God ultimately is the source of prophets' words. The angelic spirit of Micaiah's vision cannot determine those words; it can only be the mediary through which God communicates those words to the prophets of Ahab. Thus it volunteers its services as deceptive divine mediator—a lying spirit—to dupe Ahab into tragedy.

The fourth reference to the spirit (1 Kgs 22:24) is proffered not by Micaiah or the spirit within the vision but by Zedekiah, a false prophet, who challenges Micaiah's authority: "Where [NRSV: Which way] did the spirit of the LORD pass from me to you?" The crucial word in this indictment for understanding the

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[5] John Gray (*I & II Kings: A Commentary* [OTL; 2d ed.; Philadelphia: Westminster] 452–53) extends his interpretation beyond the narrative clues of the text when he claims that the spirit here is "an emanation, or extension, of the divine personality, and so may be personified. We may see here the gem of the conception of the Holy Spirit as a person of the Godhead, though at a very primitive level."

nature of the spirit is the verb, עבר, "to cross over,"[6] for it recalls the transference of the spirit of God from Saul to David—the only other instance in the Hebrew Bible in which the spirit of God is purported to have moved *in toto* from one person to another.[7] This close and unique parallel between 1 Kgs 22:24 and 1 Sam 16:13–23 confirms the presence of similar conceptions of the spirit in both passages. The spirit of Yahweh in this final reference of 1 Kings 22 ought then to be interpreted as an angelic being, not unlike the spirit of God in Micaiah's vision, which can transfer its habitation from one person to another.

C. The Spirit and the Judges

The story of Saul and David also illuminates the canonical book of Judges, in which only laconic, formulaic references to the spirit occur. A consistent use of the same formulae throughout the books of Judges and 1 Samuel points to an underlying consistent conception of the spirit of God as an angelic (or demonic) being.

Twice in the biblical book of Judges he advent of the spirit is depicted by the verb, היה, followed by the preposition על:

3:10 (Othniel):	ותהי עליו רוח־יהוה
11:29 (Jephthah):	ותהי על־יפתח רוח יהוה

In the story of Saul and David, precisely this formula is employed to depict the tormenting attack on Saul by the evil spirit (1 Sam 19:9), as well as the overcoming of Saul and his messengers by the (good or evil) spirit (19:20; 19:23).[8] The presence of this formula in a more detailed text, 1 Samuel 16–19, where the spirits are angelic or demonic beings, permits the inference that the spirit in laconic texts, Jdg 3:10 and 11:29, ought to be interpreted analogously as angelic beings which come upon individual human beings.

The same inference is possible also for three references in the Samson cycle, in which the formula, ותצלח עליו רוח יהוה, recurs (14:6, 19; 15:14). In the story of Saul and David, precisely this formula depicts the presence of both good and evil spirits of God (10:10; 11:6; 16:13; 18:10; cf. 10:6 in the perfect tense). This consistency of vocabulary in both the Samson and Saul cycles suggests that the spirit which "rushes upon" Samson ought to be regarded as an angelic being which consists of the same nature as the spirits in the story of Saul.

There is an additional clue in Jdg 13:25, where the spirit begins to trouble Samuel. The locales named, Zorah and Eshtaol form a narrative inclusio to the Samuel cycle: the spirit of Yahweh *began* to trouble Samson "between Zorah and Eshtaol" (13:25), that is, where Samson would eventually be *buried*, "between Zorah and Eshtaol in the tomb of his father Manaoh" (16:31). This region between Zorah and Eshtaol, the family cemetery, is precisely that region where

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6 More generally it denotes movement, e.g., in 1 Kgs 22:36, where a shout crosses over in the camp.

7 The notion of transference is preserved in 2 Chron 18:23. In Numbers 11, rather than being transferred, the spirit which is upon Moses is apportioned to the Israelite leaders. In the narratives of Moses/Joshua (Deut 34:9) and Elijah/Elisha (2 Kgs 2:7–18), the spirit is bequeathed to a successor only at the point of death or assumption.

8 The related use of the verb, היה, in the infinitive construct (בהיות) portrays the attack of the evil spirit of God (16:16, 23).

one might have expected the appearance of spirits or ghosts.[9] The first appearance of the spirit of Yahweh—understood as an independent spirit—would very naturally transpire at the family burial ground.

The use of the metaphor of clothing (רוח יהוה לבשה) to describe the spirit's possession of Gideon (6:34) is also consistent with the interpretation of the spirit as an angelic or demonic being which characterizes the books of Judges, 1 Samuel, and 1 Kings. This metaphor depicts spirit possession in an incantation from the Assyro-Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions to which we already referred, in which possession by an evil demon is described similarly:

> Or an evil demon that envelopeth the man
> As it were with a coverlet,
> Or an evil demon that enshroudeth[10] the man
> As it were with a sack . . . .[11]

For Gideon, of course, the spirit is benign and the effects beneficent; the mode of possession, however, is analogous.

The final reference to a spirit in Judges (9:23) is to an evil spirit sent by God (וישלח אלהים רוח רעה) between Abimelech and the lords of Shechem. Once again, this spirit ought to be understood, not generally as an "atmosphere of enmity," but specifically as an angelic emissary sent to create enmity, for its closest counterpart, the "evil spirit" which torments Saul, is such an evil emissary of God.

Moreover, analogous pre-exilic references to a "spirit of whoredom" in the prophecies of Hosea provide evidence that spirits were regarded as the cause of communal disruptions. Twice Hosea attributes Israel's idolatry to this spirit:

4:12: כי רוח זנונים התעה
5:4: כי רוח זנונים בקרבם

Another indictment of idolatry in the intervening context provides muted but not insignificant insight into the nature of this "spirit of whoredom":

4:19: צרר רוח אותה בכנפיה

As in Hos 4:12 and 5:4, the word, רוח, occurs in 4:19 alongside a form of the root, זנה (הזנה הזנו in v 17b). Although רוח is translated in NEB, JB, and NRSV by "wind," certainly the personification of רוח with a reference to its wings, in a context bracketed by references to a "spirit of whoredom," suggests something more than mere meteorology.[12] In light of Pss 18:11 and 104:3,[13] which contain explicit parallels between the cherub or chariot on which God rides and the

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9 See Edward Langton, *Good and Evil Spirits: A Study of the Jewish and Christian Doctrine, its Origin and Development* (London: SPCK, 1942) 98, 100–16.

10 See also Thompson, *Devils*, 183; reverse of tablet H, line 10.

11 See also Thompson, *Devils*, 133; tablet B, lines 38–41.

12 As in 1 Kings 22, the deceiver or seducer is characterized by the masculine gender, indicating that רוח may not be an abstract atmosphere or inanimate phenomenon but an independent being capable of deception.

13 Ps 104:3 continues with the assertion that God makes angels (מלאכיו) spirits/winds (רוחות).

same "wings of the wind" (על־כנפי־רוח), the metaphor of wings in os 4:19 ought to be understood as an indication of the angelic nature of the spirit.

The evil spirits of Jdg 9:23 and Hosea 4–5, then, are evil angelic presences which wreak havoc on communities. In Jdg 9:23, God sends an evil spirit to render neighboring peoples enemies. In Hosea 4–5, a spirit of whoredom leads Israel astray into idolatry. The function of these spirits, in fact, is similar to the lying spirit of 1 Kings 22 which deludes King Ahab and his army.[14]

II. Post-Exilic Israel: The Spirit and the Exodus

A. Isaiah 63:7–14

Isa 63:7–14 refers to the spirit in a context replete with allusions to the exodus, wilderness wanderings, and conquest. An initial reference to the מלאך פניו (63:9) which delivered Israel is followed by three references to the spirit:

63:10: והמה מרו ועצבו את־רוח קדשו
63:11: איה השם בקרבו את־רוח קדשו
63:14: רוח יהוה תניחנו

The first question this hymn raises is the identification of the angel of God's presence. The Pentateuch contains references to a tradition of the angel which led Israel. First, prior to the parting of the sea, the angel of God and the pillar of cloud moved from in front of (i.e., leading) Israel to a position behind Israel to protect them from Egypt (Exod 14:19). Second, at the conclusion of the so-called Book of the Covenant, God promises:

> I am going to send an angel in front of you, to guard you on the way and to bring you to the place that I have prepared. Be attentive to him and listen to his voice; do not rebel against him, for he will not pardon your transgression; for my name is in him. But if you listen attentively to his voice and do all that I say, then I will be an enemy to your enemies and a foe to your foes. When my angel goes in front of you, and brings you to the Amorites, the Hittites . . . (Exod 23:20–23).

Third, Moses refers to the angelic deliverer in a message sent to the king of Edom to request safe passage through Edom: "and when we cried to the LORD, he heard our voice, and sent an angel and brought us out of Egypt" (Num 20:16). These texts are glimpses of a tradition or a collection of traditions according to which the angel of God led Israel from exodus to conquest.

Alongside this tradition is another according to which God's "presence" went with Israel. God promises to Moses, "My presence [פני] will go with you, and I will give you rest" (Exod 33:14), to which Moses retorts, "If your presence will not go, do not carry us up from here" (33:15). The Deuteronomist recalls a similar tradition:

> And because he loved your ancestors, he chose their descendants after them. He brought you out of Egypt with his own presence [בפניו],

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14 Volz (*Geist Gottes*, 3–4) includes the רוח which, it was supposed, lifted Elijah, according to 1 Kgs 18:12 and 2 Kgs 2:16, in the category of the daemonic *ruach* which is thought of as an independent person—in this instance, a storm daemon.

> by his great power, driving out before you nations greater and mightier than yourselves . . . (Deut 4:37–38).

These two traditions—God's angel and presence—do not remain distinct in their canonical context. In Exod 23:22, for instance, there is an explicit correlation between listening attentively to the voice of the *angel* and doing all that *God* says. Just prior to the promise of God's *presence* in Exod 33:14–15, God twice promises Moses an *angel*: "But now go, lead the people to the place about which I have spoken to you; see, my angel [מלאכי] shall go in front of you" (32:34). Shortly after the reference to God's presence in Exod 33:14–15, God orders Moses to leave, repeating the promise of 32:34: "I will send an angel [מלאך] before you, and I will drive out the Canaanites, the Amorites . . ." (33:2).

The expression, מלאך פניו, in Isa 63:9, in a context shaped by the exodus tradition, reflects this amalgamation of the traditions of God's accompanying presence and angel. So too do the three references to רוח in Isa 63:10–14, which arise equally out of reflection upon God's presence in the miraculous deliverance of Israel from Egypt to Canaan.

The most influential biblical text can be pinpointed with even more accuracy. The theme of rebellion against God's holy spirit is introduced in 63:10 with the verb, מרה, with God's holy spirit as its object. The occurrence of this verb in an exodus context comprises an allusion to Exod 23:21, in which God urges Israel not to rebel against the angel which leads them: אל־תמר בו. The holy spirit of Isa 63:10 is, therefore, the angel of Exod 23:21 and, concomitantly, the angel of the presence of Isa 63:9.

Another illuminating allusion to the tradition of the guiding presence of the exodus occurs at the close of this hymn, in Isa 63:14, in which the spirit of Yahweh gives Israel rest (תניחנו). This provision of rest is precisely what God promises Moses in a context dedicated to the assurance of God's presence with Moses (Exod 33:14):

ויאמר פני ילכו והנחתי לך

This allusion to Exod 33:14 explains the unique attribution of rest to the spirit of Yahweh in Isa 63:14.

In summary, multiple allusions in Isa 63:9–10 to a tradition of the angelic presence of God (מלאך פניו; מרה), alongside an allusion to God's presence of Exod 33:14 in Isa 63:14 (נוח), indicate that the angel of God's presence and the (holy) spirit (of Yahweh) of Isa 63:7–14 are one and the same angelic presence of God which delivered Israel from Egypt to Canaan. The angel who had delivered Israel from captivity was a spirit devoted ultimately to completing the process begun in Egypt by granting Israel rest in Canaan.

B. Haggai 2:5

The allusions to Exodus in Isa 63:7–14 are not entirely isolated, for they are matched by an oracle of Haggai, delivered in 520 BCE, in which the promise of the spirit is set in the context of the exodus:

> Yet now take courage, O Zerubbabel, says the LORD; take courage, O Joshua, son of Jehozadak, the high priest; take courage, all you people of the land, says the LORD; work, for I am with you, says the LORD of hosts,

> according to the promise that I made you when you came out of Egypt: my spirit stands in your midst. Do not fear.

There is no promise in the exodus tradition of the spirit understood in impersonal terms as something to be poured (e.g., Isa 32:14–15; 44:1–3; Ezek 39:28–29; Joel 3:1–2) or used to anoint a leader (e.g., Isa 11:1–2; 42:1; 59:21; 61:1–2) or placed within to renew a people (e.g., Ezek 36:26–27). In contrast, as we have seen, there is the distinct promise of God's angel to lead Israel (Exod 23:20–23; 32:34; 33:2). Haggai's exhortation is a reaffirmation of the presence of God's angelic spirit in the post-exilic community's midst.

This interpretation is borne out by the choice of the verb, עמד, "to stand," to depict the spirit's presence. The specific context of the departure from Egypt in which Haggai sets the promise of the spirit's standing in Israel's midst evokes the image of the pillar of cloud which stood in the midst of the Israelites and which was closely associated with the angel of God. The first canonical reference to the angel of God, in fact, occurs in Exod 14:19, in which both this angel and the cloud move from the front of the camp to the rear in order to separate the Israelites from the Egyptians. In this context both the noun, עמוד, "pillar," and the verb, עמד, "to stand," appear. Subsequently, the cloud is said to take its stand at the tent of meeting (Exod 33.9–10; Num 12:5), and the presence of the pillars of cloud and fire are identified with the presence of Yahweh in the midst of the people (Exod 13:21–22; Num 14:14; Deut 1:33).

The most plausible context for interpreting Haggai's recollection of God's promise of the spirit in Israel's midst, therefore, is the promise of the angelic presence which, as we have seen, the author of Isa 63:7–14 referred to as well as God's holy spirit and the spirit of Yahweh.

C. Nehemiah 9:20

Yet another reference to the spirit in the context of the exodus, wilderness wanderings, and conquest occurs in Neh 9:20:

> You gave your good spirit to instruct them, and did not withhold your manna from their mouths, and gave them water for their thirst.

This reference occurs in the context of Neh 9:19–25, which, following an account of Israelite rebellion (9:16–18), reiterates the elements of Neh 9:12–15:

the pillars of cloud and fire:	9:12	&	19
good laws or instruction:	9:13–14	&	20a
physical provision of manna and water:	9:15a	&	20b–21
promise and possession of the land	9:15b	&	22–25

This repetition produces a parallel between the giving of Torah in the wilderness (9:13–14) and the giving of the spirit in the wilderness (9:20).

The nature of the relationship between Torah and spirit[15] is clarified by means of the verb, "to instruct [them]," להשכילם. The nominal and verbal forms of the root, שכל, occur in Nehemiah 8 in conjunction with interpretation of Torah. On the first day of the seventh month, "they read from the book, from

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15 The literary symmetry explains the reference to the spirit as "good": just as God (addressed in second person) gave (ותתן) at Sinai "good commands," מצות טובים, so God also gave (נתת) God's "*good* spirit," רוחך הטובה.

the law of God, with interpretation. *They gave the sense* [ושום שכל], so that the people understood the reading" (8:8). On the following day, "the heads of the ancestral houses of all the people, with the priests and the Levites, came together to the scribe Ezra *in order to study the words of the law* [ולהשכיל אל־דברי התורה]" (8:13). The association of this word with the study and interpretation of Torah in Nehemiah 8 suggests that the good spirit of Neh 9:20 proffers as well instruction of Torah. Alongside the gift of the Torah, then, came the gift of the good spirit for interpreting Torah.

Although the vocabulary and literary structure of Nehemiah 9 do not illuminate precisely the nature of the spirit, the relationship of the gifts of Torah and spirit does suggest a plausible foreground in the exodus-conquest traditions, which proved indispensable for interpreting Isa 63:7–14 and Hag 2:5. Three alternative interpretations of this tradition are plausible, each with its own implications for understanding the nature of the spirit in Neh 9:20.

First, if Neh 9:19–21 contains allusions predominantly to Exodus, then the spirit ought to be interpreted as the angelic presence of Exod 14:19, 32:34, 33:2, and 33:14–15 which we discerned in Isaiah 63 and Haggai 2. Specific allusions to Exodus are, however, scant. The verb, נחה, used in Neh 9:19 to depict the leading of the pillar of cloud, occurs similarly in Exod 13:21–22. Additionally, the purpose of the pillar of fire is expressed identically in Neh 9:19 and Exod 13:21: להאיר להם. However, because this infinitive contruct occurs in relation to the pillar in Ps 105:39, one of the psalms which rehearses Israelite history, the expression in Nehemiah 9 may be attributed to common liturgical interpretations of the pillar of fire without conscious allusion to the particular tradition of Exodus.

Second, if Neh 9:19–21 contains allusions predominantly to Numbers, then the spirit ought to be interpreted as the non-angelic spirit of Numbers 11, in which the spirit which is on Moses is divided among the elders, who prophesy. This possibility is not altogether unlikely, for: the context of the impartation of the spirit in Numbers 11 includes the manna (11:1–9); the pillars are mentioned in 14:14; and the incident of the miraculous water occurs in Num 20:2–13. Nor is the use of the verb, נתן, to describe the impartation of the spirit in both Neh 9:20 and Num 11:25 incidental, although in Numbers the image is different, and the spirit is placed "upon" (על) the elders. More compelling is the reference to water, not in Neh 9:21 but earlier in 9:15, where the source is called a "stone," סלע. This word occurs throughout Numbers 20 but not in Exodus or Deuteronomy of the miraculous source of water. However, the same word occurs in Ps 78:16 which, like Ps 105, belongs to a group of psalms devoted to re-telling Israel's past; once again, then, the choice of this particular word may be due to a common liturgical tradition rather than to a conscious allusion to the tradition found in Numbers.

Third, if the preponderance of allusions in Neh 9:19–21 are to Deuteronomy, then we are relatively clueless about the nature of the spirit for, apart from Deut 4:37, which possibly depicts the presence and great strength of God as angelic sources of deliverance from Egypt, Deuteronomy makes no mention of the angel or spirit. Yet the weight of allusions in Neh 9:19–21 are to this canonical book. The assertion in Neh 9:21 that for forty years in the wilderness "they lacked nothing; their clothes did not wear out and their feet did not swell" is based upon Deut 8:4 (cf. 29:4), employing in common even the verbs, בלה and בצק.

The clause immediately prior to the mention of the good spirit, אשר ילכו־בה, echoes Deut 1:33, while the two clauses which follow in which the manna and miraculous water are mentioned *together* in quick succession may be influenced by Deut 8:15–16, in which they are mentioned in equally quick succession though in reverse order.[16]

Therefore, the sorts of allusions which proved invaluable for ascertaining the nature of the spirit in Isa 63:7–14 and Hag 2:5 do not finally lead to a conclusion about the nature of the spirit in Neh 9:20. Moreover, the liturgical vocabulary of Nehemiah 9 which it shares with texts such as Pss 104:39–41, 78:16 and 24 renders it difficult precisely to determine which tradition underlies Neh 9:20.[17]

III. Greco-Roman Judaism

A. Septuagint

Although F. Büchsel averred that the LXX translation "in dieser Untersuchung über den Geist Gottes näher einzugehen, lohnt wenig,"[18] there are indeed several instances in which LXX translations provide intimations that the spirit continued to be interpreted as an angelic being in the Greco-Roman period. Though scattered, these instances can be taken in their canonical order.

1. Judges 13:24–25

The verb, "to trouble," פעם, is translated naturally by ταράσσω in 𝔊 Gen 41:8, Ps 76:4, and Dan 2:1, and by ἐκινήθη in Dan 2:3. The verb is translated suitably by ἐξέστη in θ Dan 2:1, 3. In contrast, the verb, פעם, is translated unexpectedly in Jdg 13:24–25 by the verb, συμπορεύομαι, "to accompany." This Greek verb is employed in LXX of Joshua and Judges of the gathering around of leading warriors (Josh 10:24), of Jephthah's accompanying the elders of Gilead (Jdg 11:8), and in Codex Alexandrinus (Vaticanus has only πορεύω) the going out of the daughters of Israel to mourn the death of Jephthah's daughter (11:40). The occurrence of this verb in Jdg 13:25 (Vaticanus has συνεκπορεύομαι) is indeed disquieting, for it departs from other translations of

16 The designation "bread of heaven" to describe manna in Neh 9:15, which parallels 9:20bc, may be derived from Deut 8:3, in which the provision of manna stands in a position parallel to the contention that God "humbled you by letting you hunger, then by feeding you with manna . . . in order to make you understand that one does not live by *bread* alone, but by every word that comes from the mouth of the LORD." More likely is the expression due to common liturgical usage, for Ps 78:24–25 describes mannna as the grain of heaven and the bread of angels.

17 Volz (*Geist Gottes*, 153–56) adds other texts which may be included, though he is not certain about what he calls their "hypostatic nature": (1) Zech 4:6; (2) Isa 34:16 (cf. Zech 6:8); (3) Ps 143:10 (cf. Zech 13:2). He interprets (156–57) the reference in Ps 104:29–30 as an hypostatized cosmic spirit, not completely independent but the organ through which God creates. We may add as well some observations about 1–2 Chronicles. To depict the onset of the spirit, the author employs older formulae. (1) The spirit clothes, לבש, in 1 Chron 12:19; 2 Chron 24:20, as it had Gideon in Jdg 6:34. (2) The spirit is upon, היה על, in 2 Chron 15:1–2 and 20:13–15, just as the evil spirit (1 Sam 16:16, 23; cf. 19:9 with אל) and the evil or good spirit (19:20, 23) were upon Saul, and as the spirit was upon Othniel (Jdg 3:10) and Jephthah (11:29). Whether these similarities are evidence that the Chronicler understood the spirit in a manner similar to the author of 1 Samuel as an angelic or demonic spirit of God is not certain.

18 Friedrich Büchsel, *Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1926) 73.

פעם in the LXX by suggesting that the spirit of Yahweh began to accompany rather than to trouble Samson from this point in time. Such a translation indicates the presence of the belief in the Greco-Roman era that a spirit of God could be present by accompanying rather than possessing someone. Moreover, this translation corroborates the interpretation of the spirit in Judges which was proferred earlier, namely, that the spirit is conceived of as an angelic being which, in the case of Samson, began its interaction with him in the vicinity of his family burial ground—precisely where a reader in Antiquity might expect spirit activity.

2. 1 Kings 22:19–24

William R. Shoemaker observed that the absence of the definite article in LXX translation of 1 Kgs 22:21 suggests that the spirit is "one among many spirits surrounding the throne of God."[19] A related translation, noted Shoemaker, characterizes LXX Num 16:22 and 27:16, in which the Hebrew, "God of the spirits (breath) *of* all flesh," is translated by LXX, "God of the spirits *and* of all flesh." In the Hebrew רוח refers to human life and breath; πνεύματα in LXX refers "most likely to the unembodied spirits who act as God's messengers."[20]

To Shoemaker's observation we may append another concerning 1 Kgs 22:24. Zedekiah in the Hebrew asks how the spirit of Yahweh *crossed over* from him to speak with Micaiah, "What way did the spirit of Yahweh cross over from with me to speak (with) you? LXX, by omitting the verb, עכר, alters entirely the conception of the spirit in this text. The initial Hebrew words, אי זה, with the verb, עבר, denote, "Which (way) did it cross . . . ." Without the verb, עבר, the initial words, אי זה,[21] refer not to the way of crossing but to the spirit: "Which spirit . . . ." This question in LXX, as opposed to MT, presupposes a multiplicity—or at least a duplicity!—of spirits, including at least the spirit in the divine council and a lying spirit. One may, of course, postulate that the Hebrew verb, עבר, was lacking in the *Vorlage* used by the LXX translators, but this scenario seems unlikely since this verb was present in the *Vorlage* utilized by the author of 2 Chronicles, who actually clarified any potential ambiguity with the addition of דרך, "Which *way* did the spirit of Yahweh cross over? . . . (18:23). This was the *Vorlage* of the LXX, which translates 2 Chron 18:23 with the words, ποίᾳ τῇ ὁδῷ . . . . The LXX translation of 1 Kgs 22:24, then, constitutes evidence that Greco-Roman interpreters saw in 1 Kgs 22:19–23 a multiplicity of spirits of Yahweh: "Which spirit? . . ."

3. Isaiah 63:9–14

The first reference to the angel of the presence and the final reference to the spirit of Yahweh in this hymn are significant. MT 63:9a reads:

לֹא צָר וּמַלְאַךְ פָּנָיו הוֹשִׁיעָם

LXX translates:

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19 "The Use of רוח in the Old Testament, and of πνεῦμα in the New Testament: A Lexicographical Study," *JBL* 23 (1904) 37.

20 Shoemaker, "Use," 37–38.

21 These words are translated consistently in LXX 1 Samuel–2 Kings by ποῖος (2 Sam 15:2; 1 Kgs 13:12; 2 Kgs 3:8).

οὐ πρέσβυς οὐδε ἄγγελος ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κύριος ἔσωσεν αὐτούς

This translation requires pointing צָר as צַר and inserting the adversative conjunction, ἀλλά: "Not an emissary (ambassador) or an angel but his [God's] presence saved them." This forceful contrast between God and an emissary has a polemical edge which suggests that a quite divergent view existed in the Greco-Roman period, according to which an angel had delivered Israel from Egypt.

Startling indeed, in view of this polemical tone, is the presence of the view that an angelic spirit did lead Israel according to LXX Isa 63:14:

κατέβη πνεῦμα παρὰ κυρίου καὶ ὡδήγησεν αὐτούς

Two characteristics of this LXX translation are significant. First, LXX takes the verb, תרד, with what follows (רוח) rather than with what precedes (כבהמה בבקעה); thus the spirit, not the cattle, descends.

Second, the spirit is not רוח יהוה but πνεῦμα παρὰ κυρίου. In the LXX, in which the expression, πνεῦμα κυρίου, occurs frequently,[22] the preposition, παρά, often signals an independent רוח. In LXX Num 11:31, a wind went out from (παρὰ) Yahweh and brought quails. In 2 Chron 18:23, Zedekiah depicts the movement of the spirit from himself to Micaiah with the words, παρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ λαλῆσαι πρὸς σέ.[23] The connotation of separation is particularly evident in LXX Isa 57:16. The Hebrew reads:

כי־רוח מלפני יעטף ונשמות אני עשיתי

According to the Hebrew text, God will not remain angry forever because people to whom God gives life would become utterly wearied by God's anger. LXX translates עטף unusually by ἐξέρχομαι, perhaps because of the presence of מן in מלפני: πνεῦμα γὰρ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐξελεύσεται καὶ πνοὴν πᾶσαν ἐγὼ ἐποίησα, i.e., (a) spirit will go out from God, for God made every breath.[24]

Taken together these elements suggest that the LXX translator understood Isa 63:14 to refer to a spirit which descended from Yahweh in order to lead the people of Israel to Canaan. This dual action of descent and leading evokes images of the pillar of cloud, which descended at the tent (Exod 33:9) and in which God descended (e.g., Num 11:25; 12:5), although this cloud is never in the canonical text referred to as רוח. The reference may be to the angelic presence of God, as we have have suggested as well for the Hebrew text of Isa 63:7–14, although its descent is only implicit in God's sending; presumably God must send it from on high, from which God is said intermittently to descend (e.g., Exod 24:16; Num 11:17).

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22 E.g., Num 11:29; 1 Sam 10:6, 11:6, 16:13–23; 2 Sam 23:2; 1 Kgs 18:12, 22:24; 2 Kgs 2:16; 2 Chron 15:1, 20:14.

23 The prepositional phrase is employed with respect to human life in Isa 38:12, where despair in the presence of death is depicted by the image of the cutting off of a beam of a weaver, preceded by the words, τὸ πνεῦμά μου παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐγένετο.

24 The reference, which is now to God's spirit, not to human spirits, appears to be eschatological, for the words, πνεῦμα γὰρ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐξελεύσεται, parallel LXX Isa 51:4: ὅτι νόμος παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐξελεύσεται καὶ ἡ κρίσις μου εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν.

4. Micah 2:7, 11; 3:8; and Haggai 2:5

Mic 2:11 begins: לו־איש הלך רוח ושקר רזב. The words, רוח ושקר, ought to be translated, "wind and lie" or, more idiomatically, "empty falsehoods." The LXX, however, interprets these words as a reference to a lying spirit. This translation of רוח ושקר by πνεῦμα ψεῦδος is probably influenced by 1 Kgs 22:22–23 and 2 Chr 18:21–22, which contain references to a πνεῦμα ψευδές. The personal nature of the spirit is accentuated further in LXX Mic 2:11, where this lying spirit is not put in the mouth of the prophets but stands in the midst of Israel and lets drip wine and intoxicating drink:

πνεῦμα ἔστησεν ψεῦδος ἐστάλαξέν σοι εἰς οἶνον καὶ μέθυσμα

The central figure in LXX Mic 2:11, then, is a false spirit which has taken its stand and made Israel drunk.

This portrayal parallels LXX Hag 2:5, in which the spirit as an angelic presence stands in the midst of Israel:

Hag 2:5: καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐφέστηκεν ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν
Mic 2:11: πνεῦμα ἔστησεν ψεῦδος

LXX Hag 2:5 (consonant with its Hebrew *Vorlage*) encourages Israel by depicting the angelic spirit of the exodus standing in Israel's midst. LXX Mic 2:11 indicts Israel by depicting the false spirit standing in Israel's midst.

This reference to a demonic false spirit in LXX Mic 2:11 may have implications for the interpretation of the spirit in LXX Mic 2:7 and 3:8, both of which diverge, though in differing measures, from the Hebrew. Although Mic 2:7 indicts he house of Jacob for cutting short God's "patience," הקצר רוח יהוה, LXX translates:

οἶκος Ιακωβ παρώργισεν πνεῦμα κυρίου

Once again, the translation is far from idiomatic, so that רוח is translated as God's spirit.

Whether one ought to interpret LXX Mic 2:7 as a reference to God's spirit, understood as that component of God which, as in a human, can be grieved, or as an angelic spirit which is treated contemptuously, depends upon the weight one gives to two factors.

First, the closest counterpart to LXX Mic 2:7 is Isa 63:10, according to which Israel disobeyed and grieved (מרו; παρώξυναν) God's angelic presence. If the understanding of the spirit in Mic 2:7 approximates its closest parallel, then the spirit which is grieved is, as in Isa 63:10 (and Exod 23:21), God's angelic presence in Israel.

Second, because Mic 2:7 and 2:11 belong to the same prophetic oracle, they interpret one another. If they are interpreted in relation to one another, then the spirit of Yahweh in LXX Mic 2:7 ought to be understood as the angelic counterpart to the evil demonic spirit of LXX Mic 2:11. This interpretative contrast is indeed appealing: Israel has spurned Yahweh's own angelic spirit (2:7) and prefers instead a false spirit which stands in its midst and makes them drunk (2:11).

In light of the LXX translators' willingness to introduce spirits in Mic 2:7 and 2:11, the symmetrical contrast between a spirit of Yahweh (2:7) and a false spirit

(2:11), together with the parallel with Isa 63:10, tilt the balance in favor of interpreting LXX Mic 2:7 as a reference to an angelic spirit.

The divine spirit is again the focus in LXX Mic 3:8. In the Hebrew, the spirit of Yahweh is one of the elements, alongside power, justice, and strength, with which the prophet claims to be filled:

ואולם אנכי מלאתי כח את־רוח יהוה ומשפט וגבורה

In the LXX, in contrast, the prophet is filled by power, justice, and strength, but not by the spirit:

ἐὰν μὴ ἐγὼ ἐμπλήσω ἰσχὺν ἐν πνεύματι κυρίου καὶ κρίματος καὶ δυναστείας . . . .

The claim to being filled with the spirit of Yahweh was altogether acceptable; in Isa 11:2–3, for instance, the verbs, ἀναπαύομαι and ἐμπίμπλημι, depict the presence of God's spirit. Instead, the translator of Mic 3:8 describes the spirit as the means or person by which the prophet is filled with power and justice. This modification is not minor, for it alters the conception of the spirit from that which is imbued to that by means of which the prophet is imbued with power and justice.

On the basis of the interpretation of spirits in LXX Mic 2:7 and 11, it is not improbable that the spirit in LXX Mic 3:8 is understood as an angelic presence. According to the LXX, Israel grieved God's true angelic presence (2:7; cf. Isa 63:10) by which true prophets are filled with power, justice, and might (3:8), and listen instead to a false spirit which stood among them and made them drunk (2:11).

B. Judith 16:14; Assumption of Moses; 2 Apoc. Bar. 21:4, 23:5

Certain poetic passages in the Hebrew Bible suggest that God's רוח is responsible for creation. In these texts, God's breath, by word (Genesis 1) or inbreathing (Genesis 2), is instrumental in creation. For example, Elihu states (Job 33:4):

> The רוח of God has made me,
> and the breath of the Almighty [ונשמת שדי] gives me life.

In Ps 33:6, the psalmist claims:

> By the word of Yahweh the heavens were made,
> and all their host by the רוח of his mouth.

In Ps 104:29–30, the psalmist praises God's creative power:

> When you hide your face, they are dismayed;
> when you take away their breath,
> they die and return to the dust.
> When you send forth your רוח, they are created,
> and you renew the face of the ground.[25]

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25 See also Job 26:12–14.

In similar later texts, this spirit seems perhaps to have taken on a life of its own. Jud 16:14, in particular, transforms Psalm 104:30a (LXX Ps 103:30a) in this way. The Psalm reads:

ἐξαποστελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμά σου καὶ κτισθήσονται

The corresponding line, Jud 16:14c, reads:

ἀπέστειλας τὸ πνεῦμά σου καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν

As Volz observed, the spirit in Psalm 104 is still presented as the organ through which God creates. In Judith 16, in contrast, the spirit is the subject of the verb, "build." It is no longer a vehicle through which the creation is built but the subject which builds.

Noteworthy as well are three pseudepigraphical texts to which Volz called attention.[26] In *2 Apoc. Bar.* 21:4 and 23:5, the spirit may be an independent being which creates. In 21:4, Baruch prays,

> O hear me, you who created the earth, the one who fixed the firmament by the word and fastened the height of heaven by the spirit, the one who in the beginning of the world called that which did not yet exist and they obeyed you.

In 23:5, the spirit and the realm of death may be personified: "For my spirit creates the living, and the realm of death receives the dead." I am not sure at all that these references present the spirit as other than the means by which God creates: by the breath which produces word (Genesis 1), God created the heavens (*2 Apoc. Bar.* 21:4), and by divine inbreathing (Genesis 2), God creates humankind (*2 Apoc. Bar.* 23:5).

The third text Volz noted occurs in a citation by Gelasius of the Assumption of Moses. During a conversation between the archangel Michael and the devil, Michael claims:

ἀπὸ γὰρ πνεύματος ἁγίου αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐκτίσθημεν.
καὶ πάλιν λέγει
ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθε τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐγένετο

This claim may suggest, as Volz contends, "die hier ausgesprochene Überordnung der Geisthypostase über die Engel."[27] Volz's interpretation is plausible, particularly since the reference is not merely to spirit or breath but to "holy spirit." This interpretation is not, however, altogether certain. Unlike Jud 16:14, in which the divine spirit is the subject of a verb (ᾠκοδόμησεν), in this citation, God, not the spirit, may be the subject of ἐκτίσθημεν, and the spirit may be the means, not the subject, by which ὁ κόσμος ἐγένετο. Mention of God's face, in fact, may imply that God's holy breath—by word or inbreathing—was the means by which the angelic and physical worlds were created.

Although among these texts, Jud 16:14 alone definitively portrays the creative spirit as an independent being, the other texts leave open the possibility that the spirit was regarded as an independent subject responsible for creation. In *2 Apoc. Bar.* 23:5, for instance, the spirit actually creates the living, while in the citation

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26 *Geist Gottes*, 157–58.

27 *Geist Gottes*, 158.

by Gelasius, the attribution of creation to the holy spirit of God rather than to the breath of God permits the interpretation espoused by Volz of the holy spirit as creator.

C. The Two Spirits

The thorniest question this essay addresses is whether the two spirits of 1QS 3–4 are to be interpreted primarily as spirits instilled in human beings or as cosmic spirits which influence human beings. If the spirits are cosmic beings, then the Qumran scrolls provide a salutary example of the belief that God's spirit was believed to be an angelic presence. However, although an enormous amount of scholarship has attended this question—much of it exceptionally good—there still exists no *consensus communis.* Consequently, the following discussion is a distillation of what appear to me to be the most compelling arguments for both sides of the debate.

1. The Two Spirits and Iranian Influence

The early discussions of K. G. Kuhn and A. Dupont-Sommer postulated Iranian influence to explain the two spirits in 1QS 3–4.[28] The similarities between 1QS 3–4 and the Gathas of Zarathustra are indeed striking. 1 QS 3:17b–21 introduces the discussion of the two spirits:

> He [God] created man to rule the world and placed within him two spirits so that he would walk with them until the moment of his visitation: they are the spirits of truth and of deceit. In the hand of the Prince of Lights is dominion over all the sons of justice; they walk on paths of light. And in the hand of the Angel of Darkness is total dominion over the sons of deceit; they walk on paths of darkness . . . .[29]

To this corresponds Yasna 30.2–3 of the Gathas:

> Listen with your ears to the best of things. Reflect with a clear mind . . . upon the two choices of decision, being aware to declare yourselves to Him before the great retribution. Yes, there are two fundamental spirits, twins which are renowned to be in conflict. In thought and in word, in action, they are two: the good and the bad. And between these two, the beneficent have correctly chosen, not the maleficent.

Similar is Yasna 45.2:

> Yes, I shall speak of the two fundamental spirits of existence, of which the virtuous one would have thus spoken to the evil one: "Neither our thoughts nor teachings nor intentions, neither our preferences nor words, neither our actions nor conceptions nor our souls are in accord."[30]

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28 K. G. Kuhn, "Die Sektenschriften und der iranische Religion," *ZTK* 49 (1952) 296–316; A. Dupont-Sommer, "L'instruction sur les deux Esprits dans le Manuel de Discipline," *RHR* 142 (1952) 5–35.

29 Translations of DSS by F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

30 Translations by S. Insler, *The Gāthās of Zarathustra* (Textes et mémoires 1; Acta Iranica 8; Leiden: Brill, 1975) 33 and 75. For a description of the good spirit, see Yasna 47.

The singular advantage of this interpretation of 1 QS 3–4 as a product of Iranian influence is that it elucidates the emergence of *two* opposing *spirits* in Early Judaism, for, despite the presence of dualism in the Hebrew Bible—which Herbert G. May cited to explain the dualism of 1QS 3–4 without appeal to Iranian religion[31]—the Hebrew Bible contains no explicit reference to *two* opposing *spirits*. This crucial element, absent from the Hebrew Bible, is central to Iranian dualism.

Although acceptance of this influence does not *a priori* demand that the two spirits be understood as two cosmic entities—the quotations from the Gathas cited above maintain a strong emphasis upon human will—the tendency of those who espouse Iranian influence has been to identify the spirits as cosmic entities. This interpretation, therefore, permits the "spirits" to be identified with the cosmic beings, "angels of light and darkness" of 1QS 3–4.

2. The Two Spirits as Human Dispositions

P. Wernberg-Møller challenged this interpretation of the two spirits as cosmic beings, contending instead that they are to be understood as two dispositions within a human being, the precursor of the rabbinic concept of the two יצרים. From this perspective, the focus of 1QS 3–4 is not two cosmic spirits, each with its entourage, divided into the children of light and the children of darkness. On the contrary, the focus of 1QS 3–4 is the variety of human spirits produced by the struggle between truth and perversity *within* the human heart.[32]

Five of Wernberg-Møller's exegetical observations deserve mention. (1) 1QS 3:14 refers not to "two kinds" of spirits but to "all kinds" of spirits: ". . . concerning all the ranks of their spirits . . ." In other words, human beings are distinguished from one another on the basis of a variety of spiritual states and not because they belong to one of two mutually exclusive groups. In fact, the number "two" occurs only in 3:18.[33] The strength of this observation is deepened by A. Sekki, who observes that the clearest analogy to the conception, "their spirits," is 1QS 2:20, where the expression refers to the varieties of spiritual perfection of priests which are the basis for their rank in the community.[34] (2) 1QS 3:18, which mentions the placement of two spirits in human beings, alludes to Gen 2:7, which relates the inbreathing of the spirit into a human, not the creation of a cosmic spirit.[35] (3) 1QS 3:13–4:26 presents no strict dualism but rather a framework in which God is always stronger than the angel of darkness. Once again, the focus is not upon two equal and opposed cosmic spirits.[36] (4) The lists in 1QS 4:2–14, which contrast "the spirit of meekness, of patience, generous compassion, eternal goodness . . ." and "the spirit of deceit," do not refer to two cosmic spirits with their respective realms of morality. Rather each

31 "Cosmological Reference in the Qumran Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in Old Testament Imagery," *JBL* 82 (1963) 7–14.

32 "A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community (I Q Serek III,13–IV,26)," *RQ* 11 (1961) 418–34.

33 Wernberg-Møller, "Reconsideration," 419–20.

34 Arthur E. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruaḥ at Qumran* (SBLDS 110; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 195. See also 1QS 4:16; 4:24.

35 Wernberg-Møller, "Reconsideration," 422.

36 Wernberg-Møller, "Reconsideration," 425–27.

human, both within and outside the Qumran community, exhibits in varying measure the characteristics of these spirits, and it is the mixture of these characteristics which determines "all the ranks of their spirits" (1QS 3:14). The exegetical basis for this inference is that the sons of truth are referred to twice in the first list, but the sons of perversion are not referred to at all in either list. The intent of these contrasting lists, therefore, is not to distinguish between the children of light who exhibit the characteristics of the good spirit alone and the children of darkness who exhibit the characteristics of the spirit of deceit, for the latter group does not even come into the picture.[37] (5) 1QS 4:17–18 describes a fierce struggle, and 4:23–25 locates this struggle in the human heart: "Until now the spirits of truth and of injustice feud in the heart of man and they walk in wisdom or in folly." The nature of this struggle determines the particular *share* one has in the spirits of truth and perversion. Once again, the gradations of one's individual share form the basis for the varieties of "all the ranks of their spirits" (3:14) which members of the community exhibit.[38]

Recently A. Sekki has modified and strengthened Wernberg-Møller's position by maintaining Wernberg-Møller's interpretation of the two spirits as human dispositions while, unlike his predecessor, embracing as well the cosmic context which permeates 1 QS 3–4. Acording to Sekki, three different interpretations of רוח co-exist in 1QS 3:13–4:26. (1) The use of the feminine gender in the expression, רוחות האמת והעול signals a reference to human dispositions (3:18–19). (2) The use of the masculine gender in the similar expression, רוחי אמת ועול, signals a reference to the good and evil spirits which fill the cosmos. (3) The spirit of holiness or spirit of truth (4:21) is an awaited eschatological reality.

The cornerstone of Sekki's approach is the observation that the gender of the רוחות in 1QS 3:18–19 is female. In contrast, throughout the remainder of the Qumran literature, references to angelic beings as "spirits" occur with relative consistency in the male gender. Therefore, the two spirits in 1QS 3:18–19, as well as "the spirits of light and of darkness" in 3:25, ought to be interpreted as human dispositions and distinguished from the two angels (e.g., of truth and darkness) in 3:20–25.

When the author of 1QS 3–4 refers to human dispositions in a cosmic context, therefore, he employs the female gender of רוח.

Conversely, when רוח signifies an angelic being, the author employs the male gender, as in 1QS 4:23: רוחי אמת ועול. These spirits are to be understood as angelic and demonic beings respectively and distinguished from the two dispositions of 1QS 3:18–19.

According to Sekki, the author of this essay on the two spirits allows these two interpretations to co-exist in order to teach that "the pious must deal not only with their own sinful nature but also with the problem of demonic attack."[39] Sekki explains:

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37 Wernberg-Møller, "Reconsideration," 429–31.

38 Wernberg-Møller, "Reconsideration," 433.

39 Sekki, *Meaning*, 211. See also 4Q510, 1, 6, in which the demons attempt to destroy the heart of the faithful.

> the feminine gender shows that the author's intent is not to describe personal, angelic beings which exist alongside of man, but to show that the dispositions which spiritually define man are not merely individual or personal matters but are intimately related to a cosmic good and cosmic evil which transcend man. A refusal of those outside the community to follow sectarian law . . . shows that their innermost religious life, *i.e.*, their religious identity as human beings, has its primary source in a great cosmic Well of Darkness (3:19) . . . .[40]

Alongside these references to two human dispositions and a multiplicity of angelic and demonic beings, the author of 1QS 3:13–4:26 refers as well to the singular spirit of God as the "spirit of holiness" and the "spirit of truth" (4:21) in an eschatological context replete with allusions to Isa 44:3, Joel 3:1, and Ezek 36:25–27. The connection of "spirit of holiness," which refers unequivocally to God's spirit and "spirit of truth," which refers to a human disposition in 3:18–19, is perplexing. Sekki clarifies:

> . . . the author tries to reinterpret the traditional view of the sect that God through His Spirit will deliver His people from sin in the last days by describing the eschatological רוח קודש as the רוח אמת of 3:18/19. In this way the author indicates that the "holy Spirit" which will come from God in the future is really none other than the good spirituality given to the sectarian at his creation.

In 1QS 3–4, therefore, רוח refers to human spirits, angelic and demonic spirits, and the spirit of holiness or truth. The two spirits are human dispositions, not cosmic spirits, although they are continually influenced by cosmic powers. The holy spirit, though it shares a similar nature with the human spirits of truth, remains an awaited eschatological reality.

3. The Two Spirits as Angelic Beings

The positions espoused by Wernberg-Møller and Sekki are not without weaknesses. These inadequacies re-open the door again to an interpretation of the two spirits as cosmic or angelic beings.

First, Wernberg-Møller is compelled to interpret the word, תולדות, in 3:18–19 as human "natures," although, as May observed, in a context replete with creation imagery the allusion is to Gen 2:4, which concludes a creation narrative, Genesis 1, which is cosmic in scope.[41] The more natural meaning, "generations," is therefore preferable to human "natures."

Second, James H. Charlesworth has noted that 1QS 3:18 is not about the placement of two spirits *within* human beings—which Wernberg-Møller interpreted as an allusion to Gen 2:7—but the allotment of two spirits *for* human beings to follow. 1QS 3:18 reads וישם לו (as in 2 Sam 12:20) and not וישם בו. In this interpretation, human beings situate themselves in either of the two spirits; the two spirits are not situated within a human being.[42]

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40 Sekki, *Meaning*, 202.

41 "Cosmological Reference," 1–2.

42 "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS III,13–IV,26, and the 'Dualism' Contained in the Fourth Gospel," *NTS* 15 (1968) 396.

Third, Charlesworth has argued that various designations ought to be interpreted as synonyms. References to the spirit of truth (3:18–19), the prince of lights (3:20), God's angel of truth (3:24), and the spirit of light (3:25) should not be distingushed from one another but, on the contrary, interpreted as synonyms, particularly when they appear in a unified context characterized by an overall distinction between light and darkness, truth and falsehood. Analogously, various names for God—God of Israel, knowledge, and vengence—are "alternative names of the same reality" rather than references to three distinct gods.[43] Similarly, the children of light (3:13, 24, 25) ought to be identified with the children of truth (4:5–6).

These observations suggest that the focus of 1QS 3:18–25 may be two angelic spirits, designated variously as the Prince of Lights and Angel of Darkness (3:20–21), or "spirits of light and of darkness" (3:25). Generations (תולדות in 3:18–19) of human beings are distinguished on the basis of the spirit in which they choose to walk (3:20; 4:24), on the basis of whether the spirit of truth or the spirit of injustice is winning the battle within each human heart (4:23).

4. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs

A few significant references to the two spirits appear in these testaments. The foundation for the conception of the two ways is laid out in *T. Asher* 1.3–4:

> God has granted two ways to the sons of men, two mind-sets [διαβούλια], two lines of action, two models, and two goals. Accordingly, everything is in pairs, the one over against the other. The two ways are good and evil; concerning them are two dispositions [διαβούλια] within our breasts that choose between them.[44]

A diatribe on the two-faced person follows in which it becomes clear, as in 1QS 3–4, that there is no middle ground, for the two-faced are said to please Beliar (3.1–2). In fact, the two-faced are doubly punished because "they imitate the spirits of error and join in the struggle against mankind" (6.2; cf. 1QS 3:20–25). In the end, the two-faced cannot evade a display of their evil:

> For the ultimate end of human beings displays their righteousness, since they are made known to [or "recognize"] the angels of the Lord and Beliar. For when the evil soul departs, it is harassed by the evil spirit which it served through its desires and evil works. But if anyone is peaceful with joy he comes to know the angel of peace and enters eternal life.

These foundational texts share the perspective of 1QS 3–4 with respect to the influence of angels of God, the struggle of the spirits of error under the dominion of Satan against humankind, and the absence of a *via media* for moral action. What *T. Asher* lacks, however, is a precise reference to the two spirits.

This we discover in *T. Judah* 20.1–3, 5:

> So understand, my children, that two spirits await an opportunity with [or "devote themselves to"] humanity: the spirit of truth and the spirit of

[43] "Critical Comparison," 391.

[44] Translations from *OTP* (vol. 1); alternative translations in brackets from H. W. Hollander and M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (SVTP 8; Leiden: Brill, 1985).

> error. In between is the conscience [or "spirit"] of the mind which inclines as it will. The things of truth and the things of error are written in the affections of man, each one of whom the Lord knows . . . . And the spirit of truth testifies to all things and brings all accusations.

Unambiguous in this text is the presentation of the two spirits as angelic beings which stand apart from humankind; the two spirits are not here two human dispositions. Not entirely clear in this text, however, is whether the two spirits are two cosmic leaders or whether each person has his or her own respective angel and demon between which he or she must choose. The Greek text is ambiguous: δύο πνεύματα σχολάζουσι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ τῆς πλάνης. καὶ μέσον ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς συνέσεως τοῦ νοός, οὗ ἐὰν θέλῃ κλῖναι. In relation to 1QS 3–4, then, it is not altogether clear whether the two spirits ought to be identified with the Prince of Lights and Angel of Darkness or if they are two among the multiplicity of angelic and demonic spirits charged with influencing humankind in 1QS 3:18–25.

A third significant text is *T. Gad* 4.7:

> For among all men the spirit of hatred works by Satan through human frailty for the death of mankind; but the spirit of love works by the Law of God through forbearance for the salvation of mankind.

In this text, ambiguity once again rears its head. The two spirits could refer to hateful or loving human spirits, to loving angelic and hateful demonic spirits, or to the Angel of Darkness and Prince of Light. The last option is unlikely because, by depicting the spirit of hatred as Satan's co-worker with the verb, συνέργω, *T. Gad* 4.7 appears to distinguish Satan and the spirit of hatred.[45]

5. A Concluding Reflection on the Two Spirits

In the end, we arrive at an impasse about the nature of the two spirits. That good scholarship on both sides of this debate should end at an impasse is not surprising in light of the data being examined. Ancient thinkers do not share our penchant for creating discrete units of meaning—wind; breath; angel; spirit of prophecy.

On the contrary, the newness of Zoroaster's teaching was "his apprehension of primeval unity in the sphere of the divine . . ." with the result that the expression, "Bounteous Spirit" in the Gathas at some times represents the power in Ahura Mazda himself through which he thinks or perceives or acts, and at other times an independent divinity who hypostizes this power.[46] And the Stoics,

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45 See further Oscar Seitz "Two Spirits in Man: An Essay in Biblical Exegesis," *NTS* 6 (1959–60) 82–95, for a discussion of relevant biblical texts, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the Shepherd of Hermas.

46 Mary Boyce and Frantz Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism: Zoroastrianism Under Macedonian and Roman Rule* (3 vols.; Handbuch der Orientalistik. Abteilung 1, Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten. 8 Bund, 1. Abschnitt, Lieferung 2; Leiden: Brill, 1991) 1.193. The Bounteous Spirit is also one of the seven lesser deities who became guardian each of one creation: dominion in the sky; devotion in the earth; health in the water; good thought in the cattle; the bounteous spirit in the just person; and justice or truth in fire. See Mary Boyce, "Persian Religion in the Achemenid Age," *The Cambridge History of Judaism 1: Introduction; the Persian Period* (ed. W. D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 286.

of course, regarded πνεῦμα as the unifying substance of the cosmos.[47] Balbus, in Cicero's *De natura deorum* 2.19, claims that the world order is "maintained in unison by a single divine and all-pervading spirit."[48] In the writings of Qumran, the scenario is not altogether different, for the designations, holy spirit or spirit of holiness, describe equally God's spirit (e.g., 1QS 8:16; 1QH 7:6; 9:32), angelic spirits (e.g., 1QH 8:12; 4QSl 40, 24, 5), and the human spirit (CD 5:11–12; 7:3–4). Is it surprising that it should be so difficult to determine whether the two spirits are human or angelic?

D. The Angelic Spirit According to Josephus and Philo[49]

1. The Tale of Balaam

In the biblical tale of Balaam, Balak king of Midian sent for Balaam to receive from him an oracle which would ensure military victory. While travelling to meet Balak, an angel confronted Balaam, the seer, who ironically did not at first see the angel, while his ass did. Although the angel then commanded Balaam to say only what the angel would command (Num 22:35), Balaam's oracles are attributed also to God (Num 22:20, 38; 23:4–5, 12, 16, 26; 24:13) and the spirit of God (24:2 and LXX 23:7).

Philo dispels this ambiguity by attributing inspiration to the angel and the prophetic spirit—but not God. In an expanded version of Num 22:35, the angel predicted:

> . . . I shall prompt the needful words without your mind's consent, and direct your organs of speech as justice and convenience require. I shall guide the reins of speech, and, though you understand it not, employ your tongue for each prophetic utterance (*Vit. Mos.* 1.274).

This prediction was fulfilled when Balaam "advanced outside, and straightway became possessed, and there fell upon him the truly prophetic spirit which banished utterly from his soul his art of wizardry" (*Vit. Mos.* 1.277). Philo creates this integral relationship between the prediction of the angel and its fulfilment by the divine spirit by omitting the intervening references to God in Num 22:38 and 23:5. Such an alteration results in the interpretation of *the divine spirit as an angel.* While according to Numbers 22–24, God placed a word in Balaam's mouth, in Philo's version the angel who promised to prompt Balaam's words, direct his vocal organs, guide the reins of speech, and employ his tongue actually accomplished this when it reappeared, identified as the prophetic spirit. The prediction of the angel in *Vit. Mos.* 1.274 and its accomplishment by the

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47 On the rational and divine nature of the spirit, see Plotinus, *Ennead* 4.7.4 and Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* 1; *De falsa religione* 5.

48 See also Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De mixtione* 216.14–17.

49 This section presents briefly and summarily what I have argued in substantial detail elsewhere. On Josephus, "The Debut of the Divine Spirit in Josephus's *Antiquities*," *HTR* 87.2 (1994) 123–38; "Josephus' Interpretation of the Divine Spirit," *JJS*, forthcoming 1996; On Philo, "Two Types of Ecstatic Prophecy According to Philo," *SPhA* 6 (1994) 83–89; "The Prophetic Spirit as an Angel According to Philo," *HTR*, forthcoming 1995 (contains also a discussion of Josephus' view of Socrates); and "Inspiration and the Divine Spirit in the Writings of Philo Judaeus," *JSJ*, forthcoming 1995.

prophetic spirit in *Vit. Mos.* 1.277 describe the same event, the former prospectively and the latter retrospectively.

Philo confirms this identification of the angel with the prophetic spirit by means of a crucial exegetical modification. According to Num 23:5, God was the source of Balaam's oracle. Philo, however, substitutes for this direct reference to God (Num 23:5) an oblique reference to "another." That this "other" is the angel is evident in the repetition of the verb, θεσπίζειν, in *Vit. Mos.* 1.274 and 1.277. The angel had claimed that it would prophesy (θεσπίζων) by using Balaam's tongue without his understanding; now Balaam prophesied (θεσπίζει) by means of "another" who "cast into" him what he should say.

According to Philo's version of Balaam's inspiration, then, an inspiring angelic spirit displaced Balaam's rational faculties and utilized his vocal organs to produce a prophetic utterance. This portrayal of the spirit as an angel and its method of inspiring Balaam is strikingly similar to Josephus' version of Balaam.

Josephus omits all biblical references to the divine spirit prior to the tale of the ass; the delay of the introduction of the divine spirit to this point results in the identification of the divine spirit with the angel. Josephus carefully draws a parallel between the approach of the *divine angel* and the ass's perception of the *divine spirit*:

> But on the road an angel of God confronted him [ἀγγέλου θείου προσβαλόντος αὐτῷ] in a narrow place . . . and the ass whereon Balaam rode, conscious of the divine spirit approaching her [συνεῖσα τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ὑπαντῶντος] . . . (*Ant.* 4.108).

The manner in which Balaam is inspired by this angelic spirit is proffered by Balaam himself in response to Balak's accusations:

> . . . thinkest thou that it rests with us at all to be silent or to speak on such themes as these, when we are possessed by the spirit of God? For that spirit gives utterance to such language and words as it will, whereof we are all unconscious . . . (*Ant.* 4.119; cf. 4.121).

Balaam explains that the divine spirit takes hold (λάβῃ) and lets loose sounds and words (φωνὰς . . . λόγους . . . ἀφίησιν); it utilizes (λάβῃ . . . ἀφίησιν) the seer's mouth to produce the sounds and words it wills. For Balaam this experience entails the loss of rationality. He is not in himself (οὐκ ὢν ἐν ἑαυτῷ; *Ant.* 4.118), becomes unconscious (οὐδὲν ἡμῶν εἰδότων; 4.119) and no longer possesses his faculties (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ἔτι φθάσαντος εἰσελθεῖν ἐκείνου ἡμέτερον; 4.121).

As in Philo's version, In Josephus' version of the tale of Balaam, the divine spirit is an angelic being which utilizes the mouth of the mantic to produce the words and sounds of its choosing. Balaam's rational faculties are rendered inactive by the invading presence of the divine spirit.

These interpretations, as I have detailed elsewhere, reflect the influence of the explanation of Delphic inspiration propounded by Cleombrotus in Plutarch's *De defectu oraculorum.* Cleombrotus attributes the obsolesence of oracles at Delphi to the departure of the mediating demons, the divine messengers:

> Let this statement be ventured for us, following the lead of many others before us, that coincidently with the total defection of the guardian spirits

> [δαιμονίοις] assigned to the oracles and prophetic shrines, occurs the defection of the oracles themselves; and when the spirits flee or go to another place, the oracles themselves lose their power . . . (418D; cf. 431B).

The passivity of the speaker is expressed by the simile of musical instruments: when the daemons return, "the oracles, like musical instruments, become articulate, since those who can put them to use are present and in charge of them" (418D).

The two elements of inspiration, the presence of an angelic being and the passivity of the mantic, which characterize Cleombrotus' interpretation, are present as well in Philo's and Josephus' interpretations of the tale of Balaam, both of whom identify the angel of Num 22:35 with the spirit of Num 24:2 and stress the passivity of Balaam in the spirit's presence.

2. The Divine Spirit and Socrates' Daemon

Plutarch's *De genio Socratis* contains an illuminating discussion of the nature and power of Socrates' inspiring sign or genius.[50] Simmias, the central spokesperson of the dialogue, explains that Socrates received this communication because of the exemplary purity of his mind:

> Socrates [asserts Simmias] had an understanding which, being pure and free from passion, and commingling with the body but little, for necessary ends, was so sensitive and delicate as to respond at once to what reached him. What reached him, one would conjecture, was not spoken language, but the unuttered words of a daemon, making voiceless contact with his intelligence by their sense alone (*Gen Soc.* 588D-E).

Socrates was not alone in this experience but belonged to the race of daemonic persons who receive similar communications. Later Simmias continues:

> . . . the messages of daemons pass through all other people, but find an echo in those only whose character is untroubled and soul unruffled, the very people in fact we call holy and daemonic. In popular belief, on the other hand, it is only in sleep that people receive inspiration from on high; and the notion that they are so influenced when awake and in full possession of their faculties is accounted strange and incredible (*Gen. Socr.* 589D).

Still later in the discussion, Simmias relates the myth of Timarchus of Chaeroneia, in which τά δαιμόνια are daemonic beings who communicate directly with the minds of daemonic people. Timarchus, hoping to learn the nature of Socrates' sign, descended into a crypt and had a vision in which he saw

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[50] Plato referred to this phenomenon vaguely as τὸ δαιμόνιον (*Euthyphr* 3B; *Ap* 40A; *Ap* 31D), as Socrates' "customary sign" *Phaedr* 242C; see also *Euthydem* 272E). Xenophon, in order to defend Socrates against the charge that he rejected the gods of the state, went so far as to include Socrates' daemon alongside acceptable forms of divination such as augury (1.1.4), and to include it alongside the state gods (1.1.5). The anonymous second century BCE author of *Theages* took his cue from Plato's *Phaedr* 242C, and identified it as a voice (128D–29D). In the subsequent, successive centuries, the nature of Socrates' genius was taken up by Cicero, in his *Divin* 1.122–24, by Plutarch, in his *Gen Soc.* 580B–82C and 588B–89F, and by Maximus of Tyre, who devoted the eighth of forty-one exhortations (*Orationes*) to the question, "What is the daemon of Socrates?"

a variety of stars, some trembling above the great abyss, others sinking, and others shooting up from the abyss. A voice explains to Timarchus, "you see the daemons themselves" (*Gen Soc.* 591D). The orderly daemons are connected to "souls which good nurture and training had made submissive to the rein . . ." (*Gen. Soc.* 592A). From these souls, "which from their very beginning and birth are docile to the rein and obedient to their daemon, comes the race of diviners and of people inspired" (*Gen Soc.* 592C).

Discernible in this fascinating discussion are three elements from one vein of first century interpretations of Socrates' daemon. First, the daemon of Socrates and the daemons which guide daemonic persons are not divinity understood in general terms—as the word, δαιμόνιον, might be interpreted—but independent daemonic beings. Second, the process of communication presupposes the highest level of rational awareness. And third, daemons communicate intelligently only with people of exceptional virtue, people of the daemonic race.

These observations bring us to Josephus' Daniel. According to Josephus' *Antiquities* 10.239, Baltasares (the biblical Belshazzar) tells Daniel that he has learned of him "and his wisdom and of the divine spirit that attended him and how he alone was fully able to discover things which were not within the understanding of others . . ." This paraphrase preserves the biblical association of the divine spirit with the wisdom which distinguishes Daniel from his peers.

This paraphrase is a significant departure from the references to the divine spirit in Dan 5:11–14 which underlie it. Three times Daniel 5 asserts that Daniel had the divine spirit *within* him.[51] Josephus instead writes that the divine spirit *accompanied* Daniel: ὅτι τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ πνεῦμα συμπάρεστι . . . . This alteration signals that Josephus is ill at ease with the biblical point of view. The divine spirit does not, according to Josephus, indwell Daniel; rather it accompanies him.[52]

Josephus' unease is evident further in his paraphrase of Dan. 6:4. Like Daniel 5, Dan 6:4 attributes Daniel's distinction from his peers to the excellent spirit *within* him: ὅτι πνεῦμα περισσὸν ἐν αὐτῷ. Josephus' paraphrase qualifies this assertion by the addition of a participle, πεπιστευμένος, and the omission of the word, πνεῦμα.

> And so Daniel, being held in such great honour and such dazzling favour by Darius and being the only one associated with him in all matters because he was believed to have the divine spirit in him, became a prey to envy . . . .

The key addition in Josephus' version is πεπιστευμένος: Daniel was *believed* to have had the divine within him. The key omission in Josephus' version is πνεῦμα. The spirit's presence is implied, in light of the earlier reference to it in Josephus' paraphrase of Dan 5.11–14, but its presence is muted. With these exegetical adaptations, Josephus avoids making any kind of dogmatic statement to the effect that a divine spirit actually did indwell Daniel.

The introduction of the verbs, συμπάρεστι and πεπιστευμένος, indicates Josephus' departure from the interpretation of the divine spirit presented by

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51 In θ Daniel 5, the queen says, ἔστιν ἀνὴρ . . . ἐν ᾧ πνεῦμα θεοῦ . . . (5:11) and . . . ὅτι πνεῦμα περισσὸν ἐν αὐτῷ . . . (5:12). Consequently, the king says to Daniel, ἤκουσα περὶ σοῦ ὅτι πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐν σοί (5:14).

52 See also LXX Jdg 13:24–25, which we have already discussed.

Daniel 5–6. Josephus chooses instead to impress upon his readers that Daniel possessed the highest of virtues and wisdom because the divine spirit *accompanied* him.

We can pinpoint more accurately the mode of inspiration presupposed in Josephus' exegetical adaptations by taking a sideways glance at Josephus' other writings. In his *Jewish Wars*, Josephus explains John Hyrcanus' gift of prophecy in this way: "For the daemon was in his company so that he was ignorant of nothing which was to take place . . ."[53] (ὡμίλει γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον). This attribution of prophetic inspiration to an accompanying divine presence neatly parallels Josephus' alterations of Daniel 5–6. The prophetic gifts of Daniel and John Hyrcanus, according to Josephus, ought not to be attributed to a divine presence within but to an accompanying divine presence without.[54]

The precise nature of this accompanying presence is apparent in Josephus's own version of Socrates' inspiration which he proffers in *Contra Apionem* 2.262–64. Of John Hyrcanus, we saw, Josephus writes, ὡμίλει γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον.[55] Of Socrates, Josephus writes, τι δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ σημαίνειν. Josephus' use of the indefinite pronoun, τι, indicates in shorthand that he understands the word, δαιμόνιον, in a manner extraordinarily similar to his contemporary, Plutarch, who attributes the inspiration of Socrates to "the unuttered words of a daemon . . ."—that is, as an independent spiritual being.

The scenario of inspiration associated with Daniel, John Hyrcanus, and Socrates, therefore, is unified. In all three instances, an accompanying divine being inspires a person of exceptional character. Josephus' refusal to accept the

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53 *Wars* 1.69. The word, "daemon" (τὸ δαιμόνιον), has a wide range of meanings, encompassing the divine, the Satanic or daemonic, or a divine sign, such as an earthquake. In the *Wars* and the *Antiquities*, Josephus populates the world with daemonic and angelic beings. For example, Herod attributes the virtuous action of his son Alexander to his being "guided by good daemons" (δαιμόνων ἀγαθῶν ἔτυχεν; *Ant* 16.210). Therefore, Josephus may intend to present John Hyrcanus as living in concourse with the daemonic world. Such a view was commonplace in the Graeco-Roman era. Cicero, for instance, attributes to Posidonius the view that some dreams occur because "the air is full of immortal souls, already clearly stamped, as it were, with the marks of truth" (*Div* 1.64).

54 The difference in vocabulary between θεῖον πνεῦμα in Josephus' version of Daniel and δαιμόνιον in his description of John Hyrcanus can be attributed to Josephus adherence to his biblical source in the *Antiquities*, a *Vorlage* by which he was not constricted in describing John Hyrcanus.

55 The word in *Wars* 1.69 could mean more generally that John Hyrcanus was gifted with prophecy because God associated with him. Such an interpretation might be supported by Josephus' substitution of "Deity" (τὸ θεῖον) for "daemonic" (τὸ δαιμόνιον) in *Ant.* 13.300, written nearly a quarter century later: ". . . for the Deity was with him (συνῆν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον) and enabled him to foresee and foretell the future." Two other alterations, however, suggest rather that Josephus, in the later version of the *Antiquities*, attempts to generalize the presence of the deity to include all three offices of John Hyrcanus—national rule, high priest, and prophecy—rather than limiting the presence of the deity to Hyrcanus' prophetic abilities. First, in the later version of the two sons which John Hyrcanus was said to predict, Josephus omits the verb, "prophesied" (προεφήτευσεν), which appears in the earlier version of *The Jewish War*. The two sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus, are national leaders, so Hyrcanus' foreknowledge is related as much to his role as king as it is to his function as prophet. Second, Josephus' attempt to include all three offices under the sway of God explains his preference in the later version for the verb, "was with" (συνῆν), rather than the earlier verb, "associated with" (ὡμίλει), which connotes more personal communication and concourse.

biblical view that the divine spirit inhabited Daniel can be explained by his clear preference for the view that the divine spirit which accompanied Daniel was a daemonic being which, in a manner parallel to Socrates and John Hyrcanus, remained in close association with Daniel.

A comparable coalescence of conceptions characterizes an exegetical expansion of Exodus 16, Moses' discernment of the sabbath, in which Philo interrupts the narrative to explain the nature of Moses' inspiration:

> Moses, when he heard of this and also actually saw it, was awestruck and, guided by what was not so much surmise as God-sent inspiration, made announcement of the sabbath. I need hardly say that conjectures of this kind are closely akin to prophecies. For the mind could not have made so straight an aim if there was not also the divine spirit guiding it to the truth itself (*Vit. Mos.* 2.265).

Philo carefully affirms in this commentary that Moses' prophetic possession entailed the sharpening of his rational capacities. The "God-sent inspiration" of the divine spirit did not displace reason, as in the case of typical prophetic inspiration, as Philo understands it, but instead guided Moses' mind intact to the truth. The two most significant words which Philo employs in this text to explain Moses' prophetic ability, "conjecture" (εἰκοσία) and "guide" (ποδηγετέω)—occur elsewhere in Philo's writings exclusively in association with the rational processes of the human mind. The presence of these words, εἰκοσία and ποδηγετέω, to explain Moses' inspiration signals the attribution of the highest achievement of human intellect to the divine spirit.

We can pinpoint even more accurately the model of inspiration Philo presupposes by turning to his autobiographical reflections, which he proffers in *Som.* 2.251–52, where Philo interrupts his praise of the vision-seeking mind, "the mind which is eager to see all things and never even in its dreams has a wish for faction and turmoil," with a reference to the invisible voice which he hears:

> I hear once more the voice of the invisible spirit, the familiar secret tenant, saying, "Friend, it would seem that there is a matter great and precious of which thou knowest nothing, and this I will ungrudgingly shew thee, for many other well-timed lessons have I given thee.

As in *De vita Mosis* 2.265, the divine spirit here is the essential ingredient of inspiration. Here, in *De somniis* this divine spirit is depicted as a person who addresses Philo as friend. As in *Vit. Mos.* 2.265, the process which leads to this knowledge is rational. The verb here, ἀναδιδάσκειν, indicates that Philo's experience is primarily one of being taught. Indeed, the instruction of the divine spirit is directed toward the human mind (διάνοια), when it is "eager to see all things and never even in its dreams has a wish for faction and turmoil."

One reason Philo's account of his experience is so interesting is that it resonates with Socrates' experience, as it is interpreted by Plato and Plutarch. First of all, Max Pohlenz long ago suggested that the use of the word, εἰωθός, to describe the recurrent presence of the divine spirit is a distinct allusion to Socrates' daemon.[56] According to Plato, Socrates referred to "the customary

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56 "Philon von Alexandria," *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 5 [1942] 473.

[εἰωθυῖα] prophetic inspiration of the daemon" (*Ap.* 40A), or "the daemonic and customary sign" (*Phaedr.* 242B), and "my customary daemonic sign" (*Euthyd.* 272E). Second, Philo's description of the process by which the divine spirit speaks as an echo (ὑπηχεῖ δέ μοι) corresponds to Simmias' belief, explained in Plutarch's *De genio Socratis*, that the "messages of daemons . . . find an echo" (ἐνηχοῦσι) in some people (*Gen Soc.* 589D). Third, Philo's description of the receptive mind as free from faction and turmoil corresponds to Simmias' contention that daemonic language can only be heard by those whose souls are untroubled and unruffled. Philo describes his own mind as free of turmoil (ταραχῆς); Simmias accuses the ignorant of being in turmoil, a state from which Socrates was free (τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀναρμοστίαν καὶ ταραχὴν ἧς ἀπήλλακτο Σωκράτης; in *Gen. Soc.* 589E).

The implication of these parallels is extraordinary: even as the ultimate source of Socrates' inspiration was a customary daemonic communication which echoed within his untroubled soul, so the ultimate source of Philo's exegetical insight is the customary communication of the divine spirit which echoes within his untroubled mind.

Once again, then, Josephus and Philo proffer independent instances in which the divine spirit is interpreted as an angelic being who accompanies and inspires people. The model presupposed in this exegetical transformation can be ascertained from Plutarch's *De genio Socratis*, in which daemonic beings inspire the minds of the daemonic race.

IV. Conclusion

This journey on the wings of the wind, so to speak, through corpora of Israelite and early Jewish literature, is now at an end. Its termination is, of course, provisional. Other texts (not least those included by Paul Volz in his study but relegated in the present study to notes) might profitably have been included in a more extensive analysis. For instance, we might discuss D. J. Harrington's translation of the anarthrous Latin, *spiritus sanctus*, in *LAB* 28:6 to refer not to *the* holy spirit but to "a holy spirit" which "came upon Kenaz and dwelled in him and put him in ecstasy, and he began to prophesy."[57] Or we might explore the reference to "the holy spirit, the angel of Phoibos" in the Greek Magical Papyri 3.289. The texts included in the present analysis serve nonetheless to provide a suitable foundation for discussion of the angelic spirit in the Fourth Gospel, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Ascension of Isaiah.

In preparation for that discussion, one essential observation may be drawn: conceptions of the spirit of God are frequently related to the interpretation of רוח as an angel or, conversely, the spirit is often *not* conceptualized as "die nach außen projizierte Abstraktion des inneren Wesens Gottes."[58]

In the major periods of Israelite and early Jewish history—pre-exilic, post-exilic, and Greco-Roman—the spirit of God is identified as an angelic being and contrasted with a demonic being. The spirit of God can be contrasted with an evil spirit (1 Samuel 10–19; LXX Mic 2:7, 11), included among the angelic host (1 Kings 22), and identified with the angelic presence of God in the exodus

57 *OTP* 2.341.

58 Volz, *Geist Gottes*, 169.

tradition (Isa 63:7–14; Hag 2:5) or the angel of Balaam's tale (Josephus, *Ant.* 4.108; Philo, *Vit. Mos.* 1.274, 277). Discussions of the spirit of God in Early Judaism and Christianity, therefore, ought to consider that interpretations of the spirit as an angelic presence are not necessarily the product of a growing hypostatization of the inner spirit or breath of God, as appears to be the case in texts such as Jud 16:14; the רוח or πνεῦμα of God could also be, and often was, interpreted as an angelic emissary of God.

The Greek Foundation-Legend: Its Form and Relation to History[1]

James C. Hanges
Fairfield, OH

When the ancient Greeks used the word κτίστης they usually had a specific paradigmatic figure in mind, the "founder of cities."[2] Founders, of course, followed in the footsteps of heros, becoming heros themselves for the communities they established.[3] The founder of cities was so pervasive a paradigm that nearly every Greek city in the ancient world sponsored a civic cult in honor of its legendary or mythical founder.[4] In fact, the role of the founder-figure itself finds its significance as both a model for action and as a fundamental category for the interpretation of action. The devotion of Greeks to the memory of their founders does not rest only on legend or myth, it is rooted firmly in the long history of colonization which characterizes the dynamic relationships within and between the independent Greek city-states, and later, as well, the imperial powers of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Because our present purpose is to examine the form of the legends which come to be told about such figures and the relationship between these legends and history, we must necessarily limit our description of the founders themselves.

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1 All translations, unless noted differently, are the author's; classical abbreviations conform to those used in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, or the *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*; for biblical subjects, abbreviations follow the *JBL* "Instructions for Contributors."

2 T. J. Cornell, "Gründer," *RAC* 12 (1982) 1112, also for synonyms, e.g., ἡγεμών, ἀρχηγέτης, and οἰκιστής; also, Prehn, "Ktistes," *PW* 11.2, Halb. 22 (1922) 2083–2087. For more recent work, see: W. Leschhorn, *"Gründer der Stadt": Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der grieschischen Geschichte*, Palingensia: Monographien und Texte zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft 20. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1984); I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1987). Leschhorn (346–86) lists forty-nine historical personalities identified as founders from the Hellenistic period alone, together with the number of times each is designated by one of these principle terms.

3 In his preface (1.2.1), Diodorus Siculus claims that it is because of the recording of history and the great deeds of which it has been made, that men have been motivated to become founders of cities. Founders approximate the status of the heroes in the ubiquity of cults established in their honor. Many cities claim foundation by heroes or demigods, who often give their names to the communities they found, e.g., Romulus, Livy, *Ab Urbe* 1.6.3.

4 I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization*, 11; Cornell, "Gründer," 1110, 1114, 1139–45; Prehn, "Ktistes," 2084. Miltiades, son of Cypselus and the founder (οἰκιστής) of Chersonesos in Thrace (sixth-century BCE), was honored with cult sacrifices and games, see: Hdt., 6.34–38, 103.4; Ael., *VH* 12.35.

From the early period of Greek colonization, the founder of cities was responsible for establishing the new community in all essential areas of social life. Despite the absence of any specific technical foundation-terminology, *Odyssey* 6.7–10, in its brief mention of the hero, Nausithous, provides early evidence for the resposibilities commonly associated with the founder-figure. Nausithous leads the people to the new community site and establishes the settlement there, seeing to its security by providing walls (l. 9), assuring the security of its domestic life, and inaugurating its cult. This pattern contributes to the standard of the founder for those who would attempt similar exploits. One crucial element of this standard, or paradigm, which is not explicit in this passage is the idea that the founder is the agent of divine will.

The role of Delphi is one of the most prominent features of the history of Greek colonization.[5] Thucydides makes it clear that in his day cities still regularly dispatched embassies to Delphi to receive oracular guidance in preparation for colonial expeditions.[6] And we find later that Plutarch assumes a general knowledge of a large number of legendary founders and their dependence on oracular guidance when he writes:

> . . . many things were communicated to them [to the founders of colonies], such as signs for recognizing locations, the times for activities, the shrines of gods across the sea, secret burial places of heroes, [things] hard to find for men setting forth on a distant voyage from Greece. You all, of course, know about Teurcer and Cretines and Gnesiochus and Phalanthus and many other leaders of expeditions who had to discover by evidential proofs the suitable place of the settlement granted to each.[7]

To be sure, a major change occurs in the hellenistic period. The impetus for the founding of colonies no longer comes from the independent πόλις, but from the supreme monarch. Now, agents of the king serve as the administrative officials in charge of foundations.[8] In addition, these helleninstic foundations

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5 For the view that the rise of Delphi is linked to its role in colonization, see: W. G. Forrest, "Colonization and the Rise of Delphi," *Historia* 6 (1957) 160–175; cf. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization*, 17–19. Apollo is often described as a founder and he is seen as the paradigmatic founder-figure, Call., *Ap.* 2.55–7; H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle I: The History* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956) 49–81; Cornell, "Gründer," 1112; Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964) 27. Not a single authentic oracle has been preserved from another site in the ancient world dealing with founding a colony, despite Cicero's mention of Zeus Ammon in *Div.* 1.1.2–3; cf. Paus., 8.11.12. The most significant evidence for Delphic involvement in colonization is the reference to the cult of Apollo Archegetes already attested for Naxos, the first colony founded in Sicily (734 BCE); Thuc. 6.3.1; App., *BCiv* 5.109;

6 1.22.2 (cf. *FHG* 219 [25]); 3.92.5; Malkin, *Religion and Colonization*, 26; Cic., *Div.* 1.1.2–3, "And, indeed, what colony did Greece ever send into Aeolia, Ionia, Asia, Sicily, or Italy without consulting the Pythian or Dodonian oracle, or that of Jupiter Hammon?" (trans. W. A. Falconer, LCL).

7 *Mor.* 407f–408a. The passage refers, of course, to the content of many of the Pythia's oracles to founder-figures, on this see Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1, 49–50.

8 For Alexander, Paus., 7.5.1–3; cf. also Cornell, "Gründer," 1121,1129–30; Prehn, "Ktistes," 2085; examples of kings who are called founders in the eastern Mediterranean include: Mithridates Eupator (Strab., 12.3.41; cf. 13.1.28; App., *Mith.* 561); Antigonos (Strab., 12.4.7);

are often little more than the renaming of an existing city, accompanied perhaps by the introduction of a Greek-styled constitution and the building of a gymnasium. Roman founders of cities can also be designated by Greek terms,[9] and consistent with its use among the Hellenistic monarchs, the title of κτίστης is bestowed upon Roman emperors in a characteristically Greek manner. The emperor is the benefactor of the state, and the title essentially takes on an honorary character, bestowed in gratitude.[10] Non-Greeks such as Josephus, whose familiarity with Greco-Roman culture is well-known, could describe non-Greeks as founders.[11] Nevertheless, despite the change in the actual character of those who are called founder in the Hellenistic-Roman period, the descriptions of their actions consistently portray these monarches in the same terms used for the paradigmatic founders of the past.[12]

The language of foundation also develops during the Hellenistic period. The word κτίστης, its synonyms, and the verb κτίζειν come to be applied to the establishment of various kinds of institutions, i.e., to the "founding" of altars, or to the founding of a group of *mystai*.[13] The language of foundation is not so much made up of a limited set of technical terms and expressions as it is a complex of themes and patterns within which a variety of terms may be used. The expansion of the use of these terms reflects the fact that the paradigm of the founder was no longer limited in its influence to the activites of monarches. The language of foundation continued to find expression in a variety of contexts because it remained relevant to the formation of social groups (especially religious associations of various sorts), because of the basic presuppositions it expressed about the nature of authority within these groups, and because of its value in legitimating their existence.

With respect to one of the most important of these contexts, we should recall that the founding of a city was a fundamentally religious act.[14] While founders

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Teurcer, founder of Salamina (Strab., 14.6.3); Seleucus Nicator (Strab., 16.2.4); Demetrios Poliorketes (Diod., 20.102.3; cf. Plut., *Demetr.* 53; Strab., 9.436); Eumenes II (*OGI* 301); Antiochus IV Epiphanes (*OGI* 253, also cf. no. 358; Polyb. 8.14; Plut., *Arat.* 53; Paus., 2.8.1); Pompeius (*IG* 12^2.140/1, cf. 171,203); Theophanes of Mytilene ("conditor," Tac., *Ann.* 6.18).

9 App., *BCiv.* 1.3.23–24; 2.3.23.

10 As we shall see in detail in due course, where Romans tell foundation stories of the Greek type, they have followed Greek models; cf. Diokles in Plut., *Rom.* 3.1,8.9; but also cf. Cic., *Rep.* 2.37; Polyb. 6.10.14. However, the Romans do not borrow Greek terminology. There is no real Latin equivalent for κτίστης or οἰκιστής (Cornell, "Gründer," 1125,1144–45).

11 Referring to Herod the Great, *Vit.* 37.4; *BJ* 1.417.

12 Recall Diodorus Siculus' description of the motivation of history (the stories of the founding deeds of great men, presented earlier in n. 3). For the rulers of the Hellenistic-Roman period, the founding, or refounding, of cities provided a means by which to appropriate a revered virtue of the heroic past.

13 E.g., "κτίστης εἱερῶν μυστῶν," (Melos), F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1906) 37, no. B216, l. 4 (=*IG* 12.3.1098); cf. the so-called thiasos of Menekleides, Engelmann, *I.Kyme*, 30, ll. 4–6; cf. also Call., *Aet.* 73–83; *IG* 2^2.1364 (first-century CE, ll. 4–9); founders of altars, Pind., *Ol.* 7.42; Aristotle is called the founder of a philosophy, Dion. Hal., *Amm.* 1.5; Asklepios is the founder of the medical arts, Diod., 5.74.6; the deity can "produce (κτίζειν) fearless souls," Joseph., *BJ* 3.356; see Cornell, "Gründer," 1143–44.

14 Parke and Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, 49.

were guides, generals, city-planners, and lawgivers, one of their most important tasks was the transfer of cult, i.e., the establishment of new sanctuaries,[15] of cultic regulations and the organization of cultic calenders, and the enlistment of civic officers with cultic responsibilities.[16] In this role the founder imitates Apollo, becoming the mediator of religious practice, and the exegete of sacred tradition.[17]

The religious character of the founder of cities was directly tied to the validating role played by Apollo of Delphi. Whereas in earlier days, cities appealed to Delphi for guidance in their decisions about colonization, with increasing frequency, beginning in the Hellenistic period, cities and individuals call on Delphi to approve the expansion and revision of existing cults, or the introduction of new cultic institutions.[18] A growing number of those in the hellenistic period who found new cult sites or organize cultic societies receive honors similar to those bestowed on the founders of old.[19] Clearly, one of the most common aspects of the founder's role to survive the changes of the Hellenistic period was that associated with the transfer and establishment of cults.

The success of Asklepios provides a good early example of Delphi's validating role in the history of religion. The Delphic oracle issued recommendations for the foundation of new cult institutions;[20] the most famous example of which is the transferal of Asklepios from Epidauros to Rome.[21] Delphic sanction of the cult came in two forms: first Delphi, apparently very early on, confirms the popular mythology that Apollo is Asklepios' father, and also legitimates the

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15 B. D. Merritt, "Notes on Attic Decrees," *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 301–337, esp. 319, regarding a decree from Brea.

16 Malkin, *Religion and Colonization*, 1–2; Battos, founder of the Therean colony of Cyrene, brought the cult of Apollo to the god's new dwelling place, and probably transferred the Spartan Karneia festival as well, *Ap.* 65–75, 85–87. The presupposition that the founder of a city is by nature also the founder of its cults is a long-lived one in the Greek world. Plato assumes that the task of founding a political community, whether a city-state or a colony, inherently involves the founding and organizing of cultic institutions, *Resp.* 2.377–79, 4.427; *Leg.* 5.738b-e, 7.799a-b, 10.909d–910d; cf. Nilsson, *GGR* 2^2, 67.

17 Malkin, *Religion and Colonization*, 6, 27, 28, 31–41; cf. Aristid., *Or.* 27.5; Plut., *Mor.* 407f–408a; G. Vallet and F. Villard, "Les dates de la fondation de Megara Hyblaea et de Syracuse," *BCH* 76 (1952) 289–346; cf. *FGrH* 555 F9 = Strab., 6.257; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 19.2; Diod., 8.23.2; *I.Magnesia* 17; Ath. 4.173 = *FHG* 11 fr. 198a/Conon, *Narr.* 29 = *FGrH* 26 F1 (29); Livy, *Per.* 1.A., here Numa hands on traditional cultic rites (tradere . . . ritus sacrorum).

18 E.g., the Milesians dispatch an embassy to Didymus for consultation regarding modifications of their cult, *LSAM* 47 (228/27 BCE).

19 *I.Kyme* 30, l.5, a thiasos named after its founder (see n. 13, above); Call., *Aet.* 73–83, a sacrificial cult devoted to the founder; Archias and his descendencts, Paus., 2.26.8–9, cf. *I.Perg* 2.251; W. Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, trans. J. Raffan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985) 96, n. 12; a statue of a female founder, *IG* 4.840, ll. 12–13 (third-century BCE, cf. *LSCG* 58). For other female founders of cultic institutions, note, e.g., Stratonice, founder of the temple to Hera at Hieropolis (*Syr.D.* 14,17), and Mendora (κτίστρια), from Sillyum, chief priestess of the Sebastoi (*IGR* 3.801–2).

20 Cf. the foundation of Demeter Eleusinia in Pheneûs by Naûs (Paus. 8.15.1–5).

21 Ov., *Met.* 15.631–40; Val. Max., 1.8.2; *De Viris Illustribus* 22.1–3; cf. *IG* 4^2.121–22.33, ll. 9–12 (post 350 BCE, Thersandrus and the shrine of Halieis).

claims of Epidauros to be the birthplace of Asklepios.[22] This kind of validation was crucial to the god's acceptance in major Greek cities.[23]

Another hellenistic example is the inscriptional evidence for the transferal of the cult of Sarapis from Egypt to Delos. Although the founder of the cult, an Egyptian priest named Apollonios,[24] is not called a κτίστης, it is clear from the description of his action of cult transferal (i.e., bringing with him to Delos a small figure of the god which he set up in rented quarters) that he must be understood as a founder.[25] From a much later period, Lucian (*De Syria Dea* 1,10,17) preserves the foundation-legend of the famous temple of Hera at Hieropolis in Syria, founded by Stratonice, the wife of the king of Syria, Seleucus Nicator (312–282 BCE).[26]

Perhaps the clearest example of the association between the paradigm of the founder of cities and the establishment of cultic institutions is Tacitus' account of the introduction of Sarapis to Alexandria (*Hist.* 83.1–4).[27] He introduces the founder of the new cult, Ptolemy I Soter (305–283/2 BCE), carrying out very much the same tasks credited to earlier heroic counterparts like Nausithous. As Tacitus understood it, the role of the founder had changed very little;[28] and, as I will argue in what follows, the paradigm of the founder-figure, and the power of the genre of the foundation-legend determined that, despite the fact that Ptolemy was not the actual founder of Alexandria, credited with the introduction of the patron deity of the city, he would necessarily take on the role of a traditional founder of cities.[29]

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22 Paus., 3.26.4; *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 16.1–5.

23 E. J. Edelstein and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*, Publications of the Institute of the History of Medicine: The Johns Hopkins University, Second Series: Text and Documents 2 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1945) 120–121.

24 *IG* 11^4.1299, ll. 37–39, cf. ll. 2–3.

25 Cf. *IG* 10^2.255 (first-century CE, to be discussed below).

26 Plut., *Demetr.* 38; Actually, according to Lucian, the temple which stood then was not the original one attributed to the legendary Babylonian, Semiramis.

27 Cf. Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 28.361F–362A.

28 See Graham, *Colony and Mother City*, 25. Thucydides says that in his day city-founding is still done "according to ancient custom" (1.24.2).

29 "Aegyptiorum antistites sic memorant. Ptolemaeo regi, qui Macedonum primus Aegypti opes firmavit, cum Alexandriae recens conditae moenia templaque et religiones adderet . . . ." (83.1–4; text, C. D. Fisher, *Cornelii Taciti historiarum libri* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1911, repr. ed. 1967]), i.e., when Ptolemy was securing the country by remodeling Alexandria's walls, adding the sites for temples (i.e., delimiting the *temene*), and establishing the rites to be performed there.

The Genre of the Greek Foundation-Legend

Our evidence indicates that Greeks recognized by traditional practice κτίσεις writers and the particular genre of story they produced.[30] Perhaps the best example of the genre is Herodotus' account of Battos and the founding of the Therean colony of Cyrene in Libya.

This legend is one of the oldest and most elaborate of its kind. The basic story is found in book 4.145–161, although this version appears to stand on traditions which are older and widely distributed.[31] Herodotus begins, as we might have anticipated, in the age of the heroes,[32] with the sons of the crew of the Argos, who, after having been driven off by some Pelasgians, came to settle in Lacedaemonia (4.145).[33] The descendants of these heroes called themselves Minyans (Μινύαι, 4.145), and from their illustrious roots eventually comes the founder Battos. Their sojourn in Laconia is also troubled, and the Minyans are eventually expelled by the Spartans. However, a group of Minyans are incorporated in a group of Spartan colonists who establish a colony on the island of Thera.

We first meet the eponymous founding-hero, Theras, leader of the Lacedaemonian expedition, whose decision to lead the colony to the island which comes to bear his name is based on his own, and the island's inhabitants' mythical relationship to Cadmus (4.147–48). Theras intervened on behalf of the Minyans, who sought some form of escape from their increasingly hostile Spartan neighbors. It was Theras who had some of them assigned to his expedition. To the point where the Minyans and their Lacedaemonian comrades land on Thera,

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30 On "Ktisisliteratur," see Leschhorn, *"Gründer"* 116. Nothing of the original epic form has survived, yet elements do occur in Callimachus and these sources contribute to the background used by Pausanias and Strabo. The earliest example is probably a fragment of Xenophanes/Semonides, *FGrH*, 450 T1 (cf. 534 T1) in Diog. Laert., 9.20, which lists certain titles of works written about, e.g., the founding of Colophon, the colonization of Elea in Italy, cf. Polyb., 9.1.4; 12.26d; 34.1.3f where Timaios and Ephorus are honored for their stories; Charon of Lampsakos, *FGrH*, 262 T1; Hellanikos of Lesbos, *FGrH* 4F 66f; Hippys of Rhegion, *FGrH*, 554 T1, who wrote of the founding of Italy, the founding of Kroton and the founder Myskellos; Dionysius of Chalkis, *FHG* 4,393f; Ap. Rhod. in Powell, *Coll. Alex.*, 5–6, nos.5,7; cf. also Pl., *Hp. Mai.* 285d.

31 Herodotus distinguishes between the tale as told by the Cyreneans and as told by the Thereans (4.154). Other partial accounts can be found in Pind., *Pyth.* 4 and 5 (462 BCE); cf. Diod. 8.29; Call., *Ap.* 65–96; *SEG* 9.3 (fourth-century BCE); Parke and Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, 1.73–77; 2. nos. 39–42.

32 Also note Call., *Ap.* 2.65–79, where the founder's colonial group is linked to the generation of the heroes through the author's description of it as the "ἕκτον γένος Οἰδιπόδαο." For similar links between foundations and the age of the heros, cf. App., *Basilica* (Βασιλική) 2.2; also Leukippos (*Iliad* 6), the founder of Magnesia on the Maeander, Kern, *I.Magnesia* 17, ll. 36–43.

33 Lucian's account of the founding of the temple of Hera also reveals how easily the foundation-legend can appropriate mythical or legendary elements in the quest for venerable origins, *Syr.D.* 12–17. The original temple was built by the mythical Semiramis for her mother Decreto (14). Stratonice, the founder of the present temple (17), becomes difficult to distinguish from her mythical Babylonian counterpart (note that Kombabos, Stratonice's guardian, is also reminiscent of Humbaba from the Gilgamesh story; Amm. Mar. 14.16.17; *ANET* 97, Tablet 3; R. A. Oden, *Studies in Lucian's De Syria Dea*, HSM 15 [Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977] 36–41).

the two founding traditions (the Lacadaemonian and the Therean) agree (4.150). For the remainder of the story, Herodotus distinguishes two traditions, a Therean and a Cyrenean.[34] What Herodotus has narrated to this point has served to set the stage for the principal action which now begins with a descendent of Theras named Grinnos, king of Thera. As a Spartan, Grinnos, consequently, represents those Thereans who claim to be descendents of the original group of Spartan immigrants. Battos is, of course, a descendent of the Minyans. This will become inportant when we return to the issue of the legend and its role as propaganda.

Grinnos, accompanied by Battos, among others, is said to have visited Delphi to offer a hecatomb. As we should expect, the oracular response given to Grinnos by the priestess contained the command to found a colony in Libya. Grinnos, of course, was not expecting such a response from Apollo, and refuses to take the responsibility. The party left Delphi, making no plans to obey the god because of the difficulty of the task (4.150). The theme of hesitation or disobedience is, as we have seen, a constant element in the foundation-legend, and serves a major propagandistic purpose. The founder's hesitancy or outright refusal to obey provides the occasion to emphasize the initiative of the deity. The principle point of the legend is to validate the existence of the institution for which the legend has been generated, to show that the present institution exists because of the divine will; in this case, Cyrene exists because Apollo willed it so, and acted on his own behalf to see his will realized.

Refusal to obey is an invitation to disaster. The same god who selects the founder also chastises the hesitant founder. As a result of Grinnos' refusal, no rain fell on Thera for seven years. This threat drives the Thereans to inquire of Delphi again, another a common theme; the insistent deity will not allow the chosen one to refuse to comply. The priestess reminds the Thereans of their obligation to send forth a colony. Left with no options, the Thereans begin their preparations for the expedition and send out spies to locate the site (4.151).[35] Battos now becomes the principle character as Herodotus' account takes up the Cyrenean form of the legend.

Battos also went to Delphi in order to inquire of the god, in this case, regarding the prospect of finding a solution to his stammering problem. Instead of hearing what he expected, he was given a commission to go to Libya (4.155).[36] The stunned Battos responds with incredulity (4.155). His hesitation provides the opportunity for the introduction of the idea that Apollo is the true driving force behind events. In spite of his hesitation, Battos eventually obeys Apollo, and after a series of difficulties, succeeds in establishing the colony.

This brief review of examples consistently reveals two foci in the Greek evidence. The first is the legend's central narrative of the oracular selection of an individual for the purpose of founding a new social institution, and the divine

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34 Cf. Lucian's account of the traditions surrounding the foundation of the Hera's temple (*Syr.D.* 17).

35 Cf. Lucian, *Syr.D.* 19.

36 Cf. Plut., *De Pyth. or.* 405b; W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus in Two Volumes: with Introduction and Appendixes* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1912; repr. ed. 1991) 1.350–51; Malkin (*Religion and Colonization*, 27).

intervention of the deity to insure the completion of the task. The second focus is the function of the legend as validating propaganda. These two elements are definitive of the class.[37]

With respect to the structure of the story, as we shall see, a single foundation-legend can often be incorporated into longer narratives, be combined with others into composite traditions, and usually incorporates a wide variety of legendary and mythic motifs in its account of the founder and the founding events. Even so, without the two specific elements of the personal selection of the founder by the deity and the primary function as self-validating propaganda, it cannot be distinguished from other types. Therefore, I would propose that:

> the Greek foundation-legend is an account of the founding events of a city or social institution, originally produced to serve as validating propaganda within a polemical context on behalf of the newly-established institution, and which can be either a poetic or prosaic composition, the central theme of which is the divine selection of a specific founder (usually by name), through the direct appearance, the direct address, or the provision of an oracular sign by a god or divine intermediary, in order that the selected individual become the specific instrument commissioned to carry out the will of the deity by founding a specifc institution in a new (perhaps unknown) location.

With this proposed genre definition in hand, we will take a closer look at each of the two crucial elements.

The Personal Selection of the Founder by the Deity

The foundation-legend's most conspicuous element is the personal role of the individual founder as the instrument of the deity.[38] While non-Greeks often tell origin stories of one sort or another which share certain motifs and themes found in the Greek foundation-legend, it is the consistent emphasis on the individual founder and his/her selection by the deity for a specific task of founding which distinguishes the Greek form. In fact, Cicero points to the central importance of the individual founder, and the oracle each receives, as the definitive characteristic of Greek foundation. He recalls with approval the elder Cato's view that what distinguishes Roman from Greek foundations is the involvement of the many (the majority) in the former, and the role of the single individual in the latter (*De Republica* 2.3). In another text, he writes, "And, indeed, what colony did Greece ever send into Aeolia, Ionia, Asia, Sicily, or Italy without consulting the Pythian or Dodonian oracle, or that of Jupiter Hammon? (*De Divinatione* 1.1.2–3)"[39]

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37 This is clear from the distinctions made by Cicero between Greek and Roman practice (*Rep.* 2.3).

38 Leschhorn, "*Gründer*," 115; Cornell, "Gründer," 1129; Malkin, *Religion and Colonization*, 7, 23–27, 31; Plut., *Mor.* 263d–304f, esp. 294e.

39 Trans. Horace White, LCL; cf. App., *BCiv.* 1.3.23–24). Cicero does admit that in the earlier traditions, Roman stories still connect divine guidance with an individual founder, e.g., Romulus, father of the city, founded the city according to oracular guidance. But it must be remembered that Romulus was himself a skilled diviner (*Div.* 2.2.1). Moreover, this is not an analogous example of the personal selection of the founder by a deity, since there is no question about

For a Roman example, recall the traditions about the transferal of Asklepios to Rome. The basic details appear to constitute a widely shared body of tradition current at the turn of the millenium, and are also reflected in the minor witnesses regarding the sequence of events precipitating the dedication of the temple in 291 BCE.[40] The role of oracular guidance is clearly present in Valerius Maximus and *De Viris Illustribus*, but in a form distinctly Roman; we have no founder here, only a reference, and consistent with Cicero's comments mentioned earlier, a truly Roman reference to a delegation sent on behalf of the people of Rome.

Ovid's version of the story is, in comparison, quite outstanding; he tells of Rome's appeal to Delphi in hopes of finding a solution to the plague (15.630). The command to transfer Asklepios to Rome comes from Apollo himself (15.640). The Romans make their request of the Epidaurians, but they are hesitant to give up their god (15.643–50). At this point, where success is uncertain, Ovid introduces something not found in other versions, but something characteristically Greek, i.e., Asklepios appears to one of the Roman delegates in a dream-vision and assures him of success and the god's willingness to return to Rome (15.653–58).

The dream-vision to the Roman delegate functions, as a climactic element in the story, in the same way such dream-visions might function in Greek foundation-legends, i.e., to emphasize the god's action and his victory over opposition. However, it would be difficult to argue that Ovid's account of the transferal of Asklepios proves that Romans write the same kind of foundation-legend Greeks write. For one thing, it is generally agreed that, despite his tremendous creativity and originality, Ovid has used Greek literary models, and has full command of Greek epic style and technique.[41] Additionally, it must be pointed out that, despite the affinities of Ovid's story to Greek legends, we have no founder-figure here; the appearance of the god for reassurance is not the same thing as a divine commission (something never given to the Roman to whom Asklepios appears).[42]

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whether or not someone will found a city (the decision to found the city has already been made without divine initiative); rather, the unsettled issue is which man, Romulus or Remus, will give his name to the city (*Ab Urbe* 1.6.4–1.7.3).

40 Ov., *Met.* 15.622–744; Val. Max., 1.8.2; *De Viris Illustribus* 22.1–3; cf. also: Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 5.13.4; Strab., 12.5.3.; Livy, *Per.* 11 (cf. *Ab Urbe* 11.1, 59 BCE to 17 CE); Pliny, *HN* 29.1(8).16; Suet., *Claud.* 25.2; Cass. Dio, 47.2.3; and Arn., *Adv. Nat.* 7.44–48 (fl. 284–305 CE). According to Ernst Schmidt, *Kultübertragungen* RVV 8.2 (Gießen: Töpelmann, 1909) 31–84, the consistency shared by Val. Max. and *De Viris Illustribus* is the result of a common source, viz. Livy, *Per.* 11 (35). Schmidt describes the cult legend as cult propaganda meant to justify the acceptance of a foreign deity into the city of Rome (esp. 40–46).

41 Brooks Otis, *Ovid as as Epic Poet*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) 375–423, App. "On the Sources Used by Ovid," esp. 375–6; 388–9; 393–94.

42 Contrast Greek accounts of the transfer of Asklepios; here Asklepios is always transferred by a specific individual, or his acceptence is the result of an individual's experience, e.g., the Asklepieion of Pergamum was founded by Archias (fourth-century BCE) out of gratitude for healing, a healing which doubtless included a dream-vision during incubation (Paus., 2.26.8–9, cf. *I.Perg* 2.251, second-century BCE); for more on the role of gratitude, see: Edelstein and Edelstein, *Asclepius* 2, 119–120; Paus., 2.10.3;10.38.13. The same gratitude may be suspected in the case of the transfer of the cult to Athens (*IG* 2^2.4960a, 420 BCE, is the oldest witness to

With respect to Jewish sources, we can say that while cult foundation-legends may be included in the variety of narratives cataloged for the Hebrew bible, and while "cult-foundations" in Israelite tradition also incorporated divine revelations to particular individuals, these occurrences are epiphanies of discovery, or recognition. An individual encounters the divine at a particular location, and in recognition of the experience builds a sacrificial altar there.[43] The Israelite experiences never involve cult-transferal, nor does the deity command the individual to found a cult.

Of course, the most obvious exception to this appears to be the story of the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt under the leadership of Moses.[44] And because of the personal selection of Moses by the deity, it must be admitted that the story looks much more like a Greek foundation-legend than the Roman foundation traditions we have cited.

However, here the focus is on the deliverance of an oppressed people.[45] It is the story of Yahweh's saving act on behalf of his people;[46] the wilderness travels and conquest of Canaan, though critically formative to the national identity, would nonetheless be consequent to this primary theme.[47] The point of the Exodus tradition can be seen in summary in the admonition to pass on the traditional understanding of the significance of the Passover, "And when in time to come your son asks you, 'What does this mean?' you will say to him, 'By the might of his hand the Lord brought us out of Egypt, out of the house of bondage'" (Exod 13:14–15).

Asklepios as a god and describes the transfer of his epiphany, the snake, to Athens on the chariot of Telemachus, who placed it in residence in the Eleusinian); cf. Ar., *Plut.* 620–21. Also cf. Plato's critical assessment of the tendency among his people to found cult sites in response to dream-visions (*Leg.* 10.909D–910A). Plato, like Cicero, associates personal visionary experience with foundational activity. For Cicero this is distinctive of Greek foundations, for Plato it is an undesirable commonplace in his own society.

43 O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction including the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and also the Works of Similar Type from Qumran*, The History of the Formation of the Old Testament, trans. P. R. Ackroyd (New York: Harper & Row, 1965) 43–44; cf. G. von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, trans. E. W. Trueman Dicken (London: SCM Press, 1984) 20–26;172–73; contra. B. O. Long, *The Problem of Etiological Narrative in the Old Testament*, BZAW 108 (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1968); B. Childs, "Study of the Formula, 'until this day,'" *JBL* 82 (1963) 279–92, esp., 290.

44 The Exodus story is amazingly similar to the Battos legend. On the connections between Greek and Pentateuchal narratives, see: Sara Mandell and David Noel Freedman, *The Relationship between Herodotus' History and Primary History*, USF Studies in the History of Judaism 160 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993) esp. 26–29,159–177; but cf. J. Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983); Idem, *The Life of Moses: The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus-Numbers* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994).

45 Exod 3:6–8; it is true, however, that in 5:1, the purpose of the deliverance of the people appears to be comparable to the Greek examples, at least with respect to its cultic purpose; cf. Exod 3:12, to worship their god "upon this mountain" (also 19:6, cf. the Magnesian who also considered themselves ἱέροι to Apollo, *I.Magnesia* 17).

46 Von Rad, *Hexateuch*, 7, 53; Noth, *Pentateuchal Traditions*, 47–51; R. Rendtorff, *The Old Testament: An Introduction*, trans. J. Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986) 10–11.

47 Cf. T. L. Thompson, "The Joseph and Moses Narratives," in *Israelite and Judean History*, ed. J. H. Hayes and J. M. Miller (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977) 175–76.

Avoiding the question of the traditional source-critical analysis for Exodus 1–15, we must deal with the question of the significance of the text as it now stands.[48] If we assume that this final version of the text is older than any of the Greek material, we would have to concede that the Greek-style of foundation-legend is not exclusive to Greeks. However, the final form of the text may be a much later development than has been traditionally assumed. Van Seters has consistently argued that the source-critical divisions of the Pentateuch do not, as surely as often supposed, prove the existence of definable and contemporarily-independent documents which have been woven together to form the present narratives.[49] Should this be the correct scenario, then the question of dependency could be turned on its head; Herodotus, or Greek legend-forms could lie behind the similarities we have mentioned between the Battos story and the story of Moses in the Exodus.[50] It is sufficient to say that the developmental history of the story of Moses and the Exodus, and the relevance of its comparison to Greek foundation-legends, is more complicated than might be supposed.

More importantly, the Hebrew scriptural tradition itself does not understand the events of the Exodus in the same way Greeks understand the founding of a colony or city. For the Jewish tellers of the tale, the story of the Exodus remains a story of deliverance.[51] The people are not brought to a new place, but to the land of their fathers. A new nation is created perhaps, but it is the children of Abraham who are rescued from oppression in a foreign land in order to receive the promises made by the deity to their patriarch. Moreover, the type of propaganda referred to above extends to a more fundamental level here than in the Greek examples; in none of the Greek stories we have examined is a founder selected to found a nation separate and distinct from others.[52] Because of this,

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48 F. V. Winnet, "Re-examining the Foundations," *JBL* 84 (1965) 1–19); cf. G. W. Coats, *Moses: Heroic Man, Man of God*, JSOTSup 57 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988) 19; Van Seters, *In Search of History*, esp. 220–22, 359.

49 *The Life of Moses*, 29–30,126–7,133–145; but cf. also Mandell and Freedman, *Herodotus' History and the Primary History*, 139–40; contrast A. F. Campbell and M. A. O'Brian, *Sources of the Pentateuch: Texts, Introductions, Annotations* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993) 12–16.

50 Certainly we must grant that Herodotus' story, as the occurence of the same basic elements in Pindar suggests, is older than Herodotus. The founding of Cyrene is a seventh-century foundation, and it is not unlikely that its legend grew up soon after. While the form of the tradition described is different than our foundation-legend, M. Weinfeld has argued that there are similarities between the stories in Num 32:34–42 and Greek colonization accounts in order to suggest that these stories do in fact contain kernels of historical information ("The Extent of the Promised Land—The Status of Transjordan," in Georg Strecker, ed., *Das Land Israel in biblischer Zeit*, Theologische Arbeiten 25 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983) 59–75, esp. 61–65.

51 Cf. Deut 6:20–23 (cf. Deut 26:5b–9); Joshua 24:2b–7a; 1 Sam 12:6–8; Pss 78:11–14,42–54; 105:23–38; 135:8–9; 136:10–15. Note the title of Van Seters' first chapter in *The Life of Moses*, "Moses the Deliverer"; cf. Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary*, The Old Testament Library (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974) 223. On the call of Gideon as the model for the call of Moses to be deliverer, see N. Habel, "the Form and Significance of the Call narratives," *ZAW* 77 (1965) 297–323, esp. 305; Van Seters, *The Life of Moses*, 53–63.

52 We can see the distinction clearly again in the example of the Cyrenean traditions; Herodotus tells us that long after the initial founding of the colony, because the colony had not grown in population, Apollo encouraged all Greeks (Ἕλληνας πάντας) to sail to Cyrene and settle among the Cyreneans, who had, in fact, invited the immigration (4.159).

even if we should conclude that the Exodus story does in every essential respect belong to the same genre as the Greek foundation-legend, the Exodus story could never have become the paradigm for later Jewish writers describing other "foundings."[53] The Exodus tradition is a singular event, the primary symbol of national identity and therefore unrepeatable.[54]

In the Roman period, however, the telling of the Exodus story reflects certain important developments in the traditional understanding. In his account of Moses and the Exodus, Josephus can speak of the prophecies of Moses' birth (*AJ* 2.205, cf. 209), make use of the mythical description of the newborn as self-evidently of extraordinary quality (*AJ* 2.224, 232), and describe Moses as the στρατηγός and ἡγεμών of the people (*AJ* 2.268, this is the pair of titles given to Moses in his oracular commission at the burning bush). Moses is also the one who institutes the cult of the new community, and writes its constitution and laws (*AJ* 2.311, cf. 3.213,222). It is interesting to note, however, the significant differences between Josephus' telling of the tale and that of Philo. While Josephus would not wish to avoid the divine call of Moses as deliverer at the burning bush, he consistently avoids the usual foundation language of divine revelation and oracle. God appears to Moses, to be sure, but these reports are offered with little embellishment. And certainly Moses is never called κτίστης by Josephus.

Only with Philo do many of the common themes of the Greek foundation-legend emerge.[55] Throughout his account of the Exodus, Philo consistently refers to Moses with the technical term, "ἡγεμὼν τῆς ἀποικίας (commander of the colonial expedition)."[56] That Philo is consciously using the technical terminology of colonial foundation to describe the events of the Exodus is clear from his statement of its purpose; Moses led the nation from Egypt, "οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἀλλ' εἰς ἀποικίαν ἐξήεσαν."[57] This "re-casting" of the story is not unexpected given Philo's sophisticated acquaintance with Greek culture. His is an interpretatio Graeca of the Exodus tradition, not an example of a native

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53 This is fundamentally a descriptive distinction between the emic and the etic, i.e., the connections between elements is the carrier of meaning, not the appropriation of similar elements.

54 Only in similar dire straits, where the nation must again be delivered from destruction, do we find the appropriation of the rhetoric of the "Exodus" (by the re-emerging, post-exilic community). Clearly, the Exodus served fundamentally as a symbol of national deliverance, not as a foundation story (see esp. Deutero-Isaiah 43:16–17; 51:9–11).

55 Here Moses' personal call by God is prominently illustrated by the role of oracle. As the commission account is being shared with Israel, it is described as a series of oracles, *Vit.* 1.86. The circumstances of his life were directed by divine providence for the purpose of preparing him for his role as ἡγεμών, *Vit.* 1.19; 60–61; 148–149. Moses is, of course, never called the founder of the people because in Philo's mind that distinction belongs to Jacob (*Vit.* 1.7). The founders of the nation are those persons who came to Egypt because of famine in their homeland (1.34). Correspondingly, Esau, the brother of Jacob is called the ἀρχηγέτης of the nations who opposed Israel on its migration to the promised homeland (1.242).

56 This is the title with which he is commissioned at the epiphanic oracle of the burning bush (*Vit.* 1.71; also cf. 1.86, 148, 163, 193–195, 198, 200, 236, 233, 243). Strabo also describes Moses in terms which conform to the language of foundation, 16.2.35–37.

57 *Vit.* 1.170; cf. *Vit.* 1.220 (ἀποικία being the standard term for the designation of the colonial expedition, LSJ s.v.).

Hebrew story which might also belong to the genre of the Greek foundation-legend.

With regard to other possible parallels,[58] in those accounts where we might suspect a foundation-legend written by Jews similar to Greek models, we do not find this type of narrative. It is clear from the texts that deal with the founding of Jewish institutions that, whereas Jews can move into all parts of the world, their god does not instigate these foundings in the manner of Apollo. The divinely appointed foundations have already been carried out in Jerusalem.[59]

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58 In the context of the later Alexandrian Jewish community, foundation terminology can be used to express a more fundamental presupposition; God is described as Colonial Leader, Founder, and Father (Philo, *Ebr.* 42). The word κτίστης can be applied to the Jewish donor of a public precinct and its associated facilities (including a *proseuche*) on behalf of the Ptolemaic rulers; W. Horbury and D. Noy, eds., *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt with an Index of the Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992) no. 155 = J. G. Milne, *Greek Inscriptions* (Oxford: University Press, 1905) no. 9296; cf. *CII* 2.1440. Jewish founders even retained certain privileges, just as Greek founders, see *CII* 1.694, ll. 16–24; H. Lietzmann, "Notizen," *ZNW* 32 (1933) 94; M. Hengel, "Die Synagogeninscrift von Stobi," *ZNW* 57 (1966) 145–83; B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives: répertoire des dédicaces grecques relatives à la construction et à la réfection des synagoges*, CahRB 7 (Paris: Gabalda, 1967) no. 10. But, there is no comparable foundation-legend here. Nor is there one in Josephus' account of the foundation of the Jewish mercenary colony in Phrygia by Antiochus III (*AJ* 12.148–53).

59 E.g., the founding of Onias' temple in Leontopolis in *BJ* 7.423, 1.30–33; cf. *AJ* 12.387, 7.287 and 13.62; on the apparent disparity in Josephus regarding the precise identity of Onias, see E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 4 vols. Rev. and ed. by G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Goodman (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986) 3.1, 145, n. 32; S. H. Steckoll, "The Qumran Sect in Relation to the Temple of Leontopolis," *RevQ* 6 (1967) 56; R. Hayward, "The Jewish Temple at Leontopolis: A Reconstruction," *JJS* 33 (1982) 430; L. L. Grabbe, *Judaism From Cyrus to Hadrian*, 2 volumes (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1992), *Volume 1: The Persian and Greek Periods*, 266–7. Cf. also the rise of the Hasmonean dynasty; in 1 Macc, despite the importance of Judas Maccabeus (2:66,9:21), only Mattathias, his father, is credited with any sort of initiatory or founding action as an individual (1 Macc 2: 24–27; Joseph., *BJ* 1.36–37; cf. 2 Macc 2:19). Even when we come to the accounts of the reclamation of the temple, the actions described are taken by groups of persons working in concert (1 Macc 3: 19–22, 50–53; 4:11, 24–25, 30–33; 9:46; cf. 2 Macc 8:2–5, 23–24). There is neither a divine call nor any prominence given to the agency of a single figure in accomplishing the will of the deity. As in the case of his father, Judas does not act at the instigation of the deity, but out of personal piety and patriotism. Contrast *BJ* 1. 36–37, where Josephus describes events in terms of the individual, viz., Matthias. Yet he sees no need to cast his narrative in terms of a personal call from the deity. Also cf. the Dead Sea community, and the role of the Teacher of Righteousness. Literary analysis of the community documents has shown that the group experienced its beginnings prior to the involvement of the Teacher of Righteousness, see A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning* (London: SCM, 1966). In CD we have the well-known passage which describes how, in the "Age of Wrath" (390 years after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzer), a "root" sprang from Israel and Aaron (1:9–11). This root was not a single individual but a group of sincerely repentent Israelites who, despite their sincerity, carried on in blindness, searching for direction. Only after twenty years did the Teacher of Righteousness come on the scene to provide leadership. Although it is clear that this figure brings on a new phase in the history of the group, his role remains in many ways ambiguous, see J. Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté," *RB* 76 (1969) 528–49. Only in CD is there anything close to a divine appointment of the founder (4QpPs 3:15–17). But we must keep in mind that with Josephus and the Qumran community we may well be dealing with Hellenistic influences, see M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism Studies in the*

Returning to the Greek legends, in most cases, the commissioning of the individual founder takes the form of a divine appearance; the god or his/her messenger appears to the founder, usually in a dream-vision, to instruct the chosen individual about the task. Some foundation stories, of course, present variations on this theme. For example, a founder can be designated by a miraculously-provided sign to those desiring to promote a colonial expedition.[60] In any case, the founder is personally selected by the deity to carry out a specific act of foundation or renewal.

This personal selection is always the initiative of the god.[61] In the most common case, Apollo chooses his servant through his oracle at Delphi. As the god is made the subject of the verb αὐτοματίζειν, the initiative of Apollo is explicitly acknowledged in the famous foundation inscription of Cyrene,[62] i.e., Apollo is the one who, of his own will, orders the colonization.[63] Often the god's initiative is emphasized through the unexpected nature of the commission, what has been called, the "surprised oikist" theme.[64] This personal selection, or call, may be augmented in the foundation-legend by a prominent emphasis on the background of the founder, i.e., the description of the founder may take on an heroic flavor. Nevertheless, whatever the various motifs used, the core of the story remains the oracular selection of the founder by the deity for the purpose of founding something which the god wills.[65]

Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974) 1, 224–225,243–45.

60 E.g., Miltiades, founder of Chersonesos in Thrace, (6th BCE), Hdt., 6.35; Parke and Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, 1.53, n. 13.

61 Cf. Plut., *De Pyth. or.* 407f–408a; Leschhorn, *"Gründer,"* 115; Hdt., 6.35; Paus., 8.15.1–5; 10.38.13; O. Kern, *Die Gründungsgeschichte von Magnesia am Maeandros: eine Neue Urkunde* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894). The idea that the gods are the actual founders of the city is quite common, Cornell, "Gründer," 1130–31, 33–35; e.g., Diod., 37.11.1 = Posidonius, *Fragmenta* 220; Dio Chrys., *Or.* 39.8; Hecataeus, *FGrH*, 3a, 264, frag. 25.115.

62 H. W. Parke, "A Note on αὐτοματίζω in Connexion with Prophecy," *JHS* 82 (1962) 145–56.

63 *SEG* 9.3, l. 24, cf. ll. 7–8; Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* no. 5, 5–9. Despite the fact that Thucydides believes cities plant colonies for purely rational reasons (3.92), he, nevertheless, describes the importance of Delphi to the process; it is "at the command of the god," he says, that cities are founded (3.92.5; cf. Parke and Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, 1.50–51; Malkin, *Religion and Colonization*, 26).

64 Malkin, *Religion and Colonization*, 27; cf. Leschhorn, *"Gründer,"* 115, even so, the individual importance of the founder is not thereby ignored. For additional examples of oracular intervention by the deity for the purpose of selecting the founder, see: Hdt. 6.35; Paus., 8.15.1–5; 10.38.13; Kern, *I.Magnesia* 17, ll. 11–15; 15–24; 26–35; 37–41; 43–51. The idea that the gods are the actual founders of the city is quite common, Cornell, "Gründer," 1130–31, 33–35; Diod., 37.11.1 = Posidonius, *Fragmenta* 220; Dio Chrys., *Or.* 39.8; Hecataeus *FGrH*, 3a, 264, frag. 25.115.

65 Founders are often assimilated to heroic figures by means of certain mythical motifs, e.g., the unusual or miraculous birth motif, or the motif of the physically impaired founder. Cornell calls the latter the "Motiv der 'Schande des Gründers,'" citing the characters of Battos of Cyrene (who had a stammering problem, Plut., *De Pyth. or.* 405b.) and Myskellos, founder of Kroton (who was a "hunchback," "βραχύνωτος"). Myscellus also goes to Delphi, as Battos had done, regarding a totally unrelated concern (the possibility of having children), only to have Apollo respond with a command to found the city of Kroton, Diod., 18.1; Cornell, "Gründer," 1117. Obviously, Moses' speech difficulties (Exod 4:10–17; 6:28–30) present a similar example of the disfunctional

We can find several examples of the continuing influence of this pattern in the Hellenistic-Roman cultic foundation-legends. For example, in the late third-century BCE account of the transferal of the cult of Sarapis from Egypt to Delos, the focus is on the foundation of the first Sarapieion, built by the grandson of the founder of the cult, Apollonius II, who claims that after he had received the priesthood, he was commanded by Sarapis in a dream to build the sanctuary.[66] In fact, the command to build a temple had come by a vision of the god, to the son of the founder, Demetrius. But due to this man's death, the task had to be completed by the grandson, Apollonios II. Oracular intervention also comes into play as Sarapis appears again in a dream-vision to Apollonius II, assuring him of victory over the instigators of a legal action against the sanctuary's construction (ll. 7,36–80).

There is also the well-known inscription from Thessalonica (probably first-century C. E.), recounting the transfer of the cult of Sarapis from Thessalonica to Locrian Opous.[67] In this case, Sarapis intrudes into the hostile relations between two political rivals (ll. 8–9), ordering the one (Xenainatos) to relate the god's command that the other (Eurynomos of Opous) should receive into his hometown (i.e., establish the worship of) the god and his sister, Isis, ll. 5–6. Sarapis even provides a miraculous letter to convince Eurynomos. Here, as well, the central theme is the epiphanic visitation of the deity to the founder commanding that the transfer be carried out, and the god's divine help in the effort. Another important example of the role of the personal commission in a cult foundation is the first-century inscription from Philadelphia publishing a set of bylaws for a newly-reformed cult.[68] Also in nearly the same period (92–91 BCE), the reformer of the mysteries of Andania, Mnasistratos, seems to have been motivated by an oracular command to reform the cult by turning its management over to the state.[69] Of course, we have already mentioned the selection of Stratonice by Hera in Lucian's version of the foundation-legend of

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founder, more on Moses in due course. Elements of this sort are commonly incorporated into the founder's legend.

66 P. Roussel, *Les Cultes égyptiens a Délos du IIIe au Ier siècle av. J.-C.*, Annales de l'est 29/30 (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1915–16) 71–83, ll.13- 14; ll. 49–51. Note that here we have another example of a god prescribing in an oracle (a dream-vision in this case) the precise location for his own sanctuary (ll. 14–18: 55–59).

67 *IG* 10^2.255, esp. ll.3–4; see: R. Merkelbach, "Zwei Texte aus dem Sarapeum zu Thessalonike: Ein Missionswunder," *ZPE* 10 (1973) 49–54; G. H. R. Horsley, ed. *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity: A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri published in 1976* (North Ryde, Australia: Macquarie University, 1984) no. 6, 29–32. According to L. Vidman, *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern: Epigraphische Studien zur Verbreitung und zu den Trägern des ägyptischen Kultes*, RVV 29 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970), the personal, private oracle is the norm in the cults of Isis and Sarapis (28).

68 *SIG* 3.985; S. C. Barton and G. H. R. Horsley, "A Hellenistic Cult Group and the New Testament Churches," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 24 (1981) 7–41. This text preserves the founder's (Dionysios) commission from Zeus in a dream (ll.3–4,12). Dionysios had already been managing a private cult in his home which the deity now commands to be opened to non-household members (ll. 4–11).

69 Cf. the so-called "Argive Oracle," *SIG* 3. 735 and *IG* 5^1.1390. Cf. also Diod., 5.48.2–5 for the role of Iasion in the reform of the Samothracian mysteries founded by Dardanus.

the temple of Hera/Juno in Hieropolis.[70] The similarities of these few examples provide clear evidence for the continuing power of the paradigm of the founder, as well as the way the demands of the genre of the foundation-legend conform the telling of the tale to the accepted pattern.

But perhaps even more remarkable is the evidence we have for the deliberate conforming of an individual's description of his own actions and experiences to this paradigm. We have seen this in Apollonios II's inscription from Delos. We also find an example of this in the private letter of Zoilos to Apollonios (257 BCE).[71] In this well-known text, Zoilos of Aspendos writes to Apollonios, a Ptolemaic official in Alexandria, regarding the command of Sarapis which he had received in a dream-vision on several occasions to build a temple in the Greek section of his town (ll. 4b–7a). At the command of the god, Zoilos was to recruit Apollonios' aid in the project. Zoilos' involved narrative describes how he had hesitated to carry out the divine command only to suffer illness, and how, at his supplication, Sarapis agreed to heal him if he would fulfill his responsibility (ll. 7–11). But again Zoilos fails, and Sarapis visits illness upon him a second time (ll. 15–17).

In his appeal to Apollonios, Zoilos admits that the reason he failed was his fear that Apollonios would reject his entreaty. His revelation makes transparent the usefulness of cloaking his request for Apollonios' help in the form of a divine command from the god himself. The truth behind the specific character of Zoilos' appeal to Apollonios is more likely the former's personal desire for the honor of building a temple in his hometown, a project which, unfortunately for Zoilos, exceeds the limits of his own resources and requires the resources of someone like Apollonios. Zoilos' willingness to appeal to Apollonios in this way presupposes the paradigm of the founder-figure, and that the foundation-legend is the proper literary model for such an appeal.[72] Clearly, the individuals involved in our examples were convinced that the paradigm of the founder provided the appropriate vehicle by means of which to validate their actions. This idea brings us, of course, to our second distinctive characteristic of the Greek foundation-legend.

The Function of the Foundation-Legend in Propaganda

We have already mentioned the common theme in foundation-legends of tracing the founder's origins back to the heroic age. This theme clearly informs the foundation-legend of Magnesia on the Maeander.[73] In a text reflecting the received legend at the end of the third-century BCE, the role of the oracle of Delphi, Apollo's selection of the founder (Leukippos), and the precise location

70 Lucian, *Syr.D.* 17–25.

71 *P.Cair.Zen.* 59.034; see: Adolf Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten: das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-romischen Welt*, rev. 4th ed. (Milan: Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1976) 121; Nilsson, *GGR* 2^2, 190; P. M. Fraser, "Two Studies on the Cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic World," *Opuscula Atheniensia* 3.7 (1960) 41–42.

72 Of relevance here is Livy's description of Numa's belief that it was necessary to pretend to carry on nocturnal conferences with the divine Egeria in order to get advice on cultic matters, 1.9.5, cf. 1.21.3.

73 Kern, *I.Magnesia* 17, ll. 14–15; cf. Parke and Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, 1.51,66–67.

of the colony at its present site are the prominent features. As a public document, prominently displayed for every visitor to see, the text reveals the Magnesians' desire to emphasize to the reader that the present location of the city is the original location founded by Leukippos under Apollo's direction. Other traditions offer some explanation for the Magnesians' need to make this point. In a tradition attributed to Parthenios, the Magnesians are said to have been lead by Leukippos originally to Ephesus instead of their present location. However, the Magnesians' pride of place among the cities of Asia Minor was their contention that they had been the first of the Greeks to colonize the area. As Kern rightly notes, the Magnesians would have polemicized against any tradition which would transfer the founding events to another location already populated by Greeks.[74]

The presupposition of this type of apologetic is the fundamental presupposition of the ancient world that the validity of any institution is a function of its ancient and venerable origins. As Leschhorn points out, by reaching back beyond the historical period, a city could lay claim to a hero or a deity, with whom the city could be connected, perhaps through an ancient visit (i.e., the visit of Hercules to Rome in Livy). In fact, cities with no known historical founder quite easily, as in the case of Magnesia on the Maeander, develop legends which retrieve a character from myth.[75]

The same attempt to claim an ancient and venerable heritage is also common in cult foundation-legends. As we have already pointed out, the success of the cult of Asklepios, and confirmation of his links to Epidauros, required the validation of Delphi. Here, as in the case of Sarapis, the reception of the new god draws strength from his acceptence by the old gods. In the foundation inscription of the cult of Sarapis on Delos, the authors commend their immigrant god to their suspicious neighbors by associating him with Apollo, the patron of the island (ll. 35–39a). They also publish, as an aretalogy of their god, the defeat of a law-suit filed by those who wished to prevent the cult from building a sanctuary for its god. Again in the traditions associated with Battos, we can see this appeal to antiquity; in Pindar's victory hymn in honor of the founder's royal descendant, Arcesilaos, not only is Battos the recipient of a commissioning oracle but he is also the subject of ancient prophecy. As the hymn-writer says, "the word spoken by Medea was fulfilled . . ." (*Pyth.* 4, l. 9).

Drawing on traditions regarding early fourth-century BCE events, Pausanias recounts one of the most extensive, surviving foundation-legends, i.e., the story of the reformation of the political and cultic community of Messenia by the Theban general, Epaminondas.[76] This story of the re-establishment of the Andanian Mysteries provides not only an example of the use of the foundation-legend in propaganda, but also an important example of the resulting complexity when competing foundation-legends are given time to coalesce. As Pausanias tells it, the story appears to bring together several strands of tradition, a characteristic of many foundation-legends.

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74 Kern, *Gründungsgeschichte*, 22.

75 *"Gründer,"* 117.

76 See J. Buckler, *The Theban Hegemony 371–362 BC*, Harvard Historical Studies 98 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980) 83–89; 103–109.

Picking up the story with the Theban liberation, the general, Epaminondas, requires divine guidance when he finds himself in doubt as to where to found a secure city in Messenia (4.26.6). At the point of crisis, an "ancient man" appeared to him in a dream-vision, commissioning the hero-founder to restore the Messenian homeland, and promising him victory and glory with his obedience. The divine figure had the appearance of a ἱεροφάντης, the characteristic priest of the Eleusinian mysteries.[77] This link to Eleusis is, of course, propaganda designed to enhance the reputation of the cult and links the role of Epaminondas to the opening lines of the legend which trace the cult's origin back to Delphi.

At this point in the tradition known to Pausanias, a separate Argive tradition about Epiteles has probably been introduced. According to Pausanias' account, the same divine visitor who appeared to Epaminondas also appeared to Epiteles, a general of the allied, Argive forces chosen by his people to re-found Messene. However, Epiteles is guided by the oracular dream-vision to dig between two specific trees where he would discover a brazen urn containing the tin scrolls on which the mysteries of Andania were inscribed. The story of Epiteles, and his discovery of the brazen urn, shows evidence of having been linked and subordinated to the figure of Epaminondas. Yet both of these figures are described as "founder."[78] It appears that the role of cult-founder has become attached to Epaminondas by virtue of his role as liberator. If so, this is due to the formative power of the cultural model of the founder, even when, from the historical perspective, it is doubtful that events actually transpired as the legend describes.[79]

The tradition about Epaminondas ends with the reference to the wrath of the Dioscuri (4.26.6). The words of the divine messenger reveal to Epaminondas that the anger of the twin gods has ceased, and for this reason Messene can now be restored securely. However, the logical continuation of this story is put off until section 27 where the theme of the cause of the Dioscuri's wrath is picked up again and explained. The explanation is itself concluded by returning to the original topic of Epaminondas' dream (4.27.3). The Epaminondas tradition continues along this line, detailing the Theban's strong inclination to found cities based on other oracular admonitions.

The description of Epaminondas' founding activities is very traditional, and in this form is complete and independent. However, the tradition of Epiteles cannot be ignored because it contains a most important element needed to fill

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77 The same type of appeal to Eleusinian origin can be found in Paus., 8.31.7 where the mysteries of the Great Goddess in Megalopolis are said to be a copy of those in Eleusis, cf. Nilsson, GGR 2^2, 95–96.

78 Epaminondas is called οἰκιστής in 9.14.5 and 15.6; οἰκιστὴς τῆς πόλεως in 8.27.2; for Epiteles see: 4.26.7.

79 Recall the story of Ptolemy I; Tacitus has placed the king in the position of founder, and yet avoids going so far as to claim that Ptolemy I is the actually "founder" of Alexandria by qualifying the king's activities as additional (. . . cum Alexandriae recens conditae moinia templaque et religiones adderet, . . . , *Hist.* 4.83). In this case, while Ptolemy is given all the essential tasks of the founder, the claims of Alexander to the title are too great to be contradicted. Nevertheless, such elements fill out the expected image of the founder, and seem to become attached naturally to such individuals.

out the foundation-legend. Specifically, the re-establishment of the cult is not made explicit in the Epaminondas tradition, despite the fact that historically the liberation of Messenia by the Thebans is the likely point at which the return of the refugees of the priestly family would have been possible. The Epiteles tradition, containing the dream-vision which results in the discovery of the τελετή of the mysteries, has been worked into the story in a very skilful way, i.e., Epiteles retains his position as the discoverer of the brazen urn while remaining secondary to the figure of Epaminondas. Epiteles' action is effectively subordinated by his immediate return to Epaminondas to whom he entrusts the as-yet-unopened urn. He tells the Theban of his dream, but asks Epaminondas to be the first to open the vessel. The Epiteles tradition is closed by a clever assimilation which casts the original cultic expert who had transferred the mysteries from Eleusis to Andania generations before (an Athenian named Caucon, 4.1.5) as the ἱεροφάντης who appears to both men (4.27.7–8).

The elements of the Epiteles tradition are easily discerned; this Argive general, described as a founder of cities, at the impetus of the oracular appearance of Caucon found the brazen urn containing the ancient mysteries and revealed them again to the people. As far as it goes, this foundation-legend is also complete in itself. It contains the dream-vision of the founder, the personal call, and the discovery of essential cultic elements. The founder is in effect "adopted" into the hereditary priesthood through the device of the private, oracular epiphany of the original founder, Caucon. Apparently however, this tradition could not exist independently because it had to compete with the much more deeply entrenched (and no doubt historically accurate) memory that it was Epaminondas and the Thebans, not Epiteles, who actually restored Messenian independence and provided the security necessary for the renewal of the mysteries.[80]

Despite the fact that the tradition did not specifically attribute the re-founding of the mysteries to Epaminondas, it nevertheless developed in a way which assumed that, along with his other marvelous deeds, the Theban general must have played a central role in this also. This example illustrates how persuasive and determinative the model of the founder-figure is, and the degree to which his duties form a complex of expectations which tend toward fulfillment in the foundation-legends developing around him.

The legend of Battos reveals a somewhat different use of the foundation-legend as propaganda. The mythic preliminaries of the legend establish, on the one hand, the important links with venerable tradition so crucial to the purpose of the legend. On the other hand, the description of the ancient tensions between the various groups incorporated in the subsequent history of colonization explains the source of the ongoing factional loyalties within the respective communities of Thera and Cyrene.[81]

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80 See: L. Ziehen, "Der Mysterienkult von Andania," *ARW* 24 (1926) 33; Nilsson, *GGR* 2^2.97–98.

81 This will be further elaborated below in the description of the factional identifications of Grinnos and Battos which are spelled out according to the various purposes of the competing legends, see: Leschhorn, *"Gründer,"* 116.

Declining to accept responsibility, Grinnos indiscriminately suggested to the priestess that the command to colonize better suited one of his younger companions. As he made the suggestion he pointed to Battos. As we shall see in comparing the two versions of the foundation-legend, the Thereans wish to discount the importance of Battos, making him the second choice of the god. Nevertheless, he cannot be dismissed because he is the central figure in actual events which are common knowledge. The foundation-legend's primary function in propaganda and self-validation shines forth with clarity here. The two communities, one identifying with the Lacedaemonians (Theras/Grinnos) and the other with the Minyans (Battos), use the medium of the foundation-legend to plead their respective cases.

With the shift to the Cyrenean form of the legend, Grinnos is no longer mentioned. The Thereans could not, apparently under the compelling weight of the traditions about Battos, simply replace Battos with a founder of their own.[82] The controversy in the competing traditions is not one over which founder is to be considered the true founder, as we have it in other complex traditions. Rather, the competing foundation-legends reflect competition between two lineages within Therean society.[83] The Therean version attempts to subordinate Battos' role to Therean authority at significant points in the narrative.[84]

In the Cyrenean account the narrative cycle predictably returns to origins; but this time, instead of appropriating some heroic genealogy for Battos, we find an account of the founder's birth which, according the Cyrenean version, includes motifs common to many legends of founders in a variety of cultural contexts.[85] He is born to the daughter of a Cretan king whose abusive stepmother succeeds in having her condemned to death by her own father. She is brought to Thera by a Therean trader, who saves her, despite his promise to the girl's father that he would see to it that she drowned (4.154–55). Arriving on Thera, Phronime is taken as the concubine of a notable Therean, Polymnestus, a descendent of the Minyans. To these two was born the weakly and stammering Battos (4.154–5).[86] The Cyrenean legend's only reference to Battos' heroic genealogy is the mention of his grandfather, the Cretan king who condemned his mother to drowning, and descendent of the Argonauts.

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82 One suspects that the Therean version presupposes the Cyrenean in that the Therean, although mentioning Grinnos as the original choice of Apollo as founder, never focused on a single founder-figure (Grinnos plays no further role in the founding activities once they are undertaken in earnest by the Thereans). Rather, the Therean version emphasizes their corporate initiative and portrays Battos as an appointee of the city. The question here is why the Thereans should mention Battos at all? Obviously, Battos is the undeniable element in the tradition, as the fourth-century Therean proposal to the Cyreneans (*SEG* 9.3) admits.

83 Those who claim Spartan descent versus those who descend from the Minyans, i.e., Grinnos versus Battos.

84 Not only is Battos' leadership the arbitrary suggestion of Grinnos (4.150), but also when the Thereans decide to send the expedition to Libya, Battos is portrayed as the one designated by the Thereans as ἡγεμών and king, not as κτίστης (4.153).

85 Recall those of Sargon the Great (*ANET* 119), of Moses (Exod 1:8–2:10), of Cyrus the Great (Hdt., 1.107–130), and of Romulus and Remus (Livy *Ab Urbe* 1.4.3–7).

86 Herodotus links the name Battos directly to the oracle of Delphi (4.155); but cf. Aristoteles in Pind., *Pyth.* 5, l. 116.

There are other subtle but important differences between the two versions. Whereas the Therean version says that Grinnos refused to accept the responsibility thrust upon him by Apollo, and that this refusal resulted in distress for the island, the Cyrenean version implies that the Thereans refused to help Battos in his attempt to carry out the will of Apollo (4.156). According to this scenario, the cause of the Therean problems was not the founder's hesitancy but the Thereans' uncooperative attitude. The theme of tension between Thereans and Cyrenean colonists also appears when, after an unfruitful attempt to establish their colony, the returning expedition is driven away from its former home by projectiles fired by the Thereans. With no alternative the colonists set sail again for Libya, landing on the island of Platea, off the coast. This section also differs from the Therean version in significant ways. Perhaps most importantly, with respect to the Therean version's claim that the colony which was sent out was representative of the whole population of Thera. The issue, even by the time of the fourth-century BCE inscription (*SEG* 9.3), still concerned the relationship between the descendents of the original colonists of Cyrene and the Thereans from the mother-city. In this decree, the Thereans from the mother-city have proposed a re-affirmation of rights supposedly granted to Therean immigrants who join the Cyrenean colony. That the decree is necessary implies a certain ongoing tension between the two populations. In order to make their appeal more persuasive the Thereans appeal to the foundation story, arguing that the equality of Thereans and Cyreneans was intended and provided for in the original foundation oaths and decrees issued at the time of the original colonization.[87]

In general, the emphasis on the founder is characteristic of the community which understands itself to be the legacy of the founder. Here the differences between the two versions stand out clearly. Throughout the Cyrenean story, in contrast to the Therean account, Battos is the focus[88]; the original oracle comes directly to him (not to Grinnos); Battos is Apollo's first choice. When trouble comes the solution is not the Thereans' appointment of Battos (as in the former version) but their aid to Battos (4.156). The real actor, Apollo, drives events through the founder of his choice. Cornell argues that the theme of the gods, through their oracles, giving the founding assignment to the founder is particularly characteristic of the local tradition and serves as an oracular legitimization of the state's existence.[89]

To sum up our review, while at one level the legends which come to be told about founders and their foundation of important social institutions, as origin accounts, share certain similarities with the etiological legend in that they

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87 4.153 contains the well-known passage describing the Therean lottery; Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 5, 5–9; Graham, *Colony and Mother City*, 27, 40, 224–26; J. H. Oliver, "Herodotus 4.153 and *SEG* IX 3," *GRBS* 7 (1966) 25–9. The second part of the decree (ll. 23–40) reviews the original founding document, cast as a resolution of the ἐκκλησία of Thera, in which the guaranteed rights are implied.

88 "Gründer," 1133; cf. Call., *Ap.* 2.65–79.

89 Citing *SEG* 9 3.25ff; cf. Parke, "Note . . . ," 145–46; Hdt. 6.139. The local tradition of Magnesia on the Maeander also focuses on the role of the founder, Leukippos, while other non-native traditions ignore him altogether, see: Kern, *Gründungsgeschichte*, 23.

explain how things have come to be the way they are at present,[90] the Greek foundation-legends belong to that category of origin account whose *Sitz im Leben* is to be located in polemic and apology. In other words, groups develop these accounts primarily as self-validating propaganda.[91] In the case of Zoilos' appeal to Apollonios, it is obvious that by delivering his appeal according to the generic characteristics of the foundation-legend, Zoilos recast the decision Apollonios was being asked to make; to refuse Zoilos was, in fact, to refuse the deity.

The Foundation-Legend and History

We now turn specifically to the issue of the relation between the foundation-legend and the historical events it purports to describe. We have seen that, as in the cases of Zoilos, Apollonios II, Xenainatos of Opous, and Dionysios of Philadelphia, personal actions and experiences can be cloaked in the language of oracle and divine intervention. While in these cases, no one would doubt that these individuals actually participated in the establishment of the cultic institutions with which they are associated, few would argue that gods actually appeared to each with divine instructions. Nevertheless, there are times when the information provided by foundation-legends is given great historical authority. One particularly well-known example is the foundation-legend of the cult of Sarapis at Alexandria. However, this story conforms in every way to our description of the genre of the foundation-legend. Consequently, I would argue that we can no longer assume that this account provides any reliable historical evidence for the origins of the Alexandrian cult, or, more fundamentally, for the history of the god himself.

It is common knowledge that from the beginning of the Hellenistic and into the Roman period, the cult of Sarapis continued generally to gain popularity,[92] becoming "one of the most important gods of later antiquity."[93] Since the work of Wilckens, the consensus has been that Sarapis' origin is to be traced to Osiris-Apis, the theriomorphic aspect of Osiris worshipped at Memphis.[94] Of course, in contrast to Osiris, Sarapis appears in relatively recent history, certainly not in any indisputable fashion before the last decades of the fourth century BCE. To be sure, in this context, we shall not attempt to deal with the complicated issues surrounding the origins of Sarapis. Rather, we shall limit our concern to the way

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90 Cf. E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. Joseph Ward Swain (New York: The Free Press, 1965) 152; M. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, trans. Rosemary Sheed (New York: New American Library, 1974) 410–434; idem, *Myth and Reality*, trans. W. R. Trask. (New York: Harper & Row, 1963) 5–8.

91 Leschhorn, *"Gründer,"* 116.

92 T. R. Brady, "The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks (330–30 B.C.)," in *Sarapis and Isis: Collected Essays* (Chicago: Ares, 1978) 9–33; Fraser, "Two Studies," 6–33; 41–49.

93 J. E. Stambaugh, *Sarapis Under the Early Ptolemies*, EPRO25 (Leiden: Brill, 1972) 1; cf. W. Hornbostel, *Sarapis: Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte, den Erscheinungsformen und Wandelungen der Gestalt eines Gottes* (Leiden: Brill, 1973) 29. For qualifications, see Brady, "Reception," 26–31; Fraser, "Two Studies," 6–9.

94 U. Wilcken in *Arch. Jahrb.* 32 (1918) 154; O. Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden zur Sarapis-Religion* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1919) 5; Roussel, *Cultes*, 248; Fraser, "Two Studies," 1, n. 2; Stambaugh, *Sarapis*, 5.

scholars have used the foundation-legend of the cult of Sarapis at Alexandria in light of our preceding comments about the genre and its relation to historical events.

The story begins with an epiphany; Ptolemy I experiences a dream-vision. In Tacitus' account (*Hist.* 4.83), the appearance is of an extraordinarily beautiful young man of more than human stature (a divine figure), while in the version known to Plutarch (*De Is. et Os.* 28.361F–362A), Ptolemy sees the god (i.e., his statue) himself. The king is charged to relocate an image from Pontus to Alexandria.[95] Consistent with the pattern of the foundation-legend, fulfillment of the divine visitor's wishes would result in increased fame and prosperity for Ptolemy's kingdom.[96] The king, however, does not immediately act. Instead, Ptolemy tries to find an explanation for the vision, turning to the Egyptian priests/dream interpreters.[97] Unfortunately, the dream-interpreters are not familiar with the geography described in the vision. Ptolemy then turns to Timotheus, a cultic expert whom he had earlier summoned from Athens to supervise cultic matters in Alexandria.[98] Timotheus was able to discover, through sources familiar with the region of Pontus, that there was a city there called Sinope not far from which could be found a temple of Jupiter Dis.[99] Once he decides to act, the king-founder of the new cult dispatches two men to retrieve the statue, a task completed successfully only with divine aid.

Scholarly evaluation of this story has significantly changed the way the history of Sarapis has generally come to be understood. The idea that Sarapis is actually the "creation" of Ptolemy I is presently a very common one.[100] This, however, has not always been the case. Early in this century, Otto Weinreich assessed the impact which the discovery of the Delian aretalogy of Sarapis had on his formerly sceptical collegues. He points out that prior to the discovery of the inscription, few scholars took seriously the accounts of Tacitus, Plutarch, and Clement (*Protrepticus* 4) because these reports were so clearly overgrown with legendary elements. Up to this time it was generally believed, on the basis of numismatic and inscriptional evidence, that Sarapis came on the scene only in the Imperial

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95 Transferral of image is a shorthand for the transfer of a cult. The motif of the unrecognized divine messenger is also a common element; see above, the dream-vision of the Theban general, Epaminondas; App., *Mith.* 12;

96 Cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 59.034, ll. 3–4,19–20.

97 Here we have a reference to one of the important official functions in the cult of Sarapis, the ὀνειροκρίτης (Roussel, *Cultes*, 269–270).

98 O. Weinreich, *PW*, 1341–42; Wilamowitz, *Glaube* 2^3, 336–38; cf. Arr., *Anab.*, 3.6.4; 7.17.2; Nilsson, *GGR*^{2} 2, 92–94. It is notable that Tacitus relates Timotheus to Sinope; he had served as a cultic expert there also; see: Arn., *Adv.nat.* 5.5; Paus. 7.17.10–12; Brady, *Sarapis and Isis* 10.

99 J. G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride: Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Cambridge: University of Wales Press, 1970) 398.

100Hornbostel, *Sarapis*, 18–19; however, contrast Stambaugh, *Sarapis*, 5,10–13 (reviewed by J. G. Griffiths, *CR* 26.1 [1976] 141); cf. R. Merkelbach, "Alexander im Serapeum," in *APF* 17 (1960), 108–109. Even Brady, who believed that Sarapis' "pre-history" went back to Alexander's time, used the word "created" to refer to the god, *Sarapis and Isis*, 9; also, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Glaube* 2^3, 336–38; also H. Brunner, "Sarapis," *RGG* 5 (1961) 1369.

period.[101] With the discovery of the Delian text, no doubt remained that the cult originated early in the Hellenistic period. Although, in itself, the Delian text says very little of relevance to the historical value of the foundation-legend of Tacitus, a number of scholars pointed to the Delian inscription as validation of the historical value of the Alexandrian legend, and proceed to use the latter as definitive evidence for the reconstruction of Sarapis' origins. However, as Fraser's analysis clearly demonstrates, it appears to be impossible to maintain the historical value of each document for the origins of the cult; one or the other must be devalued, since each directs us to a different point of origin. The irony here is that the discovery of the Delian evidence made possible its own eventual devaluation as evidence for the history of the cult in favor of a document formerly considered useless for this purpose.

For example, Fraser, in his important note on this issue, devalues the inscription from Delos, claiming that, on grounds that it is cultic propaganda, the Delian evidence must be taken with a grain of salt because "it cannot be taken literally, since, as Nock, has pointed out, 'it is clear that the worship introduced was not the original Memphian cult of Osorapis, but the Hellenised cult of Sarapis and Isis . . . .'"[102] The problem with this line of argument is that it assumes the unproven in presupposing, that the worship of Osorapis could not have already evolved in Memphis into the worship of Sarapis, and therefore that such a claim in the Delian text must be a spurious fabrication. Ironically, Fraser's work has also removed any support for the common arguments upon which the "creation" hypothesis was often based, viz., that Ptolemy was motived to create the cult of Sarapis in order to unify the populace, and the hypothesis that Ptolemaic imperialistic interests promoted the spread of the cult into areas outside Egypt.[103] In essence, the political motivations generally assumed by the "creation hypothesis" find very little expression in the phenomena which the hypothesis predicts and upon which it depends. The irony in this position is that Fraser discounts an apparent eyewitness account of the cult because it is propagandistic, while doing history on the basis of Tacitus' account, which is clearly a foundation-legend, and which finds its primary function in cult propaganda. Fraser's own account of Ptolemy's creation of Sarapis is based entirely on the very late literary traditions found in Tacitus and Plutarch. This is ironical also, since these texts are not about the "creation," or origin, of the god; they only describe the transfer of his image, which, as we have seen from other examples, is a standard element in cult foundation-legends. Both Tacitus' and Plutarch's sources presuppose the existence of Sarapis.

Understood first in its form and function as a foundation-legend, the Alexandrian story need not say anything at all about the "creation of Sarapis." In fact, if we assume the most probable explanation on the basis of historical precedents, the story known to Tacitus is simply another example of a

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[101] *Neue Urkunden*, 6; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (*Glaube* 2^3, 336) also recognized that Tacitus' account had a tradition-history which included a reference to Timotheus probably taken from an earlier source. This foundation legend, he says, cannot be taken as history but, in view of the nature of the genre, as religious propaganda.

[102] "Two Studies," 3, n. 2.

[103] "Two Studies," 2;17–19; 20–3; 26–7; 31; 46–9.

foundation-legend created to serve the needs of a "local" cult, i.e., the cult of Sarapis at Alexandria.[104] Based on our examples, the foundation-legend serves the propagandistic goals of the religious community. The Delian inscription itself demonstrates how cult propaganda functions within a polemical context. This text stakes a claim to a place for the cult in the community. The story's role in the polemical context is clear; the public proclamation of the recent court victory as validation of Sarapis' new temple only rubs salt into the fresh wounds of Apollonios II's opponents.[105]

In the case of the foundation-legend of the Alexandrian cult,[106] it is not unlikely that it developed in response to the claims of Memphis. Certainly the authors of the Delian text believe Egyptian (i.e., Memphite) origin to be one of their cult's most important assets. Even Tacitus' admitted that some traditions which derived the cult of Sarapis in Alexandria from Memphis were known to him, even though he rejected them; this certainly hints at the possibility of a current polemical context, i.e., a rivalry between Alexandria and Memphis.[107] This possibility needs to be explored in more detail than we can provide presently. Nevertheless, in view of the intriguing evidence for an original Memphite connection for Sarapis, especially the very early evidence from Delos, it is simply more probable that the foundation-legend found in Tacitus was developed in order to validate the foundation of the new, independent cult of Sarapis at Alexandria.

Moreover, we have also seen the tendency for foundation-legends to attach the crucial founding activities to mythic, legendary, or famous historical persons. This seems clear in the case of the Andanian Mysteries and the role of Epaminondas mentioned earlier. Even within the traditions about the foundation of the cult in Alexandria we find an example of this kind of propaganda. Clement of Alexandria, clearly conscious of how such tendencies work, cites in his argument against the rationality of idol-worship a certain Athenodorus who attributed the initiative to sculpt the famous image of Sarapis at Alexandria to the legendary twelfth-century BCE, Egyptian king, Sesostris (*Protrepticus* 4.48). In Clement's view, Athenadorus made the attribution to Sesostris because he wished to make this image of Sarapis seem ancient and more venerable. Clement's sensitivity to this tendency cannot simply be dismissed as Christian polemic. Rather, his strategy reflects an awareness of the prevelance of this tendency in the telling of such tales which, therefore, justifies his historical incredulity.

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[104]Stambaugh, *Sarapis*, 8–10.

[105]With the same stroke, this propaganda also enlivens the confidence of the faithful; the history of the private cult of Sarapis on Delos is a history of conflict, see: Roussel, *Cultes*, 92–3; Brady, *Sarapis and Isis*, 42.

[106]Actually, the date of the foundation of the cult itself in Alexandria is unknown. Aside from the presumption that Ptolemy I must have founded it, there is little corroborating evidence. The dates which Eusebius gives are of course derived from the tradition found in Tacitus (Brady, "Reception," 10).

[107]Vidman argues that, with the spread of Sarapis into the Greco-Roman world, Memphis becomes more important outside of Egypt (*Isis und Sarapis*, 46); cf. Paus., 1.18.4, Memphis is the most ancient cult site of Sarapis in Egypt (therefore the most venerable). For the general competition between the two cities see *CAH* 7, 115.

Without additional evidence, and given what we know of the purpose and influence of the foundation-legend in cultic propaganda, we cannot be certain what role, if any, Ptolemy I or his cultic advisors actually played in the origin of the cult at Alexandria. It is at least as likely, that because Ptolemy I was perhaps the first king to actively recognize the religious development already underway in the Memphis cult, i.e., the result of the ongoing interaction between Greeks and native Egyptians, Alexandrian devotees of Sarapis attributed to the king an essential role in the spread of the cult to their important city.[108]

In suggesting that the foundation-legend of Ptolemy I's introduction of the cult of Sarapis to Alexandria says little about the actual events it purports to narrate, we are not without precedent. Returning again to the foundation-legend of the Andanian Mysteries, it must be pointed out that Pausanias' account is not the only evidence we have for this cult. Just as in the case of the cult of Sarapis, we have inscriptional evidence for the Andanian Mysteries which lies closer by centuries to events which were crucial to the history of the cult; we refer to the famous *lex sacra* from 92–91 BCE (*IG* 5^1.1390).

This text reflects the point in the history of the cult when the presiding member of the priestly family, Mnasistratos,[109] turned the cult over to civic control. As we have already mentioned; the so-called Argive Oracle claims, in much the same way Apollonios II claimed earlier on Delos, that Mnasistratos was commanded by a god to initiate a change in the operation of the cult. Surely, this change was one of the most important in the history of the cult. Even so, Pausanias seems to be unaware of this event, or of Mnasistratos. The absence of such an important part of the cult's history seems unlikely to have arisen through an editing of the cult's history by its own officials, since the transfer of a cult from private to civic control is common enough.[110] As for Pausanias, he does not avoid mentioning cultic experts who have benefited the cult at points in its history.[111] The only rationale for arguing that Pausanias knew about this particular event and yet avoided mentioning it would have to be his own personal focus on the Greek character of the religious sites which he visited. The reorganization of the mysteries as a civic cult did occur only after the period of Roman domination had begun; in view of Pausanias' agenda, it is not impossible that for him the essentially Greek history of the cult had ended long before the reforms of Mnasistratos.[112] From the perspective of his quest to discover his own place in the continuity of Greek religious life, Pausanias may have considered Mnasistratos to be peripheral. There is reason to believe, however, that Pausanias

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[108]Stambaugh, *Sarapis*, 11, "The evidence does not compel us to see Ptolemy I as anything more than a major patron of the cult, probably responsible for installing the Alexandrian statue."

[109]See O. Kern, "Mnasistratos, 1," *PW* 30 (1932) 2255–56; Nilsson, *GGR* 2^2, 96–97; cf. L. Ziehen, "Zu den Mysterien von Andania," *Hermes* 60 (1925) 338.

[110]Cf. *I.Magnesia* 99 (=*SIG*^{2}.554).

[111]E.g., Lycus and Methapos, 4.1.6–8; cf. Nilsson, *GGR* 2^2, 98.

[112]See J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer: The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 127–155, esp. 149.

has access to a different account of the cult than that represented by the inscriptional evidence.[113]

In the end, I would argue that the relationship between the earlier inscriptional witness for the Andanian cult and the account of Pausanias provides a rough analogy to the situation we face in evaluating the relative worth of the traditions found in Tacitus and Plutarch and the evidence from the Delian cult with regard to the question of the early history of the worship of Sarapis. Pausanias' account is, like Tacitus', separated from the early inscriptional witness for the cult about which he writes by hundreds of years. However, while scholars have been cautious not to privilege Pausanias' report in their descriptions of the Andanian Mysteries, the reliability of Tacitus' account of the origin of the Alexandrian cult of Sarapis has too often been taken for granted. If we are to appreciate correctly the form and function of the foundation-legend, this assumption must be questioned.

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[113]In all the traditions known to Pausanias, the mysteries celebrated at Andanian belong to the Great Goddesses (Demeter and Kore, 4.1.7). However, in the Andanian bylaws, the "Great Gods" of the mysteries are masculine, *IG* 5^1.1390, ll. 33–34; cf. L. Ziehen, "Der Mysterienkult von Andania," *ARW* 24 (1926) 37–38; O. Kern, *Die Religion der Griechen* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1938) 3, 189.

Unsearchable Judgments and Inscrutable Ways: Reflections on the Discussion of Romans

Paul J. Achtemeier
Union Theological Seminary in Virginia

A phrase often used by biblical students is "Endzeit gleicht Urzeit" ("the end is as the beginning"), and that applies in this case as well. Our discussion of Romans began with two papers, one by Leander Keck, the other by N. Thomas Wright, that looked at Romans as a theological whole, and it is now to end with a paper on Romans that again looks at it as a theological whole, this time written in light of our intervening discussions of the individual components of that letter. This paper will therefore not be a research report on what other scholars have said in print on various issues; rather it is composed in light of the discussions we have had so far. Nor will the paper take the form of a review and critique of each of the papers that have been presented.[1] Responders and our discussions have taken care of that. Rather what I have to say is shaped in the light of my re-reading all the papers and discussions on Romans that have occupied us here for the past several years, and is composed with the intention of furthering the discussion thus begun.

I.

I want to begin with a quick review of the occasion of the letter, and a discussion of its purpose. This latter is thickly entwined with some theories about the situation of the Roman house churches, theories that are based in some instances on shaky historical evidence. I want then to discuss briefly some issues pertinent to Paul's argument in Romans: first, the ordo salutis that I take to underlie the entire discussion in the letter, and then in light of that argument, some further theological points that have been current in our discussions, i.e. the theme of the letter, the apocalyptic framework that Paul has adopted and adapted as the form within which to present his gospel, the significance of God's impartiality, and finally, some remarks on the nature of faith and on the law/works vocabulary.

[1] Those places where I discuss themes that have been treated in earlier papers and responses will be evident to those who wrote and gave them, and perhaps to others as well; let me simply acknowledge here the validity of their recognition, as well as my debt to them for many of the insights contained in these pages. They can of course not be held responsible for the use I have made of them.

A constellation of events seem to have occasioned this letter, not least of which is Paul's hope finally to undertake a long-desired visit to the Christians in Rome (1:10, 11, 13; cf. 15:22). Paul seems to think this time it may come to fruition since he has evangelized the area from Jerusalem in the east all the way to Illyricum in the west, and now finds that he has completed his mission in "these regions," if "completed" is the correct interpretation of μηκέτι τόπον ἔχων.[2] His proposed mission to Spain awaits only the successful completion of his visit to Jerusalem with the offering for the poor Christians there, if again this is the correct translation of τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων.[3]

One purpose of the letter, therefore, is to apprise his readers of his planned visit, a visit during which, Paul hopes, he may impart some spiritual gift to strengthen them and to experience a mutual encouragement with them in the faith (1:11–12), and to enjoy their company (15:24, 32)[4]. Two further stated purposes may be found, the one that Paul wrote them by way of "reminding them" (15:15), apparently of aspects of Christian doctrine of which they are already aware,[5] and the other, to ask them to pray for the success of his a visit to Jerusalem (15:30–32).

A purpose that is not stated is to heal a breach between Christians of Jewish and Gentile backgrounds. Because that purpose has become such an important supposition in many of the papers by members of this group, and has colored the interpretation of much of what Paul has to say throughout this letter, it is necessary to investigate the data and the assumptions that underlie it in some detail.

That purpose may be outlined in the following way: his letter was written at some point after the Jews, expelled by Claudius in 49, returned to Rome subsequent to Claudius' death in 54, only to find that the church in Rome had now become thoroughly gentile in its leadership and outlook. An attitude of superiority over the Jewish Christians whose race, after all, had by and large rejected Christ, a rejection occasioned by God specifically to make room for gentile believers (11:19), provided a less than hearty welcome to the returning Jewish Christians, who, prior to their expulsion, may have occupied leadership roles within the Roman Christian community. Reciprocally, the Jewish Christians called into question the legitimacy of a Christianity that so totally ignored the

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[2] In another place I have suggested this may mean his opponents have carried the day as indicated in Acts 15:28–29, probably reflected in Gal 2:11–13, where there is no indication that his rebuke to Peter was effective. That he lost the support even of Barnabas is further indication that he did not prevail.

[3] The genitive may be understood either as partitive, in which case the referent is to the poor *among* the saints in Jerusalem, implying some are not poor, or the genitive may be epexegetic, in which case it refers to the self-designation of the Jewish Christians, namely, "the poor," and means simply a general offering for the entire Jerusalem church.

[4] Paul seems to be careful not to give the impression that he intends to "preach the gospel" to them, since that would go counter to his commission which is to preach the gospel where Christ is unknown (15:20–21). For that reason, he stresses the mutual nature of their Christian encouragement, and his desire to be refreshed by them, rather than the other way around.

[5] That there is no hint here of deficiency in their faith is indicated by the language of 15:14; they are full of goodness, filled with knowledge, and able to take care of one another. This is not the language of one who sees in those churches a faith-threatening division among Jewish and Gentile Christians, on which more below.

Jewish law and denied them a role in determining the faith and conduct of the Roman Christian community. Thus, the situation threatened to split that community.

In light of that situation, the purpose of Paul's letter was to address both the (weak) Jewish and (strong) gentile Christians in such a way that they heal their divisions (chaps 14–15). To accomplish that, Paul was obliged to overcome gentile Christian arrogance, and perhaps Jewish Christian suspicions of the shape of Paul's own faith, by, among other things, discussing the place of Israel in God's salvific plan whose culmination is a Christ more widely accepted by gentiles than by Jews (3:1–8; 4 9–11).

That is the situation widely assumed to underlie and call forth Paul's letter to the Roman Christians, and it is a situation that needs reexamination.

First, the assumption that Claudius expelled all Jews from Rome in the year 49. That Claudius expelled Jews from Rome is attested in Acts 18:2, in Suetonius,[6] and in Orosius.[7] Acts maintains all Jews were expelled, Suetonius simply mentions "Jews," and Orosius is unsure whether Claudius expelled only Jews or also Christians. The only one who indicates when it occurred is Orosius, a Christian epitomist writing in he early fifth century (ca. 414–417), who says it was in the ninth year of Claudius' reign (that is, 49), and who gives Josephus as the source of that information.[8] Unfortunately, such a reference n Josephus cannot be located. Such an expulsion by Claudius is explicitly denied by Cassius Dio,[9] however, who says Claudius did not drive them out because their large numbers would have caused too great a tumult. Rather, Claudius forbade them to meet together, although allowing them to continue their traditional mode of life. The data for an expulsion of the Jews from Rome by Claudius is therefore not without its questions, and a date in 49 is based on the suggestion of a late author citing an unknown source.

In order to gain an impression of the extent and kind of data thus available for an expulsion of Jews from Rome under Claudius, it is instructive to compare such scanty and to some extent self-contradictory data with that which attests a similar action by Tiberius some years earlier. In the latter instance, ancient sources are sore extensive, and they are unanimous. The expulsion of Jews from Rome by Tiberius is attested in Josephus,[10] Suetonius,[11] Dio Cassius,[12] and Tacitus,[13] with all but Josephus agreeing that the reason had to do with their

6 *de Vita Claudii* 25.4.

7 *Historiarum adversum paganos libri septem*, 7.6.15–16.

8 7.6.15: Anno eiusdem nono expulsos per Claudium urbe Iudaeos Iosephus refert. Orosius also cites Suetonius, in this instance verbatim, but of course Suetonius gives no indication of when the expulsion occurred.

9 *Historiae Romanae* 60.6.

10 *Ant.* 18.33: "the whole Jewish community" (πᾶν τὸ 'Ιουδαϊκόν).

11 *de Vita Tiberii* 36: he expelled Jews and Egyptians, with those of military age assigned to provinces of unhealthy climate; others of the same race or similar beliefs were banished from Rome.

12 *Hist. Rom.* 57.18.5a: he cast out "the majority" for proselytizing.

13 *Ann.* 2.85: he abolished foreign cults, especially Egyptian and Jewish. 4000 he sent to Sardinia, while the rest had to leave Italy unless they renounced their cultic beliefs with "profane rituals."

religion.[14] It would perhaps be too much to say that had Claudius actually expelled Jews from Rome, one would have expected the same kind of evidence one has for their expulsion under Tiberius, yet the kind of evidence available for Tiberius' expulsion does call attention to the relative paucity and unreliability of the evidence for a similar expulsion under Claudius.

The date normally assumed for the expulsion under Claudius, 49, is, as indicated, based solely on a fifth-century writer who cites an apparently non-existent source. Again, a comparison of that evidence with data concerning trouble with the Jews earlier in Claudius' reign yields a result similar to the comparison between the expulsion under Tiberius, and the one under Claudius. As in the former case, we have firmer evidence that Claudius was confronted with a problem concerning Jews in Alexandria at the beginning of his reign (41), a hold-over from the excesses of his predecessor Gaius Caligula. Here Claudius, depending on whom one reads, either reaffirmed Jewish citizenship[15] or restored former Jewish rights but denied any claims to citizenship.[16] It is thus possible, if not indeed probable, that the difficulty with the Jews in Rome may well have occurred at about this same time, i.e. 41.

That all Jews were expelled and therefore left the city, as is also often assumed, is called into question by Dio Cassius denial of an expulsion, as it is by the fact that imperial decrees were not always obeyed. That prominent Jewish persons were affected is likely to be true. A case in point would be the expulsion of Prisca and Aquila, persons who were evidently wealthy, since they had owned homes in Asia (1 Cor 16:19; Ephesus? see also Acts 18:18), Rome (Rom 16:5) and apparently in Corinth (Acts 18:3), and would therefore have come to the attention of the authorities. Yet simply to assume that every Jewish-Christian slave and/or freed man or woman would leave because of the decree represents a kind of Roman legal fundamentalism, and strains credulity.[17] One need only consider the difficulty encountered in the attempt to expel astrologers from Rome to see that decrees were not immediately and necessarily transformed into reality.[18]

Second, the assumption that Paul is addressing both Jewish and gentile Christians to heal the division between them is nowhere substantiated in the letter. When Paul does identify those to whom he is writing, he invariably says they are gentiles (1:5–6, 13). That is borne out of 1:14, where Paul divides those toward whom he is under obligation as Greeks and barbarians, i.e. both categories of gentiles. Had the purpose been to address both Jewish and gentile Christians, one would have expected some reference to that fact.

That Paul seeks to heal such a division is nowhere mentioned as a reason for the letter. The purpose is stated in quite different terms, as noted above. Where divisions were the problem, as in the Christian community in Corinth, Paul

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14 Josephus's generally apologetic intent with respect to official Roman toleration of the Jewish religion may be enough to explain his omission of that point in this context.

15 That seems to be the gist of Josephus, *Ant.* 19.5.2.

16 That is the force of a letter written on 10 Nov. 41; its text may be found in John L. White, *Light from Ancient Letters* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986) 131–36.

17 I am tempted to note that we are dealing here with Proto-Italians, who may well have reflected the same attitude to law as do their successors; e.g., the widespread modern Italian avoidance of income taxes.

18 Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 32; Dio Cassius *Hist. Rom.* 57.8.

addresses the problem immediately and directly (beginning in 1 Cor 1:10). Again, in his discussion of the body of Christ in Rom 12:4–11, although it like the comparable discussion in 1 Cor 12 deals with diversities of gifts, there is no reference to disputes among individual members as there is in that similar discussion in 1 Cor 12 (esp. 14–26), where we know from other indications divisions are the problem.

All of that in its turn tends to weaken the argument that Paul has been forced to deal with Israel in the course of his letter because of an assumed dispute between Jewish and gentile Christians. Aside from the fact that such a discussion as that found in 2:17–29 is hard to fit into an attempt to remedy a situation in which a gentile Christian majority is treating a Jewish Christian minority with contempt, it is probable, especially in light of Paul's initial description of the divine gospel he was called to preach in terms of Christ's relation to Israel (Rom 1:2–4), that the discussion of Israel owes more to Paul's theology as a whole than it does to the external situation of the letter.

II.

Taking all that into account, it would probably be better to pin less faith on the purported situation of the Roman Christian community in determining Paul's theological message in Romans than has come to be customary among a number of scholars. Rather, I want to urge, the shape of Paul's argument in Romans owes more to internal than to external factors, i.e. more to Paul's own theology than to the situation he confronted. That internal factor I take to be the ordo salutis that informs Paul's understanding of God's redemption of sinful humanity enacted in Christ.[19]

By ordo salutis, I mean to refer to Paul's evident conviction that the divine election of Israel through the promise given to Abraham is part of the entire process whereby God intends to save humanity from its Adam-initiated rebellion against God, a process whose decisive contours were revealed with the appearance of Christ, especially with his death and God-willed resurrection. That process will culminate when the Christ who has already appeared returns in glory at the time of the transformation of reality. At that time immediate fellowship in the presence of God will be realized by those who withstand divine judgment, a time at which both sin and death are also eliminated.[20]

It is precisely in terms of the ordo salutis that Paul defines what he means by "gospel" at the very outset of the letter (1:2–4), namely something promised beforehand in the (Hebrew) prophets and brought to reality in God's son who was descended from the (Hebrew) David, the son who would himself rise from the dead as Lord. It is that ordo that underlies the opening salvo of Paul's discussion in Romans, an ordo that reaches back to the very act of creation (1:19–20)) and that includes the origin of human rebellion and sin, here in the

19 With this emphasis on the ordo salutis, I mean to react positively to Wright's emphasis on covenant, surely one of the chief engines driving the ordo salutis, and to Keck's emphasis that Paul did not allow the immediate situation, in this instance in Rome, to govern completely what he said, but rather allowed the inner logic of his gospel to assert itself.

20 While this last point owes more explicit evidence to 1 Cor 15 than to Romans, I believe it is just that kind of transformation that underlies what Paul writes in Rom 8:18–23.

form of idolatry. It is that ordo that then leads Paul to single out the Jew for special consideration at the close of chapter 2.[21] The further incorporation of 3:1–8 in that discussion points again and clearly to the ordo salutis (esp. 3:2). The universality included in the divine ordo, already manifest in the repeated phrase "both to (the) Jew first and to (the) Greek"[22] (1:16; 2:9, 10) a phrase that clearly reflects the ordo, becomes thematic in the remainder of the chapter. It is that ordo salutis that clearly underlies the discussion of Abraham in chap 4, a discussion that in its turn was prompted by the initial discussion of the law in 3:21–31. Discussion of the law then informs the chapters 6–7, after the results of faithfulness to Christ (5:1–11), and the origin of human rebellion (5:12–19) have been discussed, this last again clearly reflecting the ordo salutis in its use of Adam and Christ. Chapter eight anticipates the final spiritual reality awaiting faithful Christians, and chapters 9–11 tackle the daunting problem posed by the rejection of God's salvation by the chosen people. Paul solves the problem specifically in terms of the ordo salutis: in chapter 9 he rehearses the way God has dealt with Israel in terms of remnant, and includes a defense of the divine right to deal with creation as seems good to God. In chapter 10 Scripture is cited to show how closely related God's word to Israel is to the continuing progress of the ordo salutis, and in chapter 11 Paul describes the ordo a involving first the hardening of part of the Jews (the same remnant process described in chapter 9), then the conversion of the gentiles, and finally the return of the Jews who had been hardened. Perhaps not surprisingly, therefore, Paul concludes these chapters with comments on his inability to fathom the reasons for the ordo. These comments are found in 11:33–36, that, as a climax to the first eleven chapters, form an inclusion with 1:2–4 in pointing explicitly to the ordo salutis, in the latter case to the inability of the apostle himself to discern the why of it, even after its reality has been described.[23]

Two brief remarks may be included here concerning predestination in Rom 9:19–24 in light of Paul's larger scheme of the ordo salutis. 1) Paul is talking in these verses about the history of Israel as it moves within the larger ordo salutis. He is not discussing the fate of discrete individuals. The inclusion in the discussion of the reference to Pharaoh and the exodus, and the discussion of potter and clay derived from Jer 18:6, where it specifically refers to the house of Israel,[24] makes that clear. 2) There is in fact no *double* predestination, since even the vessels made for destruction are not destroyed, but are borne with much patience, the same patience that is intended to lead to repentance in 2:4 and that overlooked sin in 3:25b–26a. Nor is one to understand hardening (9:17–18) as the equivalent of rejection or some kind of eternal punishment. That is

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21 That the "Jew" is singled out for the first time in 2:17 leads me to conclude that up to that point, the discussion of idolatry had included both Jew and gentile. Exodus 32 is evidence enough that idolatry was also a problem in Jewish history, to say nothing of the prophetic message against it.

22 This is I think a somewhat more accurate translation than the usual "to the Jew first and *also* to the Greek"; τε – καί is more normally rendered "both – and" than "and also," although the latter is of course possible.

23 What student of Romans has not wanted to echo Paul's words in terms of trying to understand this epistle—unsearchable and inscrutable!

24 When Isaiah uses the same figure (29:16) it is again with reference to the people as a whole (29:13–14).

demonstrated when the hardening that has come upon part of Israel, whose purpose it is to allow gentiles to be saved, is eventually to be removed from Israel resulting in its own salvation. Hardening is thus not another way of saying eternal rejection, it is rather to be understood as one of the ways God moves forward the ordo salutis. The theme in is discussion is Israel within the ordo salutis, not individual Israelites or for that matter individual Christians, nor even a "new Israel," i.e. the church.

The concluding chapters apply the reality of that ordo salutis as it is embedded in the gospel to the normal lives of Christians in their traffic within and without the community of faith; its reality is to inform all that they do (12:1–15:13). Thematic is Paul's call to adjust one's life to the reality of the gospel rather than to the perceived reality that surrounds them (12:2). Paul concludes (15:14–33) by reciting his own plans for the future, perhaps showing by way of example how his life conforms to the ordo salutis and his part in it: the further evangelization of the gentiles, now in lands far to the west, after the reconciling gesture of the offering to Jerusalem.

Finally, the divine plan that underlies Paul's theology in general, and Romans in particular, clearly centers in Christ. While God was known to the Jews prior to Christ, the purpose of that knowledge was not revealed until the advent of Christ, when that purpose became clear: universal inclusion of all peoples within God's gracious plan. What is known of God is thus confirmed and completed through Christ, up to and including the ordo salutis as it has concerned the Jews. It is precisely the Christ event that has broadened election now to include Gentiles as well, and if that was part of God's plan from the beginning, it is known fully only now in Christ. Paul's apostolic task is to bring gentiles to the obedience that is faith (1:5), and that is possible only through Jesus Christ risen and reigning (1:2–4).

The centrality of Christ for the ordo salutis is indicated in a subtler way in Paul's discussion of the way the ordo salutis proceeds in relation to the Jews. Remarkably, the fate of the Jews described in chapter 11 reflects the fate of Christ: to be rejected (Christ: crucified; Israel: hardened), thus apparently suffering divine punishment, but in the end to have the rejection itself rejected (Christ: resurrection; Israel: all to be saved), reflecting the divine vindication both of Christ and of Israel. The whole of that replication is then summed up in 11:30–31. This is the mystery that Paul announces in 11:29, that the fate of Israel reenacts the fate of Christ, its representative. That point is especially clear in 11:12, 15, reflecting as it does language about Jesus in 2 Cor 8:9, that in its turn reflects Phil 2:6–11. The fate of Israel from whom the messiah came (9:5) thus reflects the fate of the messiah. The great theme of Romans (of Paul's theology?) is that God's way of dealing with humanity is to be understood in terms of the way he has dealt with Jesus—rejected as sinner, punished as sinner, but vindicated. That is the story of gentiles as it is of Jews. That is what illumines for Paul the future of the Jews in 9–11, as it has informed his understanding of how God has dealt with gentiles in 1–8 (that is also why, e.g. suffering is a sign not of divine rejection but of divine acceptance [5:3–5], since so also Christ suffered). Within this larger scheme, Paul's task as apostle to the gentiles is to function as priest in presenting the gentiles to God as a worthy offering (15:15b–16); in that way however he also contributes to the larger scheme since his success will motivate Jews also to return (11:13–14). Thus God works in unlikely ways to bring

about his salvific purposes (11:33), again a dominating theme in Paul (e.g. God's unanticipated activity in using the weak to show his strength [1 Cor]) but again, a theme that draws on the example of the way God's mighty salvific purpose was worked out through the weakness of a Christ rejected and killed.[25]

Yet despite such a christocentric shape to the ordo salutis as it is currently proceeding, that ordo remains under the control of God, who is the one who has shaped it in such christocentric form. That is why Paul continues here as elsewhere to be primarily a theologian rather than exclusively a "christologian." It is *God's* plan that informs Paul's understanding of the "gospel of God" as he has made clear at the outset. God is the one who moves it along its way, and who is also behind its defining moment that consists in the appearance of Jesus Christ.

III.

If, as we have been urging, the ordo salutis informs Paul's discussion in Romans, and determines why in particular he must continue to refer to Israel and its fate, such informing by the ordo salutis also has implications for other aspects of the way Paul has shaped his argument in Romans.

III A

In the first instance, it has implications for discerning the theme of Romans. The often-identified theme in 1:17, now occasionally broadened to include v. 16, is too narrow to serve in that capacity. That is true, I would urge, both grammatically and substantively. Grammatically, 1:17, introduced by γάρ, serves to give the reason why Paul believes what he says in v. 16b is true, that in its turn supports what Paul says in 16a, that once more in its turn gives support to v. 14.[26] It seems unlikely on the face of it that the theme of the letter would thus be expressed in the midst of what could be termed a compound enthymeme, an enthymeme that then to all appearances continues through v. 21.[27] A more appropriate locus for such a theme would be at the beginning of the letter, and in that case 1:2–4 would be an admirable candidate, summarizing as it does the ordo salutis and leading into Paul's declaration of his own call to evangelize the gentiles (v. 5). The implied universality contained in 1:2–5 is then in fact made thematic in 1:14–16, where the universality is expressed in terms of two inclusive contrasts: Greek and Barbarian (v. 14) and Jew and Greek (v. 16). Seeing the universality of divine salvation, understood in terms of the ordo salutis, as the theme of Paul's letter receives interesting confirmation when one considers the verse that concludes the extended argument of chaps. 1–11, and that leads into Paul's hymnic celebration of the divine ordo. That verse is 11:32, with its explicit declaration of the universality of purpose contained in the divine ordo salutis:

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25 We have strayed from Romans, but only, to show that themes discussed in Romans share in the larger framework of Paul's understanding of God's way with sinful humanity.

26 I take v. 15 to be parenthetical support for Paul's desire, expressed in vv. 11–12, to present his gospel to the Christians in Rome.

27 Although the conjunction γάρ is limited to vv. 18 and 20, the conjunction διότι is used to the same effect in vv. 19 and 21.

God has enclosed (συνέκλεισεν) all people in disobedience, in order to have mercy on all.[28]

In those ways, the universality of the gospel is announced, an announcement that, which I would argue, lies closer to the theme of the letter than the concept of being made right with God through trust. Such "righteousness through trust" is rather the means by which the gospel of God's mercy is made available to gentile as well as Jew. That in turn is shown by the fact that v. 17 serves as clarification of the announcement in v. 16b that God's saving righteousness is now open to everyone, Jew (first) and Greek, i.e. that it is universal in scope. That the ordo salutis still underlies even that universal expression of God's mercy is shown by its being framed in terms of δικαιοσύνη, "righteousness," a term almost surely borrowed from the covenant language of Israel. One may note in passing that it is precisely this announced universality of the gospel that makes essential, and gives poignancy to, the discussion in chapters 9–11, where that universality now appears by the exclusion of the Jews, rather than by the exclusion of the gentiles as had been the case prior to Christ's coming. Thus the means by which the ordo salutis proceeds, namely through God's covenants with sinful and rebellious Adamic humanity,[29] are announced in v. 17, clearly supporting the universality of the gospel announced in vv. 14–16. Obviously, getting right with God through trust is an important theologoumenon, but it is important as the means by which the theme of universality is carried out rather than as the theme of the letter itself.

III B

Because the key event in the ordo salutis from the perspective of Paul's gospel is the resurrection of Christ,[30] and because the understanding of reality in which resurrection played a major role was one shaped by an apocalyptic outlook, it is evident that we cannot ignore the apocalyptic shaping of Paul's argument in this letter. Such shaping in the first three chapters can be readily recognized in the description of the present aeon as unalterably evil, followed by the decisive turning point announced with the νυνὶ δέ of 3:21. Such shaping can also be sensed in the conclusion of the discussion contained in 9 11, with its anticipation of the future resolution, under God's specific guidance, of the current problem contained within the ordo salutis, namely the return of the Jews to God's salvation willed for them. Such apocalyptic shaping is also evident in a discussion such as that contained in 8:18–23, with its anticipation of the final transformation of reality, or perhaps even in the discussion of Adam and Christ in 5:11–19, if one construe the old age as Adamic, and the new as bearing the imprint of the

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28 The strikingly similar statement ion Gal 3:22, again in the context of universality—it concludes with 3:28—indicates that such phrasing may have been almost a topos for Paul when he discussed the universality of the range and application of the Gospel.

29 Although the plural αἱ διαθῆκαι may be a later "improvement" in Rom 9:4, the reference to "new covenant" in 1 Cor 11:25; 2 Cor 3:6, and to "old covenant" in 2 Cor 3:4, along with the reference to two covenants in Gal 4:24 indicates Paul did deal with the concept of multiple covenants in his theology. He was of course aware of God's promises to Abraham and Moses, but whether he understood them as two covenants within Judaism is not clear.

30 It is mentioned as the key element in what I take to be the announcement of the "theme" of Romans (1:2–4), and plays an important role in the ensuing discussion (4:24, 25; 6:4, 5, 9; 7:4; 8:11, 34; 10:9; 13:11; cf. 4:17).

reality that has been shown in Christ. Yet if, as seems evident from Romans[31] as from other places in Paul's thought,[32] the Spirit is the characteristic of the age to come, with the Spirit understood in the present aeon as the presence of God, then 5:5 may well be the key to the discussion contained in chapters 5–8: the presence of God through the Spirit now in the new age expresses itself in terms of God's love, not his wrath (cf. 1:18; hence suffering is no longer terrifying, but encouraging 5:1–4). Perhaps indeed the transition between chapters 4 and 5 is the passing from the old to the new aeon, announced in 3:21 and foreshadowed in Abraham, namely the age in which trust is now possible precisely because we have God's presence (Spirit) in terms of love. Thus these chapters, 5–8, describe the life of the people of God in the new age, already present through the power of the risen Christ and the outpouring of God's Spirit. To be sure, I do not want to maintain that Romans is an apocalyptic tract, but I concur with those who see an apocalyptic shaping in the contours of Paul's arguments in Romans.

Yet another indication of the way the ordo salutis shaped by an apocalyptic understanding pervades Paul's argument in Romans is Paul's adaptation of the apocalyptic two-age schema. Paul accomplished this adaptation by introducing a period during which the two ages overlapped, with the introduction of the new age accomplished by Christ's resurrection and with the conclusion of the old age postponed until the transformation of reality (probably accompanying Christ's return). During this period (the "time between the times"), both old and new aeons exercised their power over human beings, the old in the form of sin, the new in the form of the presence of God's Spirit. It is precisely in such a time, with both old and new ages present and exercising their influences, that relationships between Christians with one another, and with the larger communities outside the church, become problematic. It is that problematic that makes necessary, and is reflected in, the kind of discussion found in chapters 13–15, where precisely such relationships become thematic, not only those within the Christian community (122:3–13;[33] 14–15) but also those involving persons and groups outside the Christian community, up to and including the state (12:15–13;14).

III C

A further indication of the usefulness of the way of viewing Romans for which we have been arguing concerns the way in which we are to understand the key concept of divine impartiality. Such impartiality is related both to the aspect of universality that we have urged as the theme of the epistle, and to the general ordo salutis we have found fundamental for accounting for the way Paul conducts his argument.

That God's impartiality is mirrored in the fundamental statement of the universality of God's grace shaped by the ordo salutis, i.e. Jew first and (also) Greek, is shown in the combination of the two in 2:10–11, where the twice-repeated "both the Jew first and the Greek" (v. 10) is justified (γάρ!) by the fact that God is impartial. That means that to speak of the ordo salutis is evidently

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31 E.g., 8:2, 4–6, 9, 11, 14, 17, where the Spirit's presence characterizes the new life in contrast to the former life dominated by the "flesh."

32 E.g., 1 Cor 15:432–53.

33 I take 12:1–2 to be thematic for the discussion of the final chapters: it indicates how they are to be related to God (v. 1) and to other people (v. 2).

also to speak of God's impartiality. Yet further, the phrase "both the Jew first and the Greek" is the expression of the universality of the divine salvific grace, as is made clear in both 1:16–17 and 10:12–13. In an almost complementary sense, such universal salvation is made necessary by the universal sinfulness of human being, expressly stated in 3:9, 22, and grounded in the discussion of Adam in 5:123–19. Typically, however, the discussion of Adam by whom universal sin is introduced is coupled with a discussion of Christ by whom universal righteousness and life are introduced. The result is that God's impartial judgment upon, and grace to, all people who have sinned and hence need grace, implies precisely the universality of grace that, we have urged, is thematic to Romans, and is contained with in Paul's understanding of the ordo salutis.

It is thus clear, I would want to urge, that both God's impartiality and the universal scope of divine grace in Jesus Christ are functions of that ordo. It is an order in which the Jews have historical, but not ontological, priority, and hence an order in which that historical priority can be relativized by the further historical event of Christ's death and resurrection, an event that does not annul the historic priority of Israel, but rather broadens it now to include the whole of humanity.

III D

Finally some remarks on faith, and then on law. As is obvious to anyone who has paid even minimal attention to the proceedings of this Group, there is an ongoing discussion regarding the kind of genitive represented by Χριστοῦ in the phrase πίστις Χριστοῦ,[34] a phrase that occurs with greater frequency, for example, in Galatians than it does in Romans. The one occurrence of that phrase in Romans, however (3:22), bears with it all the problematic associated with its other appearances. It is helpful to note what is and is not at stake in this debate. On the one hand, that the faithfulness of Christ, primarily expressed in his obedience to the divine will, is important for Paul cannot be questioned. It is in fact precisely Christ's faithful obedience to the divine will that opens a way to regain divine favor for a humanity ineluctably participating in the Adamic disobedience to the will of God (Rom 5:12–19). That point stands regardless of how one decides the question of grammar with respect to the genitive Χριστοῦ. On the other hand, it is clear that our trust in, and faithfulness to, Christ, and to the God who raised him from the dead, is important for Paul. That is evident in the very opening remarks of Romans, where Paul defines his apostolic task as bringing gentiles into the obedience that is faith (or into faithful obedience, 1:5),[35] a task given him by the risen Christ (1:4).[36] What is at issue therefore is not whether Christ's faithfulness is of central importance for the ordo salutis, nor whether our faithfulness to the faithful Christ is essential for our own participation in that ordo. Both are essential for Paul. What is at issue is simply what is intended in any given instance of the expression πίστις Χριστοῦ.

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34 The issue is whether it is subjective genitive (Christ's faithfulness) or objective genitive (faithfulness directed toward Christ).

35 Paul's definition of the purpose of his apostleship to the gentiles as calling forth an obedience which is faith (1:5) may indeed be modeled on Christ's obedient faithfulness.

36 Rom 15:18 confirms Paul's understanding of trust in terms of obedience as does 6:16, where in the phrase ὑπακοῆς εἰς δικαιοσύνην obedience is used as a synonym for faith.

This leads to a second observation about the Greek stem πιστ- and its translation into English. Taken as a whole, it would probably be better to translate the verb πιστεύω as "trust" rather than "believe" or "have faith," and the noun πίστις as "faithfulness." The common English use of the word "believe" in a religious sense is frequently used to mean intellectual assent to some kind of content.[37] That is, I take it, not the primary intention of Paul when he uses this vocabulary.[38] His point of directing trust toward God and Christ is not to get his readers to assent to their existence, but to place their trust in God and Christ to fulfill what they have promised. In that way, Paul wants to persuade his readers to act in accordance with the divine will for human beings. In that sense, I would urge that the vocabulary of "trust" and "faithfulness" does greater justice to Paul's intention than the vocabulary of "faith" and "belief."[39]

Finally, I would want to urge that the ordo salutis that I think underlies Paul's necessary discussion of the Jews in God's plan of salvation revealed in Jesus Christ casts light on what Paul means by the word νόμος. In neither case are the two following observations original, but I think they are substantiated and reinforced if what I have been arguing about the ordo salutis is valid.

The first of the observations is that it would be preferable, I think, both in terms of Paul's own intention, and in terms of getting a clearer picture of what he is arguing, if one were to understand νόμος in every instance in Romans as torah ("teaching"), rather than finding in some place or another some such meaning as regulations or even the principle of regulation. That is true,. I would urge, seven in such cases as Romans 7:21 or 3:27. In the former case, the phrase τὸν νόμον is not to be construed as the object of εὑρίσκω, since the object of that verb is supplied by the ὅτι clause: what the ἐγώ[40] has discovered is that evil lies close at hand whenever that person wishes to do the good. The phrase τὸν νόμον rather serves to qualify, as an adjectival accusative of reference,[41] when such a discovery is made, namely it is made with respect to the torah. That is,

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37 To "believe in God" or "believe in angels" has come to mean one assents to the existence of such supernatural entities, without any notion of trust in them or commitment to be faithful to what they may desire.

38 The one exception in Romans could be 10:9, where the object of the verb is a ὅτι clause, indicating content. If on the other hand, the emphasis in the ὅτι clause is on the ὁ θεός rather than on the verb ἤγειρεν, the added implication would be that the God who raised Christ is surely trustworthy.

39 The fact that faith is defined as obedience in 1:5 means a predisposition exists to see in uses of the πιστ- stem the notion of faithfulness which incorporates obedience, rather than faith in terms of intellectual content, i.e. an intellectual acceptance of the gospel as true.

40 I do not wish at this point to enter into the discussion of the person or class represented by that pronoun. I have argued elsewhere at length that it is to be understood as the Jew who seeks to do God's will relying exclusively on the Torah, which then leads that person/group as a result to reject Christ, but for the purpose of the point I want to make here, the correctness of such an identification is not germane.

41 This use of the accusative is far more common in non-Biblical Greek than it is in the NT. I need also here to acknowledge my delight when I discovered that Prof. Wright provided the same grammatical analysis.

whenever the ἐγώ seeks to do the good[42] as understood and defined in the torah, the result is the opposite, namely the doing of evil.[43]

In the latter case (3:27), I think it better to translate the two genitives τῶν ἔργων and πίστεως that modify the word νόμος as genitives of quality or qualification, so that one reads that boasting is excluded not through the torah understood as having as its chief characteristic that of functioning as a racial boundary marker, but rather through the torah understood as having as its chief characteristic that of trust. That is confirmed not only in 3:28, where being made right with God is to be understood as a matter solely of the trust that is the principal qualification of the torah, but also in 3:31, where it is precisely trust that is to be understood as that which gives to the torah its very substance.

Such an understanding of νόμος, I would want to urge, helps clarify how Paul can argue in Romans that trust constitutes or underlies the law (3:31), namely because it is trust that establishes the torah as God's own teaching, and because without such trust, such divine teaching cannot function as it is intended to do. That is, as torah, it is intended not primarily to express legal responsibility, but rather is intended to provide an appropriate means for a graced people to respond to the one who has chosen them because of grace. That would mean that the contrast in Romans is not between trusting in God (through Christ) or trusting in one's own virtue, in this instance a virtue established through works of the law done to the virtual exclusion of grace. Rather the contrast is between two ways of being related to God: by belonging ethnically to the descendants of Abraham, or belonging to those descendants by emulating Abraham's trust in God as the One who justifies the ungodly (4:5) and brings life to the dead (Rom 4:17), to use Pauline language.

The second observation about Paul's use of the phrase ἔργα νόμου as well as the word νόμος, already implied in what has already been said, is that they function primarily if not exclusively to designated the boundary markers of what it means to belong ethnically to the Jewish people, and to rely on that heritage for one's relationship to God. This is perhaps most clearly seen in Romans 3:28ä29, where it is clear from the question in v. 29 ("is God the God of the Jews only?") that Paul understand that only Jews can do works of the law. The point of the question is this: if it were not true that a person is made righteous by trust apart from works of the law, but rather one could be righteous by works of the law, then God would be the God of the Jews alone, since evidently, only Jews could then become righteous before God since only Jews can perform the "works of the law." That Paul then expressly denies: God is indeed also the God of the gentiles.[44]

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[42] Again, I have argued elsewhere that τὸ καλόν represents doing God's will, while τὸ κακόν is failing to do it, but I may further note that my point here does not depend on that identification.

[43] Paul has earlier identified such a result as due to the power of sin which has taken over the law (e.g. 7:7–11, esp. v. 11). Again, I have argued elsewhere that Paul's understanding of that take-over was based, at least in part, on his own earlier opposition to Christ which resulted from his former Pharisaic conviction that the Torah functioned as the exclusive source of knowing God's will (e.g., Gal 1:13–15; Phil 3:5–11), but yet once again, that point is not substantive to what I want to argue here.

[44] It is I think one of the ironies of interpreting Romans that the passage that most clearly points to works of the law as a Jewish boundary marker is juxtaposed to the passage (4:4–5) that seems most clearly to point to works as human accomplishment about which one may boast. Yet

The contrast between "trust" and "works" thus again finds its proper locus in the ordo salutis, in which the phrase πίστις Χριστοῦ refers to the eschatological work of God (i.e. the faithfulness of Christ) that makes such trust significant (i.e. our trust in, and faithfulness to, the God who sent the faithful Christ), while the phrase ἔργα νόμου refers to the institution in which such works have meaning (i.e. membership in the chosen race that entitles them to the grace shown in the election of that people). It is precisely the figure of Abraham who anticipates that move within the ordo salutis, and that is why he is the key figure in the discussion of the relationship between "law" and "faith."

IV.

Much remains to be said, both about Romans and about our discussions of it, enough, at any rate, to allow room for a lively discussion. Yet enough of the contours of what many of us have said about Romans during our discussion of this epistle have been included, I think, to mean that our lively discussion now will not be entirely unrelated to the work that has gone before. One of the things I think all Pauline scholars look forward to in heaven is attending St. Paul's Seminar on his Epistle to the Romans, where questions can finally be answered. In this "time between the times," however, our discussion in this Group on Pauline Theology will have to serve as an ἀρραβών of that final consummation.

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the juxtaposition of one who works with one who trusts points again to the contrast between those who rely on ethnic heritage and those who rely on trust for their positive relationship with God.

What Does Philo Mean by "Seeing God"? Some Methodological Considerations

Ellen Birnbaum
Harvard University

In 1939, E. R. Goodenough declared that "the first consideration in studying Philo must be that of method."[1] Over fifty years later, Peder Borgen called method "a critical issue in Philonic studies."[2] While method remains, however, an important problem in the scholarly investigation of this Alexandrian Jewish thinker, attention to the problem itself is rare. In the hope that such attention will become less rare, I wish here to bring method to the forefront in pursuing the question of what Philo means by "seeing God."

To be sure, few would dispute that "seeing God" is supremely important in Philo's thought. Agreement is much more elusive, however, when it comes to determining just what he means by this significant notion. For Philo, seeing God represents the height of human happiness and the best of all possessions.[3] Although he clearly places the highest value upon this experience, Philo describes it in ways that are often inconsistent and sometimes contradictory.

Occasionally, for example, Philo appears to maintain that God Himself cannot be seen and that only His intermediaries—such as the powers or the Logos—are perceptible. At other times, he speaks of seeing God without reference to intermediaries. Similarly, while Philo at times contends that seeing God is an activity of the mind, he also proclaims that one sees God only when the mind is left behind, a state which may entail the experience of ecstasy.

Because of discrepant statements like these, scholars have been divided about such questions as whether God Himself can be seen—or only His intermediaries; whether the experience of seeing God is rational or ecstatic or both; whether one sees God in this life or in the hereafter; and what the relationship is between seeing God and studying Scripture.[4]

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[1] E. R. Goodenough, "Problems of Method in Studying Philo Judaeus," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 58 (1939): 51–58.

[2] Peder Borgen, "'There Shall Come Forth a Man': Reflections on Messianic Ideas in Philo," *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 341.

[3] See, e.g., *Abr.* 57, *Legat.* 4, *Ebr.* 83, *QE* 2.51.

[4] Different positions on these questions can be found, for example, in the following studies, which represent only a sample of writings on the subject: Frederick E. Brenk, "Darkly Beyond the Glass: Middle Platonism and the Vision of the Soul," *Platonism in Late Antiquity*, ed. Steven Gersh and Charles Kannengiesser (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 39–60, esp. 46–51; Andrew Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition: From Plato to Denys* (New York:

While I cannot pretend to have a solution to these various debates, I believe that attention to method can significantly enhance our discussion of these and indeed many other questions in Philo's thought. To be sure, despite a longstanding general acknowledgment that method poses a thorny problem to Philonic studies, important methodological issues sometimes remain unaddressed. It is not always clear, for example, 1) what criteria are used in selecting Philonic passages upon which to base a study, 2) how and why specific passages are chosen from among others to demonstrate or buttress a point, and 3) what principles guide the analysis of these passages. Addressing such matters may perhaps not only shed light upon why scholarly interpretations of Philo's position can differ so much, it may also suggest a common basis for discussion of Philo's various inconsistent remarks.

Reflections on Method

Before considering method specifically in relation to Philo's understanding of seeing God, let me first make explicit three of my own assumptions about Philo and his enterprise which are basic to my understanding of this thinker. Because these assumptions bear so directly upon my approach—as indeed the assumptions of any student of Philo will influence that person's approach—I believe this acknowledgment is important. My assumptions pertain to Philo's purpose as an exegete, his audience(s) and aims, and the sources behind his ideas.

1. Philo as an Exegete

Most of Philo's writings are commentaries on the Bible, and I consider him to be primarily an interpreter of Scripture instead of a philosopher, as many scholars have argued.[5] To be sure, Philo's philosophical interests run deep and one might indeed characterize most of his exegesis as philosophical. In viewing him primarily as a Scriptural interpreter rather than a philosopher, however, I am assuming that he uses philosophical notions to explicate the Bible rather than using the Bible as a springboard to present some kind of unified philosophy. The methodological implication of this assumption is that passages must always be considered in their exegetical context, i.e., in relation to the verses they are discussing.

Oxford University Press, 1981), 18–35; E. Vanderlinden, "Les divers modes de connaissance de Dieu selon Philon d'Alexandrie," *Mélanges de Science Religieuse* 4 (1947): 285–304; Sze-Kar Wan, "Charismatic Exegesis: Philo and Paul Compared," *The Studia Philonica Annual* (*SPhA*) 6 (1994): 54–82; David Winston, *Logos and Mystical Theology in Philo of Alexandria* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1985), esp. 54–55; idem, "Was Philo a Mystic?" *Studies in Jewish Mysticism*, ed. Joseph Dan and Frank Talmage (Cambridge: Association for Jewish Studies, 1982), 15–39. See also nn. 10 and 13.

[5] For a full-scale argument of the position that Philo is primarily an exegete, see Valentin Nikiprowetzky, *Le commentaire de l'Écriture chez Philon d'Alexandrie: Son caractère et sa portée, Observations philologiques*, Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums, ed. K. H. Rengstorf et al., no. 11 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), esp. 170–242.

2. Philo's Audience(s) and Aims

Another important assumption is that Philo's works are directed toward different, though perhaps overlapping, audiences and are composed with somewhat different aims. Philo discusses seeing God throughout his works—both exegetical and non-exegetical. Here, however, I shall be focusing primarily upon his three exegetical commentaries—the Allegory, the Exposition, and Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus (QGE)—and shall discuss relevant details about his audience(s) and aims below. For our present purposes, what is important is that because Philo may have written with somewhat different intentions, one should notice in which works his discussions appear, recognize that he may have shaped his presentation to suit particular aims, and consider how he may have done this.

3. Philo's Intellectual Background

Various writers have persuasively argued that Philo is part of a long history of Jewish exegesis and philosophical thought. It is lamentable that such a paucity of Alexandrian Jewish interpretation has survived. Nonetheless, works like the Septuagint, the fragments of Aristobulus, the Letter of Aristeas, and the Wisdom of Solomon point to the existence of what must have been a rich and thriving intellectual Jewish community in Alexandria.[6]

Similarly rich was Philo's Greek philosophical milieu with its array of notions from Platonic, Stoic, Epicurean, Pythagorean, Peripatetic, and Sceptical thought. Much attention has been devoted to whether Philo himself represents what has come to be known as Middle Platonism—a school of thought characterized, among other things, by the belief in a transcendent God, aspiration to assimilate to God, and interest in numerology.[7] Whatever his exact relation to Middle Platonism, Philo is certainly a sympathetic witness to many of its ideas and concerns. Given this undoubtedly well-developed background of ideas and

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6 The notion that Philo relied upon earlier Jewish exegesis has been expanded upon in various ways by Richard Goulet, *La philosophie de Moïse: essai de reconstitution d'un commentaire philosophique préphilonien du Pentateuque*, Histoire des doctrines de l'antiquité classique, no. 11 (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1987) (see also the review of this book by David T. Runia in *Journal of Theological Studies* 40 [1989]: 588–602); Robert G. Hamerton-Kelly, "Sources and Traditions in Philo Judaeus: Prolegomena to an Analysis of His Writings," *Studia Philonica* (*SP*) 1 (1972): 3–26; Thomas H. Tobin, *The Creation of Man: Philo and the History of Interpretation*, Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series, no. 14 (Washington D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1983); and Burton L. Mack in "Exegetical Traditions in Alexandrian Judaism: A Program for the Analysis of the Philonic Corpus," *SP* 3 (1974–75): 71–112; "Weisheit und Allegorie bei Philo von Alexandrien: Untersuchungen zur Traktat *De Congressu eruditionis*" *SP* 5 (1978): 57–105; et al.

7 See John Dillon, *The Middle Platonists, 80 B.C. to A.D. 220* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 135–83; David T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria and the Timaeus of Plato*, Philosophia Antiqua, ed. W. J. Verdenius and J. C. M. van Winden, vol. 44 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), 505–19; Tobin, *The Creation of Man*, 11–19. Recently, the relationship between Philo and Middle Platonism was debated in a special section of *SPhA* 5 (1993): 95–155. The contents are as follows: G. E. Sterling, "Platonizing Moses: Philo and Middle Platonism" (96–111); D. T. Runia, "Was Philo a Middle Platonist? a Difficult Question Revisited" (112–40); D. Winston, "Response to Runia and Sterling" (141–46); T. H. Tobin, "Was Philo a Middle Platonist? Some suggestions" (147–50); J. Dillon, "A Response to Runia and Sterling" (151–55).

traditions available to him, one can hardly fail to consider that Philo must have incorporated a fair amount of this background into his writings.

Having reviewed these assumptions, let us consider further how they might play a role in the careful study of Philo's writings. In 1986, David T. Runia published a quite helpful article entitled "How to Read Philo."[8] Runia suggested that to tackle any problem in Philo, a researcher must begin by considering *all* the relevant passages and then must analyze these passages keeping in mind several factors. Specifically, he recommends that the Philonic reader

> 1) Take into account the immediate exegetical context of each passage—that is, identify what Biblical verses are being interpreted—and the thematic context—i.e., the themes discussed in sections and the whole of the treatise;
> 2) Establish the exegetical problem that gives rise to the interpretation; and
> 3) Attempt to understand the ideas which Philo uses in his interpretation and to show how these ideas are used to interpret the passage.

These three suggestions may be seen as related to my assumptions listed above about Philo's purpose as an exegete and his intellectual background. To these suggestions, I add two more—the first, related to my assumption about Philo's audience(s) and aims, and the second, drawing further upon the assumption that Philo had at his disposal a rich legacy of Jewish Biblical interpretations. My additional suggestions, then, are that in reading Philo, one must

> 4) Be aware of the possibility that he may be adapting his presentation to suit a particular audience or literary genre; and
> 5) Recognize that some of Philo's writings may be drawn from earlier exegetical traditions.

Below we shall observe how the method outlined here can elucidate Philo's various statements about seeing God. Runia's very first stipulation—namely, that one should first collect all the relevant passages—is enough to give pause to anyone embarking upon a study of this complex topic. Indeed, collection of all the passages about seeing God may be one of the more difficult tasks in determining what Philo means by this notion!

As Runia points out, it is much easier to investigate an exegetical motif in Philo's works than a complex philosophical theme. This is because one can rather easily identify all passages connected to an exegetical motif by finding where Philo interprets specific Biblical terms and verses.[9] A philosophical theme, however, presents much more of a challenge because it is often difficult to pinpoint all the pertinent Philonic vocabulary, and because Philo does not necessarily limit his discussion of these themes to a small number of Biblical verses.

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8 David T. Runia, "How to Read Philo," *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 40 (1986): 185–98.

9 For Philo's use of specific words, one may consult Günter Mayer, *Index Philoneus* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974) and the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae database (see David T. Runia, "How to Search Philo," *SPhA* 2 [1990]: 106–39). One may locate Philo's interpretations of Biblical verses in the Index biblique in *Biblia Patristica: Supplément, Philon d'Alexandrie* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982).

With regard to "seeing God," identifying the relevant passages is especially difficult because Philo describes the experience in rather varied ways, with a quite intricate vocabulary, and within different exegetical contexts. Moreover, he weaves references to seeing God throughout his works—sometimes mentioning the topic merely in passing and sometimes entering into lengthy disquisitions about the experience.

Despite such difficulties, the collection of passages is crucial, for it is at this beginning stage that one's study becomes defined. What may be obviously relevant to one reader may be just as obviously *not* relevant to another. Stating the criteria for selection then becomes a very important first step.

When Philo speaks about seeing God, for example, he occasionally includes such notions as prophecy, ecstasy, divine possession, or "sober intoxication."[10] He can also, however, mention these notions independently, i.e., not in relation to seeing God. These various concepts, then, may overlap with seeing God, but they may also not overlap. Careful attention to vocabulary—Philo's vocabulary and our own use of words in categorizing the Philonic passages—is therefore essential.

With these considerations in mind, I offer the following reflections about Philo's conception of seeing God, based upon a study of nineteen words he uses that are related to sight or seeing.[11] These words were suggested to me because they all occur in passages about Israel, which Philo understands to be "the one that sees God," an association he derives from its etymology, ὁρῶν θεόν.[12] Since these words probably capture most—though not all—of Philo's vocabulary for seeing, they probably led me to most of the relevant passages about seeing God. Although some passages doubtlessly slipped through, I believe I have based this

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10 Some of these topics are addressed in the works mentioned in n. 4. Other relevant studies include the following: Émile Bréhier, *Les idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, 2nd ed., Études de Philosophie Medievale, ed. Etienne Gilson, no. 8 (Paris: J. Vrin, 1925) 2:180–205; Hans Jonas, *Gnosis und Spätantiker Geist*, pt. 2/1: *Von der Mythologie zur mystishen Philosophie*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, no. 63 (n.s. 45) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954), 70–121; Hans Leisegang, *Der heilige Geist: Das wesen und werden der mystisch-intuitiven Erkenntnis in der Philosophie und Religion der Griechen* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1919) 1:145–231; Hans Lewy, *Sobria Ebrietas: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der antiken Mystik*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, no. 9 (Giessen: Alfred Topelmann, 1929), 3–41; Joseph Pascher, ἡ βασιλικὴ ὁδός: *Der Königsweg zu Wiedergeburt und Vergottung bei Philon von Alexandria*, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alterums, vol. 17, nos. 3–4 (Paderborn: Schoningh, 1931; repr., n.d. [1968]), esp. 160–91; David Winston, "Two Types of Mosaic Prophecy according to Philo," *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha and Related Literature* 2 (1989): 49–67; Harry A. Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975, repr. 1982) 2:3–72.

11 These words are as follows: ἀναβλέπω, look up; βλέπω, see; εἴδω, οἶδα, see, know; θέα, sight; θεάομαι, behold; θεωρέω, behold, contemplate; θεωρητικός, contemplative; θεωρία, contemplation; καθοράω, see distinctly; ὄμμα, eye; ὀξυδερκέω, see sharply; ὀξυδερκής, sharp-sighted; ὀξυωπής, sharp-sighted; ὅρασις, sight; ὁρατικός, able to see; ὁράω, see; ὀφθαλμός, eye; ὄψις, sight, eye; φιλοθεάμων, fond of contemplating.

12 On Philo's understanding of "Israel"; see my forthcoming book, *The Place of Judaism in Philo's Thought: Israel, Jews, and Proselytes* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, to be published, 1995). Because the participle ὁρῶν may be either masculine or neuter, the etymology may be translated as either "one who (m.) sees God" or "one that (n.) sees God." For the purposes of this paper, the gender does not matter, and I use the two translations here interchangeably.

study upon a fairly large and representative sample. Considering the complexity of the topic, I shall approach it first with some general observations and then take a closer look at how one's method can influence one's understanding of specific passages.

Philo's Ideas About Seeing God

General Observations

Although Philo's statements about seeing God can be inconsistent and perhaps contradictory, certain features do recur.[13] A fairly constant theme is that God is seen not with the eyes of the body but with the eyes of the soul or mind (*Mut.* 3–6, *Abr.* 57–58). Indeed a turning away or withdrawal from the body seems to be a prerequisite for the mind or soul to see God (*Det.* 158–60, *Ebr.* 99–103). While Philo occasionally discusses seeing God as a function of the mind, however, he also declares that one can reach God only after recognizing the mind's limits (*Leg.* 3.39–48, *Her.* 68–74). Some passages about the limits of the mind also suggest that seeing God involves the experience of ecstasy (*Opif.* 70–71; *Her.* 69–70, 263–65). Occasionally too, Philo uses the language of the mysteries to describe seeing God as a process of initiation (*Leg.* 3.100, *Abr.* 122).

Although one may not always succeed in the quest, seeing God is a goal that can be achieved during one's lifetime (*Leg.* 3.47, *Post.* 13–21, *Spec.* 1.32); it is implicit that the goal is not reserved for after death. People may arrive at a vision of God via different paths. Some may be led to it by contemplating creation (*Abr.* 69–71, *Praem.* 41–43); others by practicing virtue (*Ebr.* 82–83, *Mut.* 81–82); still others—though very few—see God through God Himself (*Leg.* 3.100–3, *Praem.* 43–46). In contrast, Philo sometimes declares that a person cannot by his or her own abilities see God at all, but only God can reveal Himself to the seeker (*Post.* 16, *Abr.* 80).

Although Philo occasionally seems to speak without qualification about the possibility of seeing God, at other times he claims that God can be seen only through apprehension of His various intermediaries (*Conf.* 95–97, *Somn.* 1.64–67, *QG* 4.2). He is also careful to warn that God cannot be seen as He is; instead, one sees only "that He is, not what He is" (*Fug.* 141, *Praem.* 39–40).

Finally, as the one that sees God, Israel holds a special place in Philo's thought. In the passage below, he expresses this and other characteristic ideas when he writes of Israel:

> Its high position is shewn by the name; for the nation is called in the Hebrew tongue Israel, which, being interpreted, is "He who sees God." Now the sight of the eyes is the most excellent of all the senses, since by it alone we apprehend the most excellent of existing things, the sun and the

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[13] References provided here are representative, not comprehensive. In addition to the studies mentioned in nn. 4 and 10, good overviews can be found in Donald A. Hagner, "The Vision of God in Philo and John: A Comparative Study," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 14 (1971): 81–93; Kenneth E. Kirk, *The Vision of God: The Christian Doctrine of the Summum Bonum* (New York: Harper & Row, 1931), 38–46; Michaelis, "ὁράω," *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, 5:334–38. Alan Mendelson also discusses various aspects of seeing God in his *Secular Education in Philo of Alexandria*, Monographs of the Hebrew Union College, no. 7 (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press).

> moon and the whole heaven and world; but the sight of the mind, the dominant element in the soul, surpasses all the other faculties of the mind, and this is wisdom which is the sight of the understanding. But he to whom it is given not only to apprehend by means of knowledge all else that nature has to shew, but also to see the Father and Maker of all, may rest assured that he is advanced to the crowning point of happiness; for nothing is higher than God, and whoso has stretched the eyesight of the soul to reach Him should pray that he may there abide and stand firm. . . . (*Abr.* 57–58)[14]

Contexts in Which Philo Discusses Seeing God

We have already noted that Philo discusses seeing God throughout his works—both exegetical and non-exegetical. The immediate "trigger" for such discussions varies: sometimes he enters into the subject when he interprets Biblical verses about seeing God; sometimes he mentions seeing God when he is speaking of Israel, whose etymology he explains is "one who sees God"; and sometimes he introduces this theme when it is not immediately indicated either by a Biblical verse or by reference to "Israel."

Biblical Verses. Although the theme of seeing God occurs throughout Scripture, Philo develops this theme in his own works especially in connection with the following passages from Genesis and Exodus: Gen. 12:7, 17:1, 32:24–31, and Exod. 24:9–11 and 33:12–23.[15] Even in these few sample passages, the Bible does not present a consistent picture. Gen. 12:7 and 17:1, verses in which God appears to Abraham, do not describe the experience but instead take it for granted. Exod. 24:9–11 depicts the ascent of Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and the elders of Israel and tells about their direct physical vision of the place where God was standing. In Gen. 32:25–33, Jacob wrestles with a man, yet later he declares that he has seen God "face to face." By contrast, Exod. 33:12–23—the passage in which Moses asks God to show Himself to him—stresses that such direct vision is life-threatening to humans. None of these passages claims, however, that seeing God is impossible; rather it is dangerous and indeed can be fatal. With Philo's emphasis upon God's utter invisibility, his notions about seeing God differ from and go well beyond the Biblical verses he interprets.

Etymology of "Israel." It seems probable that Philo's etymology of "Israel"—ὁρῶν θεόν, or one that sees God, was derived from a traditional Hebrew explanation, איש ראה אל, a man [who] saw/sees God. Greek and Latin parallels to this etymology exist in patristic literature and one occurs in what may

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[14] Unless otherwise indicated, all Philonic quotations are taken from F. H. Colson, G. H. Whitaker, and Ralph Marcus, trans., *Philo in Ten Volumes (and Two Supplementary Volumes)*, The Loeb Classical Library (LCL) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929–62).

[15] Passages in which Philo discusses the vision of God in connection with these verses are as follows: **Gen. 12:7**: *Det.* 159, *Abr.* 77–80, *Virt.* 215. **Gen. 17:1**: *Mut.* 3–6, 15–17; *QG* 3.39. **Gen. 32:24–31**: *Ebr.* 82–83; *Migr.* 199, 201; *Mut.* 81–82; *Somn.* 1.129; *Praem.* 36–46. **Exod. 24:9–11**: *Conf.* 96–97, *QE* 2.37–39. **Exod. 33:12–23**: *Post* 13–16, *Mut.* 8–10, *Spec.* 1.41–50. Philo uses the Greek Bible, or Septuagint (LXX), which differs in places from the Hebrew. See especially the difference between the Hebrew and Greek for Exod. 24:9–11. Following Philo's practice, I speak about Abraham consistently as Abraham and not Abram, even though the latter name occurs in some Biblical verses mentioned here.

have been a contemporary Jewish work in Greek—the *Prayer of Joseph*. Unlike some of these parallels and unlike the Hebrew, Philo's etymology never includes a word for "man." I have hypothesized that the absence of such a word may have been a purposeful omission—either by Philo himself or by a predecessor—to suit certain exegetical aims.[16] For now, however, what is significant is that Philo's understanding of the etymology of "Israel" provided him with an opportunity to discourse about seeing God in passages in which the term occurs.

Other Contexts. Occasionally Philo talks about seeing God in relation to verses which are not explicitly about this subject or about Israel but which offer him an opening through which to introduce the issue. A particularly good example is *Somn.* 1.64–67, which comments on Gen. 22:3–4 in a chain of interpretations about different meanings of the word "place" (τόπος). According to the Biblical passage, Abraham "came to the place of which God had told him: and lifting up his eyes he saw the place from afar" (LCL translation). Puzzled about how Abraham could come to a place and yet see it (the place) only from afar, Philo explains that the first reference to "place" signifies the divine word or Logos, whereas the second reference to "place" signifies God Himself. He explains that once one reaches or apprehends the divine word or Logos, he[17] recognizes that God Himself surpasses human perception. Thus Philo addresses the apparent contradiction presented by the two mentions of "place" by viewing the passage as an allegory of the mind's perception of God.

Another example in which Philo introduces seeing God in relation to a verse ostensibly about something else is *Opif.* 69–71. In this passage, Philo comments on Gen. 1:26, which says that "man was created after the image of God and after His likeness" (LCL translation). His interpretation addresses the exegetical dilemma of how an "earth-born" human being can be said to be created after the image of God. He emphasizes that humans are like God only in respect to the mind, not the body. In developing this argument, Philo describes how the human mind, though invisible, sees all things. Moving from the sense perceptible to the intelligible world, the mind begins to apprehend a greater object of vision, namely, "the Great King," or God.

While neither of the Biblical passages in these examples is about seeing God, Philo finds a way to introduce this philosophical theme. These examples, then, illustrate how he can speak about this subject in some perhaps unexpected contexts.[18]

The Philosophical Background Behind Philo's Ideas About "Seeing God"

Plato. Many of the individual strands found woven together in Philo's comments about seeing God can be traced back to Plato. Plato himself, however, often does not combine these strands, nor does he address how certain notions

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16 I discuss these and other issues related to Philo's etymology of Israel in *The Place of Judaism in Philo's Thought*, esp. Chapter Two.

17 My use of the masculine pronoun reflects Philo's usage.

18 Other examples in which Philo discusses seeing God in reference to verses not immediately connected to this topic are *Somn.* 2.226–27, which comments on Gen. 18.22, and *QG* 4.196, which comments on Gen. 27:1.

in his writings are meant to be connected. As we shall see, this task was left to his successors.

In the following summary we can recognize many themes that found their way into Philo's descriptions about seeing God. For example, Plato holds the sense of sight in high esteem because it leads to contemplation of the universe and thereby to philosophy (*Timaeus* 47a-c).[19] The true value in contemplating what is visible is that it leads to contemplation of what really is and is invisible (*Republic*, Bk. 7, 529–31). In the visible world, the sun is the source of light and therefore enables sight to see; in the same way the idea of the Good in the intelligible world is the source of truth and enables the knower to know (*Republic*, Bk. 6, 507–8). The objects of thinking are invisible (*Phaedo* 79a, *Timaeus* 52a); and the supreme idea of the Good is beyond Being (*Republic*, Bk. 6, 508–9).[20]

As for what one should strive for in life, Plato observes that it is a task to discover the Creator and Father of the universe, and once one discovers Him, it is impossible to report it to everyone (*Timaeus* 28c). It behooves humanity to become like God (*Theaetetus* 176b; *Republic*, Bk. 10, 613a-b); and the goal of life is to assimilate that which thinks to that which is thought (*Timaeus* 90d).

Finally, regarding the process of seeing what is ultimate, the body interferes with the ability of the soul to behold the truth, and only freedom from the body after death will permit attainment of the desired wisdom (*Phaedo* 66–67).[21] One passage (*Symposium* 210d–212a) describes ascent to a vision of the beautiful (τὸ καλόν) or divine beauty (τὸ θεῖον καλόν). Here the subject of the ascent is left vague, though the mind or soul is understood. Another passage (*Phaedrus* 246e–247e, 249c) talks specifically of the ascent of the soul to a vision of the Existent (τὸ ὄν), which is visible only to the mind, the pilot of the soul. Both passages use the language of the mysteries to describe initiation into the lore of these visions (*Symposium* 210a, *Phaedrus* 249c).

Thinkers After Plato. Since Plato himself discussed certain concepts without relating them to each other, it was up to his followers to ponder the connection among such entities as God, the Creator and Father of the universe, the world of Ideas in general, and especially the idea of the Good.[22] Plato's immediate successor, Speusippus, already mentions a first principle, the One, which is prior to and separate from all being. We find a similar notion in Neopythagorean writings, namely, that God, the craftsman, is superior to mind and stands above the two principles of Form and Matter, which correspond to the Monad and Dyad.[23]

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19 References provided here are to representative or especially important passages.

20 Philo does not go so far as to claim that God is beyond Being; see Runia, *Philo of Alexandria*, 135, 435.

21 Although Philo similarly believes that the body impedes the soul, he does not assert that vision of God is possible only after death. Cf., however, *Leg.* 3.45.

22 Wolfson, *Philo*, 1:200–2; James Drummond, *Philo Judaeus; or the Jewish Alexandrian Philosophy in Its Development and Completion* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1888), 1:59–60; Runia, *Philo of Alexandria*, 442.

23 John Dillon, *The Transcendence of God in Philo: Some Possible Sources*, Protocol of the Colloquy of the Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture, ed. Wilhelm Wuellner, no. 16 (Berkeley: Center for Hermeneutical Studies, 1975), 1–3. Dillon emphasizes that the dating of pseudo-Pythagorean texts is far from certain. See also David Winston,

Acknowledging the supreme One of the Pythagoreans, the Alexandrian Platonist Eudorus (latter part of the first century B.C.E.) associates this first principle with the cause of matter and created things and calls this entity the supreme God (ὁ ὑπεράνω θεός). Eudorus appears to be a significant witness to the presence in Alexandria of Middle Platonism, mentioned earlier. Characteristic of this philosophical approach is belief in the transcendence and immateriality of God—a belief which leads to speculation about the intermediary world between this transcendent Being and creation—and, in general, a more religious or theocentric outlook. Whereas Plato kept somewhat separate his philosophical notions and theological concepts, Middle Platonists brought these abstractions together in their religious speculations. Pervading the intellectual contemplation of Middle Platonism, then, is a deep concern for the divine and its relation to the world.[24]

Philo in Relation to His Philosophical Background. Against this background, we can discern that Philo's ideas about seeing and seeing God are quite compatible with the spirit of his time. By his day, it was commonplace to esteem sight highly as the sense that leads to philosophy and to regard the contemplative life described by Aristotle as the best of human pursuits.[25] Moreover, by emphasizing that God is the highest or best object of vision or contemplation, Philo is very much in accord with his philosophical environment.

To leave the impression that Philo is no more than a reflection of this environment, however, would be misleading. His discussion is distinguished by the way in which he describes God from both a philosophical perspective and a personal, Biblical, or, one might say, Jewish perspective. For one thing, Philo occasionally underscores that God is greater than any philosophical concept, describing Him, e.g., as "better than the Good, more important than the Monad, and purer than the One" (*Praem.* 40, my translation; see also *Legat.* 5).

In addition, some of Philo's descriptions of God have nothing to do with the philosophical formulations he occasionally criticizes but instead accord more closely with the personal God of the Bible. In contrast, for example, to the abstract, philosophical formulation τὸ ὄν (the Existent), Philo sometimes calls God ὁ ὤν (He that exists), based upon the name God expresses to Moses in Exod. 3:14. As opposed to the remote and transcendent God of philosophy, the Biblical God—the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—relates to people.

In postulating an invisible and unknowable God, Philo follows in the tradition of Greek philosophy. At the same time, however, the God that is "seen" is not only τὸ ὄντως ὄν, the truly Existent, but also the Creator and Father of the world whose activity vis-à-vis His creation is narrated in the Bible. If Philo can

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"Introduction," *Philo of Alexandria: The Contemplative Life, the Giants, and Selections*, with a Preface by John Dillon, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), 22.

24 Dillon, *The Transcendence of God*, 4; idem, *The Middle Platonists*, 119–21, 126–28; Runia, *Philo of Alexandria*, 492–93; Tobin, *The Creation of Man*, 13–15.

25 On the estimation of sight, see Runia, *Philo of Alexandria*, 271. Regarding Aristotle, see Michaelis, "ὁράω," 322; Kirk, *The Vision of God*, 33, 475–79; and A. Hilary Armstrong, "Gotteschau (Visio beatifica)," *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum: Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt*, ed. Theodor Klauser (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1983), 12:8.

quite capably talk about God in the lofty terms of a philosopher, so too is he able to present a solicitous God talking to His creatures about Himself.[26]

A Closer Look

Now that we have reviewed Philo's ideas about seeing God in a general way, taking note of the contexts in which these ideas occur and the philosophical background behind these ideas, we are perhaps ready to examine more closely certain other factors that may also have a bearing on Philo's individual discussions. While such general observations as those offered above are important for providing an overall sense of Philo's ideas, a closer look at individual passages demonstrates the need to weigh Philo's particular statements from a variety of perspectives.

The examples discussed below shed light upon two issues debated among Philo scholars: first, whether Philo believes that God Himself can be seen or whether only His intermediaries—such as the powers or the Logos—can be seen, and second, whether seeing God is a matter of intellectual perception, ecstatic experience, or both.

Opinions on these questions vary widely. Some scholars distinguish between a rational and ecstatic kind of experience, while others do not see a necessary dichotomy between the two. One claims that Philo uses the language of ecstasy merely as a literary convention to appeal to his audience without actually knowing the experience firsthand.[27] Another thinks Philo can be understood only if one takes his discussions of these experiences seriously.[28] Still another writer holds that according to Philo, people can experience God only through His Logos, an experience which, though rational, may culminate in ecstasy.[29]

To enter into these sundry debates would take us beyond the scope of this study. It is difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at a definitive portrayal of what Philo may mean by seeing God because his presentation is filled with contradictions and inconsistencies.

Rather than trying to resolve these problems, then, I shall instead suggest that attention to certain factors can provide new perspectives from which to consider the issues. For example, besides Philo's ideas about seeing God (summarized earlier), we should also consider the relationship between these ideas and the Biblical text he is interpreting, the possible influence of earlier exegetical traditions, the literary genre of the work, Philo's audience(s) and aims, the thematic context of an individual work, and finally, the very nature of seeing God. After presenting two examples below of Philonic passages about seeing God—one passage from QGE and one from the Allegory—I shall discuss how and why these various factors may be important.

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26 See, e.g., *Spec.* 1.41–50.

27 Walther Völker, *Fortschritt und Vollendung bei Philo von Alexandrien: Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Frömmigkeit*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 49:1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1938), esp. 279–317.

28 E. R. Goodenough, *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus*, Brown Classics in Judaica, ed. Jacob Neusner (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962; repr. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1986), esp. 13–14, 134–60; this point of view is presupposed in idem, *By Light, Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935).

29 Winston, "Was Philo a Mystic?" 15, 26.

Two Philonic Examples

QG 4.2 and 4. These two passages, which pertain to whether or not it is possible to see God without His intermediaries, illustrate the importance of considering the Biblical verse(s) under discussion and the literary genre of Philo's writings. A contradiction occurs between *QG* 4.2 and 4. In *QG* 4.2, Philo claims that one cannot see God alone without His powers. In *QG* 4.4, however, he declares that Abraham does in fact see God in His oneness.

Upon closer scrutiny, one can trace this contradiction to the Biblical verses interpreted in these passages, Gen. 18:2 and 3. *QG* 4.2 addresses a difficulty posed by Gen. 18:1 and 2. In these verses, it says, "And God appeared to him by the oak of Mamre, as he sat at the door of his tent at midday. Lifting up his eyes, he saw, and behold, three men stood before him."[30]

In *QG* 4.2, Philo responds to the contradiction posed between verse 1, which says that "God appeared," and verse 2, which says that "three men" were standing before Abraham. He solves this problem by arguing that God cannot be seen alone as a unity but only together with His two powers, thereby giving the appearance of three. He writes,

> Most natural things to those who are able to see does (Scripture) present, (namely) that it is reasonable for one to be three and for three to be one, for they were one by a higher principle. But when counted with the chief powers, the creative and kingly, He makes the appearance of three to the human mind. For this cannot be so keen of sight that it can see Him who is above the powers that belong to Him, (namely) God, distinct from anything else. For so soon as one sets eyes upon God, there also appear, together with His being, the ministering powers, so that in place of one He makes the appearance of a triad. . . . [For] He cannot be seen in his oneness without something else. . . .

Two verses later, however, in Gen. 18:3, Abraham addresses the three men of verse 2 with a singular noun, κύριε, Lord. Philo notices that Abraham addresses the three as one and claims that now Abraham's mind "forms an impression with more open eyes and more lucid vision," and therefore he is able to perceive God as one. Moreover, God Himself now shows Himself without His powers. Philo writes,

> Now his mind clearly forms an impression with more open eyes and more lucid vision, not roaming about nor wandering off with the triad, and being attracted thereto by quantity and plurality, but running toward the one. And He manifested Himself without the powers that belong to Him, so that he saw His oneness directly before him, as he had known it earlier in the likeness of a triad.

In direct contradiction, then, to what he says in *QG* 4.2, namely, that "God cannot be seen in His oneness without something (else)...," Philo states in *QG* 4.4 that God now shows Himself in His unity.[31]

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[30] My translation, based upon the LXX.

[31] *QG* 4.2 also says, "For when the mind begins to have an apprehension of the Existent One, He is known to have arrived there, making (Himself) unique, and appearing as chief and sovereign." While the meaning of this remark is somewhat unclear, it may be suggesting that the

The proximity of these contradictory statements is rather striking. Yet because the QGE commentary is written in a format of discrete questions and answers, the contradictions can stand side by side, without immediately confusing the reader. Although this format is unique to QGE, it does highlight an important feature of Philo's writing that must be taken into account elsewhere when one deals with his many contradictions: as a careful exegete, Philo can be so verse-focused that he may contradict himself from one moment to the next, without acknowledging the inconsistency either in the Bible or in his own discussion.[32]

Her. 68–85. This passage concerning ecstasy illustrates the importance of taking into account the Biblical verse Philo is interpreting, because the passage shows how a particular phrase in a verse may "trigger" a certain kind of interpretation. In *Her.* 69–70, Philo discusses Gen. 15:4, in which God tells Abraham, "He who shall come out of thee shall be thy heir" (LCL translation). Focusing upon the words, "He who shall *come out of* thee" (my emphasis), Philo interprets this verse allegorically to mean that the true "heir of divine and incorporeal things" (*Her.* 63) is the soul or mind that leaves behind or "comes out of" the body, sense perception, speech, and finally, itself. He thus exhorts the soul to

> escape from yourself and stand outside yourself, being inspired like possessed people and corybants and being God-possessed as if in a sort of prophetic trance. For when the mind is divinely possessed and no longer in itself but is wildly excited and driven mad by a yearning for heaven and is led by the One who really is and is drawn up to Him, with truth going ahead and removing [obstacles] before the feet so that it may walk upon a smooth road—this is the heir. (*Her.* 69–70, my translation)

The Biblical words, "come out of," then, lead Philo to talk about the mind leaving itself behind. One can easily see how he might be moved to talk here about ecstasy which means, literally, a standing outside.[33]

Strictly speaking, only this part of the extended interpretation discusses ecstasy. The larger passage, however, may be construed to be about seeing God when Philo later interprets Gen. 15:5 as a prooftext for what the has just explained. In *Her.* 76, he writes,

> Now that he who has gone forth from us and desires to be God's attendant is the heir of the glorious wealth that nature has to give is testified by Moses in the words 'He led him out outside and said 'Look up into heaven.'" For heaven is the treasure of divine blessings.

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mind *is* capable of perceiving God as one. In *Abr.* 119–23, in which Philo interprets the same Biblical passage, he makes explicit that there are two stages of apprehension, thus resolving the ambiguity. In one stage, the mind can perceive God as one; in another, lower stage, it perceives Him as three.

32 See James Kugel, "Two Introductions to Midrash," *Prooftexts* 3 (1983): 145–47.

33 Philo goes on to explain that the mind leaving itself behind signifies that the mind recognizes the limits of its own abilities and acknowledges God as the true source of these abilities (*Her.* 73–74). In this way, the mind becomes the heir of divine things.

"Heaven" signifies the goods of God, available to the mind only when it submits to God's greater power. This submission of the mind involves leaving itself behind, relinquishing the belief that it is the source of its powers.

After mentioning the multitude of common people as the blind race who prefer what is mortal to what is immortal, Philo observes, "And so it is only the man of worth who sees, and therefore they of old called prophets 'seers' (1 Sam. 9:9). He who advances 'outside' is called not only the seer, but the seer of God, that is Israel" (*Her.* 78). Here Philo identifies the one who goes "outside," in the sense he has just explained, with the one who sees God.[34] Through this statement, then, he implies that all he has described earlier in the passage—including the experience of ecstasy—is part of the experience of one who sees God.

Factors That May Influence Philo's Discussion of Seeing God

The examples just presented illustrate how certain factors may influence what Philo says about seeing God. Let us consider these and other factors in somewhat more detail.

1. Exegetical Context. Both passages above highlight how important the exegetical function may be in Philo's remarks about seeing God. Philo's interpretation in *QG* 4.2 and 4 about God's powers and the capacity of the human mind to see is completely different from the one in *Her.* 68–85, which focuses upon ecstasy and divine possession. In large part, this is because the Scriptural verses behind each passage present different problems. *QG* 4.2 and 4 mention God's powers as a way of addressing the Scriptural fluctuation in Gen. 18:1–3 in portraying the number of Abraham's visitors as one or as three.[35] In contrast, *Her.* talks about ecstasy—to some extent at least—because of the textual trigger of the words in Gen. 15:4 about coming "out."

One can also point to other passages, however, in which Philo similarly interprets going "outside" as the mind attributing the source of its powers to God but in which he does not speak about ecstasy.[36] Thus, while attention to the relationship between Philo's ideas and the verses he is interpreting is important, clearly this factor alone is not enough to account for his various inconsistencies in describing the experience of seeing God.

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34 Both Gen. 15:4 and 5 make reference to coming or going "out." In Gen. 15:4, the divine heir is related to the one "who shall come out of" Abraham, while in Gen. 15:5, God leads Abraham "out outside." (The redundancy in the latter translation is based upon a Hebrew idiom in the original verse.) Philo, however, seems to understand both references to coming or going "out" in the same way.

35 In this connection, it is also worth mentioning the example of *Somn.* 1.64–67, discussed earlier. Like *QG* 4.2 and 4, this passage also deals with whether one can see God with or without an intermediary. Here Philo addresses a puzzling feature in Gen. 22:3–4, namely, that Abraham arrives at a place and yet sees it only from afar. His solution is to ascribe two meanings to the word "place"—i.e., 1) God's word or Logos and 2) God Himself—and to claim that when one reaches the place of God's intermediary, or the Logos, one realizes that God Himself is very far off, nay, even unreachable. To be sure, this solution fits the exegetical problem quite well. Recognizing that it is a Biblical inconsistency that gives rise to this solution, however, we must then question the extent to which Philo's remarks here are representative of his general position.

36 See, e.g., *Leg.* 3.39–48.

2. Different Traditions. Another possible explanation for these inconsistencies is that Philo may be drawing from different exegetical traditions which emphasize different elements.[37] Although the two examples given above are both about the experience of the soul, their different concerns may well reflect the existence of different pre-Philonic traditions. One tradition, for example, may focus upon God and His powers or intermediaries (*QG* 4.2 and 4), while another may concentrate upon the journey of the soul itself (*Her.* 68–85).

3. Literary Genre. The literary form of Philo's different commentaries may also influence his presentation. *QG* 4.2 and 4, for example, are from QGE—a series of separate questions and answers about individual verses or problems—whose form does not necessarily require resolution of contradictions from one unit to the next. Although the Allegory and the Exposition are also composed largely of discrete interpretations of different Scriptural problems, the treatise format in these series calls for linking together—however loosely—the units of interpretation and perhaps for smoothing over or at least addressing glaring contradictions.[38]

4. Philo's Audience(s). Since Philo may be addressing different audiences in his various works, he may very well adapt his discussions to suit his readers. For this reason, it is important to be alert to different patterns of Philo's usage that occur in different writings and to notice how these patterns may change from one kind of work to another.[39]

I have found particularly striking, for example, that on the whole Philo refers to seeing God much less frequently in the Exposition than in the other two exegetical series. Moreover, unlike the Allegory and QGE, in which he sometimes mentions seeing God in passing, when Philo does speak about seeing God in the Exposition, he generally provides some elaboration.[40] Finally—again, in contrast

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37 See n. 6.

38 In *Abr.* 119–23, a passage in the Exposition, Philo does in fact link together the two interpretations found in *QG* 4.2 (see n. 31). His reason for doing so may certainly be that the contradictory perspectives would have been too incongruous had they appeared side by side with no explanation.

39 A good example of this type of approach can be found in Chan-Kok Wong's study, "Philo's Use of *Chaldaioi*," *SPhA* 4 (1992): 1–14.

40 Examples in which Philo discusses seeing God at length in the Exposition are *Opif.* 69–71; *Abr.* 57–59, 77–80, 119–123; *Spec.* 1.36–50; *Virt.* 215–17; and *Praem.* 36–46. He mentions seeing God considerably less, if at all, in *Ios.*, *Mos.* 1–2, *Decal.*, and *Spec.* 2–4. Cf., however, *Mos.* 1.66, 158, 272, 289, and *Mos.* 2.69, which report but do not expand upon vision experiences described in the Bible. The question of how Philo may approach this topic differently in his various writings requires further investigation. Although I have listed a passage here from *Opif.*, this work—which Goodenough regards as Philo's "most difficult treatise" (*Introduction to Philo Judaeus*, 35)—is not typical of the Exposition. The treatise is considered part of the Exposition but is found in manuscripts at the beginning of the Allegory. It has been suggested that *Opif.* may serve as an introduction to both series. See Jenny Morris, "The Jewish Philosopher Philo" in Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*, rev. and ed. Geza Vermes et al. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke, 1987), 3:2:832, 844–45; Nikiprowetzky, *Le commentaire de l'Écriture*, 197–200.

to the other two series—in the Exposition Philo rarely mentions intermediaries.[41]

A possible explanation for these observations is that in the Exposition, Philo may be addressing a less sophisticated readership than in the Allegory and QGE.[42] This might account for why he refers to seeing God less frequently, why he goes out of his way to explain himself when he does talk about seeing God, and why he generally avoids the more complex issue of intermediaries, an issue he may reserve for "advanced seers."

In contrast, Philo's references to seeing God in the Allegory—which may be in the form of passing remarks or lengthy disquisitions—seem to indicate that he is addressing a knowledgeable Jewish audience, well-versed in philosophy. Here, he appears to take for granted that his readers understand the importance of this experience. Indeed, he does not so much explain the significance of seeing God as he describes the details of the experience, often with reference to God's intermediary figures.[43] Similarly, his occasional discussions about seeing God in QGE also suggest that his readers know enough about the subject not to require elaboration about its importance.[44]

5. Thematic Context of a Treatise. The thematic context of an individual treatise can also shape Philo's presentation of his material. Perhaps a better example of this observation than the selections presented above is *Virt.* 212–19. This passage, which appears in Philo's treatise *On the Virtues,* falls within a section he devotes to εὐγένεια, or nobility of birth. Philo's argument here is that the true measure of nobility is virtuous behavior and not noble ancestry.

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41 *Abr.* 119–23 is an exception to this observation (see nn. 31 and 38). As an example of the contrast between the Allegory and the Exposition, compare *Somn.* 1.129 of the Allegory with *Praem.* 43–46 in the Exposition. In *Somn.* 1.129, the Logos changes Jacob's name to "Israel, the one who sees," while in *Praem.* 43–46, Israel is granted the vision of God through God Himself. Philo's discussion of intermediaries in the three exegetical series requires further investigation.

42 I have hypothesized that Philo's intended audience in the Exposition consists of people who are not familiar with Jewish Scripture, history, and practices. Such a readership could include both Jews and non-Jews, and Philo's aim(s) may be to reclaim alienated Jews, educate the less knowledgeable ones, assuage non-Jews who may be hostile, and appeal to those who might be interested. This audience may also vary in its familiarity with philosophy. (See further my discussion of Philo's various audiences in *The Place of Judaism in Philo's Thought,* esp. 17–21.)

43 Examples of the varied ways in which Philo addresses this topic in the Allegory include *Somn.* 1.64–67 and *Her.* 68–85 (discussed briefly above); *Conf.* 92, 95–97; *Her.* 263–65; *Mut.* 203; *Somn.* 2.172–73; and many others. I have hypothesized that Philo's audience in the Allegory consists of people like himself—learned Jews with a sophisticated knowledge of philosophy. This series may be intended for them as a guide to how to read the Bible so that it will reveal its secrets about the soul's quest.

44 Examples of the passages in QGE that mention seeing God include *QG* 2.34; *QG* 3.34; *QG* 4.1, 8, 21, 138, 196; *QE* 2.39, 51, 52. QGE appears to be a collation or digest of interpretations reflecting a broader community of Alexandrian Jews than just those who share Philo's interest in allegorical interpretation and the journey of the soul. Perhaps this series is intended to function as a sourcebook or even a textbook for this broader Alexandrian Jewish community. See also Gregory E. Sterling, "Philo's Quaestiones: Prolegomena or Afterthought?" *Both Literal and Allegorical: Studies in Philo of Alexandria's Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus,* ed. David M. Hay, Brown Judaic Studies, ed. Ernest S. Frerichs, no. 232, 99–123; and Sze-Kar Wan, "Philo's *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim et in Exodum*: A Synoptic Approach" (Th.D. diss., Harvard University, 1992).

In *Virt.* 212–19, Philo uses Abraham as an example, calling him "a standard of nobility for all proselytes" (*Virt.* 219), because he leaves a background of astrology and polytheism to become the first person to believe in the one God. In this brief passage, Philo brings together a number of exegeses of individual verses about Abraham to emphasize the portrait of him as someone who abandons a background of wrong beliefs to come over to proper belief in the one true God.[45]

I would argue that in *Virt.* 215–16 (quoted below), Philo interprets Gen. 12:1, in which God commands Abraham to leave his homeland; Gen. 12:4, in which Abraham departs; Gen 12:7, which says that "God appeared to (or was seen by [ὤφθη])" Abraham; and Gen. 15:6, which notes that Abraham "believed God."[46] In this passage, Philo combines interpretations of these verses as follows:

> At the same time, also, the fire of yearning, which possessed him to know the Existent, was fanned by the divine warnings vouchsafed to him. With these to guide his steps, he went forth never faltering in his ardour to seek for the One, nor did he pause until he received clearer visions (τρανότεραι φαντασίαι), not of His essence, for that is impossible, but of His existence and providence. And therefore, he is the first person spoken of as believing in God, since he first grasped a firm and unswerving conception of the truth that there is one Cause above all, and that it provides for the world and all that there is therein. (*Virt.* 215–16)

Here then, Abraham, having left his homeland both in search of God and guided by God,[47] achieves clearer visions of Him (based upon Gen. 12:7) so that he is the first one said to have faith in God (Gen. 15:6). One can find separate interpretations of Gen. 12:1, 4, and 7 and Gen. 15:6 elsewhere in Philo's works, in contexts which do not portray Abraham as a proselyte at all.[48] In *Virt.* 215–16, however, Philo brings these verses together to highlight his argument that Abraham overcomes an unfortunate background to be able to see God and be the first to have faith in Him—thereby becoming the prototypical proselyte. Whereas Philo emphasizes other aspects of Abraham's journeying toward, seeing, and believing in God in his interpretations elsewhere, here he emphasizes Abraham's persistence in attaining right belief. Thus the thematic context of this treatise—namely, the virtues and, specifically, the virtue of nobility, or noble behavior—helps to shape Philo's emphasis in his exegesis.

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45 The turning away from wrong beliefs and coming over to belief in the one true God is the hallmark of the proselyte. See my discussion on this topic in *The Place of Judaism in Philo's Thought*, Chapter Six.

46 Occasionally one must read between the lines to discern which verses Philo is interpreting. Wile it is fairly clear in this passage, e.g., that he is interpreting Gen. 12:1 and 4 and Gen. 15:6, the Index biblique in *Biblia Patristica* does not list this passage as an interpretation of Gen. 12:7.

47 It is significant that Philo attributes Abraham's leaving his homeland to a combination of his own ardor to know the Existent *and* "divine warnings vouchsafed to him." These "warnings" are presumably an interpretation of Gen. 12:1[–3]. According to the Biblical account, Abraham leaves only because he is commanded to by God; he himself does not initiate his departure.

48 On Gen. 12:1 and 4, see, e.g., *Migr.* passim, *Abr.* 62–71, et al. On Gen. 12:7, see *Det.* 159, *Abr.* 77–80. On Gen. 15:6, see, e.g., *Her.* 90–95; *Abr.* 262–72; *Praem.* 27–30, 49; et al.

6. The Nature of Seeing God. Finally, the factors listed above—though certainly important—may not be sufficient to explain Philo's many inconsistencies about seeing God, because the very experience itself may defy any single description. Thus, seeing God may vary from one individual to another and may also vary from one time to the next for the same person. Philo himself may experience or even just conceive of this vision in different ways, sometimes as a rational perception, and sometimes as an ecstatic rapture. As mystics throughout the ages have argued, the human encounter with the divine is so elusive that words are not adequate to describe it. Philo's various contradictions and inconsistencies, then, may simply confirm that trying to relay the experience in words is a slippery endeavor.

Perhaps only when we consider all the approaches and perspectives mentioned above—including the possibility that the experience itself may vary—will we be closer to understanding what Philo means by seeing God. The approaches and perspectives I have discussed, however, can broaden our understanding of much more than this one intricate Philonic concept. To be sure, each of the factors mentioned here can offer potentially useful information about a wide range of Philonic motifs and ideas. Of course, not every factor will necessarily lead one to solve a puzzling matter in Philo's thought. Still, however, the cumulative light shed by consideration of all these factors will certainly illuminate new and significant dimensions of almost any Philonic question.

Philo and the Restoration of Israel

James M. Scott
Trinity Western University

Introduction

Does Philo of Alexandria have a concept of the literal Restoration of Israel, or does he merely reinterpret the OT and Jewish concept in accordance with his thoroughly Hellenized philosophical system? This relates to one of the basic questions in Philonic research: What is the relationship in Philo's thinking between the concrete Jewish nation and his universal and abstract (mystical) notions about it?[1] Peder Borgen argues that "the Jewish nation was the life-setting for his philosophical and mystical ideas."[2] Indeed, Philo himself seems to advocate such a method when he stresses that the literal meaning of the law should be given full consideration before investigating the allegorical (*Mig.* 89–93). With this principle in mind, the present study focuses on Philo's thinking about the concrete "nation" (ἔθνος) of the Jews. First, we will briefly survey Philo's use of the term ἔθνος.[3] Then, second, we will examine Philo's view on the contemporary situation of the Jewish nation in the Diaspora, whether positive or negative. Finally, we will look at Philo's eschatological hope for the nation. At each point along the way, Philo's thought will be compared to that of contemporary Judaism.

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1 Cf. Peder Borgen, "Philo of Alexandria: A Critical and Synthetic Survey of Research since World War II," in *ANRW* II.21.1 (ed. Wolfgang Haase; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1984), 98–154 (here 113–115).

2 Ibid., 115.

3 For purposes of the present study, Philo's etymologizing use of "Israel" as "he who sees God" will not be considered because it seems to relate more to his universal and abstract notions about the nation (cf. Naoto Umemoto, "Juden, 'Heiden' und das Menschengeschlecht in der Sicht Philons von Alexandria," in *Die Heiden. Juden, Christen und das Problem des Fremden* [ed. Reinhard Feldmeier and Ulrich Heckel; WUNT 70; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1994], 22–51; Ellen Birnbaum, "The Place of Judaism in Philo's Thought: Israel, Jews, and Proselytes," in *1993 SBLSP* [ed. Eugene H. Lovering, Jr.; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993], 54–69; idem, "The Place of Judaism in Philo's Thought: Israel, Jews, and Proselytes" [Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1992]). Only once is the "nation" called Israel: "Its high position is shown by the name; for the nation is called in the Hebrew tongue Israel, which, being translated, is 'He who sees God'" (*Abr.* 57). On the terms that Philo uses for the Jewish nation, including ἔθνος, see further Birnbaum, "The Place of Judaism in Philo's thought," 70–94. I am grateful to Dr. Birnbaum for providing me with portions of her dissertation.

I. Philo's Use of ἔθνος

In the Septuagint and other "Hellenistic-Jewish" literature, ἔθνος is used in three senses.[4] First, it is used in the plural in the sense of the "nations" of the world, including Israel.[5] Israel is consistently viewed as a "nation" among other "nations," from initial Election to ultimate Restoration. Second, ἔθνος is used in the sense of the "(all the) nations" in distinction to the nation Israel.[6] Finally, the term is used in the sense of the (individual) "Gentiles" in distinction to the Jews.[7]

In the same body of literature, ἔθνος occurs within three basic contexts which provide a salvation-historical framework for understanding the concept: (1) the Table of Nations; (2) the Abrahamic promise; (3) and the Covenant with Israel, from its initial establishment to its ultimate Restoration. Within this framework, the nation Israel is involved in a constant interplay with the other nations of the world. First, the Table of Nations in Genesis 10 and especially in 1 Chr 1:1–2:2 provides the basis for understanding the central position of Israel among the other nations of the world. Second, the oft-reiterated Abrahamic Promise sets in motion a trajectory whose ultimate fulfillment takes place in the time of Israel's Restoration, when Israel will again become a great nation, and all nations (i.e., those listed in the Table of Nations) will be blessed in Abraham and his seed. Third, having consistently followed the ways of the nations and having forsaken her covenantal responsibility as a holy nation under God, Israel meanwhile languishes in protracted exile among the nations, anticipating that day when God will restore her fortunes and gather all nations to himself.

Philo's use of ἔθνος is basically the same as those in the Septuagint and other "Hellenistic-Jewish" literature. Of the 280 occurrences of ἔθνος in the works of Philo,[8] the majority are used of "the nation of the Jews" (τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος),[9] or simply "the nation" (τὸ ἔθνος),[10] "our nation,"[11] etc., whether it is located in the Land or the Diaspora.[12] Although Philo never uses the term in the sense of

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4 For complete details on this whole section, see J. M. Scott, *Paul and the Nations: The Old Testament and Jewish Background of Paul's Mission to the Nations with Special Reference to the Destination of Galatians* (WUNT 1; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, forthcoming), chap. 2.

5 Cf., e.g., Philo *Abr.* 98; *Congr.* 3; *T. Ben.* 10:5–6; Josephus *Ant.* 1.146.

6 Cf., e.g., *T. Sim.* 7:2; *T. Ash.* 7:3; *Pss. Sol.* 9:9; *Ep. Arist.* 139; Philo *Virt.* 64.

7 Cf., e.g., *VP* 1:12; *4 Bar* 6:19; 7:37; *T. Levi* 9:10 (?).

8 Cf. Umemoto, "Juden, 'Heiden' und das Menschengeschlecht in der Sicht Philons von Alexandria," 23–24; Francis Schmidt, "Idée de 'nation' et sentiment d'appartenance au peuple dans le Judaïsme de l'époque hellénistique et romaine," *Annuaire de l'École Prâtique des Hautes Études, V^e Section (Sciences religieuses)* 85 (1975–76) 323–329 (here 323–326).

9 Cf., e.g., *Mos.* 1.7; *Decal.* 96; *Spec. Leg.* 2.166; 4.244; *Flacc.* 170. Philo's use of this name for the nation is sometimes quite anachronistic: "The most ancient member of the nation of the Jews was a Chaldean by birth" (*Virt.* 212; cf. also *Mos.* 1.7, despite Solomon Zeitlin, "The Jews: Race, Nation or Religion—Which? A Study Based on the Literature of the Second Jewish Commonwealth," *JQR* N.S. 26 [1935–36] 313–347 [here 335–336]).

10 Cf., e.g., *Quis Her.* 174; *Mut.* 191; *Mos.* 1.4 ("some of the elders of the nation"), 71; 2.250; *Virt.* 42 (Moses as "the leader of the nation"); *Legat.* 373.

11 Cf., e.g., *Decal.* 1.

12 See further below on the "populous nation" motif.

"Gentile(s)," he does use it in reference to other nations,[13] and sometimes even to all nations apart from the nation of the Jews.[14]

The contexts in which ἔθνος occurs are also quite similar. First, Philo is familiar with the Table-of-Nations tradition. Although he has very few direct references to Genesis 10[15] and nothing like the exposition of the Table of Nations in Josephus (*Ant.* 1.120–147), the influence of the tradition can be demonstrated at several points.[16] Second, Philo knows Abraham as the founder and most ancient member of the Jewish nation.[17] Although the Abrahamic Promise of Land does not receive much attention in contexts where the term ἔθνος occurs,[18] it must be suspected that Philo's idea of "the most populous nation" (see below), with its connection with circumcision (the sign of the Abrahamic Covenant), has a relationship to the Land Promise.[19] Finally, Philo never completely loses sight of the history of the covenantal relationship of God with his people Israel from initial Election to ultimate Restoration. This becomes apparent when we examine Philo's view on the contemporary situation of the nation in Diaspora and his eschatological hope for his people.

II. Philo's View on the Contemporary Situation of the Nation in Diaspora

In Philo's day, the Jewish nation was scattered over the whole inhabited world.[20] How does Philo assess the contemporary situation of his people? Is the

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13 Cf., e.g., *Leg. All.* 3.187 ("Amelek the first of the nations"); *Abr.* 188 ("the nation of the Chaldeans"); *Mos.* 1.263 ("all the Asian nations"); *Virt.* 34 (the Arabs as "a very populous nation").

14 Cf., e.g., *Mos.* 1.278 ("But I [sc. Balaam] shall not be able to harm the people which shall dwell alone, not reckoned among other nations . . ."); *Abr.* 98 (Israel as "the dearest of the nations to God"); Mos. 2.271 (before the Golden Calf incident Israel "had excelled every nation in clearness of vision"); *Legat.* 116–117, 240 ("our right to be treated no worse than all the nations"); *Spec. Leg.* 4.179 (". . . the whole nation of the Jews is in the position of an orphan compared with all the nations on every side").

15 According to J. Allenbach, ed., et al., *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique, Supplément: Philon d'Alexandrie* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982), 39, Philo refers to Genesis 10 in two passages: *Quaest. Gen.* 2.79, 80, 81, 82 (on Gen 10:1, 4–5, 6, 8–9, respectively) and *Gig.* 66–67 (on Gen 10:8, 10).

16 Cf. *Post.* 89, 91; *Plant.* 59–60; *Congr.* 58; *Conf.* 10. See further below on *Legat.* 281–283.

17 *Abr.* 276; *Praem.* 57–58; *Virt.* 212.

18 See merely *Sac.* 57 and *Congr.* 119.

19 Cf. *Mig.* 53–54.

20 The concept of a worldwide Diaspora goes back to the OT (cf., e.g., Deut 28:64: καὶ διασπερεῖ σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀπ' ἄκρου τῆς γῆς ἕως ἄκρου τῆς γῆς) and continues into the Roman era. Cf. Harald Hegermann, "The Diaspora in the Hellenistic Age," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Vol. 2: The Hellenistic Age* (ed. W. D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 115–166 (149): "At the outset of the Roman era there is a prevailing impression that the Jews are to be found all over the world. 'There is no part of the earth that has not admitted this people or been possessed by them' (thus Strabo in Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* XIV.7.2). 'Land and sea are full of them' (*the Sibylline Oracles* [3.271], circa 140 B.C.E.)." According to Josephus *BJ* 2.398, Agrippa II points out to his Jewish audience in Jerusalem that "there is not a people in the inhabited world which does not contain a portion of our people." Cf. *Pss. Sol.* 9:2; Josephus, *JW* 7.43; Acts 2:9–11. See also the geographic survey of the Diaspora in Schürer, *Hist.*, 3.1:3–86.

Diaspora seen as positive or negative? This aspect is crucial for understanding what kind of future hope, if any, Philo has for the Jewish nation.

A. Philo's Positive View of the Diaspora

On the one hand, Philo proudly presents the Diaspora as colonies that went out from the Metropolis Jerusalem into the whole inhabited earth because of overpopulation in the Holy City.[21] Thus, Philo writes in *In Flaccum* 45–46:

> For so populous are the Jews that no one country can hold them, (46) and therefore they settle in very many of the most prosperous countries in Europe and Asia both in the islands and on the mainland, and while they hold the Holy City where stands the sacred Temple of the most high God to be their Metropolis (μητρόπολιν), yet those which are theirs by inheritance from their fathers, grandfathers, and ancestors even farther back, are in each case accounted by them to be their fatherland (πατρίδας) in which they were born and reared, while to some of them they have come at the time of their foundation as immigrants (ἀποικίαν) to the satisfaction of the founders.

The same idea is expressed even more clearly and completely in *Legatio ad Gaium* 281–283. Here, Philo has Agrippa I write in a letter to Emperor Gaius that Jerusalem is not only his own πατρίς but also the μητρόπολις of the Jewish Diaspora scattered throughout the world.[22] Agrippa asserts that Jerusalem is "the mother city not of one country Judea but also of most of the others in virtue of the colonies (ἀποικίαι) sent out at various times . . ." (*Legat.* 281). In describing the places to which these Jewish colonies had been sent, Agrippa proceeds systematically according to three categories (i.e., the mainlands, the islands, and the countries beyond the Euphrates), supplying in the process a *pars pro toto* table of nations (§ 282). From this survey of the Diaspora, Agrippa concludes that if Gaius shows goodwill to his πατρίς (i.e. Jerusalem), "the benefit extends not to one city but to myriads of others situated *in every region of the inhabited world* (καθ' ἕκαστον κλίμα τῆς οἰκουμένης) . . ." (§ 283).[23] Agrippa then explains what he means by "every region of the inhabited world," again using three categories (this time overlapping categories): Europe, Asia and Libya; the mainlands and the islands; and the seaboard and the inland. With this pleonasm, Agrippa obviously

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21 Rudolf Schnackenberg, among others, argues that for Diaspora Jews in general, the term "Diaspora" gradually came to have a positive connotation ("Gottes Volk in der Zerstreuung. Diaspora im Zeugnis der Bibel," in idem, *Schriften zum Neuen Testament. Exegese in Fortschritt und Wandel* [Munich: Kösel-Verlag, 1971], 321–337 [here 324–325]).

22 On the Philonic authorship of Agrippa's letter to Gaius, see Daniel R. Schwartz, *Agrippa I: The Last King of Judaea* (Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 23; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1990), 179, 200–202; Solomon Zeitlin, "Did Agrippa write a letter to Gaius Caligula?" *JQR* N.S. 56 (1965) 22–31. On Agrippa's intervention in the affair, see Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, 77–89.

23 Cf. *Legat.* 284: "through all parts of the inhabited world" (διὰ πάντων τῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης μερῶν). In light of our subsequent discussion on Philo's concept of the most populous nation (cf., e.g., *Legat.* 226, 245), we may wonder whether Agrippa's letter to Gaius also hints that if the Emperor carries through with his plan to introduce a statue of himself into the Temple, he will have to contend with the whole Jewish nation, which is scattered in great numbers everywhere on earth and ready to die for its convictions (cf. *Legat.* 209, 230, 233, 256).

wants to stress that Jewish colonies sent out from Jerusalem are found in the whole inhabited world.

Philo's positive view of the Diaspora as colonization of the world due to the overpopulation of the Metropolis results from a complex interaction of both Hellenism and Judaism. First, Philo's concept must be understood in light of its Hellenistic background. According to Diodorus Siculus (1.28.1–29.6), Egyptians claim that "a great number of colonies were scattered from Egypt over the whole inhabited world" (ἀποικίας πλείστας ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κατὰ πᾶσαν διασπαρῆναι τὴν οἰκουμένην). Thereupon follows a partial list of the nations that these colonies founded, including the nation of the Jews:

> They say also that those who set forth with Danaus, likewise from Egypt, settled what is practically the oldest city of Greece, Argos, and that the nation of the Colchi in Pontus and that of the Jews, which lies between Arabia and Syria, were founded as colonies (οἰκίσαι) by certain emigrants from their country; and this is the reason why it is a long-established institution among these two peoples to circumcise their male children, the custom having been brought over from Egypt (1.28.2–3).

In 1.29.5, Diodorus also gives the reason why these colonies were sent out according to the tradition: "In general, the Egyptians say that their ancestors sent forth numerous colonies (πλείστας ἀποικίας) to many parts of the inhabited world (οἰκουμένης), by reason of the pre-eminence of their former kings and their excessive population (διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς πολυανθρωπίας) . . . ."[24] Point for point, therefore, Philo's portrayal of the Jewish Diaspora as colonization of the whole inhabited world due to the overpopulation[25] of Jerusalem seems to be patterned after this Egyptian tradition. Philo wants to show that, contrary to Egyptian tradition, the nation of the Jews is not merely an Egyptian colony which settled "between Arabia and Syria."[26] Rather, the Jewish

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[24] Compare Diod. Sic. 1.28.1–29.6 with Hecataeus of Abdera's very similar account (cited in Diod. Sic. 40.3.1–8), on which Diodorus may have relied here. Note, however, that although the two accounts agree that the Jews left Egypt as a "colony" (ἀποικία), the circumstances differ in each case: According to the Hecataeus, the Jews were expelled from Egypt because their presence was linked with the appearance of a pestilence in that country, whereas in Diodorus' own version, the Jews were sent out because of overpopulation in Egypt. Cf. Miriam Pucci Ben Zeev, "The Reliability of Josephus Flavius: The Case of Hecataeus' and Manetho's Accounts of Jews and Judaism: Fifteen Years of Contemporary Research," *JSJ* 24/2 (1993) 215–234 (here 232–233). See further Menahem Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1.20–35.

[25] Cf. also *Mos.* 2.232, referring to the rights of Diaspora Jews to participate in the Passover sacrifices after the festival was over: "The same permission also must be given to those who are prevented from joining the whole nation in worship not by mourning but by absence in a distant country. For settlers abroad and inhabitants of other regions are not wrongdoers who deserve to be deprived of equal privileges, particularly if the nation has grown so populous that a single country cannot contain it and has sent out colonies in all directions." Interestingly enough, Eusebius (*Dem. Ev.* 1.3.1; cf. *Apost. Const.* 6.25) claims that the curse of the Law rests upon Diaspora Jews precisely because they are hindered from participating in the pilgrimage festivals and thus do not keep the Law in its entirety (cf. Deut 27:26; *Test. Levi* 10:4; Gal 3:10). On the problem of keeping the Law outside the Land, see further Martin Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International), 29–34, 57.

nation is the one that is colonizing the world (including Egypt!) and vying for supremacy.[27] Here, Philo speaks very much as a Jewish apologist in the face of outside pressures and cultural competition. More evidence of this competition with Egypt will be seen below.

Second, Philo's concept must be understood in light of its Jewish background. Important clues to the Jewish background of Philo's view of the Diaspora can be seen in his concept of the Jewish nation as extremely populous and of Jerusalem as "Metropolis."

Jerusalem as "Metropolis." In Agrippa's description of the Jewish Diaspora, Jerusalem is seen not only as the center of world Judaism[28] but also the center of the world itself.[29] In keeping with the Table-of-Nations tradition, the orientation of lands and peoples is relative to Jerusalem,[30] and the general movement of the list is counterclockwise around the eastern Mediterranean, with Jerusalem in the middle. Jerusalem is the μητρόπολις, which is used in the double sense of "mother city" (in contrast to πατρίς)[31] and especially of "capital city"[32] of the

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26 Although, to a certain degree, Philo does accept this tradition: ". . . when its [sc. the Jewish nation's] many myriads set out as colonists from Egypt to the cities of Syria" (*Mos.* 2.246; cf. 1.222).

27 It seems that Philo wants to show that the Jews were even more populous than the proverbially fertile Egyptians. Cf. *Mos.* 1.149: "For when he gave up the lordship of Egypt, which he held as son to the daughter of the then reigning king . . . , he who presides over and takes charge of all things thought good to requite him with the kingship of a nation more populous and mightier, a nation destined to be consecrated above all others to offer prayers forever on behalf of the human race that it may be delivered from evil and participate in what is good." On the population of Egypt in Philo's day, based on actual census declarations from the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite nomes, see Roger S. Bagnall and Bruce W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

28 On Jerusalem as the center of Diaspora Judaism in the Hellenistic Period, see Harald Hegermann, "The Diaspora in the Hellenistic Age," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism,* 154–155. On the bond between Diaspora Judaism (incl. Philo!) and Jerusalem, see Gerhard Delling, *Die Bewältigung der Diasporasituation durch das hellenistische Judentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 34–39; Shmuel Safrai, *Die Wallfahrt im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels* (Forschungen zum jüdisch-christlichen Dialog 3; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981); idem, "Relations between the Diaspora and the Land of Israel," in *The Jewish People in the First Century, Vol. 1* (ed. S. Safrai, et al.; CRINT 1.1; Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 184–215.

29 Hence, Agrippa's description of the world from a Jewish perspective differs radically from his wife's depiction of the world on a tapestry presented to Gaius to celebrate the universal sovereignty of the Roman emperor (*Anth. Gr.* 9.778; cf. J. M. Scott, "Luke's Geographical Horizon," in *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting, Vol. 2: The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting* [ed. David W. J. Gill and Conrad Gempf; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster, 1994], 483–544 [495]).

30 Note that neither Rome nor Italy is mentioned here.

31 Perhaps Philo conceives of the relationship between Jerusalem (μητρόπολις) and the lands of the Diaspora (πατρίδες) in the same way as Josephus (*Ant.* 3.245) describes the relationship between Jerusalem (μητρόπολις) and the tribal allotments in the Land (πατρίδες): The difference is that for Philo, the inheritance is expanded to include the whole world (see further below). On the relationship between πατρίς and μητρόπολις in Philo's political terminology, see further Aryeh Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights* (Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 7; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1985), 232–261; idem, "Jerusalem as 'Metropolis' in Philo's National Consciousness," *Cathedra* 11 (1979) 5–56 (Hebrew; English summary); Berndt Schaller, "Philon von Alexandreia und das 'Heilige Land,'" in *Das*

whole world.[33] For Isa 1:26 foresees that after the judgment of Exile Jerusalem will be called "the faithful Metropolis Zion" (μητρόπολις πιστὴ Σιών), in a context which portrays Zion as "the highest of the mountains," to which "all nations" (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) will come (Isa 2:2), and as "in the middle of the nations" (v. 4 LXX). Hence, although Agrippa's letter does not explicitly state that Jerusalem is the "navel of the earth," it nevertheless strongly implies just that. In this respect, Jerusalem is being compared perhaps to Delphi, for in establishing a Greek colony, a founder first sought sanction from the Delphic oracle, situated from the Greek perspective at the very omphalos of the earth.[34]

Philo's concept of Jerusalem as Mother also stems from Isa 54:1–3, which expects that, in the time of the Restoration, Zion, a barren woman up to that point, will have so many children that the place of her tent will need to be continually enlarged to the right and to the left, until her seed shall inherit the nations.[35] For Philo, the reason that colonies had to be sent out from Jerusalem in the first place was because of overpopulation. As the following discussion shows, the motif of the Jews as a populous nation—or rather the most populous nation—runs throughout the writings of Philo and also has a basis in OT tradition.

The Most Populous Nation. Philo conceives of the Jewish nation as the most populous nation in the world. According to Philo, "the most populous of the nations" (τὸ πολυανθρωπότατον τῶν ἐθνῶν) sprang from Sarah (*Congr.* 3). The secret of Israel's tremendous fertility lies in the sign of the Abrahamic Covenant, circumcision (Gen 17:9–14), for circumcision "causes the semen to travel aright without being scattered or dropped into the folds of the foreskin, and therefore

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Land Israel in biblischer Zeit. Jerusalem-Symposium 1981 der Hebräischen Universität und der Georg-August-Universität (ed. Georg Strecker; GTA 25; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983) 172–187 (here 174, 186 n. 51); Hermann Lichtenberger, "'Im Lande Israel zu wohnen, wiegt alle Gebote der Tora auf'. Die Heiligkeit des Landes und die Heiligung des Lebens," in *Die Heiden. Juden, Christen und das Problem des Fremden*, 92–107 (here 92–93); Shalom Rosenberg, "The Link to the Land of Israel in Jewish Thought: A Clash of Perspectives," in *The Land of Israel: Jewish Perspectives* (ed. Lawrence A. Hoffman; University of Notre Dame Center for the Study of Judaism and Christianity in Antiquity 6; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1986), 139–169 (here 141–146). Unavailable to me was C. Carlier, *La μητρόπολις chez Philon d'Alexandrie: la concept de colonisation appliqué à la Diaspora juive* (Mémoire pour l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, École Biblique et Archéologique Française; Jerusalem, 1991).

32 Diod. Sic. *Geogr.* 16.2.28 refers to Jerusalem as the μητρόπολις of the Judeans. For the Septuagintal usage of this term, see Josh 10:2; 14:15; 15:13; 21:11; 2 Sam 20:19; Neh 1:1 (S).

33 Cf. *Ex. Rah* 23:10: "R. Johanan said, 'Jerusalem will one day become the Metropolis of the whole world . . . .'" This idea may be based on Psalm 87, which praises Zion as the mother of a people found in every country of the world.

34 Cf. Alexander J. Graham, "Greek Colonization," OCD, 264–265 (here 265); Jean Richer, *Sacred Geography of the Ancient Greeks: Astrological Symbolism in Art, Architecture, and Landscape* (SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions; Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), 239–241, 256.

35 Cf. Isa 49:19–20. According to rabbinic tradition, Jerusalem's gates will one day reach to Damascus, and the exiles will come and dwell there (Sifre Deut § 1, cited in Günter Stemberger, "Die Bedeutung des 'Landes Israel' in der rabbinischen Tradition," Kairos 25 [1983] 176–199 [192–193]).

the circumcised nations appear to be the most prolific and populous."[36] Of course, more to the point is the promise that Abraham's seed would be made as many as the dust of the earth and the stars in the heaven (Gen 13:16; 15:5; 22:17), and that "Abraham shall become a great and populous nation" (Gen 18:18). Thus, when Israel sojourned in Egypt, "the nation" was constantly growing so numerous that the king of Egypt feared they would show their superiority by contesting the chief power with the Egyptians (*Mos.* 1.8). Thus fundamental to Israel's liturgy is the creed to be repeated at the presentation of the basket of fruit (cf. Deut 26:1–11): "The founders of our nation abandoned Syria and migrated to Egypt and, though few in number (cf. Deut 7:7), increased to a populous nation."[37] As a reward for his renouncing the lordship of Egypt, which he held as the adopted son of the then reigning king, Moses became the king of a nation more populous and mightier than Egypt.[38] The time of the Exodus was "the beginning of the prosperity of the nation, when its many myriads set out as colonists from Egypt to the cities of Syria."[39] Moses' successor would preside "not over some ordinary nation but over the most populous of all the nations on earth" (οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ τυχόντι ἔθνει γενησομένης, ἀλλὰ πολυανθρωποτάτῳ μὲν τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ πάντων).[40] "All the nations of Asia" feared the advancing Israelites, and Balak, himself the ruler of "a great and populous portion of the East," lost heart (*Mos.* 1.263). After the Conquest, Israel settled in the land and remained most populous until the Exile.[41] As Philo ruefully comments, however, apparently in reference to the plight of his own people: "Even so the good fortune which has flooded a great and populous nation sometimes turns the stream of its current elsewhere and leaves not even a tiny trickle behind it, that no trace of the old richness may remain."[42] This may well refer to the extensive OT and Jewish tradition that the nation would become few in number among the nations to which God would scatter his people because of their sins.[43]

Nevertheless, during the Second Temple period, the description of "most populous nation" is still seen to apply to the Jews. A considerable part of "the very populous nation of the Jews" lives in Palestinian Syria, including the four-thousand-strong Essenes (*Quod Omn. Prob.* 75). Furthermore, the nation is so numerous that "the offerings of firstfruits are naturally exceedingly abundant. In fact, practically in every city there are banking places for the holy money where people regularly come and give their offerings."[44] "As the nation is very

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36 *Spec. Leg.* 1.7; cf. 1.2.

37 *Spec. Leg.* 2.217; cf. *Mos.* 1.34.

38 *Mos.* 1.149. On Moses as "god and king of the whole nation" (ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους θεὸς καὶ βασιλεύς), see *Mos.* 1.158.

39 *Mos.* 2.246. Cf. *Mos.* 1.222. See above on Diod. Sic. 1.28.1–29.6. A papyrus dated to AD 41 (*P. Lond.* 1912.88–100) refers to Jews who migrated in great numbers "from Syria or Egypt" (to Rome?).

40 *Virt.* 64. The Edomites are also described as a populous nation (*Mos.* 1.239–240).

41 Cf. *Spec. Leg.* 2.170.

42 *Quod Deus* 178. Cf. *Spec. Leg.* 2.170; *Praem.* 168.

43 Cf. Deut 4:27; 28:62; Jer 42:2; Bar 2:13; Pr Azar 13–14.

44 *Spec. Leg.* 1.78. Sacrificial animals are also available in great supply (*Spec. Leg.* 1.136).

populous," says Philo, "the firstfruits are necessarily also on a lavish scale, so that even the poorest of the priests has so superabundant a maintenance that he seems exceedingly well-to-do."[45] Philo goes so far in carrying through this motif that he makes Petronius, the Roman governor of Syria who was charged with introducing Gaius' statue into the Temple, balk at the sheer size of the Jewish nation.[46] First, Petronius "considered the vast number of people comprised in the nation (ἔθνος), which needed to contain it not like every other the circumference of a single country (χώρα) allotted to itself alone, but, one might almost say, the whole inhabited world (πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη). For it is spread abroad over all the continents and islands so that it seems to be not much less than the indigenous inhabitants. To draw all these myriads into war against him was surely very dangerous. Heaven forbid indeed that the Jews in every quarter should come by common agreement to the defence. The result would be something too stupendous to be combated."[47] Thus, like the king of Egypt, Petronius considers the Jewish nation as a force to be reckoned with. Later, a multitude of Jews came to Petronius and "suddenly descended like a cloud and occupied the whole of Phoenicia, to the profound astonishment of those who did not know how populous the nation was."[48] Gaius chides Petronius for attempting to have the order rescinded: "You concern yourself with the institutions of the Jews, the nation (ἔθνος) which is my worst enemy; you disregard the imperial commands of your sovereign. You feared the great numbers (τὸ πλῆθος). Then had you not with you the military forces which are feared by the nations of the east (ἔθνη τὰ ἑῷα) and their rulers the Parthians?"[49] One wonders whether Philo envisions a day when the Jewish nation would simply overwhelm the world with its numbers,[50] especially if, as Philo also thinks, the world is filled with

45 *Spec. Leg.* 1.133; cf. 1.141; *Mos.* 2.159.

46 On the other hand, it was feared that "the overthrow of the Temple" would be accompanied by an order for the annihilation of the Jewish nation (*Legat.* 194).

47 *Legat.* 214–215. Josephus (Ant. 11.133) refers to the contemporary population and distribution of the Jewish nation as follows: "In this way it has come about that there are two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, while until now there have been ten tribes beyond the Euphrates—countless myriads whose number cannot be ascertained."

48 *Legat.* 226–227.

49 *Legat.* 256.

50 Cf. Dio Cass. 69.13.1–2. Philo's eschatological expectation of a Jewish population that increases and expands to fill the whole earth is very similar to Josephus' eschatological expectation (cf. Betsy Halpern-Amaru, "Land Theology in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*," *JQR* 71 [1980–81] 201–229 [228]; idem, *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Post-Biblical Jewish Literature* [Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1994], 112–115). Compare also what Josephus has Agrippa say to the Jews who want to wage war against the Romans and defy the unconquered empire: "I ask you, then, are you . . . more numerous than the peoples of the world?" (*BJ* 2.364). Interestingly enough, the tremendous population of the Jewish nation was a persistent cause of anti-Jewish bigotry in the ancient world (cf., e.g., Ex 1:8–9; Strabo, preserved in Josephus *Ant.* 14.115; Tacitus *Hist.* 5.5.3; 5.13.3; see further Louis H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993], 84–102, 106; Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1.34; 2.62–63, 414).

proselytes and sympathizers.[51] In any case, he does expect a final eschatological battle against the most populous nations of the world (cf. *Praem.* 95).

Philo's concept of "the most populous nation" stems from his interpretation of the Abrahamic promise of land and great nationhood in Gen 12:1–2. We have already seen that "the most populous of the nations" sprang from Sarah (*Congr.* 3) and that this tremendous fertility is connected with circumcision, the sign of the Abrahamic covenant (*Spec. Leg.* 1.7). On the basis of the Abrahamic promise, Philo expects the Jewish nation to fill the earth and become the sovereign of the world. In early Judaism, the Abrahamic promise is frequently interpreted as an eschatological hope that Israel would inherit and rule the world.[52] Therefore, the most populous nation, which has spread out from Jerusalem to the whole inhabited world, is in a position to inherit the nations, in accordance with the expectation of Isa 54:1–3,[53] which alludes to the Abrahamic Promise.[54] Philo expresses the Abrahamic promise in terms of universal sovereignty in his interpretation of Gen 28:14, which reiterates the Abrahamic promise to Jacob: "And this, in accordance with the divine promises, is broadening out to the very bounds of the universe (τὰ πάντα), and renders its possessor inheritor of the four quarters of the world, reaching to them all, to East, and West, and South and North; for it is said, 'It shall spread abroad to the West and to the South and to the North and to the East'" (*Somn.* 1.175).[55] Clearly, therefore, Philo's concept of the most populous nation is part of a positive eschatological expectation for his people.[56]

B. Philo's Negative View of the Diaspora

Although Philo's view of the Jewish Diaspora as world colonization due to overpopulation would seem to be wholly positive, nevertheless there is evidence

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51 Cf. *Mos.* 2.19–20: "They attract and win attention of all, of barbarians, of Greeks, of dwellers on the mainland and islands, of nations of the east and the west, of Europe and Asia, of the whole inhabited world from end to end." See further Feldman, *Jew and Gentile*, 293–304.

52 Cf., e.g., *Jub.* 19:21; 22:11b, 13–14; 32:19; Sir 44:19–23; Rom 4:13; 4 Ezra 6:55–59. See further J. M. Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God: An Exegetical Investigation into the Background of* ΥΙΟΘΕΣΙΑ *in the Pauline Corpus* (WUNT 2.48; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992), 134–135.

53 Philo cites this passage in *Praem.* 158.

54 In Isa 54:1–3, the reference to exilic Zion as a "barren" woman recalls Sarah from the previous context (cf. Isa 51:2); the superabundance of progeny recalls the expectation of a great nation; and the vocabulary of inheritance recalls the land promise. In other words, this passage expects that the Abrahamic Promise of seed and of becoming a great nation is the means by which, spreading out from Zion, Israel will gradually take over possession ("inherit") all the nations of the world.

55 Cf. *Gen. Rab.* 41:9, which applies Gen 13:16 ("I will make your descendants as the dust of the earth") to the worldwide Dispersion: "Just as the dust of the earth is scattered from one end of the world to the other, so your children will be scattered from one end of the world to the other."

56 Cf., similarly, P. Borgen, "'There shall come forth a man': Reflections on Messianic Ideas in Philo," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity. The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 341–361 (esp. 342, 346). The expectation of Israel's universal sovereignty over the nations is a recurrent theme in the OT (cf. Deut 15:6; Ps 46:2–3, 9–10; Isa 54:3; 60:11, 16; Jer 38:7). This theme is carried on in Jewish texts of the Second Temple period (cf., e.g., 4Q381 76–77, 14–16; 4QpPs37 1.3–4, 9–13).

that Philo also considers the contemporary Diaspora as a negative situation to be overcome in the future. We get a hint of this, first of all, in Philo's attitude toward colonization elsewhere in his writings. In *Conf. Ling.* 78, Philo acknowledges that colonists from a metropolis always yearn to return to their native homeland:

> So when they have stayed awhile in their bodies, and beheld through them all that sense and mortality has to show, they make their way back to the place from which they set out at first. To them the heavenly region, where their citizenship lies, is their native land (πατρίδα); the earthly region in which they became sojourners (παρῴκησαν) is a foreign country (ξένη). For surely, when men found a colony (ἀποικία), the land which receives them becomes their native land (πατρίς) instead of the metropolis (μητροπόλεως), but to the one who goes abroad, the metropolis that sent him forth is still the mother to whom also he yearns to return.[57]

Here, Philo seems to speak from personal experience about the Diaspora situation in which he finds himself. Hence, far from being a wholly positive experience of ever-increasing world colonization, the Diaspora is actually a situation that the dispersed desire to overcome. Indeed, Philo expects that the Jews "do not continue forever wandering broadcast (οὐκ αἰεὶ σποράδην ἀλώμενοι) over islands and continents and occupying the homelands of others as strangers and vagrants (ὀθνεῖοι καὶ ἀνίδρυτοι) . . ." (*Spec. Leg.* 2.168).

Second, when Philo refers to Jewish "colonies" (ἀποικίαι) that were sent out from Jerusalem, we must recall that in the Septuagint, ἀποικία usually translates גולה or גלות, which refer to the Babylonian "exile(s)."[58] The same use of ἀποικία is found in Bar 3:8 (also v. 7), which reflects the sentiment of Diaspora Jews in Philo's day: "See, we are today in our exile where you have scattered us (ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς σήμερον ἐν τῇ ἀποικίᾳ ἡμῶν, οὗ διέσπειρας ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖ), to be reproached and cursed and punished for all the iniquities of our ancestors, who forsook the Lord our God."[59] Hence, even if Philo did not know Hebrew, he was probably aware of the prevalent usage of ἀποικία with reference to the exiles. In fact, Hecataeus of Abdera uses ἀποικία in reference to the expulsion of the Jews from Egypt at the time of Moses.[60]

Third, as Willem C. van Unnik has convincingly shown, the Jewish Diaspora in the Hellenistic-Roman period commonly understood its Diaspora situation as an

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57 A similar ambivalence is expressed in Flaccus' reaction to his exile on the island of Andros (Flacc 159): "This petty island what shall I call it? My home of exile or a new fatherland (πότερον φυγαδευτήριον ἐμὸν ἢ πατρίδα καινήν), a hapless haven and refuge? A tomb would be its truest name, for as I journey in my misery it is as though I were bearing the corpse that is myself to a sepulchre."

58 Cf., e.g., Jer 35(28):4, 6; 36(29):1, 4, 22, 31; Neh 7:6. See further Hans-Jürgen Zobel, "גלה," TDOT, 2.476–488.

59 On the exilic prespective in Bar 1:15–3:8, see esp. Odil Hannes Steck, *Das apokryphe Baruchbuch. Studien zu Rezeption und Konzentration 'kanonischer' Überlieferung* (FRLANT 160; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 72–75, 267–268 et passim.

60 *Apud* Diod. Sic. 40.3.3. Josephus refers to the expulsion of Abraham's sons by Hagar and Keturah, so that they would found their own ἀποικίαι elsewhere (Ant. 1.216, 239, 255).

evidence of God's continuing judgment based on the curse of the Law (cf. Levitcus 26 and Deuteronomy 28) that came upon the people beginning with the Babylonian Exile.[61] This fact is now widely recognized in the secondary literature.[62] For example, Robert P. Carroll writes:

> Much of the literature of the Second Temple period recognizes a category of exile after the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/86, but it does not recognize any return in subsequent centuries. This literature . . . represents Israel as being in exile for centuries; virtually in permanent exile. (See the interpretation of the seventy *weeks* of years in Dan 9:24

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61 Cf. Willem Cornelis van Unnik, *Das Selbstverständnis der jüdischen Diaspora in der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit* (ed. Pieter Willem van der Horst; AGJU 17; Leiden: Brill, 1993). The pejorative use of διασπορά is already firmly established in the LXX (e.g., Jer 15:7) and occurs frequently in other Jewish literature of the period (e.g., 2 Macc 1:27–29; *Pss. Sol.* 9:2; *Sib. Or.* 3:271 [Egyptian provenance!]). The main difficulty with van Unnik's study is that it makes an untenably sharp distinction between *golah/galut* ("deportation, exile, captivity") and *diaspora* ("dispersion") (ibid., 81–85, 119, 120, 134, 145, 151–152), which is based, in part, on a faulty understanding of the Greek term in these contexts as signifying disintegration (ibid., 151–152). In Judith 5:19, however, διασπορά simply refers to the Babylonian exile. On the Greek term and its synonyms, see Reinhard Feldmeier, *Die Christen als Fremde. Die Metapher der Fremde in der antiken Welt, im Urchristentum und im 1. Petrusbrief* (WUNT 64; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992), 8–22.

62 On the concept of a protracted exile extending through the Second Temple period, see further Odil Hannes Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten* (WMANT 23; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967); idem, "Das Problem theologischer Strömungen in nachexilischer Zeit," *EvT* 28 (1968) 445–458; Michael A. Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," *HeyJ* 17 (1976) 253–272; idem, "Exile in the Damascus Document," *JSOT* 25 (1983) 99–117; idem, "A Note on *4Q372* and *4Q390*," in *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A. S. van der Woude on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (ed. F. García Martínez, et al.; VTSup 49; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 164–177; Donald E. Gowan, "The Exile in Jewish Apocalyptic," in *Scripture in History and Theology: Essays in Honor of J. Coert Rylaarsdam* (ed. Arthur L. Merrill and Thomas E. Overholt; PTMS 17; Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1977), 205–223; Gerhard von Rad, "Gerichtsdoxologie," in *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament, Vol. 2* (ed. Rudolf Smend; TBü 48; Munich: Kaiser, 1973), 245–254; Shemaryahu Talmon, "Waiting for the Messiah at Qumran: The Spiritual Universe of the Qumran Covenanters," in *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (ed. Jacob Neusner, et al.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 111–137; Philip R. Davies, "Eschatology at Qumran," *JBL* 104/1 (1985) 39–55; idem, *Daniel* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 20–22; Amy-Jill Levine, "Diaspora as Metaphor: Bodies and Boundaries in the Book of Tobit," in *Diaspora Jews and Judaism: Essays in Honor of, and in Dialogue with, A. Thomas Kraabel* (South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 41; Atlanta, GA: Scholars, 1992), 105–117; Will Soll, "Misfortune and Exile in Tobit: The Juncture of a Fairy Tale Source and Deuteronomic Theology," *CBQ* 51/2 (1989) 209–231; Paul Garnet, "Jesus and the Exilic Soteriology," in *Studia Biblica 1978, Vol. II: Papers on the Gospels* (ed. E. A. Livingstone; JSNTSup 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980), 111–114; J. M. Scott, "Paul's Use of Deuteronomic Tradition," *JBL* 112 (1993) 645–665; A. T. Kraabel, "The Roman Diaspora: Six Questionable Assumptions," *JJS* 33 (1982) 445–464 (here 462); Rudolf Mosis, "Das Babylonische Exil Israels in der Sicht christlicher Exegese," in *Exil—Dispora—Rückkehr. Zum theologischen Gespräch zwischen Juden und Christen* (ed. R. Mosis; Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1978), 55–77; Clemens Thoma, "Jüdische und christliche Exilserfahrungen und Exilstheologien: Deutung des nachbiblischen Judentums aus christlich-theologischer Sicht," in *Exil—Diaspora—Rückkehr*, 78–94 (here 81); Bruce D. Chilton, *The Glory of Israel: The Theology and Provenience of the Isaiah Targum* (JSOTSup 23; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982), 28–33; Jacob Neusner, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecy: Exile and Return in the History of Judaism* (Boston: Beacon, 1987).

> which replaces the seventy years of other texts). Exile becomes a symbol in this literature; a symbol of alienation of the group (or sect) from power in Jerusalem, or one related to messianic expectations which alone would restore the people to their land. Here the Qumran literature has a rather different understanding of exile from that represented by Ezra-Nehemiah and one wonders if these differences do not indicate a clash of ideological and sectarian holdings. If the origins of Qumran were to be traced to Babylonian reform groups which only arrived in Palestine during the Maccabean period, this would account for its nonrecognition and for its belief that the exile as punishment for Israel's sins had continued unbroken to its own time (see CD 3:10–14). Whatever the origins of Qumran might have been, the community clearly believed in exile as a continuing experience, even though it might be regarded as living in its own land. The books of *1–3 Enoch*, Baruch, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, the Qumran *Damascus Document*, and the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* all represent exile as a permanent state of the community and recognize no restoration or return from exile.[63]

In particular, the Jewish penitential prayers review the history of the people, confess their breach of covenant culminating in the destruction of the First Temple and exile, acknowledge God's judgment as just in accordance with his word through Moses, and then appeal to the mercy of God to restore the nation from dispersion, which is emphasized as Israel's present plight.[64] Moreover, Egyptian Jews themselves understood the world-wide Diaspora situation as a continuation of the Deuteronomic curse of exile. Thus, in a passage that clearly alludes to the curses in Deuteronomy 28–29, *Sib. Or.* 3.271 states, "The whole earth will be filled with you and every sea." It would be surprising if Philo were unaware of this exilic perspective on the Diaspora. Although Philo does not explicitly use the term διασπορά for the geographic diffusion of his people in the world, he normally uses the verb διασπείρω to refer to geographic dispersion as the result of divine judgment for sin.[65] Furthermore, he does use διασπορά in an allegorical sense based on Deut 30:4 that seems to presuppose the familiar Sin-Exile-Restoration pattern.[66] Hence, when in the context of his exposition of Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28–30 (*De praemiis et poenis*),[67] Philo refers to his

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63 Robert P. Carroll, "Israel, History of (Post-Monarchic Period)," *ABD* 3 (1992) 567–576 (575).

64 These prayers are found in canonical texts (1Kgs 8:46–53; Nehemiah 9; Dan 9:4–19; Bar 1:15–3:8), at Qumran (1QS 1.24–2.1; CD 20.28–20; 4QDibHam), and in the Diaspora (Tob 3:1–6; 3 Macc 2:2–20; 6:9–15; Esther 14:3–19 LXX). See further J. M. Scott, "'For As Many As Are of Works of the Law Are Under a Curse' (Galatians 3.10)," in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel* (ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; JSNTSup 83; SSEJC 1; Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 187–221 (201–213).

65 Cf. Conf. Ling. 118–119, 196–197; Plant. 59–60. See van Unnik, *Selbstverständnis*, 130–135.

66 Cf. *Praem.* 115: "And therefore those who would imitate these examples of good living so marvellous in their loveliness, are bidden not to despair changing for the better or of a restoration to the land of wisdom and virtue from the spiritual dispersion (ἐκ διασπορᾶς ψυχικῆς) which vice has wrought."

67 Strangely, Philo does not mention the Exile among the curses listed in *Praem.* 127–151. Note that in paraphrasing Deut 30:1–3, 4QMMT also omits any reference to the Exile (cf. Elisha

people scattered throughout the world as οἱ σποράδες (*Praem.* 165), the negative view of the Diaspora situation as divine punishment becomes manifest, for the reason that they find themselves in dispersion is that they are "in slavery to those who led them away captive" (*Praem.* 164).

Fourth, this negative view of the Diaspora comports with Philo's statements about the sin of the nation. Although Philo most often extolls the virtues of the nation,[68] he also recognizes that the whole nation can fall into sin and indeed did so from time to time.[69] Early on, the most serious offence was when the people worshipped the Golden Calf and thus turned their back on the one true God: "Moses was cut to the heart to think that . . . the whole people had suddenly been blinded who a few hours ago had excelled every nation in clearness of vision . . . ."[70] This blinding of Israel seems to mark the beginning of nation's downfall.[71] For, by Philo's day, the cities of the once populous Land of Israel "have been stripped of their inhabitants and the whole nation, except for a small fraction, has disappeared, partly through wars, partly through heaven-sent visitations, a consequence of their strange and monstrous practices of iniquity and all their heinous acts of impiety aimed at the subversion of the statutes of nature."[72] Philo alludes here to the aforementioned Deuteronomic tradition that Israel would be left few in number in the Diaspora because of her sins.[73] "Our nation has not prospered for many a year," Philo acknowledges.[74]

III. Philo's Hope of Restoration for the Nation

Philo's negative view of the Diaspora forms the necessary presupposition for his hope of Restoration for the Jewish nation, for Restoration provides the solution to the nation's exilic plight. Philo was convinced that God had not withdrawn from the nation of the Jews.[75] The hopeful words of comfort in the

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Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4, Vol. V: Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah* [DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994], 59, note on lines 12–14), although the Qumran community clearly thought of itself as in a state of exile (cf. Knibb, "Exile in the Damascus Document," 99–117).

68 Cf., e.g., *Virt.* 79; *Mos.* 1.189; 2.15, 202; *Spec. Leg.* 2.166; *Quod Deus* 148; *Legat.* 210.

69 Cf. *Spec. Leg.* 1.230, 233. For example, part of the nation began to have sexual relations with Moabite women (*Mos.* 1.300–304).

70 *Mos.* 2.271; cf. *Spec. Leg.* 1.79. Moses made prayers and supplications for the nation, begging that their sins might be forgiven (*Mos.* 2.166).

71 As Scott J. Hafemann now points out, the idolatry with the Golden Calf is seen in OT and Jewish tradition as a "fall" within Israel's history parallel to that within the history of humanity in Genesis 3 (*Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel: The Letter/Spirit Contrast and the Argument from Scripture in 2 Corinthians 3* [WUNT 81; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1995], 227–231, 235–236, 434–436).

72 *Spec. Leg.* 2.170.

73 There is an apparent contradiction here between Philo's use of this tradition and his appropriation of the most populous nation motif referred to above, although, as we have seen, *Quod Deus* 178 may refer to the same tradition.

74 *Mos.* 2.43. For a different interpretation of this passage, see Richard D. Hecht, "Philo and Messiah," in *Judaism and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (ed. Jacob Neusner, et al.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 139–168 (here 142).

75 This is the message of *In Flaccum* (cf. § 191; also the confession of Flaccus in § 171).

Song of Moses about Israel's Restoration (Deuteronomy 32), Philo reasons, "must be followed by their happy fulfillment."[76] Likewise, some of the blessings of Moses on the twelve tribes of the nation (Deut 33:1–29) have already taken place, which inspires confidence that the others will be fulfilled in the future.[77]

The main text on the Restoration is found in Philo's exposition of Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28–30 in *De praemiis et poenis*. After describing the curses (*Praem.* 127–161), Philo turns next to the promise of Restoration: In accordance with Lev 26:40–45 and Deut 30:1–10, the repentant nation will be returned to the Land, where it will experience greater prosperity than ever before, and the curses of the Law will be turned against the nation's enemies (*Praem.* 162–172). First of all, Philo expects that in accordance with Lev 26:40 and Deut 30:2, the nation will one day repent en masse (*Praem.* 162–163). This clearly assumes that the nation as a whole persists in the sin that brought the curses of the Law upon it in the first place.[78] As we have seen above, there is a widespread penitential prayer tradition in the Second Temple period that endeavors to bring about the promised Restoration through liturgical repentance.

Second, Philo expects that the repentant nation will be returned to the Land (*Praem.* 164–165):

> For even though they dwell in the uttermost parts of the earth (ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς γῆς), in slavery to those who led them away captive, one signal, as it were, one day will bring liberty to all. This conversion in a body to virtue will strike awe into their masters, who will set them free, ashamed to rule over men better than themselves. (165) When they have gained this unexpected liberty, those who but now were scattered (σποράδες) in Greece and the barbarian world over islands and continents, will arise and post from every side with one impulse to the one appointed place, guided in their pilgrimage by a divine vision and superhuman, unseen by others but manifest to them as they pass from exile to their home.

We are dealing here with a very concrete, if fantastic, concept of the return.[79] Of course, it is difficult to reconcile this hope of return to the Land with Philo's other notion of the Diaspora as world colonization due to overpopulation. For if the Jewish nation became so populous that it had to be sent out to colonize the whole inhabited world, how should it now be able to return to the Land?[80]

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76 *Virt.* 75. Deuteronomy 32 contains the familiar Deuteronomic salvation-historical scheme: God's election and care for Israel (vv. 6–14), Israel's rebellion (vv. 15–18; cf. v. 5), God's judgment upon them (vv. 19–35), and ultimately God's final deliverance and vindication of his own people (vv. 36–43). As H. W. Basser points out, the traditional assumption has been that Deuteronomy 32 "is a summary of Israel's total history, from inception until the end of days" (*Midrashic Interpretations of the Song of Moses* [American University Studies 7/2; New York/Frankfurt/Bern: Peter Lang, 1984], 4). Cf. Josephus *Ant.* 4.302–303.

77 *Mos.* 2.288. In *Praem.* 107, Philo applies Deut 15:6 to the future ("in those days").

78 According to *Spec. Leg.* 2.170, possession of the Land is dependent upon a life of virtue.

79 *Pace* Betsy Halpern-Amaru, who argues that Philo uses the theme of the "ingathering of the exiles" merely as a metaphor for returning to wisdom and knowledge of God rather than as a literal recovery of real estate ("Land Theology in Philo and Josephus," in *The Land of Israel: Jewish Perspectives* [ed. Lawrence A. Hoffman], 65–93 [here 85]).

80 Cf. van Unnik, *Selbstverständnis*, 153.

Despite this apparent contradiction, however, Philo's negative view of the Diaspora as exile converges to a certain extent with his positive notion of Diaspora as world colonization, for in both cases, the Jewish nation is dispersed throughout the world, the ultimate goal of the people is to return home, and the Gentiles are somehow overwhelmed.

Philo's expectation of the return is by no means unique. Many Jewish texts from the Second Temple period, including both Palestinian and Diaspora sources, look forward to the ingathering of the exiles or actually pray to that end.[81] In addition to the many important texts that E. P. Sanders cites in this regard as part of the "common Jewish hopes for the future,"[82] we may adduce the following examples:

(a) Pre-Roman era literature:

In a prayer for the deliverance and Restoration of Israel (Sir 36:1–17), God is petitioned to "Gather all the tribes of Jacob, and give them their inheritance as at the beginning" (v. 10).

[Cf. also 51:12 Hebr.: "Give thanks to him who gathers the dispersed of Israel, for his mercy endures for ever."]

(b) Palestinian literature of the Roman era:

In the wake Pompey's capture of Jerusalem, the psalmist prays for the Restoration of Israel: "Bring together the dispersed of Israel with mercy and goodness, for your faithfulness is with us" (*Pss. Sol.* 8:28).

The Messiah son of David is expected to "gather a holy people whom he will lead in righteousness" (*Pss. Sol.* 17:26).

The prayer for the welfare of King Jonathan (perhaps Alexander Jannaeus or Jonathan Maccabaeus) seems to imply a desire for the ingathering of the exiles, for the text alludes to Zech 2:10: ". . . holy for King Jonathan and all the congregation of your people Israel who are in the four winds of heaven, peace be (for) all, and upon your kingdom, your name be blessed" (4Q*448* B).[83]

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81 On contemporary Jewish views in which the expectation of the ingathering plays little or no role, see Betsy Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible,* which describes the position of four Palestinian-Jewish texts (*Jubilees,* the *Testament of Moses,* the *Biblical Antiquities* of Ps-Philo, and the *Antiquities* of Josephus); Rosenberg, "The Link to the Land of Israel in Jewish Thought," 139–169.

82 Cf. E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63 BCE–66 CE* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992), 290–291: (a) pre-Roman era literature (Sir 35:11 [sic!]; 48:10; Bar 4:37; 5:5; 2 Macc 1:27–28; cf. 2:18; *Jub.* 1:15); (b) Palestinian literature of the Roman era (*Pss. Sol.* 11:2–3; 17:28–31; cf. 17:50; 8:34; 1QM 2.2–3; cf. 2.7–8; 3:13; 5.1; 11QT 8.14–16; 57.5–6); (c) Diaspora literature (*Praem.* 164–165). See further Luigi Clerici, *Einsammlung der Zerstreuten. Liturgiegeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Vor- und Nachgeschichte der Fürbitte für die Kirche in Didache 9,4 und 10,5* (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 44; Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), 75–79, 85–92.

83 Cf. Esther Eshel, Hanan Eshel, and Ada Yardeni, "A Qumran Composition Containing Part of Ps. 154 and a Prayer for the Welfare of King Jonathan and his Kingdom," *IEJ* 42 (1992) 199–229; Geza Vermes, "Qumran Forum Miscellanea II: The So-Called King Jonathan Fragment (4Q*448*)," *JJS* 44 (1993) 294–300, who compares 2 Macc 2:16–18.

The Temple Scroll (11QT 59.2–13) provides a good example of the whole Sin-Exile-Restoration pattern, culminating in the ingathering of the exiles and the renewal of the covenantal relationship in the Land (*ll.* 9–13): ". . . they shall be brought into the land of their fathers, redeemed and greater in number; and I will rejoice in them. They shall be my people and I will be their God."

In the liturgical *Words of the Luminaries*, the petitioner acknowledges the sin of the people and the just judgment of God on them, but also asks God mercifully to remove his wrath from the people: "Look at our [distress,] our grief and our anguish, and free your people Isr[ael from all] the countries, both near and far, [to where you have exiled us]" (4Q*504* 1–2 vi 12–13).[84]

In Jesus' eschatological discourse in Mark 13, the coming of the Son of Man sets in motion the return to the Land: "Then he will send out the angels, and gather his elect from the four winds, from the ends of the earth to the ends of heaven" (Mk 13:27; cf. Matt 24:31).

(c) Diaspora literature:[85]

God will gather the children of Israel from all the nations among whom they have been scattered (Tob 13:5).

After the initial return from exile, the building of the Second Temple, and the conversion of all nations to the worship of God, "All the Israelites who are saved in those days and are truly mindful of God will be gathered together; they will go to Jerusalem and live in safety forever in the land of Abraham, and it will be given over to them" (Tob 14:7).

Furthermore, the expectation of the ingathering of the exiles (in the messianic age) can be traced into Rabbinic tradition.[86]

Third, Philo expects that in accordance with Deut 30:7, God will put all the curses of the Law in Deuteronomy 27–29 on Israel's enemies: "Everything will suddenly be reversed, God will turn the curses against the enemies of these penitents, the enemies who rejoiced in the misfortunes of the nation and

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84 The fragmentary *Festival Prayers* also make reference to the ingathering of the exiles (cf. 4Q509 frags. 1–4 i 17–18; frags. 8–13 iii 16).

85 According to Schaller, Philo is the only source in the Hellenistic Diaspora literature of the Roman period that considers the return to the Land of Israel as an eschatological goal for the Jews scattered throughout the world ("Philon von Alexandria und das 'Heilige Land,'" 182). However, if we include iconographic evidence, then it is interesting to note that Jonathan A. Goldstein interprets some of the seemingly innocuous paintings of biblical scenes in the synagogue of Dura Europos as subversively referring to the eschatological redemption of Israel from Exile ("The Judaism of the Synagogues [Focusing on the Synagogue of Dura-Europos]," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity* [Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.17.2; Leiden: Brill, 1995], 109–157).

86 Cf., e.g., *t. Ber.* 1:10; *b. Meg.* 12a; *b. Pesah.* 88a; *Tg. Ps.-J.* Deut. 30:4; Jer 33:13; *Tg. Isa* 6:13; 42:1–7; 53:8; *Tg. Hos* 14:8. However, Hecht randomly selects three "midrashic texts" in an attempt to show the difference between Philo's expectation and that of Rabbinic Judaism and thus to disprove Wolfson's thesis that Philo's view coheres with traditional Jewish messianism ("Philo and Messiah," 155–158).

mocked and railed at them . . ." (*Praem.* 169).[87] This indirectly shows that Philo considers the Jewish nation currently to be under the Deuteronomic curses, including Exile, for the day of the eschatological Restoration had not yet arrived and the great reversal had not yet taken place. Interestingly enough, Philo's concept of reversal is paralleled in several Diaspora texts in the period under consideration. For example, Paul Trebilco argues that in accordance with Deuteronomy 28, the Jews of Acmonia in Asia Minor understood their current Diaspora situation as exile, and that these same Jews, having repented of their sins, now expected on the basis of Deut 30:1–10, the return from exile and the fulfillment of the promise in Deut 30:7, for their grave inscriptions explicitly apply "curses that are written in Deuteronomy" (αἱ ἀραὶ ἡ [sic!] γεγραμμέναι ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ) to grave violators.[88] Trebilco adduces *Praem.* 169 in order to substantiate that other Diaspora Jews were also expecting the return from Exile and the reversal of the covenant covenantal curses to the enemies of the Jewish nation.[89] We may add Yesoshua Amir's observation that *Sir. Or.* 3.520–575 applies the curses of Deuteronomy 28 against the foreign nations instead of against Israel.[90]

Fourth, Philo's eschatological hope for his people includes a messianic expectation.[91] Without using the term "Messiah,"[92] Philo looks forward to the

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87 Perhaps Philo views this time of reversal as already dawning in his day, for Flaccus acknowledges before God that "all the acts which I madly committed against the Jews I have suffered myself" (*Flacc.* 170).

88 Paul R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (SNTSMS 69; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 60–69. Note, however, that Trebilco's argument has recently come under sharp attack: cf. Johan H. M. Strubbe, "Curses Against Violation of the Grave in Jewish Epitaphs of Asia Minor," in *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy* (ed. Jan Willem van Henten and Pieter Willem van der Horst; AGJU 21; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 70–128 (esp. 89–92); Ross S. Kraemer, "Review of: Paul R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor*," *Ioudaios Review* 4.021 (September 1994). The latter may be obtained through the Internet by sending the following e-mail message to listserv@lehigh.edu: "get ioudaios-review/4.1994 trebilco.kraemer.021."

89 Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor*, 214 n. 38. If, as E. P. Sanders argues, "What is peculiar to the works which have traditionally been considered Palestinian Jewish apocalypses is the combination of revelation with the promise of restoration and reversal" ("The Genre of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* [2nd ed.; ed. David Hellholm; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1989], 446–459 [here 456, italicized in the original]), then Philo's hope in *Praem.* 162–72 comes very close to this, as Sanders himself observes (ibid., 456, 457). P. Borgen argues that Philo even shares the element of revelation with Palestinian Jewish apocalypses ("Heavenly Ascent in Philo: An Examination of Selected Passages," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* [ed. James H. Charlesworth and Craig A. Evans; JSPSup 14; SSEJC 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993], 246–268 [here 255 n. 28]).

90 Yesoshua Amir, "Homer und Bibel als Ausdrucksmittel im 3.Sibyllenbuch," in *Studien zum antiken Judentum* (Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums 2; Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1985), 83–100 (here 92–93).

91 See Borgen, "'There shall come forth a man': Reflections on Messianic Ideas in Philo," 341–361, who argues that Philo's messianic expectation amounts to the eschatological realization of the universal aspect of Moses' kingship and the universal role of the Hebrew nation. For an argument against Borgen's position, see Burton L. Mack, "Wisdom and Apocalyptic in Philo," in *Heirs of the Septuagint. Philo, Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity: Festschrift for Earle Hilgert* (ed. David T. Runia, et al.; BJS 230; Studia Philonica Annual 3; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1991), 21–39 (esp. 30–37). See also Hecht, "Philo and Messiah," 139–168, who tries to argue that Philo

coming of "a man" who will be the commander-in-chief of the Hebrew nation and the head of the nations. In *Praem.* 79–97, victory over enemies is one of the blessings that the Law promises to the righteous. This victory begins with the taming of the animal world, in accordance with the messianic expectation in Isa 11:6–9 (*Praem.* 85–92), and then extends to the nations (§§ 93–97). According to Philo's interpretation of the oracle of Balaam in Num 24:7 LXX, the victory over the nations would be accomplished by a messianic figure: "For 'there shall come forth a man,' says the oracle, and leading his host to war he will subdue great and populous nations . . ." (*Praem.* 95). Likewise in *Mos.* 1.290, Philo cites Num 24:7, interpreting it as a reference to an expected universal emperor: "There shall come forth from you one day a man, and he shall rule over many nations and his kingdom spreading every day shall be exalted on high."[93]

Three observations need to be made about Philo's messianic expectation:
(1) The idea that the messianic figure will subdue the nations by military might loosely agrees with Philo's aforementioned expectation that the nations, overwhelmed by the Jewish nation's repentance, will allow the scattered exiles to return to the Land (cf. *Praem.* 164–165). In both cases we are dealing with an eschatological expectation that the nations will be overwhelmed.
(2) Philo's expectation of a gradually expanding messianic empire (cf. *Mos.* 1.290) dovetails with Philo's aforementioned concept of the most populous nation—the idea that the Jewish people are so populous and expansionistic that, in accordance with the Abrahamic promise, they will eventually subdue and inherit the earth. This may not be a coincidence, for Sir 44:21 expresses the Abrahamic promise in terms of the promise of universal sovereignty expected for the king in Ps 72(71):8 (= Zech 9:10): "Therefore, he [sc. God] assured him [sc. Abraham] by an oath that he would bless the nations (ἔθνη) in his seed, and that he would multiply him as the dust of the earth and would exalt his seed as the stars, and cause them to inherit from sea to sea, and from the River unto the end of the earth."[94] It would seem, therefore, that Philo's eschatological expectation for the Jewish nation and for the Messiah converge at this point.
(3) Philo's expectation of universal sovereignty for the nation and the Messiah coheres with his view of the succession of world empires, which he evidently

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completely neutralizes the popular messianism by dehistoricizing it and redefining it as inner transformation.

92 The recent attempts to restrict the discussion of first-century messianism to texts that explicitly contain the *terminus technicus* are too limiting, for most of biblical passages given a messianic interpretation by later Jewish and Christian sources do not contain the word משיח or Χριστός.

93 For another contemporary (messianic) text that may allude to Num 24:7, 17 and interpret it in terms of universal sovereignty, see Josephus *JW* 6.312–313. Martin Hengel stresses the importance of Num 24:7 for understanding Jewish nationalism and revolutionary thinking, particularly in the Egyptian Diaspora ("Messianische Hoffnung und politischer 'Radikalismus' in der 'jüdisch-hellenistischen Diaspora'. Zur Frage der Voraussetzungen des jüdischen Aufstandes unter Trajan 115–117 n.Chr.," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism* [2nd ed.; ed. David Hellholm; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1989], 655–686 [here 679–680]).

94 On Christ/Messiah as the seed of Abraham in Gal 3:16, see Scott, *Adoption*, 180–182.

derives from Daniel:[95] "For circlewise moves the revolution of that divine plan which most call Fortune (τύχη). Presently in its ceaseless flux it makes distribution city by city, nation by nation, country by country (κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη καὶ χώρας). What these had once, those have now. What all had, all have. Only from time to time is the ownership changed by its agency, to the end that the whole world (ἡ οἰκουμένη πᾶσα) should be as a single city-state (ὡς μία πόλις), enjoying that best of constitutions, democracy."[96] As examples of this flux of Fortune among the nations, Philo adduces, among others, the Persians and the Greeks.[97] If Philo views Rome as the Fourth Empire of Daniel,[98] then the "city-state" to which he refers here might be Jerusalem, which meanwhile spreads its tent to encompass the whole earth.[99] In any case, Philo obviously expects the Jewish nation and the Messiah to succeed the Roman Empire as the new rulers of the world.

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95 Admittedly, there is apparently no citation of or allusion to Daniel in the works of Philo (cf. Allenbach, et al., eds., *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique, Supplément: Philon d'Alexandrie*).

96 *Quod Deus* 176. Cf. Ray Barraclough, "Philo's Politics. Roman Rule and Hellenistic Judaism," in *ANRW* II.21.1 (ed. Wolfgang Haase; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1984), 417–553 (here 521).

97 Cf. *Quod Deus* 173–175 (also § 178): "If you do not care to test the fortunes of individual men, scan the vicissitudes, for better and worse, of whole countries and nations. Greece was once at its zenith, but the Macedonians took away its power. Macedonia flourished in its turn, but when it was divided into portions it weakened until it was utterly extinguished. Before the Macedonians fortune (εὐτυχία) smiled on the Persians, but a single day destroyed their vast and mighty empire, and now Parthians rule over Persians, the former subjects over their masters of yesterday. The breath that blew from Egypt of old was clear and strong for many a long year, yet like a cloud its great prosperity passed away. What of the Ethiopians, what of Carthage, and the parts towards Libya? What of the kings of Pontus? What of Europe and Asia, in a word of the whole civilized world? It is not tossed up and down and kept in turmoil like ships at sea, subject now to prosperous, now to abject winds?" Compare the list of kingdoms in *Sib. Or.* 3.156–161 (Egyptian provenance! cf. also 8.4–13): "Then God inflicted evil upon the Titans, and all the descendants of Titans and of Cronos died. But then as time pursued its cyclic course, the kingdom of Egypt arose, then that of the Persians, Medes, and Ethiopians, and Assyrian Babylon, then that of the Macedonians, of Egypt again, then of Rome." See further Philo *Jos.* 134–136: "That these [sc. external goods] are dreams is attested not only by single men, but by cities, nations, countries, by Greeks, by the world of the barbarians, by the dwellers on the mainland, by dwellers on islands, by Europe, by Asia, by West, by East. For nothing at all anywhere has remained in the same condition; everywhere all has been subject to changes and vicissitudes. Egypt once held the sovereignty over many nations, but now is in slavery. The Macedonians in their day of success flourished so greatly that they held dominion over all the habitable world, but now they pay to the tax-collectors the yearly tributes imposed by their masters. Where is the house of the Ptolemies, and the fame of the several Diodochoi whose light once shone to the utmost boundaries of land and sea? Where are the liberties of the independent nations and cities, where again the servitude of the vassals? Did not the Persians once rule the Parthians, and now the Parthians rule the Persians? So much do human affairs twist and change, go backward and forward as on the draught-board."

98 This view is strengthened by the way that Josephus apparently appropriates Philo's concept of Fortune in *BJ* 5.367. Furthermore, in *Legat.* 346 Philo styles Gaius as a successor to the Kingdom of the Greeks (particularly Antiochus Epiphanes) when he reacts against making the Jerusalem Temple into a sanctuary bearing the name, "the new Zeus made manifest" (Διὸς Ἐπιφανοῦς Νέου).

99 Cf. Dan 2:35, 44–45, on the stone that destroyed the colossus, became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.

Ultimately, Philo's hope of Restoration is not just bent on retribution for enemies and universal sovereignty for the victorious Jewish nation; it also includes a positive hope for the whole world. Philo believes that if his nation flourishes again, "each nation would abandon its peculiar ways, and, throwing overboard their ancestral customs, turn to honoring our laws alone. For when the brightness of their shining is accompanied by national prosperity, it will darken the light of the others as the risen sun darkens the stars."[100] Philo prays that, by adopting the Mosaic Law, houses, cities, nations, and indeed the whole human race, might advance to supreme happiness, and he is firmly convinced that this will come about (*Virt.* 119–120). Here, Philo seems to have in view an expectation of world reconciliation such as Isa 2:2–4 (= Mic 4:1–4).

Conclusion

Does Philo of Alexandria have a concept of the literal Restoration of Israel, or does he merely reinterpret the OT and Jewish concept in accordance with his thoroughly Hellenized philosophical system? While most scholars have tended to discount Philo's interest in the concrete Jewish nation, the two most influential students of Philo in this century have, from different perspectives, argued that the Alexandrian fully shared the nationalistic hopes of Judaism.[101] The present study confirms these results. Taking Philo's use of ἔθνος as our point of departure, we have shown that based on the OT and Jewish tradition, Philo looks forward to the ingathering of the exiles, the defeat of the nation's enemies, the reign of the Messiah and the Jewish nation over the world, and universal peace based on harmony with the law of God.

However, if Philo has an eschatological hope of Restoration for the Jewish nation, why does he have both positive and negative views of the Jewish Diaspora? Various answers to this question have been suggested, most of them quite simplistic. For example, G. Stemberger explains the apparent contradiction philosophically in terms of "[d]ie Dialektik von traditioneller Landgebundenheit und Diasporabejahung."[102] Van Unnik tries to explain it psychologically: "Mit Hilfe der Psychologie kann ich mir die Sache nur so verständlich machen, daß er die Verbindung von Zerstreuung mit der konkreten Situation, in der er lebte, 'verdrängt' hat; daß aber auch für ihn das Wort der Schrift und die Erwartung seines Volkes dann und wann überwältigend war. Er versuchte die Diaspora-Theologie zu vergessen, aber sie war zu tief in der Schrift verwurzelt. Es ist jedoch meiner Meinung nach nicht möglich, Philon ohne weiteres zum Kronzeugen einer optimistischen, stolzen Betrachtung der Diaspora zu machen."[103] Berndt Schaller tries to explain the apparent contradiction developmentally: Whereas in the bulk of writings Philo shows no interest in the traditional hope of the return

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100 *Mos.* 2.43–44; cf. *Quaest.* Ex. 2.22. Is this Philo's version of the eschatological pilgrimage of the nations? Israel of the Restoration will be a light to the nations (cf. Isa 51:4; 60:3).

101 Cf. E. R. Goodenough, *The Politics of Philo Judaeus* (New Haven: Yale, 1938); idem, *Introduction to Philo Judaeus* (New Haven: Yale, 1940), 52–74; H. A. Wolfson, *Philo* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1947), 2.322–438.

102 Cf. Stemberger, "Die Bedeutung des 'Landes Israel' in der rabbinischen Tradition," 176.

103 Cf. van Unnik, *Selbstverständnis*, 137.

to the Land, towards the end of his life, as the reign of Gaius brought repression of Judaism even in Alexandria, Philo began to reconsider the eschatological importance of the Land of Israel.[104]

None of these answers will suffice, for Philo's thinking about the concrete Jewish nation is both more complex and more coherent than is generally recognized. Philo's positive view of the Diaspora as world colonization due to overpopulation in Jerusalem is scripturally based on the Abrahamic promise (traditionally understood as an eschatological expectation of universal sovereignty for the nation and the Messiah) and apologetically presented in reaction to anti-Jewish propaganda current in Egypt at the time. Yet, despite their obvious and irreconcilable differences,[105] Philo's positive view of the Diaspora actually converges with his negative view of the Diaspora as exile, for in both cases, the Jewish nation is dispersed throughout the world, the ultimate goal of the people is to return home, and the Gentiles are somehow overwhelmed. Furthermore, Philo's positive view of the Diaspora situation, with its concept of an explosive Jewish population and the ultimate universal sovereignty of the Jewish nation, contains, in effect, the same eschatological expectation as his Restoration hope. In that case, Philo's eschatological hope for the nation is not confined to one passage in *De praemiis et poenis*; it is much more ubiquitous than that.

We have shown that Philo's Restoration hope is thoroughly rooted in OT and Jewish expectations. Yet how central and fundamental is this hope to Philo's thinking as a whole? John Collins argues as follows:

> Where Philo differs from the eschatology of many apocalyptic writers and from most of the sibylline books, is not so much in the actual concepts as in the degree of urgency. The paucity of references to national eschatology shows that it was not at the heart of his thought. Philo speaks of Jerusalem as the metropolis of the Jews but he admits that "they severally hold that land as their fatherland . . . in which they were born and reared" (*Flac* 46). Philo is eager to establish the rights of the Jews in the lands in which they are "settlers and friends, eagerly seeking equality of privilege with burgesses and already being near in status to citizens, differing but little from natives" (*De Vita Mosis* 1.35). Attainment of rights in Alexandria is far higher on Philo's agenda than return to Jerusalem. Again, the temple is of vital importance, and any threat to it is a threat to Judaism itself. There is some evidence that Philo may have made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Yet the real significance of the temple is allegorical, in its symbolism of cosmic worship.[106]

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104 Schaller, "Philon von Alexandria und das 'Heilige Land,'" 180–181.

105 Here are merely two examples: Do the Jews find themselves in Diaspora because of overcrowding in Jerusalem that led to colonization or because of divine judgment that led to exile? How can the Jewish nation return to the Land if it originally left because of overpopulation?

106 John Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (New York: Crossroad, 1983), 116.

It is beyond the scope of this study to assess the degree of urgency with which Philo may have held his eschatological hopes for Restoration of the nation. At this point, it seems sufficient to acknowledge with Borgen that "the national and nationalistic motifs present in *On the Life of Moses* and the *Exposition of the Law* were central to Philo himself."[107] And, insofar as Borgen is also correct that "the Jewish nation was the life-setting for his philosophical and mystical ideas,"[108] the present study on the concrete Jewish nation provides a basis for further investigation of these matters.[109]

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107 Borgen, "'There Shall Come Forth a Man,'" 360.

108 See n. 2 above.

109 Here it is interesting to note that in later Judaism, we again encounter mystical and universal reflections on the Jewish nation. Cf. Ithamar Gruenwald, "Major Issues in the Study and Understanding of Jewish Mysticism," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity, Vol. 2: Historical Syntheses* (ed. Jacob Neusner; Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.17.2; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 1–49 (here 45–46), referring to Qabbalah: "Thus, the universal, cosmic and metaphysical implications of every act of obedience and disobedience makes man an active participant in the cosmic and the divine order. This bestows special dimensions on the microcosmos-macrocosmos relationship. And it epitomizes the concept, as mentioned above, to the effect that redemption is in the hands of the People of Israel, as also is the continuation of the state of exile. 'Exile' here means not only a historical situation of which the People of Israel partake as a result of the destruction of the Temple, but also a metaphysical reality which conditions the fate of God in His Sephirotic existence." See also *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 15.1.1 (cited in Neusner, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecy*, 222–224), where the Exile of Israel from the Land is seen as the model for humanity's expulsion from Eden.

Alexander the Alabarch: Roman and Jew

Katherine G. Evans
University of Pennsylvania and
Florida International University

Alexander of Alexandria, known as the alabarch, was without a doubt one of the most prominent Jews to live in the Roman Empire in the first century. His fame can be attributed to his friendship with a Roman Emperor and members of the Imperial family, his kinship ties to the ruling class of Judea, his visible donations to the Jerusalem Temple, his illustrious family members, and above all to his personal wealth.

The following study will examine Alexander's life and demonstrate how his dual status as a Jew and as a Roman citizen were inextricably intertwined and jointly defined both him and his family. There has already been some biographical discussion of Alexander in contemporary literature chiefly by J. Schwartz in "Note sur la famille de Philon d'Alexandrie,"[1] and "L'Egypte de Philon," 1967,[2] by S. S. Foster in "A Note on the 'Note' of J. Schwartz," 1976–77[3] and by A. Fuks in CPJ.[4] To date, however, no one has dedicated an entire study exclusively to the life of the alabarch. Nor has anyone yet done a study to demonstrate how the lives of this or other prominent first century Jews were impacted by their possession of Roman citizenship.

This paper will first examine the nature of the primary sources and the direct evidence for the life of Alexander. It will then consider his status as a Roman including his citizenship, full name, and rank. Next it will examine his status as a Jew including his ancestry, ties to royalty and the high priesthood, and personal piety. Finally it will speculate on how Alexander's brother Philo may have shared his status as a Roman and a Jew.

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1 J. Schwartz, "Note sur la famille de Philon d'Alexandrie," Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves de l'Universite Libre de Bruxelles 13 (1953): 591–602.

2 J. Schwartz, "L'Egypte de Philon," in *Philon d'Alexandrie, Lyon 11–15 Septembre 1966: colloques nationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (Paris, 1967), p. 35–44.

3 S. S. Foster, "A Note on the 'Note' of J. Schwartz," *Studia Philonica* 4 (1976–77): 25–32.

4 Victor A. Tcherikover, and Alexander Fuks, eds. *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), v. 2, p. 197–203 (=CPJ no. 419 a-d, 420 a-b)

The Reliability of the Sources

We know of Alexander the alabarch directly only through the writings of Josephus (*War* 5.205; *Ant.* 18.159–160, 259; 19.276; 20.100). Even his brother Philo in his many writings never refers to him by name although he does refer to him indirectly in *On Animals* 8.

As always when dealing with Josephus, one must first consider the reliability of his evidence. In so considering, two questions are paramount: 1) Was Josephus writing about persons of whom he would have had personal knowledge? 2) Would any of Josephus' readers have had personal knowledge of Alexander that in essence would have "kept him honest" in his history?

In fact Josephus' life appears to have crossed the path of either Alexander or Alexander's son Ti. Julius Alexander so often that it would have been practically impossible for Josephus not to have known much about the Alexander family or possibly had personal acquaintance with them. According to Josephus' *Life* 5–8, Josephus was born in 37–38 CE and was raised in Jerusalem by his father Matthias who was considered to be one of the most noble men in Jerusalem. Ti. Alexander was procurator of Judea between 46 and 48 CE. Josephus as a 10 year old boy in Jerusalem certainly would have known of the Jewish/Roman Procurator Ti. Alexander and, if Josephus' father was as prominent as Josephus claimed, the families may have been acquainted. In both Jewish and Roman culture the parentage of each person was of great importance and Ti. Alexander's would have been common knowledge.

In *Life* 415–416, Josephus related how he was released as a prisoner and accompanied Vespasian to Alexandria where he remained some time between 67 and 70 CE. During this period Ti. Alexander was living in Alexandria as the Roman Prefect of Egypt and the close connections between Vespasian and Ti. Alexander have been well established. It is inconceivable that Josephus could have been living in Alexandria with Vespasian during this period and not learn much about if not personally meet with Ti. Alexander or members of his family. Whether Alexander the alabarch himself was still alive at this late date is unknown. There are other incidental connections that link these figures as well. Josephus claims to have maintained a friendly acquaintance with King Agrippa II. In around 41 CE Alexander's son Marcus married this Agrippa's sister Berenice which would have made Ti. Alexander Agrippa's brother-in-law when Ti. Alexander was Procurator of Judea in 46 CE.

In regard to the second question of whether there were prominent friends or family members of Alexander who would have confirmed or challenged the historical veracity of Josephus' accounts, this can probably be answered in the affirmative. The *Jewish War* and the *Antiquities* were dedicated to Vespasian and Titus who were known friends of Ti. Alexander. The *War* was read and corrected by Agrippa II and possibly by Ti. Alexander himself. In *Life* 362, Josephus wrote "To many others also I immediately presented my History, some of whom had taken part in the war, such as King Agrippa and certain of his relatives." This certainly seems to be a veiled reference to Ti. Alexander. In fact it is probable that Ti. Alexander was in Rome co-serving as Praetorian Prefect with Vespasian's son Titus when Josephus penned and published the Greek version of The *War*.[5]

5 Titus was Praetorian Prefect between 71 and 79 CE. An undated papyrus CPJ 418b = P. Hibeh 215, places Ti. Alexander as Praetorian Prefect during what has been understood to be the

The only passage in Philo that mentions Alexander, although not specifically by name, is in *On Animals* which was only recently translated by A. Terian from classical Armenian into a modern language.[6] The authenticity of *On Animals* is tied with the authenticity of the two books of *On Providence* due to their thematic relationship. Both were cited by Eusebius in his list of Philo's works and both have been determined to be authentic due to philosophical, linguistic and stylistic affinities with the rest of Philo's books.[7] It has generally been considered one of Philo's later works and Terian dates it around 50 CE.[8]

The Life of the Alabarch

Josephus first referred to Alexander in his earlier work, *The Jewish War* 5.205 where during an excursus from detailing Titus' siege of Jerusalem he described the gates of the Temple.

> 5.204–205 The dimensions of the other gates were all alike, but the one beyond the Corinthian gate, opening from the Women's Court on the east, opposite the gate of the sanctuary was far larger, having an altitude of fifty cubits, with doors of forty, and richer decoration, being overlaid with massive plates of silver and gold. The nine gates were thus plated by Alexander the father of Tiberius.

Although Alexander could have arranged this extravagant gift from Egypt, it is equally plausible that he did so during a stay in Jerusalem. According to *On Providence* 2.107 Philo made at least one pilgrimage to Jerusalem and it is possible that Alexander did as well. He also may have been in Jerusalem for political or family reasons such as Judea being returned to Jewish rule under Agrippa (41–44 CE), the marriage of his son Marcus to Agrippa's daughter Berenice (41 CE), or Ti. Alexander's procuratorship of Judea (46–48 CE). In any case a gift of this magnitude would suggest that Alexander either already had or quickly made important connections with the High Priest in Jerusalem. As Josephus noted in *Ant.* 20.151, the high priests were entrusted with the leadership of the nation so Alexander's connections may have been significant.

Another interesting point about this passage is that Alexander's name is not qualified with "alabarch" as is the case in every passage in the *Antiquities*. Rather he is identified in terms of his son Tiberius which is not surprising considering the evidence that Ti. Alexander may have been serving in Rome as Praetorian Prefect during the publication of the *War*.

Unlike *War* 5.205, the references to Alexander in the *Antiquities* provide some clear chronological points in his life. In around 32–35 CE he made a large loan to Cypros the wife of Agrippa (*Ant.* 18.159–160). In the events leading up to the loan (Ant. 18.145ff) Agrippa, having had various adventures and incurring

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same period. cf. E. G. Turner, "Tiberivs Ivlivs Alexander," *Journal of Roman Studies* 44 (1954): 64 and S. Demougin, *Prosopographie des Chevaliers Romains Julio-Claudiens (43 av. j.-C. - 70 ap. J.C.)*, Collection de l'Ecole Francaise de Rome 153 (Rome: Ecole Francaise de Rome, 1992), p. 585.

6 English translation by Abraham Terian *Philonis Alexandrini de Animalibus: The Armenian Text with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981).

7 Ibid., p. 29.

8 Ibid., p. 31.

considerable debt, finally went to Anthedon (near Gaza on the Mediterranean coast) where he was prevented from leaving by the procurator of the imperial estate at Jamnia with orders to collect 300,000 pieces of silver which Agrippa owed the Imperial Treasury at Rome. Here Alexander enters the story.

> 18.159–160. He (Agrippa) pretended at the time that he would obey these orders, but when night fell, he cut the mooring cables and proceeded on his voyage to Alexandria. There he begged Alexander the alabarch to grant him a loan of 200,000 drachmas. Alexander refused to grant this loan to him but he did not deny it to Cypros because he marvelled at her love of her husband and all her other good qualities. She promised to repay it; and so Alexander gave them five talents in Alexandria and offered to hand over the rest when they arrived in Dicaearchia, for he did not trust Agrippa's prodigal vein.

From this story we learn that Alexander was a very wealthy man who was either well-known outside of Egypt as a money lender or was personally known to Agrippa, mostly likely the latter.[9] The date for the loan can be fixed with some certainty since Josephus wrote that after Agrippa received the money he sailed for Rome in 35 CE.

The next reference to Alexander is in *Ant.* 18.259 where Josephus relates the embassy of Philo and the Alexandrian Jews to the Emperor Gaius in 39/40 CE. The Jewish embassy has presented itself to Gaius to answer some charges made by their opponent Apion:

> 18.259–260. Philo, who stood at the head of the delegation of the Jews, a man held in the highest honour, brother of Alexander the alabarch and no novice in philosophy, was prepared to proceed with the defence against these accusations. But Gaius cut him short, told him to get out of his way, and being exceedingly angry made it clear that he would visit some outrage upon them.

Philo is described not only on his own merits but also in relation to his brother as if those who may not have known of Philo by reputation may have known of his wealthy brother. Alexander is mentioned as if he were not present at the time. It is possible that Alexander, hearing of Philo's lack of success with Gaius, set out for Rome to lend his wealth and position to the embassy since we next hear of Alexander as being imprisoned by Gaius in a fit of anger. In *Ant.* 19.274–276 Josephus relates that among the first acts of Claudius, recently elevated to Emperor (41 CE), was to release Alexander from prison.

> 19.276–277. He further liberated Alexander the alabarch, an old friend of his, who had acted as guardian for his mother Antonia and had been imprisoned by Gaius in a fit of anger. The son of Alexander married Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa. After the death of Marcus, son of

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9 As a frame of reference, a drachma was equal to .975 of a Roman denarius. In the early first century, legionaries were paid 225 denarii per year, and the more elite praetorians were paid 750. A sum of 200,000 drachmas could have funded a large bodyguard for a year but would have been insufficient to, say, build a palace. Julius Caesar paid 25 million denarii for his Forum in Rome. cf. Segolene Demougin, *L'Ordre Equestre sous les Julio-Claudiens*, Collection de l'Ecole Francaise de Rome 108 (Rome: Ecole Francaise de Rome, 1988), p. 638–639.

> Alexander, who was her first husband, Agrippa gave her to his own brother Herod, after asking Claudius to give him the kingdom of Chalcis.

Alexander was an old friend, φίλον ἀρχαῖον, to the Emperor Claudius suggesting that they were roughly contemporary in age. J. Schwartz uses this argument to date Alexander's birth between 15 and 10 BCE since Claudius was born in 10 BCE.[10] There is no record of Claudius ever visiting Egypt and his poor health most likely would have prohibited such extensive travel.[11] Alexander, therefore, must have spent some time in Rome probably prior to 35 CE when Agrippa sought him out in Alexandria. Unfortunately Josephus neglected to tell us why Alexander was imprisoned by Gaius and when can only be placed at sometime between Gaius' accession in 37 CE and the date of his release in 41 CE.

Coincidentally (or perhaps not so coincidentally) Agrippa also knew Claudius well. In *Ant.* 18.165 Josephus states that Agrippa's mother Berenice and Claudius' mother Antonia were "deeply attached to each other" and that "Agrippa had been brought up with Claudius and his circle" since around 4 BCE (*Ant.* 18.143). Perhaps Alexander, like Agrippa, was also educated in Rome and a part of Claudius' "circle" and that is how Alexander became "old friends" with an Emperor and "guardian" for an Emperor's mother. Certainly these connections had to be made somehow if not in the manner suggested here.

Alexander had also "acted as a guardian" (ἐπιτροπεύσαντα) for Claudius' mother Antonia Drusia. This translation of the Greek is misleading. The title ἐπίτροπος can be translated as guardian, steward, administrator, or procurator. The Latin word for a woman's legal guardian under the *tutela mulierum* was *tutor* and its normal Greek counterpart was κύριος. It is too great a conjecture that a Jew from Alexandria would have been an Imperial family member's legal guardian when there are other more plausible explanations. The most likely is that Alexander acted as the "procurator" for Antonia's extensive estates in Egypt. Roman citizens often acted as procurators for Imperial land holdings and Alexander certainly would have been present in Egypt to protect her interests and arrange for the profits to be sent to her in Rome.[12] This conclusion has also been drawn by N. Kokkinos who identified Alexander with a Gaius Julius Alexander who held land that was later sold or bequeathed to Antonia.[13] How far the relationship between Alexander and Antonia extended cannot be known. When Agrippa was imprisoned in Rome, *Ant.* 18.179–204, Antonia interceded in his behalf to ensure his safety and comfort. It is possible that she, or even Claudius, did the same for Alexander.

In the same passage Josephus relates the marriage of Alexander's son Marcus to Agrippa's daughter Berenice. This was one of only three cases in which a female of the Herodian family married a man who is not known definitively to be a king, prince, or a relation of the Herodian family.[14] The other two cases are the

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10 Schwartz, "Note," p. 599.

11 Vincent M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), p. 35–50.

12 George M. Parassoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt*, American Studies in Papyrology, v. 18 (Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1978), p. 15–29.

13 Nikos Kokkinos, *Antonia Augusta: Portrait of a Great Roman Lady* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 70–71, 73. Cf. P. Ryl. 126 = CPJ 420b and further discussion below.

14 Schwartz, "Note," p. 600.

marriages of Berenice's sister Mariamme to the Roman Jew Julius Archelaus (*Ant.* 19.355) of whom nothing more is known and her second marriage to Demetrius of Alexandria, the alabarch famous for both his lineage and wealth (*Ant.* 20.147). The marriage may have had some connection to the very large loan Alexander had made to Agrippa's wife or Claudius himself may have suggested the alliance given his friendship with both Alexander and Agrippa. As we shall see though, the cumulative evidence will support the hypothesis that Alexander was indeed related to Judea's ruling class. Josephus tells us that Marcus was Berenice's first husband but does not indicate whether Berenice was Marcus' first wife. The passage also relates the premature death of Marcus apparently leaving no children.

The last reference of Josephus is in *Ant.* 20.100:

> 20.100 The successor of Fadus was Tiberius Alexander, the son of that Alexander who had been alabarch in Alexandria and who surpassed all his fellow citizens both in ancestry and in wealth. He was also superior to his son Alexander in his religious devotion, for the latter did not stand by the practices of his people [lit. ancestral practices].

The Greek which was translated above as "who had been alabarch" is the aorist participle form ἀλαβαρχήσαντος. Some scholars have interpreted the use of the past participle to mean that Alexander was dead when Ti. Alexander became procurator. Since the main verb ἦλθε is also in the aorist, this interpretation is possible but not necessary. The use of a perfect participle would have made that reading more certain. The passage may simply indicate that Josephus knew that Ti. Alexander was the son of Alexander who had at one time held the title alabarch. It does not require that Alexander was dead.

Once again Alexander's wealth is emphasized with a new addition of his superior ancestry πρωτεύσαντος γένει. What this superior ancestry could mean is intriguing. It is unlikely to mean his superior ancestry as a Roman since his combination Roman/Greek name reveals only recent citizenship in the family. It is more likely that Josephus was referring to Alexander's Jewish ancestry particularly since in the same passage he praises his religious devotion. What would having "superior ancestry" have meant to Josephus? In the beginning of *Life* 1, Josephus relates that for Jews a claim to nobility includes a connection to the priesthood and having royal blood through being a descendent of the Hasmoneans. It seems very likely that these same criteria would apply to Alexander.

Philo's only reference to Alexander, albeit an indirect one, also raises the issue of the family's ancestry. In *On Animals* Philo and a relative named Lysimachus, who is clearly not Alexander the alabarch, are discussing Alexander's son Ti. Alexander who apparently is living in Egypt and holding some public office.

In Section 8, Lysimachus describes a meeting between Philo and his nephew Ti. Alexander. "The young man" refers to Ti. Alexander and "his father" is Alexander.

> 8. The young man entered in a respectful manner, without that over-confident bearing that some have nowadays, but with a modest self-reliance that becomes a freeman–even a descendant of freemen. He sat

down partly for his own instruction and partly because of his father's continuous, insistent urging.

On the surface it appears that with "descendant of freemen" Philo is revealing that Ti. Alexander is not descended from slaves but this would be a rather trivial point to make given the family's known personal circumstances. Rather, I think that Philo is here making a statement that may be philosophical or political but there is insufficient evidence to judge which. For example, Philo may be referring to the Stoic notion of freedom which he is known to embrace or it may be a now unclear allusion to their family lineage.

Philo also tells us that Alexander strongly urged his son to seek instruction from Philo. It is possible that Ti. Alexander was being enticed away from traditional Jewish observances causing Alexander's "insistently urging" of his son to seek counsel from Philo. If so then this again reveals Alexander's concern for personal piety including proper Jewish observance. It also implicitly acknowledges that Alexander trusted his brother's ability to instruct and persuade.

Alexander's Roman Citizenship

Every individual living within the Roman Empire was assigned his or her legal status. One's particular status was of the utmost importance since it governed everything from legal rights and privileges including inheritance and marriage to the way one was allowed to dress.[15] No one has ever questioned that Alexander was a Roman citizen. The basis for this assumption is the Roman names of his sons. A Roman citizen's name consisted of three parts: the praenomen, nomen, and the cognomen.[16] The nomen, also called the gens or the gentilicum, was the name of the individual's gens or 'clan.' The cognomen was the family name within the gens. The praenomen was the name of the individual within the family and had to be selected from a brief official list. Ti. Julius Alexander and Marcus are parts of the Roman *tri nomina* and could only be held by a Roman citizen. If they inherited their citizenship from their father then they all would have had the same nomen and cognomen Julius Alexander.[17] This assumption although credible tends to be circular since the nomen and cognomen of Alexander and Marcus depend on each other and on the full name of Tiberius Julius Alexander.

There is other evidence for Alexander's Roman citizenship–evidence which again depends upon his son Ti. Alexander and again must be deduced. It would have been virtually impossible for Ti. Alexander to attain the two pinnacles of an equestrian career (prefect of Egypt and Praetorian Prefect) if he had not been born the son of a Roman citizen. In the early first century CE, there was only one

15 Cf. Carroll A. Nelson, *Status Declarations in Roman Egypt*, American Studies in Papyrology v. 19 (Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1979), p. 2.

16 For Roman naming traditions see R. T. Ridley *History of Rome: A Documented Analysis*, p. 636–637.

17 The name Marcus Julius Alexander has been found on several ostraca. cf. Victor A. Tcherikover and Alexander Fuks, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (Cambridge, Mass.: Magnes Press and Harvard University Press, 1960), vol. 2, p. 197–200. (i.e. CPJ no. 419, 419a, 419b, 419c, 419d, 419e. It has been suggested convincingly that the M. Julius Alexander of the ostraca and Marcus the son of Alexander are one and the same. cf. Alexander Fuks, "Notes on the Archive of Nicanor" in *Social Conflict in Ancient Greece* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984), p. 214–216.

way to become an equestrian. A citizen must first serve as a knight in the Roman army. Knights could then present themselves to a censor and if they had the required personal wealth and if they had the "right" family, patron, or service record, they could be elevated to equestrian.

A detailed study by S. Demougin of equestrians in the Julio-Claudian period shows that there were a few who made it who were the sons of plebeian parents but no record of any equestrian where it can be determined that his parents were not Roman citizens.[18] Within the order there were gradations depending upon wealth, family, and service. Tacitus gives Ti. Alexander's rank in the *Annals* 15, 28, 3 as Roman knight of the first rank (*inlustris eques Romanus*).[19] The exact meaning of *inlustris* (also spelled *illustris*) is unknown but a study of all *illustris* knights indicates that they were the highest order and these knights had tremendous personal status.[20] Ti. Alexander could not have achieved this status had he not been born the son of a Roman citizen.

There were three ways other than birth to acquire Roman citizenship: 1) being the freed slave of a Roman citizen 2) being granted it after 26 years of service in the Roman auxiliary forces, and 3) being the recipient of an individual grant of citizenship. We know from *On Animals* 8 that Ti. Alexander was descended from a long line of freemen which rules out the first possibility. For Alexander, or his father, to have received Roman citizenship through military service one of them would have had to spend twenty-six years in the auxiliary forces outside of his native province.[21] He also could not have legally married until his term had been served. This means that after he had reached adulthood in around 6–10 CE, Alexander would have had to spend twenty-six years outside of Egypt as an auxiliary soldier before being granted Roman citizenship and the right to marry. This is highly unlikely for someone who was living in wealth in Alexandria by 35 CE. It also is not the type of background that would have put Alexander on close terms with Claudius and Antonia.

It remains most probable that Alexander or his father received an individual grant of citizenship from Julius Caesar, Marcus Antony, Augustus, or Tiberius. A little is known about the practice of each for granting citizenship to provincials. Julius Caesar was by far the most liberal viewing the granting of citizenship as a method for ensuring the friendship of distinguished foreigners towards Rome.[22] Persons of wealth and influence, particularly those who provided some service to Caesar had a chance of receiving citizenship. It was Caesar who granted citizenship to Antipater (*Ant.* 14.137) thus ensuring that the royal family of Judea

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18 Demougin, *L'Ordre*, p. 649 does describe a category of equestrians who must have received both citizenship and equestrian status either successively or concomitantly. The only proof he gives for this statement is a list of equestrians, chiefly from the provinces, who did not have Latin cognomens. The creation of this category was counter to the other evidence he had just given in the previous 600 pages. It seems based on the assumption that there had not been enough time for provincials to marry and have children who were citizens. There was insufficient evidence to support his creation of this category and I am disregarding it.

19 C. H. Moore and John Jackson, trans., *Tacitus: The Histories and The Annals*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), v. 4, p. 258–259.

20 Demougin, *L'Ordre*, p. 594–599.

21 Naphtali Lewis, *Life In Egypt Under Roman Rule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p. 20.

22 Charlotte E. Goodfellow, *Roman Citizenship: a Study of Its Territorial and Numerical Expansion From the Earliest Times to the Death of Augustus* (Lancaster, PA: Lancaster Press, 1935), p. 90 ff.

would be Roman citizens for the next 100 years.[23] As Josephus often noted, Julius Caesar paid particular attention to assuring the loyalty and friendship of Jews throughout the Roman world (cf. *Ant.* 14.185–212). Those given citizenship by Caesar assumed his praenomen Gaius and his nomen Julius.

Following Caesar's death, Marcus Antony began freely granting citizenship in Caesar's name–apparently almost selling it.[24] Those who received their citizenship from him would have adopted the nomen Antonius which is clearly not the case of the Julius Alexanders. Unlike Caesar and Antony, Augustus was very strict with the granting of citizenship and even refused requests from Tiberius and Livia to grant citizenship to their friends.[25] His motive was to keep the Roman people "pure." He did, however, make individual grants of citizenship to prominent persons for service to Rome. Those who received citizenship from Augustus would have assumed the names Gaius and Julius. Tiberius was also very restrained in the granting of citizenship and, in fact, was accused of retarding the social growth of the provinces.[26] In any case, a grant of citizenship from Tiberius would have occurred too late for the Alexander family to acquire the status already described.

It is known that it usually took several generations for a family with wealth to achieve enough status to become part of the Roman elite. Therefore citizenship most likely came by a grant from Caesar to Alexander's father or even grandfather. Certainly there were numerous Jewish Roman citizens in the Roman world as early as the second century BCE, so this theory is plausible (cf. *Ant.* 14.228, 232, 234, 237).

Alexander's Roman Name

The question of Alexander's full Roman name provides an intriguing mystery due to textual problems in several manuscripts. Alexander was a very common name in Egypt according to the evidence of the papyri. The only names given by Josephus is Alexander the alabarch and, in some manuscript traditions of *Antiquities* 19.276, Alexander Lysimachus or simply Lysimachus the alabarch.

From Roman naming protocols we know that Alexander's son Tiberius Julius Alexander was from the Julius gens, the Alexander family and his praenomen was Tiberius so the full name of Alexander the alabarch would have been [praenomen] Julius Alexander. There is insufficient evidence to enable us to reconstruct Alexander's praenomen with any certainty. Since the topic has received a considerable amount of discussion and speculation, however, the evidence will be surveyed here.

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23 Roman citizenship was passed on to children at birth. Antipater gave his citizenship to his son Herod who passed it on to his son Agrippa who passed it on to his son Agrippa II and his daughter Bernice (who married Alexander's son Marcus).

24 Goodfellow, p. 97–98.

25 Ibid., p. 101.

26 Robin Seager, *Tiberius* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), p. 173.

The earliest prosopographical studies list Alexander's full name as Tiberius Julius Alexander.[27] The authors arrived at this conclusion from the somewhat circular argument that Alexander must have received his citizenship from the emperor Tiberius and took his nomen and praenomen. Alexander then named his first son after himself. The proof for all of this is his son's name Ti. Julius Alexander.

J. Schwartz was the first to suggest that Alexander's praenomen might be Gaius.[28] He assumed that Alexander could not have received citizenship under Tiberius because after 30 BCE one had to first be a citizen of Alexandria to gain Roman citizenship. He further assumed that Alexander could not have obtained Alexandrian citizenship because he was a Jew. He therefore suggests that Alexander received his citizenship outside of Egypt. Alexander probably would have been outside of Egypt before the reign of Tiberius and therefore may have been granted his citizenship by Augustus or Julius Caesar who both had the praenomen Gaius. A praenomen of Gaius would make his full name Gaius Julius Alexander.

A. Fuks capitalized on J. Schwartz' suggestion of Alexander's praenomen when he found two papyri bearing the name Gaius Julius Alexander dated 26 and 28–29 CE.[29] The C. Julius Alexander of these papyri was a wealthy landowner of Euhemeria, a city in the Thebaid. Coincidentally, the Thebaid was the location of Ti. Alexander's first equestrian post as epistrategos and the location of M. Julius Alexander's business dealings. N. Kokkinos also makes the identification of Alexander and the C. Julius Alexander of the papyri. Under closer scrutiny, however, we see that the papyri have some translation problems.

The two papyri in question are CPJ 420 a-b (= P. Ryl. 166, 126). CPJ 420a dated 26 CE comes from Euhemereia and is a lease of lands belonging to a "Gaius Julius Alexander." The relevant Greek portion on line 6 reads: [ἀ]πὸ τ[ῶ]ν ὑπαρξόντων Γαίωι Ιουλίωι Αλεξάνδρου. Two names in the dative followed by one in the genitive have only one logical translation and it is Gaius Julius *son of* Alexander. Presumably the son (Gaius Julius) of Alexander had the full name Gaius Julius Alexander *if* his father was a Roman citizen. It is also possible however that the son, Gaius Julius, received his citizenship after military service or by being the freedman of a Roman in which case his full name may not have been Gaius Julius Alexander. The second papyrus 420b also from Euhemereia and dated 28–29 CE is a petition from a farmer on an *ousia* of Julia Augusta formerly owned by a "Gaius Julius Alexander." The relevant Greek portion from lines 7–8 reads:

οὐσίας τῶν πρότερον [Γαίου
Ιουλ[ί]ου Αλεξάνδρου [ἐδαφῶν.

Note that the name Gaius here has been completely reconstructed without a trace of evidence. The only real evidence is for a [praenomen] Julius Alexander.

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27 Edmund Groag and Artur Stein, *Prosopographia Imperii Romanii* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1933–), Saec. I, 85, no. 510. cf. H. Dessau *Prosopographia Imperii Romanii*, 3 vols., 1895–1898, II, 164, no. 92 and Lepape BSAA viii, no. 29 (1934): p. 332.

28 Schwartz, "Note," p. 597.

29 Victor A. Tcherikover and Alexander Fuks, eds., *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), v. 2, p. 200–203, i.e. CPJ no. 420 and 420b.

Although not mentioned in CPJ, there is other evidence for a Gaius Julius Alexander. P. Mil. 9 dated 13/14 CE mentions: Γαίου Ιουλίου Αλεξ(άνδρου) υἱοῦ Ψω( ). Possible reconstructions of the father's name may be Psobthis or Psoneos. Here the name Gaius Julius Alexander is finally clearly established but the "son of Pso . . ." only confuses the number of personnages involved.

The men mentioned in the papyri may all have been the same person, father and son, master and freedman, or no relation to each other. It is almost certain that the men in CPJ 420b and P. Mil. 9 were associated in some way to Alexander the alabarch because of the name Julius Alexander. The above evidence does not preclude the possibility that there was a Gaius Julius Alexander who was identical to Alexander the alabarch but it is not strong enough to make the identification with any certainty. The praenomen of Alexander must remain unknown.

The Identification of Lysimachus

As noted above in *Ant.* 19.276, a textual variation adding the name Lysimachus to Alexander has caused some confusion over Alexander's full name. Although Alexander is mentioned twice in the passage the Lysimachus variation is only in the first occurrence where Claudius frees Alexander who had been imprisoned by Gaius. Of the eleven manuscripts for the last ten books of the *Antiquities,* three in one family, AMW, and the independent E and Latin all have Lysimachus in some form. Codex Medicaeus (M) of the 15th century, Codex Vaticanus gr (W) of 1354 and the Epitome (E) of the 10th or 11th century all have Αλέξανδρον Λυσίμαχον. Codex bibl. Ambrosianae (A) from the 11th century, the primary text of the AMW family, has the marginal note γρ Λυσίμαχον. The Latin version made by order of Cassiodorus in the 5th or 6th century has only *Lysimachum.*

Some scholars have assumed that Alexander had a second name Lysimachus which was used occasionally with or in place of Alexander. It is odd, however, that his second name occurs in only a few textual variants of one place–the passage which mentions that the wealthy, prominent Alexander had been in prison. It is also odd that Lysimachus is not a part of the name of his son Ti. Alexander despite rigid Latin naming protocol. Add to this the fact that we know from Philo's *On Animals* that Alexander probably had a brother named Lysimachus and it seems clear that the reading Lysimachus is incorrect due possibly to a reluctance to believe that Alexander had suffered the scandal of prison and/or confusion over the number and names of Philo's brothers.[30]

As shown earlier in Philo's *On Animals* Alexander and Lysimachus are two different people, but, the question remains of how they were related. Both the Latin and English translations of the Armenian text of *On Animals* have caused some confusion for scholars the gist of which is that Lysimachus refers to Ti. Alexander as not only his nephew but also his uncle and father-in-law. The following are the passages in question.

> (1) PHILO: You remember the recent arguments, Lysimachus, which Alexander, our nephew (lit. our brother's son), cited in this regard, that not only men but also dumb animals possess reason.

30 Schwartz, "Note," p. 596.

(2) LYSIMACHUS: Admittedly, honorable Philo, some differing opinions have been amicably brought to the speaker (i.e. Alexander) three times since then, for he is my uncle (lit. mother's brother), and my father-in-law as well. As you are not unaware, his daughter is engaged to be my wife. . . .

(72) LYSIMACHUS: These are the matters, honorable Philo, that Alexander, our nephew (lit. our brother's son), presented and discussed when he came in.

(75) [PHILO] . . . I must not always be impressionable to persuasive argumentation; otherwise what our nephew (lit. our brother's son) has already written, which contrary to sound learning, would be readily believed. . . .

It has been the opinion of previous scholars that it was not possible for Lysimachus to be both uncle and nephew to Ti. Alexander so they assumed a corruption of the original text and have attempted to reconstruct what they thought must have been the original. G. Tappe in a 1912 dissertation emended the Latin translation of section 2 to have Lysimachus saying that "I am his (i.e. Ti. Alexander's) uncle for I have promised my daughter to him for marriage." Tappe thus interprets Lysimachus as the younger brother of Philo and Alexander.[31] Many scholars have accepted Tappe's emendation through J. Schwartz' biographical "Note" on Philo's family.[32] E. G. Turner takes the opposite view, however, considering the claim that Lysimachus was Philo's brother as "a mistaken interpretation of some words in this dialogue."[33] In his opinion Lysimachus was an unrelated young man engaged to Ti. Alexander's daughter. Terian in his 1981 English translation of *On Animals* takes a third point of view; Lysimachus is Ti. Alexander's nephew and future son-in-law but is *not* his uncle or Philo's brother.[34]

Tappe, Turner, and Terian are assuming that it was not possible for Lysimachus to be both Ti. Alexander's uncle and nephew and therefore there must be a corruption of the text. This is even though Terian, and his predecessors, noted a slavish word for word Armenian rendering of the Greek.[35] Perhaps the complicated relationships may be unlikely in the 20th century Western world but it was not at all unlikely in the first century Roman world where there was frequent marriage of persons who were a generation or more apart and divorce and adoption were very common.

Archie C. Bush has done a detailed study of the marriage patterns of Roman citizens and found that Romans, including those living in the provinces, regularly and nearly always for secondary marriages, married someone to whom they were already related.[36] Romans did have a few strict marriage guidelines to avoid incest. Bush outlines them below:

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31 G. Tappe, "De Philonis libro qui inscribitur Alexandros e peri tou logon echein ta aloga zoa: Quaestiones selectae" (Dissertation, Göttingen, 1912), p. 4–5.

32 Schwartz, "Note," p. 594.

33 Turner, p. 56.

34 Terian, p. 27.

35 Ibid., p. 9.

36 Archie C. Bush, *Studies in Roman Social Structure* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982), p. 3.

> The jurists, then, provide the parameters of kinship within which the Roman marriage patterns were constrained to function. By the first century of the Christian era these constraints were quite simple. The relations whom a Roman could not marry were a step parent, a step child, a parent-in-law, a child-in-law, an adoptive parent, an adopted child, a blood lineal, and, with the exception of a brother's daughter, any collateral blood kin closer than a cousin.

The ideal pattern for a marriage involved a type of brother-sister exchange where the marriage partners were not related directly by blood but through an elaborate system of equivalencies. For example, a woman's potential or actual husband came from the "brother" group which included her former husband's sister's husband, her brother's wife's brother, her former husband's brother, her sister's former husband, her brother's wife's former husband, her former husband's wife's brother, her husband's wife's former husband or a man related to her through one these classes.[37] A man would have married from the corresponding "sister" group. Below is one example which gives an idea of the complexity of Roman marriage and spouse equivalencies:

> That the Romans did tend to marry step siblings is clear from Fig. 1.11. For example, Julia, the daughter of the Emperor Augustus, married as her third husband Tiberius who later became emperor. Tiberius, so we have seen, was already connected to Julia as her HSHB (husband's sister's husband's brother) through her first husband. Yet, since Tiberius was the son of Augustus' last wife, he was also in effect Julia's step brother. Moreover, after the marriage and divorce of Julia and Tiberius, Augustus adopted Tiberius thereby making him his daughter's adoptive brother as well.[38]

The system of legal equivalencies was established by Roman jurists and integrated into the terminology used by the people. For example, a man's wife's brother's wife was the equivalent of his sister and he therefore referred to her as his sister. Also "In Latin literature any cousin, even a MBc/FSc (mother's brother's cousin/father's sister's cousin), could be referred to by a sibling term." Further a betrothal was enough to establish the equivalency bonds[39] as can be seen in *On Animals* 2 where Lysimachus calls Ti. Julius his father-in-law even though the marriage has not yet taken place.

Thus Lysimachus could easily have been both uncle and nephew to Ti. Alexander. Below are two of many possible scenarios for how it could have occurred without violating Roman incest laws.

Scenario 1. Alexander's son Marcus had been married or betrothed prior to his marriage to Berenice. This woman would have been Ti. Alexander's "sister" and would have remained so after the divorce or broken betrothal. Marcus' wife would then have looked for her next husband, a "brother" equivalency, in Marcus' extended family. There was no one available in one of the seven potential spouse categories mentioned above but Alexander's father was

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37 Ibid., p. 9.

38 Ibid., p. 13.

39 Ibid., p. 65.

unmarried at the time. Since there was not a blood relation, Alexander's father would have been considered a 'remote' uncle and marriage between them legal. In fact, there would have been a familial obligation to Marcus' wife if a divorce or broken betrothal had occurred for the more prestigious match with a Jewish princess. Alexander's father marries Marcus' former wife or betrothed and they have a child, Lysimachus. As the son of Alexander's father, Lysimachus is the brother of Philo and Alexander and the uncle of Ti. Alexander. Since Lysimachus' mother was the "sister" of Ti. Alexander, Lysimachus was also the nephew of Ti. Alexander. This would make him both the remote uncle and cousin of Ti. Alexander's daughter and their marriage would have been legal.

Scenario 2. Alexander's blood daughter marries and has a son named Lysimachus. Subsequently she is divorced or widowed. When she remarries, her new husband chooses not to raise her son. One of her male relatives, in this case her father's father, then adopts Lysimachus and raises him. As the adopted son of Alexander's father, Lysimachus becomes the brother of Philo and Alexander and therefore the uncle of Ti. Alexander. Since the mother of Lysimachus was Ti. Alexander's blood sister, Lysimachus would be his nephew. The daughter of Ti. Alexander would be Lysimachus' niece and cousin and the marriage would be legal.

Both scenarios are entirely plausible under Roman law and custom, but, Alexander's family was also Jewish. Here the possibilities are less clear since it is not known how Jews and particularly Roman Jews at this time and place would have interpreted or followed the marriage constraints given in Leviticus 18.1–18. For example Lev. 18.15 reads "You shall not uncover the nakedness of your daughter-in-law; she is your son's wife." In scenario 1 above a man marries his son's daughter-in-law which may have been prohibited by an interpretation of Lev. 18.15. Nevertheless, with the Roman use of filial terms for equivalency relationships, it is still possible to have multiple scenarios where Lysimachus is both uncle and nephew without violating either Roman or Jewish law.

The Lysimachus confusion was given a further twist by the discovery of a Julius Lysimachus in a papyrus dated 63 CE. P. Fouad 21 lists Julius Lysimachus as a member of the consilium of the prefect C. Caecina Tuscus. Balogh and Pflaum published an article in 1952 suggesting that this Lysimachus should be identified with Alexander the alabarch.[40] As has been demonstrated, the textual reading of Lysimachus for Alexander in *Ant.* 19.276 is a textual corruption and so the identification of the Julius Lysimachus in P. Fouad 21 with Alexander is baseless. An identification with Alexander's brother Lysimachus, however, may be possible.

To conclude, Lysimachus was probably the younger brother of Philo and Alexander although it is very unlikely that he had the same mother (*On Animals* 2: Ti. Alexander is Lysimachus' mother's brother). He may have been considerably younger. He was probably a Roman citizen since it would have been unlikely for Ti. Alexander to marry a child to someone who would have reduced their status. His full name would have depended on his biological or adoptive father and cannot be determined. The daughter of Ti. Alexander who was betrothed to Lysimachus would have been named Julia.

40 Balogh and Pflaum, *Revue histoire de droit francais et etranger* 4e serie, XXX (1952): 123.

The Position of Alabarch

Although the rank of "alabarch" was significant and unique enough that Alexander became known by it, it remains unclear exactly what an alabarch actually was. Besides the alabarch references already given in Josephus there is an additional passage in *Ant.* 20.147 concerning Demetrios the alabarch a Jew of prominent birth and great wealth who was the husband of Agrippa's daughter Mariamme. "Alabarch" also appears in one papyrus PSI 7.776 dated in the 2nd or 3rd century CE for a Kasanes the alabarch and in one undated Christian inscription, Helas Greece 5, for Anastasios the alabarch. Neither of these give any indication of the duties of an alabarch. It also appears as a late textual variant to the word arabarch in Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* II.17.3.

The only actual description of an alabarch appears in the Theodosian Code IV.12.9 (=Cod. Just. IV.61.9) compiled in 438 CE where the alabarch was some type of fiscal functionary charged with levying taxes in the provinces of the lower Empire, particularly on livestock in lower Egypt.[41] The late date of the law code raises questions, however, regarding to what extent it reflects first century practice in Egypt. M. Rostovtzeff and C. Welles have suggested alternately that the position of alabarch was connected with the collection of special taxes paid by Jews in Egypt.[42] This is unlikely since one of the four known alabarchs was a Christian and another lived in Egypt long after the Jewish revolt in 116–117 CE after which the Jewish population was mostly decimated.

Linguistically the word alabarch is also a mystery. As a Greek word the roots "alab" and "arch" together should mean "head of the alab(s)" but alab is not a Greek or a Latin root. At the time of writing, it is being investigated whether alab may come from an Egyptian root.[43] Considerable confusion over the title alabarch occurred earlier in this century when J. Lesquier proposed that alabarch was a variant spelling of arabarch or the "chief of the arabs."[44] This is highly unlikely since Josephus knew and used both titles (arabarch in *Ant.* 15.167) for different circumstances. Lesquier's theory has been accepted by many however who have used the terms interchangeably causing some confusion.[45] Hopefully further study being done on the lingusitic root(s) of "alab" will yield more information for speculation.

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41 Jean Lesquier, "L'Arabarches d'Egypte," *Revue Archeologique*, 5e serie, tome VI (jui.-dec. 1917): p. 96, n. 1–3, 100.

42 M. I. Rostovtzeff and C. B. Welles, "A Parchment Contract of Loan from Dura-Europus on the Euphrates," *Yale Classical Studies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931), p. 50.

43 "Alab" is not a common root in the papyri but there is one reference to an alabes, a fish in the Nile, and Alabynthis was a Ptolemaic Egyptian city (known to be inhabited by Jews). It may also represent two roots "al" and "ab." "Ab" is used often in Egyptian as the word for priest or purity.

44 Lesquier, p. 95–103.

45 S. Demougin, *L'Ordre*, notes, p. 111–112, that the known alabarchs after Alexander and Demetrios were Roman citizens of the equestrian rank but the references he cites are all for arabarchs..

Alexander's Status as a Jew

A discussion of Alexander's status as a Jew can be focused into three areas: 1) his lineage 2) his relationship with the religious and political institutions of Jerusalem, and 3) his personal piety.

There have been many allusions above to the possibility that Alexander had a blood relation to the Hasmonean dynasty, the Herodian family, or both. This has been a topic for much speculation. M. Rostovtzeff theorized that Alexander was the grandson of Herod the Great and Mariamme but this can be quickly discounted since the former was known to have died in 7–8 BCE.[46] J. Schwartz suggested that Alexander must have been a Jewish nobleman, i.e. a Hasmonean and this theory fits well with Josephus' comments on his noble ancestry.[47] Most daring of all is N. Kokkinos' identification of Alexander as the grandson of Herod the Great. Herod and Mariamme's son Alexander was married to the Cappadocian princess Glaphyra and had two sons Alexander and Tigranius. Kokkinos proposes that Alexander the alabarch was in fact this last Alexander who would have had the Roman name Gaius Julius Alexander.[48] This theory is unlikely because it is inconceivable that Josephus, with all his interest in genealogies, would repeatedly mention Alexander the son of Alexander and Glaphyra and Alexander the alabarch and never state that they were the same person.

Although the specifics about Alexander's lineage cannot be known, it is very possible that he was descended from the Hasmoneans and was related to the ruling class and priesthood of Judea. As Josephus noted in *Life* 1–2 "with us a connection with the priesthood is the hallmark of an illustrious line" and that meant being descended from the Hasmoneans. Perhaps Alexander's "superior ancestry" meant being descended from the Hasmonean priesthood which would offer one explanation of why he chose to gold and silver plate the gates of the Temple. He also may have been related to a High Priest serving in the first century, most of whom were relatives of Herod. Jerome reported that Alexander's brother Philo was descended from priests.[49] Although this information was recorded centuries later, it may be reliable when one considers the evidence that Alexander's descendents joined the Senatorial class and remained prominent Roman citizens for centuries.[50] Their distinguished family history may have been common knowledge.

Alexander may also have been related by blood somehow to Herod. This would explain why his son Marcus was deemed a suitable husband for the Judean Princess Berenice. As can be seen from Josephus, Judean royalty who were also Roman citizens had a propensity for marrying someone to whom they were already related. At the very least Alexander was related to royalty after the

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46 M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 2nd ed. rev. by P. M. Fraser (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1957), v. 2, p. 672, n. VI.44.

47 Schwartz, "Egypte," p. 43.

48 Kokkinos, p. 73. cf. also N. Kokkinos, "Re-assembling the Inscription of Glaphyra from Athens," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 68, 288–290.

49 Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus* 11; cf. Schwartz, "Note," p. 600.

50 See SB 3.6223 (198 CE) and P. Oxy. 10.1264 (272 CE). Further evidence is currently being collected.

marriage of his son Marcus when he would have been considered a father-in-law equivalent to Agrippa II.

Finally the question can be raised whether Alexander's apparent high status as a Roman in some way interfered with his personal identity as a Jew. The evidence suggests that Alexander was able to be both Roman and Jew. Certainly the decoration of the Temple gates would have been considered a pious act. On top of that Josephus mentions Alexander's religious devotion in 20.100 and that Alexander unlike his son Ti. Alexander had continued in the practices of his people. Philo himself told us in *On Animals* 8 of Alexander's "continuous, insistent urging" that his son seek religious counseling from Philo. The overall implication is that the observation of Jewish beliefs and practices was of great importance to Alexander.

Regardless of Alexander's exact blood lineage, his superior ancestry, the expensive gift to the Temple, the marriage of Marcus, the procuratorship of Tiberius, and his reputation of personal piety undoubtedly would have made him a very prominent Jew in both Judea and Alexandria.

The Status of Philo

An interesting question that remains is whether and to what extent Philo shared the status, both among Romans and Jews, of his illustrious brother. Josephus described him in *Ant.* 20.100 as a man "held in great honor" but did not allude to his also having superior ancestry. The answer is in many ways contingent upon the exact blood relationship between them. While it is likely that they were in fact blood brothers and not just brother equivalents, it cannot be determined if they had the same two parents. Through which parent, if not both, did Alexander derive his "superior ancestry" and did Philo claim the same lineage? Philo is never described as being part of the Julius Alexander family which suggests that they had the same mother but not the same father. It could also simply mean that Philo was more commonly known by his Greek name and not his official Roman name. It was not unusual in Egypt for provincial Romans to prefer usage of a Greek or even an Egyptian name. If Alexander, as suggested above, inherited his Roman citizenship from his father then Philo would also have been a Roman since Alexander's father would have married only a Roman.

Further evidence for Philo's citizenship is the fact that he served at the head of the Jewish embassy to Gaius. There are indications that Roman Jews were often selected to serve on Jewish embassies to Roman officials, probably because their status would carry more influence. In the famous letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians, six of the twelve Jewish ambassadors had Roman names.[51] In a series of decrees from the early first century BCE (*Ant.* 14.219ff.), Jewish envoys who were apparently also Romans are mentioned as seeking special rights for Jews.

Philo also was related to the royal family of Judea. At the very least he became related when his nephew Marcus married Berenice if a stronger blood relationship had not already existed. He also would have gained status among Jews for his brother's "superior ancestry" even if he did not share the exact blood lineage. When Philo made his pilgrimmage to Jerusalem as described in *On*

51 CPJ 153 = P. Lond. 1912; cf. Schwartz, "Note," p. 601.

Providence 2.107, he may have been welcomed as an honored guest by the priests on account of his brother's donation to the Temple, and by the Jewish royalty because of his nephew Tiberius' procuatorship and his other nephew Marcus' marriage.

The possibility that Alexander was connected to the priesthood has been discussed above. If so then this would lend credence to Jerome's claim that Philo was descended from priests. Also as noted above, there is evidence that Alexander's descendents became Roman Senators and thrived in Rome for centuries. Jerome also spent time in Rome and may have acquired his information about Philo from one of Alexander's descendents.

Conclusions

The above evidence can be combined into a general biography of Alexander. He was born around 10 BCE in Alexandria or his parents later settled there. His family was very wealthy and at least one parent was noted for having a distinguished blood line. If the blood line refers, as I believe, to their Jewish ancestry then he may have been descended from the Hasmoneans. Alexander's parents were either born Roman citizens or received citizenship grants from Julius Caesar. If the latter was the case then his father's name would have been Gaius Julius Alexander. Alexander's full name was [praenomen] Julius Alexander with the praenomen possibly being Gaius. He had at least two siblings, Philo and Lysimachus, although they may not have all had the same two parents. Lysimachus almost certainly had a different mother and was much younger.

Alexander probably spent some time in Rome in his youth. There he met and became friends with Claudius and most likely acquainted with Agrippa who was one of Claudius' circle. He would also have met Claudius' mother Antonia. Alexander probably returned to Egypt upon reaching adulthood and would have married between the ages of 17 and 25 according to Roman practice. He no doubt used his connections with the Roman Imperial family and his family's wealth and position to secure a series of Roman magistries. He was procurator of Antonia's land estates in Egypt and he became the alabarch, a title which he apparently held for some time. The alabarchy may have entailed levying taxes in parts of the Roman empire including Egypt.

In 35 CE Alexander made a large loan to Agrippa's wife Cypros. Sometime after that he was imprisoned by Gaius but may have had the succor of Claudius and Antonia during this time. The imprisonment may have been in connection with his brother Philo's embassy to Gaius in 39/40 CE. Claudius freed Alexander in 41 CE.

Alexander had two sons. Marcus Julius Alexander was involved in commerce in the Thebaid area, married the Jewish princess Berenice, and died prematurely. Tiberius Julius Alexander he groomed for Roman public office financing his position as an equestrian. Tiberius' equestrian career soared as he became epistrategos, procurator of Judea, prefect of Egypt, and Praetorian Prefect. Apparently though he soon became a concern to his father over Jewish religious practice and Alexander urged Tiberius to seek the counsel of Philo. It is unknown whether he lived to see Tiberius act as a Roman general in the attack and destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple.

Alexander remained a practicing Jew known for his pious acts. He had the gates of the Jerusalem Temple plated with gold and silver. This would have established close connections with the Temple High Priest. He was also related to the Judean royal family by his son Marcus' marriage if not before that. These two acts plus Tiberius' procuratorship would have made Alexander well known in Judea.

The above evidence has demonstrated that Alexander was both a very prominent Roman and very prominent Jew. These two aspects of his life were intertwined and determined many conditions of his life and that of his family. This dual status would have seemed unremarkable to him since Alexander knew of other upper-class Jews who were also Roman citizens. It is only remarkable to us as we observe the ease with which a first century Jew moved within both Roman and Jewish circles.

Recluse or Representative? Philo and Greek-Speaking Judaism Beyond Alexandria

Gregory E. Sterling
University of Notre Dame

In his description of events under Caligula, Eusebius introduces his readers to Philo: "In his time Philo became widely known as a remarkable man of culture not only among our own people but also among those originating from the outside. He was a Hebrew by race, inferior to none of the distinguished people in office in Alexandria." He then mentions the basis for his reputation: "The quantity and quality of his work on the theological and ancestral branches of learning is evident to all." The same is true of his expertise in Hellenistic thought: "it is not necessary to say anything about his ability in philosophy and the liberal learning of the outside world since he, especially in his zealous studies of Plato and Pythagoras, is reported to have excelled all in his generation."[1] While the encomiastic nature of Eusebius' statements forces us to take them *cum grano salis*, they do raise the issue of Philo's relationship to the larger world.

Philo is significant for three different worlds: Judaism, Christianity, and Hellenistic philosophy. The Caesarean's suggestion that Philo was a significant philosopher has been echoed in the twentieth century by Harry Wolfson and, more recently in a more limited but nonetheless significant way, by Roberto Radice.[2] The *communis opinio*, however, is that Philo is much more important as a *witness to* rather than as a *formulator of* Middle Platonic thought. Philo's relationship to Christianity is better known. David Runia has recently traced the extent of Christianity's direct indebtedness to Philo and suggested that there may be an indirect debt as well through "Philonism," i.e., the form of Judaism attested by Philo but not directly connected with his treatises.[3] This leads us back to Philo's relationship to Greek-speaking Judaism in the Diaspora. To what extent may we use his *œuvre* to reconstruct Diaspora Judaism? The issue is not whether Philo is representative of Judaism socially and intellectually. He is not: he was a

[1] Eusebius, *HE* 2.4.2–3. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

[2] H. A. Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (2 vols., Cambridge: Harvard University, 1947) and R. Radice, *Platonismo e creazionismo in Filone di Alessandria* (Pubblicazioni del Centro di Ricerche di Metafisica: Sezione di Metafysica del Platonismo nel suo sviluppo storico e nella filosofia patristica; Studi e testi 7; Milan: Rusconi, 1989), who argues that Philo originated the concept that the ideas are the thoughts of God. For an English summary see his "Observations on the Theory of the Ideas as the Thoughts of God in Philo of Alexandria," *SPhA* 3 (1991) 126–34.

[3] D. T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature: A Survey* (CRINT 3.3; Assen: Van Gorcum/Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), esp. 340–42.

member of one of Alexandria's most elite families and his works demonstrate far more philosophical sophistication than any other work from Greek-speaking Jews. The issue is rather whether Philo's Judaism differs only in degree from other Graeco-Jewish works by virtue of his sophistication or whether he is *sui generis*.

The question is by no means new. E. R. Goodenough compared Philo's corpus to Jewish art and concluded that the agreement he saw established the presence of a widespread Jewish mystery cult.[4] I propose to take a different route: I will explore the possible connections between the Philonic corpus and Jewish literary works in the Greek-speaking Diaspora. Others have noted some of the most striking parallels, but to my knowledge no one has attempted to work through the material systematically.[5] I have restricted my search to literary works for two reasons: one practical and the other theoretical. The practical is to place a limit on the amount of material to be considered within the confines of this paper. The theoretical is that if we are to find evidence for similar views, we should find it in the literature. This does not negate the necessity of a similar study of Philo's relationship to the epigraphic and archaeological evidence which could potentially extend the social horizon. It only raises the issue of whether there is some evidence for similar views by exploring the most logical material first.

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4 E. R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism* (New Haven: Yale University, 1935) and *idem, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman World* (13 vols.; Bolligen Series 37; New York and Princeton: Pantheon and Princeton University, 1953–68). Cf. M. Smith's important review article, "Goodenough's *Jewish Symbols* in Retrospect," *JBL* 86 (1967) 53–68.

5 E.g., Goodenough, *Ly Light, Light* 265–305, who surveys non-Philonic literature for evidence of the Jewish mystery; W. L. Knox, "Pharisaism and Hellenism," *The Contact of Pharisaism with Other Cultures* (ed. H. Loewe; London: Sheldon, 1937) 59–111; reprinted in 3 vols. as 1: *Judaism and Christianity* (New York: Ktav, 1969) 2:59–111, who wrote: "I can here only express the opinion that a vast amount of work remains to be done on Philo; as an individual he is intensely dull; but as a quarry he yields valuable results"; and P. Borgen, "Judaism: Judaism in Egypt," *ABD* 3 (1992) 1061–72, esp. 1067–68 and 1071. I have examined Philo's relationship to Alexandrian Jewish literature in "*Magister* or Maverick? Philo and Alexandrian Judaism" (forthcoming).

Jewish Literature in the Greek-Speaking Diaspora Outside of Alexandria

Century	Africa	Cyrene	Egypt	Palestine	Syria	Asia Minor	Rome	Undetermined
2nd BCE	Cleodemus Malchus	Jason of Cyrene 5 vols. on Maccabean Revolt	*Test. of Twelve Patriarchs?* *Sib. Or.* 3.97ff.	Eupolemus LXX: 2 Maccabees				
1st BCE				LXX: Esther			Caecilius of Calacte	
1st CE			*2 Enoch?* *3 Baruch?*	LXX : Ruth Canticles Lamentations *Lives of the Prophets* *Sib. Or.* 4 Justus of Tiberias *Chron. of the Jewish Kings* *Hist. of the Jewish War* Biblical Commentaries?	4 Maccabees?	*Sib. Or.* 1-2	Josephus, *War* *Ant.* *Life* *Ag. Apion*	*Ladder of Jacob??*
2nd CE			*Sib. Or.* 5 *Sib. Or.* 8??		Hellenistic Synagogue Prayers			

For the sake of clarity I have collected all of the extant Jewish works composed in Greek outside of Alexandria up through the second or third century CE and placed them in a chart indicating my assessment of their *Sitz im Leben.*[6] I am well aware that the specific placement of a number of these works is problematic. Where I have doubts, I have placed a question mark; where those doubts are serious a double question mark; and where I had no reasonable basis for time or locale in the "Undetermined" column. The rationale for my organization is the conviction that Second Temple Judaism was diverse. While I accept the concept of a "common Judaism"—to use E. P. Sander's phrase[7]—I think that given our current state of knowledge, we must explore Judaism as it existed in distinct geographical and political regions. This also permits me to test the geographical distribution of possible Philonic similarities.

There is at least one other body of literary evidence which could help to elucidate this question. As we will see, it is possible some pagan authors knew Philonic treatises.[8]

Date CE	Syria	Rome
1st Century		Pseudo-Longinus, *On the Sublime*
2nd Century	Numenius of Apamea Celsus, *True Doctrine* (?)	
3rd Century		Plotinus
4th Century	Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*	

I have included this material because it is not well known and yet may be significant. My working assumption is that pagans who encountered Philo's

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6 There are at least three different authors whom some consider to be Jewish, but whom I think are pagan and I have therefore omitted: Theodorus the rhetorican of the 1st century BCE (e.g., G. P. Goold, "A Greek Professional Circle at Rome," *TAPA* 92 (1961) 177), Theophilus, and Thallus. On Theodous see G.M.A. Grube, "Theodorus of Gadara," *American Journal of Philology* 80 (1959) 337–65. On Theophilus and Thallus see C. R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors* (5 vols.; SBLTT 20, 30–; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1983–) 1:337–42 and 343–69 respectively (hereafter *FHJA*). On Theophilus cf. also M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974–84) XXII.37–38 (hereafter *GLAJJ*). Some place Ecclesiastes in Palestine in the second century CE. For bibliography see O. Munnich, "Le texte de la Septante," *La Bible Grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien* (ed. G. Dorival, M. Harl, O. Munnich; Initiations au christianisme ancien; Paris: Cerf, 1988) 145. I, however, am skeptical since Philo may have known it, e.g., Eccl 2:13 and *Spec.* 1.288; Eccl 5:14 and *Spec.* 1.295. Another work which might belong in Palestine is the *Apocalypse of Adam.* This, however, probably stems from the Archontics, an early Gnostic sect which was probably Christian. See C. W. Hedrick, *The Apocalypse of Adam: A Literary and Source Analysis* (SBLDS 46; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980) 209–15. On the Archontics see H. Ch. Puech, "Archontiker," *RAC* 1 (1950) 633–43. There are two Christian apocalypses which draw from Jewish apocalypses which could be placed in the "Undetermined" column: *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* and the *Apocalypse of Sedrach.* I have not included them since I am not certain the Jewish apocalypses underlying them are recoverable and they are probably very late. Cf. *OTP* 1:561–79 and 605–13 respectively.

7 E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief (63 BCE–66 CE)* (London/Philadelphia: Trinity, 1992), esp. 47–48.

8 Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature* 8–12, surveys this material but omits any discussion of Pseudo-Longinus and Celsus.

treatises, did so through the influence of other Jews or possibly other pagans. In either case, this evidence indicates that Philo's works circulated outside the Christian circles which ultimately preserved his works for us, that is, they circulated outside of Alexandria and the circles directly influenced by Alexandrian Christian thought.[9]

In the case of Jewish authors who precede Philo I will ask whether we can establish his knowledge and use of their work or whether there is enough phenomenological similarity to argue that they came from a similar milieu. In the case of subsequent Jewish and pagan authors I will explore the possibility of their knowledge of Philonic treatises as well as the possibility that both attest a common tradition within Judaism. In order to avoid broadening the comparisons of the latter so that all Jewish works could be included, I have restricted my search to exegetical traditions and themes which are central or distinctive to the Philonic enterprise. I have not attempted to be comprehensive in my analyses but illustrative.

North Africa

Cleodemus Malchas. Standing in the same tradition as the Samaritan Pseudo-Eupolemus, the Palestinian Eupolemus, and the Egyptian Artapanus, the single fragment of the second century BCE Libyan presents a Jewish ancestor as an remote progenitor of non-Jews.[10] In this case Cleodemus traces the offspring of Abraham in Gen 25:1–6 to the Assyrians, Africans, and the city of Aphra. He then connects two of Abraham's sons with Heracles' defeat of the Libyan giant Antaeus[11] and claims that the Greek hero married Abraham's granddaughter. He has thus made Abraham the ancestor of numerous people and subordinated Hellenism to Judaism.

Philo knows both this general tradition and stories about Heracles—although he never mentions the battle with Antaeus.[12] However, he does not use the argument from antiquity in the same way as the Hellenistic Jewish historians—including Cleodemus—or his Alexandrian philosophical predecessor Aristobulus. The classic case of his departure from this well established tradition is his description of Moses' education by Greeks as well as by Easterners.[13] My own explanation of Philo's modification is that he stood in a philosophical tradition which saw a common reality which could be independently understood by Hellenes and Easterners. Moses grasped and expressed this reality better than anyone else, but others also caught glimpses.[14] It is thus impossible to say

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9 There is also still room for investigating those early Christian works which attest distinct Philonic themes but stand outside the Alexandrian Christian tradition, e.g., Justin Martyr and Theophilus of Antioch. See *ibid.*, 97–105 and 110–16 respectively for details.

10 I have used the edition of Holladay, *FJHA* 1:245–59.

11 Cf. also Diodorus Siculus 4.17.4–5.

12 He mentions Heracles in *Prob.* 98–104, 127–28; *Legat.* 81, 90–92 (cf. also 78–79). There is a possible allusion in *QG* 1.92.

13 Philo, *Mos.* 1.21–24.

14 G. E. Sterling, "Platonizing Moses: Philo and Middle Platonism," *SPhA* 5 (1993) 96–111. K. Thraede, "Erfinder II," *RAC* 5 (1962) 1245–46, esp. 1246 explains the shift in Philo as due to Philo's philosophical and allegorical reading of the OT which negated a concern with historical argumentation. D. T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria and the* Timaeus *of Plato* (Philosophia Antiqua 44;

whether Philo knew the work of his western colleague, although he certainly knew the general tradition.

Cyrene and Egypt

The work of Jason of Cyrene is now lost apart from the condensed version in 2 Macc.[15] We therefore have no literary evidence of contact with the important Jewish community in Cyrene.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.[16] One of the most important ethical works we have from the Greek-speaking Diaspora is the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.* Unfortunately, the provenance and tradition history of this work is hotly debated including the relationship between Jewish and Christian elements within it. The prominence of Joseph leads me tentatively to situate a Jewish recension in Egypt.[17] Not surprisingly it is this testament which has the closest connections with Philonic material.[18] One of the features of the *T. 12 Patr.* is the use of the patriarchs as models of a particular vice or virtue. For Joseph the author(s) has appropriately chosen σωφροσύνη which a number of later Jewish authors including Philo also select to characterize the youth who withstood the advances of his Egyptian lord's wife.[19] More impressively both the *T. Jos.* and Philo claim that Joseph kept the family secret of what his brothers did to him in order not to shame them.[20] While such general exegetical traditions do not permit us to posit literary dependence, they do point to the fact that Philo knew the same exegetical traditions. If we expand our considerations to the other testaments we find that they share the same tendency to universalize Jewish ethics as we encounter in Philo, e.g., the Torah is universal and is equated with natural

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Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986) 528–35, maintains that Philo's readers would have understood that Moses was anterior since he was so far superior. A. Droge, *Homer or Moses? Early Christian Interpretations of the History of Culture* (HUT 26; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1989) 47–48 and P. Pilhofer, *Presbyteron Kreitton: Der Alterbeweis der jüdischen und christlichen Apologeten und seine Vorgeschichte* (WUNT 2.39; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1990) 173–92, suggest that Moses' priority is a given.

15 2 Macc 2:23.

16 The *editio maior* is M. de Jonge, H. W. Hollander, H. J. de Jonge, and Th. Korteweg, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text* (PVTG 1.2; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978). Cf. also the *editio minor* of M. de Jonge, *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum: Edited according to Cambridge University Library MS Ff 1.24 fol. 203a–262b with Short Notes* (PVTG 1; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964^1, 1970^2).

17 For brief reviews of the debate see J. J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (New York: Crossroad, 1983) 154–56 and H. C. Kee, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *OTP* 1:776–78,

18 There are two important analyses of this material: D. J. Harrington, "Joseph in the Testament of Joseph, Pseudo-Philo, and Philo," *Studies on the* Testament of Joseph (ed. G. W. E. Nickelsburg; SBLSCS 5; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975) 127–31 and H. W. Hollander, *Joseph as an Ethical Model in* The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (SVTP 6; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981) 38–39, 44–47.

19 *T. Jos.* 4.1, 2; 6.7; 9.2; 10.2, 3; Philo, *Ios.* 40 (cf. also 57, 87); *JosAsen.* 4.9; 4 Macc 2:2; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.48, 50, 69; Hellenistic Synagogue Prayer 12 (*AC* 8.12.24 [65 in ET see below]).

20 *T. Jos.* 11.2; 15.3; 17.1 and Philo *Ios.* 237. Cf. also *T. Jos.* 10.6. Josephus, *Ant.* 2.60, mentions Joseph's silence but not for the same reason. For other similarities see *T. Jos.* 17.1 and Philo, *Ios.* 246; *T. Jos.* 11.3; 13.6–9; 15.2–3 and Philo, *Ios.* 248.

law.[21] John Collins captures the ethics of *T. 12 Patr.* nicely when he writes: "It reflects the common tendency in Hellenistic Judaism to concentrate on these teachings which could be endorsed by any enlightened person of the Hellenistic age."[22]

2 Enoch. One of the most intriguing works is the refractorily enigmatic apocalypse known as *2 Enoch.*[23] This amplification of Gen 5:21–32 is a heavenly ascent which combines cosmological speculation with ethical exhortation. The most interesting point of comparison for our purposes is the presentation of creation. The seer presents the act of creation in these words: "And I thought up the idea of establishing a foundation, to create a visible creation."[24] The use of an architectural image for the world of ideas from which to create the sense-perceptible world is strikingly Philonic. Philo introduces his Platonic cosmology with the famous image: "When a city is founded." After he describes the role of an architect he makes his point: "We must think much the same things about God. When he decided to create the megalopolis, he first had its forms in mind from which he constituted the noetic cosmos and then made the sense-perceptible cosmos by using it for a model."[25] Nor is this reference in *2 Enoch* purely coincidental: on two other occasions the author speaks of bringing the visible from the invisible.[26]

A second engaging example is the apocalypticist's understanding of the *imago dei.* In an ethical warning against insulting another, the author wrote: "The Lord with his own two hands created humanity; and in a facsimile of his own face. Small and great the LORD created."[27] This is clearly an interpretation of Gen 2:7 where God "breathed into his face the breath of life." The author apparently knows some exegetical tradition which connects this with the image of God in Gen 1:27. What I find arresting about this, is that Philo makes this connection. Commenting on the word πρόσωπον from Gen 2:7, the Alexandrian writes: "For this reason he says that the *anthropos* became a likeness and imitation of the Logos when he was inbreathed in his face."[28] The awareness of such an intricate exegetical tradition by the author of *2 Enoch* is quite impressive.

A third striking similarity is the analysis of the two natures of humanity. *2 Enoch* cites the following poem:

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21 *T. Lev.* 14.4; *T. Naph.* 3.1–5. On Philo's ethical theory see D. Winston, "Philo's Ethical Theory," *Religion (Hellenistisches Judentum im römischer Zeit: Philon und Josephus)* (ANRW 2.21.1; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1984) 372–416, esp. 381–88 for his treatment of natural law.

22 Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem* 162.

23 I do not read Old Slavonic. I have used the ET of F. I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:91–221.

24 *2 Enoch* 24.5 (J and A).

25 Philo, *Opif.* 17–19.

26 *2 Enoch* 24.2 (J); 48.5 (A).

27 *2 Enoch* 44.1–2 (A). The quote is from 1.

28 Philo, *Opif.* 139. Cf. also 134; *Leg.* 1.31–42; *Plant.* 19–22; *Her.* 56; *Somn.* 1.34; *Spec.* 4.123; *QG* 1.5. On this exegetical tradition see T. H. Tobin, *The Creation of Man: Philo and the History of Interpretation* (CBQMS 14; Washington D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1983) 77–87.

From invisible and visible substance I created man.
From both his natures come both death and life.[29]

Philo has a corresponding formulation: "It says that the construction of the sense-perceptible and individual human being is a compound of earthly substance and the divine spirit." After he elaborates on each, he continues: "So then, if it is mortal with repect to the visible part, it is immortal with respect to the invisible part."[30]

There are a significant number of other parallels in the cosmology: both view ether as the upper air,[31] think that celestial bodies are living beings,[32] accept the pre-existence of souls,[33] deny God was iactive before creation,[34] describe the stars as agents of beauty in the heavens,[35] ascribe seven properties to human beings,[36] and affirm humans have free will.[37] Not all of these are exact parallels. What strikes me about these is that most of the Philonic parallels come from *De opificio mundi.* Together with three examples above, they suggest that the author(s) of *2 Enoch* may have read *Opif.* At the least, the author(s) knew similar traditions. I do not mean to suggest that Philo's cosmology became the model for *2 Enoch*; I do mean to affirm that the author(s) found a number of aspects of it acceptable even if they did not fully understand the intricacies of Philo's philosophical speculation. For this reason I have placed the work in Egypt. It is probably the product of a sect which had connections with both Palestine and Alexandria.[38]

3 Baruch. Closely related to *2 Enoch* as well as the *Testament of Abraham* is another heavenly ascent written in the form of an apocalypse, *3 Baruch.*[39] Unlike *2 Enoch,* however, there are no striking similarities which suggest literary depedence. This does not mean that there are no similarities. J.-C. Picard has even argued that *3 Baruch* has a number of parallels to the Philonic corpus; I do

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29 *2 Enoch* 30.10 (J).

30 Philo, *Opif.* 135. Cf. also 144; *Leg.* 1.33; *Det.* 83; *Her.* 55–57; *Spec.* 1.171; 4.123.

31 *2 Enoch* 3.2 and Philo, *Opif.* 70; *Gig.* 62; *Plant.* 18, 21–22; *Her.* 79, 87–88, 283; *Mut.* 72; *Somn.* 1.54, 139; *Mos.* 1.217; 2.285; *Spec.* 3.2, 185; *Virt.* 183; *Legat.* 347.

32 *2 Enoch* 11–12 and Philo, *Opif.* 73, 144.

33 *2 Enoch* 23.4 (J; cf. also 32.1) and Philo, *Gig.* 12–15; *Plant.* 14; *Somn.* 1.139–41.

34 *2 Enoch* 24.5, which probably anticpates the rest of the Sabbath, and Philo, *Opif.* 7, which is a rejoinder to a charge of Aristotle. Cf. my "*Creatio Temporalis, Aeterna, vel Continua?* An Analysis of the Thought of Philo of Alexandria," *SPhA* 4 (1992) 34–35.

35 *2 Enoch* 30.4 (J) and Philo, *Opif.* 53.

36 *2 Enoch* 30.9: hearing, sight, smell, touch, taste, endurance, and sweetness; and Philo, *Opif.* 117–19, where he gives four different lists; *Leg.* 1.11–12; *Her.* 225; *Abr.* 29–30. None of Philo's lists are exactly parallel. Other Jewish texts have similar lists of seven, e.g., *T. Reub.* 2.1–9.

37 *2 Enoch* 30.15 (J) and Philo, *Deus* 45–50, esp. 47–50.

38 Cf. the description of Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1.96.

39 I have used the Greek text of J.-C. Picard, *Apocalypsis Baruchi Graece* with S. P. Brock, *Testamentum Iobi* (PVTG 2; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967). For the Old Slavonic I have used the ET of H. E. Gaylord, Jr., "3 (Greek Apocalypse of) Baruch," *OTP* 1:653–79. There is now a full-length study of this obscure work, D. C. Harlow, "The Greek *Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch)* in Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity," (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1994).

not find any convincing.[40] The closest parallel which I find is the analysis of the three groups of angels who correspond to three classes of humanity: the virtuous, the partly virtuous, and the evil.[41] This is similar to Philo's threefold classification;[42] however, this was not restricted to the Alexandrian's circle. In fact the closest parallel is the *Apocalypse of Paul* 7–10. Other possible parallels are also general.[43] If, however, we turn away from the issue of dependence we quickly see that like the *T. Abraham* and *2 Enoch*, *3 Baruch* universalizes Jewish ethics.[44]

Egyptian Sibylline Oracles. Another apocalyptic tradition within Egypt is the Jewish material preserved in *Sibylline Oracles* 3.97ff.; 5; and 8.[45] Although the sophistication required by the form of these dactylic hexameters is closer in its Hellenization to what we find in Philo, the apocalyptic orientation is radically different. Perhaps it is no surprise that like the other apocalyptic works in Egypt, the *Sib. Or.* universalize Jewish ethics. Some of the formulations are close to Philo. When the sibyl declares that "the Heavenly One has presented the earth in common to all," it is difficult not to think of the Stoic concept of a world-citizen which Philo accepted.[46] That the Sibyllist understood the implications of this position is evident in the statement that "the Immortal in the starry heaven will present to humans a common law in all the earth."[47] This does not mean that the poets have given up on the Torah. They explicitly mention the giving of the law on Sinai and Jewish loyalty.[48] They also, however, think that non-Jews should adhere to this law.[49] With this move they have equated Torah with natural law. As

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40 J.-C. Picard, "Observations sur l'Apocalypse grecque de Baruch," *Sem* 20 (1970) 77–103, esp. 83–84, and *idem*, "'Je te montrerai d'autres mystères plus grande que ceux-ci . . .': (Notes sur *3 Bar* et quelques écrits apparentés)," *Histoire et Anthropologie des communatés juives et chrétiennes dans les sociétes anciennes* (Canal 8; Paris: Centre de recherches de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études section des Sciences Religieuses, 1991) 17–40. Harlow, "The Greek *Apocalypse of Baruch* 169–76, 226 n. 132, provides a critique.

41 *3 Baruch* 12.1–5 and 15.1–2; 12.6–8 and 15.3–4; 13.1–5 and 16.1–4.

42 Philo, *Leg.* 1.90–94; *Gig.* 60–61; *Her.* 45–46.

43 *3 Baruch* 9.1–8, locates angels in the area of the moon as does Philo (*Somn.* 1.133–45) following the Middle Platonic tradition which drew from Xenocrates (F 56 [Heinze]).

44 Cf. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem* 232–36, esp. 235–36, and Harlow, "The Greek *Apocalypse of Baruch* 235–43, esp. 236.

45 I have used the edition of J. Geffcken, *Die Oracula Sibyllina* (GCS; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1902). I am in agreement with the analysis of J. J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism* (SBLDS 13; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1972) and *idem*, "Sibylline Oracles," *OTP* 1:317–472, who places 3 and 5 in Leontopolis. I think 3.1–96 is Alexandrian. V. Nikiprowetzky, *La Troisième Sibylle* (Études Juives 9; Paris 1970) and *idem*, "Reflexions sur quelques problemes du quatrième et du cinquième livre des Oracles Sibyllins," *HUCA* 43 (1972) 29–76, esp. 29–33, places *Sib. Or.* 3–5 in Alexandria.

46 *Sib. Or.* 3.247 and Philo, *Opif.* 3, 142–43; *Conf.* 106; *Migr.* 59; *Mos.* 1.157; *Spec.* 2.45. Cf. *Somn.* 1.243 as well.

47 *Sib. Or.* 3.757–59 and Philo, *Decal.* 97–98.

48 *Sib. Or.* 3.254–60.

49 *Sib. Or.* 3.594–600. The basic sins of the Gentiles are idolatry (*Sib. Or.* 3.273–79, 547–57, 586–94, 601–07, 721–23; 5.75–85, 403–07, 494–96; 8.43–49) and sexual offenses, particularly adultery and homosexuality (*Sib. Or.* 3.185–90, 594–600, 764; 5.166–67, 386–96, 429–31). These are common in Jewish literature.

in Philo there is a certain amount of tension between the two. Collins can thus write: "for all the universalism implied in the reduction of the law to ethical principles of broad human interest, the sibyl remains stubbornly particularistic."[50] The sibyllists are loyal to Moses, but like Philo of Alexandria, extend their version of particularism into universalism without giving up on their particularism completely.

Palestine

In the last half of the twentieth century we have come to expect Jewish compositions in Greek within Palestine.[51] Perhaps the sharpest jolt came when we learned that the covenanters at Qumran reserved one cave for Greek manuscripts.[52] Recent research has also concluded that Aquila had first century CE predecessors in Palestine.[53] Unfortunately we do not know if Philo knew any of these biblical texts since he never cites or alludes to them.[54] His silence should not automatically be interpreted as ignorance since he rarely cited any text outside of the Torah.

Eupolemus. Eupolemus stands in the same basic tradition as Cleodemus Malchus.[55] The first fragment presents Moses as the πρῶτος σόφος who introduced the alphabet and was the first law-giver.[56] While Philo frequently calls Moses σόφος, he does not make the same historical claims.[57] The closest Philo comes to echoing the same historical claims as Eupolemus is in the *Hypothetica* when offers an approximate number of years since the exodus from Egypt: "many years have passed, I can not say exactly how many but more than 2000."[58] In F 5 Eupolemus calculated the years from the exodus to the mid-second century BCE as 2,580. As with Cleodemus we may say that Philo knows this general tradition, but chooses not to present Moses as a *Kulturbringer* or enter the historical debate.

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50 Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem* 151. Cf. 148–52.

51 M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974 [German 1969]), has become the classic statement of the hellenization of Palestine. For surveys of Greek material see J. N. Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek? How Much Greek Could the First Jewish Christians Have Known?* (NovTSup 19; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968) and A. R. C. Leaney, "Greek Manuscripts from the Judaean Desert," *Studies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honour of George D. Kilpatrick on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday* (ed. J. K. Elliott; NovTSup 44; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976) 283–300.

52 7Q. There are also Greek mss. in 4Q. See Leaney, "Greek Manuscripts from the Judaean Desert."

53 See the summary by G. Dorival, "L'achèvement de la Septante dans le judaïsme. De la faveur au rejet," *La Bible Grecque des Septante* 105–07.

54 There is no evidence that he knew Esther, Ruth, Cant, Lam, or 2 Macc.

55 I have used the edition of Holladay, *FHJA* 1:93–156.

56 For an analysis see my *Historiography and Self-definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography* (NovTSup 64; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992) 218–19.

57 E.g., Philo, *Leg.* 2.87; 3.140; *Post.* 173; *Gig* 47; *Ebr.* 37; *Migr.* 201; *Mut.* 19. He also calls Abraham σόφος, e.g., *Plant.* 73; *Migr.* 122.

58 Philo, *Hypoth.* (Eusebius, *PE* 8.6.9).

Lives of the Prophets. During the first century CE a movement to memorialize the prophets appears to have taken place in Judaea.[59] Perhaps associated with this movement is the small but fascinating collection of legends about the prophets.[60] Philo shares some interesting links with the life of Jeremiah. This is natural since the seventh-sixth century BCE prophet did go into Egypt.[61] There are two hints within the life which cause us to pause. The first is the narrator's description of the founding of Alexandria: "After Alexander the Macedon stood over the place of the prophet and observed his mysteries, he transferred his remains to Alexandria where he set them around the city in honor."[62] While the background of this statement is open to debate, it appears to attest veneration for Jeremiah's role as a prophet in Egypt through some form of shrine.[63] After narrating the legend that Jeremiah hid the ark of the covenant, the text describes the miraculous atmosphere of the rock. It then gives us a second tantalizing hint: "And God gave grace to Jeremiah to bring his mystery to a completion himself so that he might become a partner with Moses and they are together until the present day."[64]

I find these fascinating because they may shed light on a statement of Philo's. In one of his autobiographical asides, he says: "For I was initiated by the God-beloved Moses into the greater mysteries; nevertheless, when I saw the prophet Jeremiah and realized that he was not only an initiate but a capable hierophant, I did not hesitate to frequent him as my instructor."[65] Why did Philo chose to make this statement about Jeremiah?[66] I suggest that the *Lives of the Prophets* and Philo attest a common veneration of Jeremiah, the prophet of Egypt who was remembered in a shrine somewhere in the vicinity of Alexandria.

Sibylline Oracle 4. The fourth *Sibylline Oracle* probably originated among a Jewish baptismal group in the Jordan Valley.[67] In this instance there are no noteworthy parallels. The oracular poem stands in the same tradition of universal ethic as its Egyptian counterparts.[68]

Justus of Tiberias. More intriguing is the political and literary opponent of Josephus and sometime secretary of Herod Agrippa II, Justus of Tiberias.[69]

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59 Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 16.182.

60 The standard edition is still C. C. Torrey, *The Lives of the Prophets: Greek Text and Translation* (Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 1; Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, 1946).

61 Jer 42:1–44:30.

62 *Lives of the Prophets, Jeremiah* 5.

63 For details see D. R. A. Hare, "Lives of the Prophets," *OTP* 2:387 n. i.

64 *Lives of the Prophets, Jeremiah* 15.

65 Philo, *Cher.* 49. Cf. also *Conf.* 44.

66 Goodenough, *By Light, Light* 76, points out that the prophets belong to Moses' circle. The initiation into Jeremiah's mysteries is, however, unique.

67 See the reference to baptism in 4.163–69. For details see J. J. Collins, "The Place of the Fourth Sibyl in the Development of the Jewish Sibyllines," *JJS* 25 (1974) 365–80.

68 For an analysis of its thought see Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem* 152–53, in addition to his article cited above.

69 I have used the edition of Holladay, *FHJA* 1:371–89. The most important analysis of his life and work is T. Rajak, "Justus of Tiberias," *CQ* n.s. 23 (1973) 345–68.

According to Josephus, who has preserved almost everthing we know about Justus, he was "not inexperienced in the culture of the Greeks."[70] He was apparently the member of a leading family of Tiberias, a Greek city with a Jewish population.[71] His education paid off in the form of several works which are now lost. We are not even certain what he wrote other than his account of the Jewish war. His work on the kings may have originally been a digression in his work on the war which was later detached to find a life of its own or may have been composed as an independent work.[72] Even more significant is the statement of Jerome that he wrote biblical commentaries.[73] Since Jerome is the only witness to this, most modern scholars have discounted his testimony.[74] Although there is nothing implausible about the tradition, there is no evidence to sustain it. This is particularly frustrating since Diogenes Laertius preserves a fragment in which Justus relates an incident from the life of Plato.[75] It is intriguing to think of the possibility of a Galilean Jew writing commentaries on Moses, especially since he—like Philo—knows something about Plato. We may never know whether he did. Two of the fragments we have suggest that in keeping with the "older is better" perspective which permeated antiquity, Justus is careful to date Moses in hoary past.[76]

Syria

4 Maccabees. The most overtly philosophical work from the Greek-speaking Diapora outside of Alexandria is 4 Maccabees.[77] Written to demonstrate the thesis that "pious reason is the master of passions,"[78] it draws on the martyrdom of the mother and her seven sons during the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes to make its case. Since there is some evidence for a cult to commemorate these martyrs in Antioch, I am inclined to place it in Syria although Asia Minor has a case as well.[79] At the outset the author displays his knowledge of philosophy by citing the standard definition of σοφία or φιλοσοφία[80] and listing the cardinal virtues.[81] Philo knows the same definition, but it was ubiquitous.[82]

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70 Josephus, *Life* 40.

71 For details see Rajak, "Justus of Tiberias" 346–51.

72 Rajak, "Justus of Tiberias" 358–65 opts for an abstraction; Holladay, *FHJA* 1:372–73, thinks the two were independent works.

73 Jerome, *de vir ill.* 14.

74 Rajak, "Justus of Tiberias" 365; Holladay, *FHJA* 1:373; and E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (3 vols.; rev. and ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973–86) 1:34–37.

75 F 1 (=Diogenes Laertius 2.41).

76 F 2, Moses is a contemporary with Inachus, the first king of Argos; F 3, Moses is a contemporary with Phoroneus, the first king of Argos and with Amosis of Egypt.

77 I have used the edition of M. Hadas, *The Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees* (Jewish Apocryphal Literature 3; New York: Ktav, 1953).

78 Stated explicitly at 1:1, 13; 6:31; 7:16; 13:1; 16:1; 18:1–2 and repeated many times throughout the book.

79 See the helpful summary by H. Andersen, "4 Maccabees," *OTP* 2:533–37.

80 4 Macc 1:16.

81 4 Macc 1:2–4, 18; 5:22–24.

The fact that the author explicitly uses Hellenic philosophy has led scholars to attempt to identify the philosophical allegiances of the text.[83] Unfortunately this has proven extremely difficult. The issue has now become whether there is a distinct perpective or whether the author uses philosophical commonplaces in the service of rhetoric. The latter appears more likely.

The result of this eclectic use is a number of similarities with Philo. Certainly they both maintain that reason may control the passions.[84] Similarly the author can say: "believing that God has established the law we know that the creator of the cosmos legislates in keeping with our nature."[85] This is very close to Philo's own formulation of natural law on several occasions;[86] however, it is hardly distinctive.[87] The same may be said for their shared conviction in the immortality of the soul.[88] Such positions reflect a common milieu in which Jewish authors interpreted their faith through Greek philosophy. The importance of 4 Maccabees is that it demonstrates that this enterprise was not confined to Alexandria.

Hellenistic Synagogue Prayers. Considerably more impressive are a group of Jewish prayers which Christians later edited and took over into the *Apostolic Constitutions*.[89] One of the major difficulties with these texts is that the Jewish prayers have to be untangled from the Christian version. Fortunately for our purposes this will not be necessary. It does not matter if the original Jewish prayers contained Philonic elements or if the Christian editor was influenced by contemporary Jews in the formation of his own theological convictions. In either case the evidence stands for the existence of a form of Judaism which is remarkably like Philo's.[90]

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82 Philo, *Congr.* 79. Cf. also Cicero, *Off.* 2.5; Seneca, *Ep.* 89.5; Sextus Empiricus, *M.* 9.13 (*SVF* 2.36).

83 For an overview see R. Renehan, "The Greek Philosophic Background of Fourth Maccabees," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 115 (1972) 223–26 and Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem* 188.

84 4 Macc 1:15 and Philo, *Deus* 50; *Mos.* 1.48. David Aune has a new essay in W. Helleman, *Hellenization Revisited: Shaping a Christian Response within the Greco-Roman World* (Lanham/New York/London: University Press of America, 1994) addressing this issue which I have not yet seen.

85 4 Macc 5:25. Cf. also 1:16–17; 6:18.

86 Philo, *Opif.* 1–3; *Ios.* 29.

87 Cf. also *Ps. Arist.* 143, 161; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.24, who is dependent on Philo (see below).

88 E.g., 4 Macc 18:23 and Philo, *Opif.* 119, 135.

89 I have used the edition of F. X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoeningh, 1905; reprint ed., Torino: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1964). The most important studies on these prayers for our pruposes are Goodenough, *By Light, Light* 306–58, who provides ET along with comments; D. A. Fiensy, *Prayers Alleged to be Jewish: An Examination of the* Constitutiones Apostolorum (BJS 65; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985), who provides a review of scholarship (pp. 1–17) as well as text, translation, and analysis of those prayers he considers Jewish; and D. A. Fiensy and D. R. Darnell, "Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers," *OTP* 2:671–97. I will cite the prayers by the number assigned in the last mentioned work, but provide the reference to the *AC* followed by the reference to the ET in *OTP* in brackets.

90 Goodenough, *By Light, Light* 306 was so struck by the similarities that he introduced his discussion with these words: "The Fragments are so strikingly appropriate to the thesis of this book that . . . they must be presented here entire." Fiensy, *Prayers Alleged to be Jewish* 228–30, esp. 229, is critical of Goodenough arguing that he included the work of the Christian redactor as well

Taking the prayers in the order in which they appear in the *AC* we find the following striking parallels. In a prayer of thanksgiving the worshipper declares: νόμον κατεφύτευσας ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, a statement that resonates with a famous phrase of Philo's: νόμος ἔμψυχος.[91] In both instances the reference is to the embodiment of the law prior to the giving of the written legislation. In a prayer reflecting on creation, the liturgist offers the following reflections on Gen 1:27:

> You have appointed him a cosmos out of the cosmos.
> Out of the four elements you molded a body for him,
> but you prepared a soul for him out of non-being.
> You freely gave him five-fold sense-perception
> and set a mind as a charioteer over his sense-perceptions.[92]

This is virtually an epitome of Philo's anthropology. It is prefaced by introducing the human as a κοσμοπολίτης, a phrase Philo employs on numerous occaions as we have already seen.[93] This is echoed in the first line by the statement that God "appointed him κόσμου κόσμον."[94] Philo prefers the language βραχὺς κόσμος; the thought, however, is the same.[95] The second and third lines contrast the corporeal origin of the body with the incorporeal origin of the soul, a common Philonic observation.[96] The final two lines draw a contrast between the senses and the mind by alluding to Plato's charioteer in *Phaedrus*, an allusion Philo himself makes repeatedly.[97] Another prayer affirms that God gave the Sabbath "for the sake of teaching for the joy of the number seven."[98] It is hard not to think of Philo's Neo-Pythagorean arithmological excurses on the number seven.[99] Finally, the prayers attest the same etymological understanding of Israel which Philo has, i.e., one who sees God.[100]

What should we make of this? The verbal echoes are not strong enough to posit literary dependence with confidence. The thematic associations, however, are so strong that I am tempted to argue for it. It is probably best to conclude that the Christian compiler knew a form of Judaism which closely approximates

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as the Jewish prayers. He does, however, acknowledge the Christian compiler's indebtedness to "Philo or a Philonic-type of thought" (p. 230). Cf. also Fiensy, "Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers," 2:673.

91 P 1 (*AC* 7.26.3 [5]). See also P 2 (*AC* 7.33.3 [9]); P 11 (*AC* 8.9.8 [3]); P 12 (*AC* 8.12.18 [43]; 8.12.25 [68–69]) and Philo, *Abr.* 5; *Mos.* 1.162.

92 P 3 (*AC* 7.34.6 [20–21]. There is a similar description in P 12 (*AC* 8.12.16–17 [36–40]).

93 P 3 (*AC* 7.34.6 [8]); P 8 (*AC* 7.39.2 [3]); P 12 (*AC* 8.12.16 [35]); P 16 (*AC* 8.41.4 [7]) and the Philonic references above.

94 Cf. also P 11 (*AC* 8.9.8 [2]); P 12 (*AC* 8.12.16 [35]).

95 Philo, *Post.* 58; *Plant.* 28; *Her.* 155–56. Cf. also *Opif.* 82; *Mos.* 2.135; *Aet.* 69. For analysis of Philo's thought see D. Winston, *Logos and Mystical Theology in Philo of Alexandria* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1985) 30–31.

96 For the specific language of line two see e.g., Philo, *Opif.* 146; *Decal.* 31; *Spec.* 1.294; *Aet.* 29; 4 Macc 12:13.

97 Philo, *Leg.* 1.73; 3.118, 128, 132, 134, 136, 223–24; *Sac.* 45, 49; *Agr.* 72–73; *Migr.* 67.

98 P 5 (*AC* 7.36.4–5, esp. 4 [14–19, esp. 15]).

99 E.g., Philo, *Opif.* 89–128.

100 P 5 (*AC* 7.36.2 [8]); P 13 (*AC* 8.15.7 [8]). On Israel in Philo see E. Birnbaum, "The Place of Judaism in Philo's Thought: Israel, Jews, and Proselytes," *SBLSP* 32 (1993) 54–69.

the Judaism that we find in Philo. There may, however, be other evidence which would support the presence of Philo's works in Syria as early as the second century CE.

Pagan Authors in Syria. There are three pagan authors from Syria who may have known some of Philo's treatises. The first is Numenius of Apamea who saw a fundamental unity between Hellenistic philosophy and sacred traditions in the East.[101] His interest in the latter led him to explore Judaism. We have at least seven fragments dealing with Judaism in one way or another.[102] Numenius' views in several of these lead us to think that he knew Philo's works. He maintained that the Judaism is compatible with Platonism (F 1b) and used allegory when interpreting Jewish scriptures (F 1b). He is the first witness to the famous aphorism: "For what is Plato but Moses speaking Attic?" (F 8). He also appears to have identified the τὸ ὄν ἀεί of Plato with the ὁ ὤν of Exod 3:14 (LXX) just as Philo had.[103] In another fragment he cites Gen 1:2 and a fragment of Hercleitus which Philo also knew.[104] FF 9 and 10 suggest that Numenius knew *The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres.*[105] While the evidence is not beyond debate, it appears that Numenius knew several Jewish works including some of Philo's.[106]

A second figure who may have come from Syria is Christianity's first major intellectual opponent, Celsus.[107] On several occasions the author of *The True Doctrine* criticized Jewish allegorical treatments of the Scriptures.[108] In the final reference Origen says: "I think that Celsus has heard that there are writings containing the allegories of the law." The Christian, however, doubts whether his pagan opponent has read them: "If he had read them, he would not have said, 'The allegories which seem to have been written about them are much more shameful and absurd than the myths since they associate things which can in no way be harmonized with some incredible and completely insensible foolishness.'" Origen goes on to suggest the authors Celsus has in mind: "He seems to say these things about the writings of Philo or of some earlier writers such as Aristobulus." Origen can not believe that Celsus has read these since their allegories would be

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101 I have used the edition of É. des Places, *Numénius: Fragments* (Collection des Universités de France; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1973). Cf. also *GLAJJ* CX.364–69. On Numenius' basic orientation see my "Platonizing Moses" 108–10.

102 The seven generally accepted are: F 1a (*GLAJJ* 364a), 1b (*GLAJJ* 364b), 8 (*GLAJJ* 363C), 9 (*GLAJJ* 365), 10a (*GLAJJ* 366=FF 1c and 10a), 13 (*GLAJJ* 369), 30 (*GLAJJ* 368), 56 (*GLAJJ* 367). D. T. Runia, "Witness or Participant? Philo and the Neoplatonic Tradition," *The Neoplatonic Tradition: Jewish, Christian and Islamic Themes* (ed. A. Vanderjagt and D. Pätzold; Dialecta minora 3; Köln: Dinter, 1991) 48–51, has mounted a case that F 15 may depend on Philonic thought.

103 F 13 and Philo, *Det.* 160 For details see my "Platonizing Moses" 109–10.

104 F 30 and Philo, *Leg.* 1.108. The citations are different.

105 So A. Pietersma, *The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres the Magicians: P. Chester Beatty XVI (with New Editions of Papyrus Vindobonensis Greek inv. 29456 + 29828verso and British Library Cotton Tiberius B. vf. 87)* (Religions in the Greco-Roman World 119; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994) 24–25.

106 For bibliography see Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature* 8–9.

107 I have used the edition of *GLAJJ* CXIII.375. Cf. also J. Hoffmann, *Celsus, On* The True Doctrine*: A Discourse Against the Christians* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University, 1987), who provides an ET.

108 Origen, *Ag. Cel.* 1.17; 4.48, 50, 51. I have used the edition of M. Borret, *Origen, Contre Celse* (Sources chrétiennes 132, 136, 147, 150, 227; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1967).

convincing even to a Hellene. He cites as an example Numenius who quotes Moses and interprets him allegorically.[109] Whether Celsus read Philo or not, he knows about either Philo's works or a similar enterprise.[110] In either case, we have a pagan witness to a Philonic form of Judaism.

The third example is unambiguous. Heliodorus, the author of the *Aethiopica*, cites Philo almost verbatim.[111] Here are the texts. I have underlined the common vocabulary.

Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* 9.9	**Philo, *Mos.* 2.195**
	τῆς γὰρ χώρας οὐκ ὑετῷ
	καθάπερ αἱ ἄλλαι νιφομένης,
	ἀλλὰ ταῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλημμύραις
	εἰωθυίας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος λιμνάζεσθαι,
θεοπλαστοῦσι	θεοπλαστοῦσι τῷ λόγῳ
τὸν Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτιοι,	τὸν Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτιοι
καὶ κρειττόνων τὸν μέγιστον ἄγουσιν,	
ἀντίμιον οὐρανοῦ τὸν ποταμὸν	ὡς ἀντίμιον οὐρανοῦ γεγονότα
σεμνηγοροῦντες,	καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας σεμνηγοροῦσιν.
οἵα δὴ δίχα νεφώσεων	
καὶ ὑετῶν ἀερίων	
τὴν ἀρουμένην αὐτοῖς ἄρδοντα	
καὶ εἰς ἔτος ἀεὶ	
τεταγμένως ἐπομβρίζοντα.	

There can be no doubt that Heliodorus read Philo's *De vita Mosis*.[112] The fact that there is this much evidence from pagan authors in Syria stretching from the first half of the second century CE until the middle of the fourth century CE suggests to me that Philo's works were in circulation outside of Christian circles during these centuries. This would also explain the similarities in the Hellenistic Synagogue Prayers.

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109 Origen, *Ag. Cel.* 4.51. For the contrast between Celsus and Numenius see also 1.15.

110 Origen can be quite critical of Celsus as an interpreter. See J. A. Oschwald, "The Self-Evident Truth: Scripture and Apology in the *Contra Celsum* of Origen," (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1993) 148–64.

111 I have used the edition of I. Bekker, *Heliodori Aethiopicorum* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1855). All that we know about him is in the postscript where he tells us that he is a Phoenician from Emesa, the son of Theodosius (10.41). Some have argued that Heliodorus was a Christian based on ancient *testimonia*. For recent advocates see G. N. Sandy, *Heliodorus* (Boston: Twayne, 1982) 1–5 and A. Hilhorst, "Was Philo Read by Pagans? The Statement on Heliodorus in Socrates *Hist. Eccl.* 5.22," *SPhA* 4 (1992) 75–77. I find this unconvincing. Christians claimed many authors including another novelist, Achilles Tatius. I think that this legend is simply another example of anachronistic adoption. So also B. E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances: A Literary-historical Account of Their Origins* (Sather Classical Lectures 37; Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California, 1967) 100–01, 107–08; T. Hägg, *The Novel in Antiquity* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California, 1983) 59; and J. R. Morgan, "Heliodorus, *An Ethiopian Story*," *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (ed. B. P. Reardon; Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California, 1989) 352.

112 For the history of this identification see D. T. Runia, "How to Search Philo," *SPhA* 2 (1990) 134–39.

Asia Minor

We only have one literary work which we can place among the important Jewish communities of Asia Minor, *Sibylline Oracles* 1–2.[113] The most interesting aspect of these oracular poems is the inclusion of lines from Pseudo-Phocylides.[114] These apparently first circulated in a Jewish context before their incorporation into the *Sib. Or.* by a Christian. Their circulation in Asia Minor suggests that there were Jews there who shared the "common ethic" perspective of their fellow Jews in Egypt.

Rome

Eusebius preserves a legend that towards the end of Philo's tenure in Rome where he was serving on the Jewish embassy, he read a copy of his Περὶ Ἀρετῶν to the Roman senate who were so moved by the power of his exposé of Caligula that they had a copy of his works deposited in the libraries of Rome.[115] While this is not completely out of bounds, it appears to be an example of Eusebius' efforts to magnify a figure he considered to be "an early Christian." What literary evidence do we have for Judaism in Rome?[116]

Caecilius of Calacte. The first Jewish author about whom we have any evidence is Caecilius of Calacte who is primarily known for his role in the Atticistic movement.[117] The *Suda* tells us that he was "a Sicilian. A Calactinian. A rhetor who was active in Rome at the time of Augustus . . . He descended from slaves—so some say. He was formerly known as Archagathos and is Jewish in religion . . ." (T 1). Although his association with Judaism largely stands or falls with this single *testimonium*, I can see no reason for the invention of the tradition.[118] Since we only have a couple of fragments, there is no basis for comparison of the *was*; there are, however, a couple of points which we might make about the *das* of Caecilius.[119] It is worth noting that a Jewish rhetor had made his way into the same circle as Dionysius of Halicarnassus (T 3). This means that Jews had a voice in at least one high literary circle in Rome during the principate of Augustus.

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113 The original Jewish layer probably comes from Phyrgia (1.196–98, 261–67). On the Jewish communities of Asia Minor see P. R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (SNTSMS 69; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1991).

114 *Sib. Or.* 2.56–148 contain Pseudo-Phocylides 5–79.

115 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.18.8.

116 On the Jewish community in Rome see H. J. Leon, *The Jews of Ancient Rome* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1960).

117 I have used the edition of F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (3 vols. in 16 parts; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1923–69) 183 (hereafter abbreviated *FGrH*).

118 So also W. R. Roberts, "Caecilius of Calacte," *American Journal of Philology* 18 (1897) 310; Leon, *The Jews of Ancient Rome* 15–16, who thinks that he was a proselyte; Revised Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* 3:701–04; Stern, *GLAJJ* 1:566.

119 The list of his works in T 1 is problematic. See the discusions in Roberts, "Caecilius of Calacte" 303–04, who accepts the historical works as authentic, and the Revised Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* 3:701–02, who thinks that the historical works were composed by the earlier *quaestor* of the same name.

Pseudo-Longinus, On the Sublime. Nor did this voice go unheard. A later author reacted to Caecilius' work on sublimity by writing one of his own.[120] Within this work we have a clear citation of the biblical text, a most unusual occurrence in ancient pagan literature.[121] Where did the author learn about the Jewish Scriptures? Caecilius is certainly an obvious answer.[122] If this were the only piece of Jewish material in the work, I think most would concur. However, there are a significant number of other statements which echo Jewish sentiments, especially those of Philo. These have led to an extended debate over the identity of the author and the nature of the allusions.[123] The strongest case can be made in the speech of the philosopher (44.1–5). What I find particularly intriguing about this speech is that a section of it closely parallels a statement from Philo's *De ebrietate.* I have set the texts out for comparison.

Philo, *Ebr.* 198	**Pseudo-Longinus, *Subl.* 9.1-5**
Ἐγὼ δ' οὐ τεθαύμακα	θαῦμά μ' ἔχει (44.1)
εἰ πεφορημένος καὶ μιγὰς ὄχλος,	Cf. the many (44.1)
ἐθῶν καὶ νόμων τῶν ὁπωσοῦν	οἱ δὲ νῦν ἐοίκαμεν ἔφη παιδομαθεῖς
εἰσηγμένων ἀκλεὴς δοῦλος,	εἶναι δουλείας δικαίας,
ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔτι σπαργάνων ὑπακούειν	τοῖς αὐτῆς ἔθεσι καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασιν
ὡς ἂν δεσποτῶν ἢ τυράννων ἐκμαθών	ἐξ ἁπαλῶν ἔτι φρονημάτων
	μόνοι οὐκ ἐνεσπαργανωμένοι (44.3)
κατακεκονδυλισμένος τὴν ψυχήν . . .	ὑπὸ συνηθείας ἀεὶ κεκονδυλισμένον (4.4)

Three things impress me about these lines. First, every line of Philo's has a parallel in Pseudo-Longinus. Second, the lines are in sequence in both texts. Third, there are a number of verbal echoes, most significantly the allusion to "swaddling clothes" and "being knuckled under."[124] The other parallels in the speech are thematic, e.g, there are only a few good[125] or the praise of democracy.[126] We find these same types of parallels elsewhere in the work.[127]

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120 I have used the edition of A. O. Prickard, *Libellus de sublimitate Dionysio Longino: Fere adscriptus* (OCT; Oxford: Clarendon, 1906). Cf. also *GLAJJ* LIV.148. References to Caecilius' work are: 1.1; 4.2; 8.1, 4; 31.1; 32.1, 8. Cf. also 2.3; 29.1; 36.3.

121 Ps.-Longinus, *Subl.* 9.9 citing Gen 1:3 and paraphrasing v. 9.

122 So Roberts, "Caecelius of Calacte" 310 and Revised Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* 3:702–03, who hints at this.

123 For views and bibliography see J. Gager, *Moses in Graeco-Roman Paganism* (SBLMS 16; Nashville/New York: Abingdon, 1972) 56–63; Stern, *GLAJJ* 1:362–63; and L. H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1993) 533 n. 21.

124 Philo uses σπάργανον in a fixed rhetorical phrase to mean "from the cradle." Cf. *Sacr.* 15; *Ebr.* 51; *Sobr.* 24; *Somn.* 1.151; 2.9; *Abr.* 112; *Mos.* 1.88; *Spec.* 1.313, 332; 2.239; 4.68, 150; *Prob.* 98; *Legat.* 54, 115, 170. Κατακονδυλίζω (κονδυλίζω in Pseudo-Longinus) is a hapax legomenon in both works.

125 Pseudo-Longinus, *Subl.* 44.1 and Philo, *Leg.* 1.102; *Gig.* 1–3; *Migr.* 59–63; *Mut.* 34, 256; *Abr.* 19; *Prob.* 72. Philo does not lament the lack of good literary authors as Pseudo-Longinus, but the absence of virtuous people.

126 Pseudo-Longinus, *Subl.* 44.2 and Philo, *Deus*176; *Agr.* 45; *Conf.* 108; *Abr.* 242; *Spec.* 4.237; *Virt.* 180.

127 For a convenient list see J. A.. Arieti and J. M. Crossett, *Longinus*, On the Sublime (Texts and Studies in Religion 21; New York/Toronto: Edwin Mellen, 1985) 254–56.

What should we make of them? The literary critic either knows some of Philo's treatises or works very similar to them. On the balance I am inclined to the former.

Josephus. I am disposed to lean toward direct dependence because we are virtually certain that Philo's works were in Rome in the first century CE. We know this since there is now a consensus that Josephus used Philo's treatises.[128] I will offer but one illustration. I distinctly remember the first time I read Philo's *De opificio mundi.* Since I read Philo after Josephus, I found myself recalling Josephus' retelling of creation on repeated occasions.[129] Here is the most impressive.

Josephus, *Ant.* 1.21-24	**Philo, *Opif.* 1-3**
21Moses, having wished to instruct	
his fellow citizens with this instruction,	
did not begin the setting out of the laws	2He did not immediately suggest
with contracts and mutual obligations	what must be done or its opposite
like others have;	nor—since it was necessary to prepare
	the minds of those who would use the laws–
	did he fashion myths
	or concur with those composed by others.
rather, he led their intellects	
to God and the construction of the cosmos.	
He persuaded them that,	
of the creations on earth,	
humans are the most beautiful.	
When he had them obedient to piety,	
he easily persuaded them about all else.	
22For other legislators,	1Of other legislators,
	some have set out
	what is considered just among them
	unadorned and bare,
	while others have surrounded
	their thoughts with great bombast
	and have deluded the multitudes
following myths,	by concealing the truth with mythic fictions.
have transferred the shame	
of human mistakes to the gods	
in their accounts,	
thus giving evil persons a great excuse.	
23But our legislator,	2But Moses, surpassing both–
	the one as unreflective, superficial,
	and unphilosophical;
	the other as false and full of quakery–
	composed a most beautiful

128 For bibliography see L. H. Feldman, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship (1937–1980)* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1984) 410–18, 936–37.

129 For Josephus' creation account see T. W. Franxman, *Genesis and the "Jewish Antiquities" of Flavius Josephus* (BibOr 35; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1979) 37–46.

and dignified beginning to the laws. . .

having declared that
God possesses virtue in its pure form,
thought that humans should
attempt to share in it
and punished unmercifully
those who do not think or believe this.
24I urge my readers to consider (my work)
from this perspective.
For nothing will appear
unreasonable or out of sync
with the majesty of God
and philanthropy (of humans)
to those who examine it in this way.

3But the beginning, just as I have said,
is astounding.
It contains the construction of the cosmos,
For everything possesses a disposition implying that the cosmos harmonizes
with the law
in harmony with the nature of the universe. and the law with the cosmos;
likewise the law-abiding man
is immediately a world-citizen,
governing his actions by the will of nature,
according to which
the entire cosmos is managed.

Our legislator skillfully sets out
some things in enigmas,
seriously allegorizes others,
but whatever can be said directly,
he sets out literally.

The issue is not whether Josephus quoted Philo, but whether he paraphrased him. I am convinced that he did. Josephus described Philo as "a most illustrious man, the brother of Alexander the alabarch, and not without skill in philosophy."[130] It is possible that Josephus learned of Philo's works while visiting Alexandria.[131] This, however, does not seem as likely as his encounter with them in Rome.

Plotinus. The final figure in Rome whom we need to mention is the founder of Neoplatonism. As was the case with other pagan authors who may have known Philo's treatises, Plotinus' use of the Jewish exegete has been debated with rigour. A. H. Armstrong opened the discussion by arguing that Plotinus knew and used Philo's works for his understanding of νοῦς and λόγος.[132] John Rist

130 Josephus, *Ant.* 18.259.

131 Josephus, *Life* 415–16.

132 A. H. Armstrong, *The Architecture of the Intelligible Universe in the Philosophy of Plotinus: An Analytical and Historical Study* (Cambridge Classical Studies; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1940; reprint ed., Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1967) 70–74, 107–8.

took strong exception to this, categorically denying the possible use of Philo.[133] More recently David Runia has returned to the question and argued that Plotinus did know Philo, perhaps indirectly through the works of Numenius.[134] In this instance the issues can only be adjudicated by a specialist. My own casual reading of Plotinus leads me to concur with Armstrong and Runia. As was the case with Josephus, so here we can not be certain where Plotinus encountered Philo's works. Since he was educated in Alexandria, he may have come across them there. On the other hand, he certainly knew the works of Numenius in Rome: he was accused of plagirizing them.[135] Wherever and however he encountered them, he was familiar with a Jewish understanding of reality similar to that of Philo.

Conclusions

Was Philo a recluse whose life and work were only known to a few? More importantly, if he was, does this seclusion mean that his works only open a small closet in ancient Judaism? Or were his works in circulation? If they were, does their acceptance suggest that they are a window into a much larger world? The evidence which we have collected suggests the latter is much nearer the mark. Although the limits of the evidence at our disposal makes our conclusions tentative, I would argue for the following.

There is evidence to suggest that some of Philo's treatises began circulating in Egypt, Syria, and Rome within Jewish and pagan circles during the first and second centuries CE. All of the Roman evidence is from elite circles (Pseudo-Longinus, Josephus, and Plotinus). This is not true, however, for Syria and Egypt where Christian liturgists who were drawing from Jewish sources (Hellenistic Synagogue Prayers) and a Jewish sect (2 Enoch) used some of his works.

Even if such a reading is considered a maximalist view, the minimalist position must still be that Philo's works illuminate the Judaism of these locales where parallel views were held. If we expand our scope to include the works which do not have any close agreements, the minimalist position becomes firmer yet. Philo shares exegetical traditions with *T. Jos.*, *2 Enoch* (if there is no literary dependence), and the *Lives of the Prophets.* He clearly knows the apologetic tradition represented by Cleodemus, Eupolemus, and Justus, even if he modifies it. The two areas where he shares the most significant common ground with the works we have examined are in cosmology—especially anthropology—and ethics. This suggests that there are some areas where Philo is more representative than others. My hunch is that as the degree of his intellectual sophistication rises, the representative nature of his treatises falls.

We should remember, however, that there were other Hellenistically sophisticated Jewish authors outside of Alexandria. We have noted Justus, the author of 4 Maccabees, Caecilius, and Josephus. The presence of such people in

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133 J. Rist, *Plotinus: The Road to Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1967) 101.

134 Runia, "Witness or Participant?" esp. 50–51 and *idem, Philo in Early Christian Literature* 9–11, esp. 11.

135 Porphyry, *Life Plot.* 14, 17.

other Jewish communities means that Philo was not a solitary figure. We should not consider his writings such.[136]

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136 I want to thank the Association of Theological Schools for a grant which made the research for this paper possible.

A Jewish Christian Reads Luke's Acts of the Apostles: The Use of the Canonical Acts in the Ancient Jewish Christian Source behind Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* 1.27–71

F. Stanley Jones
California State University, Long Beach

I. Introduction

The modern debate about Christian origins began with the rediscovery of early Jewish Christianity.[1] In particular, Epiphanius's remarks about Jewish Christian acts of the apostles[2] helped spark the initial investigation of the ancient

[1] The historical significance of early Jewish Christianity was first highlighted not by F. C. Baur (contra a current widespread opinion) but rather by John Toland. See particularly Toland's *Nazarenus: or, Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity* (London: J. Brown, J. Roberts, and J. Brotherton, 1718). This contribution by Toland has found some recent recognition by Francis Schmidt, "John Toland: Critique Déiste de la Littérature Apocryphe," *Apocrypha: Revue Internationale des Littératures Apocryphes* 1 (1990):119–45, p. 145: "il est le véritable inventeur du judéo-christianisme." It has been belittled by Werner Georg Kümmel, *The New Testament: The History of the Investigation of Its Problems* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1972), 54, and perhaps for that reason has gone without mention in William Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, vol. 1: *From Deism to Tübingen* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 39–41, despite the relevance of the subtitle and despite an otherwise praiseworthy effort to evaluate the significance of the Deists (and their associates) for the history of New Testament research. A noteworthy attempt to redress the neglect of the English contribution to the foundations of modern biblical criticism is Henning Graf Reventlow, *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World*, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985). With regard to Toland's *Nazarenus*, Reventlow, ibid., p. 574 n. 149, at least straightforwardly speaks of "the significance of this writing for the history of theology." Anyone who has difficulty reading Toland and grasping his importance is encouraged to consider the judgment of Emanuel Hirsch, *Geschichte der neuern evangelischen Theologie*, 5th ed., vol. 1 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1975), 305: "Und was auch an Überspitzung, Fehlgriff und Verwirrung sich in Tolands Beobachtungen und Fragestellungen einmischt, er hat sowohl für die Kanonsgeschichte wie für die des Urchristentums die Bedeutung eines neuen Einsatzes mit fruchtbaren und erregenden neuen Gesichtspunkten. Daß keine einzige Frage wirklich durchgeklärt und abgeschlossen ist, fällt demgegenüber nicht ins Gewicht."

[2] Here is a translation of the passage in the *Panarion*:

(30.16.6) "They call other acts 'of the apostles.' In these there is much that is full of impiety. There they armed themselves against the truth in no minor way. (7) Now they set out certain steps and guides in the Steps of James (*Anabathmoi Jakobou*) as if he expounds against the temple and sacrifices and against the fire on the altar and many other things full of babble. (8) Hence, they are not ashamed of denouncing even Paul here through certain contrived falsehoods of their pseudoapostles' villainy and deceit. They say, on the one hand, that he

Jewish Christian perspective.[3] During the last century, speculation about a supposed source of the *Pseudo-Clementines* entitled the *Kerygmata Petrou*[4] has obscured the straightforward evidence the *Pseudo-Clementines* contain for these Jewish Christian acts of the apostles and for reconstruction of Jewish Christian viewpoints in the ancient debate about Christian origins. One result of recent Pseudo-Clementine studies is that the postulation of a source called the *Kerygmata Petrou* is unnecessary.[5] The literary layers of the *Pseudo-Clementines* are

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was a Tarsian, as he himself declares and does not deny. On the other hand, they assert that he was from the Greeks by taking a pretext in the passage spoken by him through love of the truth, 'I am a Tarsian, a citizen of no ignoble city' (Acts 21:39). (9) Then they say that he was a Greek, the child of both a Greek mother and a Greek father, that he went to Jerusalem and remained there a while, that he desired to marry a priest's daughter, that for this reason he became a proselyte and was circumcised, that when he still did not receive such a girl he became angry and wrote against circumcision and against the Sabbath and the law."

In my judgment, Epiphanius is referring here primarily to two writings: (1) the *Anabathmoi Jakobou* (summarized in *Panarion* 30.16.7–9) and (2) R 1.27–71 as found in the Pseudo-Clementine Basic Writing (included in the statement in *Panarion* 30.16.6).

3 Toland cites the passage in *Nazarenus*, 34–35.

4 Hans Joachim Schoeps's *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1949), must unfortunately be said to present the height of this speculation. He made the conjectured *Kerygmata Petrou* a main (and decisive) source for his history of Jewish Christianity; later he stated his wish to abandon the speculative reconstruction as the basis of his presentation (*Jewish Christianity: Factional Disputes in the Early Church*, trans. Douglas R. A. Hare [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969], 16), but he did not carry out this task consistently. Scholarship has been left with a large and daunting presentation of Jewish Christianity that has failed to win general accord and that has been undermined by the author himself. The need for a balanced and comprehensive overview of Jewish Christianity is actually so pressing as to be palpable. The flaws (actual and purported) in Schoeps's monumental study have left the impression that this is a huge task that can hardly be performed; I believe that this impression is incorrect.

Perhaps as a consequence, the *Pseudo-Clementines* themselves are not seldom currently being treated as something of a black box out of which the most amazing evidence for ancient views can be drawn.

5 Among recent scholars who have abandoned the thesis of a source entitled *Kerygmata Petrou* are Han J. W. Drijvers, "Adam and the True Prophet in the Pseudo-Clementines," in *Loyalitätskonflikte in der Religionsgeschichte: Festschrift für Carsten Colpe*, ed. Christoph Elsas, Hans G. Kippenberg, et al., 314–23 (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1990), 321, and Josep Rius-Camps, "Las Pseudoclementinas: Bases Filológicas para una Nueva Interpretación," *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 1 (1976):79–158, p. 147. Howard M. Teeple, *The Prophet in the Clementines*, Religion and Ethics Institute Occasional Papers 2 (Evanston, IL: Religion and Ethics Institute, 1993), 19, latches onto the older tradition in scholarship that rejected the postulation of a source called the *Kerygmata Petrou*; the early proponents of this position are reviewed in F. Stanley Jones, "The Pseudo-Clementines: A History of Research," *The Second Century* 2 (1982):1–33, 63–96, p. 16 with nn. 98–99 (reprinted in *Studies in Early Christianity*, vol. 2: *Literature of the Early Church*, ed. Everett Ferguson, 195–262 [New York and London: Garland, 1993]); they were followed by John Chapman, "On the Date of the Clementines," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 9 (1908):21–34, 147–59, pp. 147–49, who influenced Eduard Schwartz, "Unzeitgemäße Beobachtungen zu den Clementinen," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 31 (1932):151–99, pp. 179–81, who in turn passed on his view to his student Bernhard Rehm, "Zur Entstehung der pseudoclementinischen Schriften," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 37 (1938):77–184, p. 146; a negative attitude was expressed also by Joseph Thomas, "Les Ébionites Baptistes," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 30 (1934):257–96, p. 292; compare also Lucien Cerfaux, "Le Vrai Prophète des Clémentines," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 18 (1928):143–63.

instead readily identifiable through study of the Basic Writing and its two independent redactions, the *Recognitions* (= R) and the *Homilies* (= H), and through isolation of a few distinctive sources of the Basic Writing.[6] One of these sources is a Jewish Christian "acts of the apostles" found in R 1.27–71. The distinctiveness of this material in genre and in its unified system of beliefs is so striking that there is actually a virtual consensus about its being a special source. While awareness of this source reaches quite far back in Pseudo-Clementine studies, this consensus has been heavily obscured by the sometimes strident debate over the *Kerygmata Petrou*, of which R 1.27–71 has often been considered a (secondarily added) part. Once the hypothesis of a *Kerygmata Petrou* is dropped, the Jewish Christian "acts of the apostles" quickly steps forward as a distinctive source in its own right, perhaps as historically the most important source of the *Pseudo-Clementines*. In any event, reexamination of the relationship between this source[7] and Luke's Acts of the Apostles provides some useful parameters for the question of the intertextual relations between Acts and the non-canonical acts of the apostles.

This study will proceed, first, by briefly reviewing past research on the relationship between R 1.27–71 and Acts. Then, the intertextual situation will be explored by listing and evaluating the passages where there is agreement between Acts and R 1 (in the order of strength of correspondences). In a third step, inquiry will be made into the larger significance of the intertextual relations.

My work began with "The Pseudo-Clementines: A History of Research" and has issued most recently in *An Ancient Jewish Christian Source on the History of Christianity: Pseudo-Clementine* Recognitions *1.27–71*, Texts and Translations 37, Christian Apocrypha Series 2 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1995). My comprehensive introduction to the *Pseudo-Clementines*, which addresses the question of the *Kerygmata Petrou*, will appear in Robert Funk's forthcoming *New Testament Apocrypha*; terse accounts are found in "Pseudo-Clementines," in *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, ed. E. Ferguson et al., 768–69, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities 846 (New York and London: Garland, 1990), and "Clementines, Pseudo-," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. D. N. Freedman, vol. 1: 1061–62 (New York: Doubleday, 1992).

6 These include Bardaisan's *Book of the Laws of the Countries*, the *Book of Elchasai*, Justin Martyr, the *Acts of Peter*, and the *Syntagma* of Hippolytus. More work is needed on the origin of the philosophical and mythological materials.

7 I delimit the source as consisting of R 1.27.1–32.4, 34.1–44.1, 53.4–71.6. For brevity's sake, this essay employs various circumlocutions for this source, such as: the source, the source of R 1.27–71, the source of R 1, R 1.27–71, R 1, etc. The reference is always to the postulated written source of R 1.27.1–32.4, 34.1–44.1, 53.4–71.6, unless otherwise specified.
Complete English translations of the Latin and Syriac of R 1.27–71 (also an English rendering of the preserved Armenian fragments) are found in Jones, *An Ancient Jewish Christian Source*, 52–109.

II. Brief History of Research (Explored Possibilities of Interpretation)

A key to the history of research on the relationship of R 1 to Acts[8] is found in the work of R. A. Lipsius. While Lipsius thought that R 1 derived from old Ebionite *Acts of Peter*, in his several studies he wavered on whether this source was dependent on Acts or vice versa. At different times he chose each option.[9]

As Lipsius's thesis of Ebionite *Acts of Peter* began to disintegrate or fell into oblivion, the view that R 1 is dependent on Acts started to gain strength and eventually achieved dominance.[10] Not much was said, however, about how this dependency is to be conceived. On the one hand, Eduard Schwartz discarded all connections between the *Pseudo-Clementines* and Jewish Christianity and, to explain the differing perspective of the *Pseudo-Clementines*, applied instead the intriguing concept of ψευδὴς ἱστορία, which twisted authoritative traditions (such as Acts in R 1) to create a sensation and gain attention and approbation

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8 This review is limited to research on the relationship between R 1 and Acts. For a general history of investigations into R 1, see Jones, *An Ancient Jewish Christian Source*, 1–38. For a review of research into the broader questions of Pseudo-Clementine studies, see Jones, "The Pseudo-Clementines: A History of Research."

9 In Richard Adelbert Lipsius, review of *Die clementinischen Schriften mit besonderer Rücksicht auf ihr literarisches Verhältniss*, by Johannes Lehmann, *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung für das evangelische Deutschland* 16 (1869):477–82, col. 481, he states that Acts already knew the old *Acts of Peter*, whereas in *Die Quellen der römischen Petrus-Sage* (Kiel: Schwers'sche Buchhandlung, 1872), 28 n. 1, he says that the old *Acts of Peter* seem to have known Acts. In "Petrus nicht in Rom," *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 1876, pp. 561–645, p. 627, Lipsius again suggests that the old *Acts of Peter* were of influence on the first chapters of Acts. As is apparent from the last reference, Lipsius was influenced in the formulation of this perspective by A. Hilgenfeld, whose point of view was in turn influenced by F. C. Baur (the tradition extends on back to J. Toland), though these last scholars were not very explicit in their postulation that Acts was dependent on material preserved in R 1.

10 So Schwartz, "Unzeitgemäße Beobachtungen zu den Clementinen," 184, Rehm, "Zur Entstehung der pseudoclementinischen Schriften," 146, Georg Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 70, 2d ed., rev. (Berlin: Akademie, 1981), 253, Scott Kent Brown, *James: A Religio-Historical Study of the Relations between Jewish, Gnostic, and Catholic Christianity in the Early Period through an Investigation of the Traditions about James the Lord's Brother* (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1972), 225–30, J. Louis Martyn, "Clementine Recognitions 1,33–71, Jewish Christianity, and the Fourth Gospel," in *God's Christ and His People: Studies in Honour of Nils Alstrup Dahl*, ed. Jacob Jervell and Wayne A. Meeks, 265–95 (Oslo, Bergen, and Tromsö: Universitetsforlaget, 1977), 273, 279–83, Gerd Lüdemann *Paulus, der Heidenapostel*, vol. 2: *Antipaulinismus im frühen Christentum*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 130 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 242–43 with n. 50 (translated by M. Eugene Boring, under the title *Opposition to Paul in Jewish Christianity* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989], 181, 300 n. 50), and Robert Van Voorst, The Ascents of James: *History and Theology of a Jewish-Christian Community*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 112 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989), 79 n. 4. See already Eduard Zeller, *Die Apostelgeschichte nach ihrem Inhalt und Ursprung kritisch untersucht* (Stuttgart: Carl Mäcken, 1854), 60–64 (translated by Joseph Dare, under the title *The Contents and Origin of the Acts of the Apostles, Critically Investigated*, 2 vols. [London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1875–76], 1:149–53).

from a literary Christian public.[11] On the other hand and along more traditional lines, S. K. Brown described the source of R 1 as "a tract used for propaganda purposes which included combatting the Lucan interpretation of early Christian history."[12] J. L. Martyn similarly ventured to reflect briefly on the strange "image of a Jewish Christian drawing upon Acts as he pens his own sketch of church history" and concluded that R 1 "intends radically to correct Acts, perhaps even to replace it."[13]

Despite the dominance of this position, Lipsius's other option, that Acts is dependent on the source of R 1, has survived and has been bequeathed with minor adjustments to the contemporary generation (and the English-language reader) by H. J. Schoeps. Schoeps agreed, on the one hand, that the Ebionite acts of the apostles (preserved in part in R 1 and originally written in Aramaic) knew the canonical Acts,[14] but, on the other hand, he suggested the Ebionites acts also had access to a special tradition that shared a common root with Acts.[15] Schoeps correctly emphasized that this last perspective has some fundamental implications for the interpretation of the canonical Acts; it opens into unexplored and intriguing dimensions of criticism, which explains in part why Lipsius's spirit on this point refuses to rest. Thus after Schoeps, Karlmann Beyschlag again argued that R 1 was unacquainted with the canonical Acts and was dependent rather on pre-Lukan traditions.[16] Another version of this perspective has been advocated by Leslie Kline: Acts and R 1 are dependent on a "testimony book."[17] This point of view also contemplates common dependency of Acts and R 1 on an older third witness.

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11 "Unzeitgemäße Beobachtungen zu den Clementinen," 196, 184–85; cf. 182, 187–88. For this tradition of writing one thinks particularly of Ctesias, on whom see Schwartz's remarks in his *Fünf Vorträge über den griechischen Roman* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1898), 72–94. As later examples, Schwartz, "Unzeitgemäße Beobachtungen zu den Clementinen," 182, mentions Dictys Cretensis, Dares of Phrygia, and Dio Chrysostomus 11.

12 *James: A Religio-Historical Study*, 231.

13 "Clementine Recognitions 1,33–71," 273. Martyn also writes here, "Strict Jewish Christians of the second century must surely have considered the canonical Acts to be a horribly misleading, perhaps even a pernicious book, worthy of nothing so much as thorough refutation." Note that Toland, *Nazarenus*, 34, already stated that the Ebionites rejected Acts "as a spurious piece."

14 *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, 439.

15 *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, 435, 440–45. The English version of Schoeps's opinion is found in his *Jewish Christianity*, 44–46.

16 "Das Jakobusmartyrium und seine Verwandten in der frühchristlichen Literatur," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 56 (1965):149–78, pp. 155–56, 162–65. A point by point response to Beyschlag's thesis that the source was unacquainted with Acts is found in Brown, *James: A Religio-Historical Study*, 225–28. To what degree Beyschlag himself has maintained his own (radical) position is unclear; in *Simon Magus und die christliche Gnosis*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 16 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1974), 59 n. 114, he was already retreating from the consequences of his investigations and described his conclusions pertaining to the tradition about Simon Magus in the 1965 article as "zu weitgehend."

17 Leslie L. Kline, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 14 (Missoula, MT: Scholars' Press, 1975), 148–49.

In sum of the history of research, there is a broad consensus that there are significant parallels between Acts and R 1. Essentially two theories have been put forward to explain the parallels: (1) dependency of R 1 on Acts and (2) common dependency of Acts and R 1 on an earlier source. In retrospect on the secondary literature, it is noticeable that there has been very little detailed textual discussion that actually *argues* (rather than simply explicates) the case for dependency in one particular way.[18] The absence of detailed textual discussion seems to explain why the indecisive spirit of Lipsius (on this matter) still haunts scholarship. Can a case be made that proves (i.e., makes most probable) one of the proposed literary relationships? Help may be found in redaction criticism (new since the time of Lipsius), for the presence of redactional elements of one witness in the other provides the strongest evidence for the determination of literary relationships.[19]

III. The Literary Parallels between the Canonical Acts and R 1

A. Preliminary Note

Comparison of R 1.27–71 with the canonical Acts can unfortunately not rely on the original Greek of the *Recognitions*, which is still lost. The ancient Latin and Syriac versions of R 1 must be used instead. This means that the comparison can often not be perfectly precise, particularly because each translator of R 1 tended to modify the account in the direction of the biblical text.[20] Nevertheless, given

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[18] Compare the somewhat similar finding last year of J. Hills on the discussion about the relationship between Acts and the *Acts of Paul* (Julian V. Hills, "The Acts of the Apostles in the *Acts of Paul*," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1994 Seminar Papers*, ed. Eugene H. Lovering, Jr., 24–54, Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Paper Series 33 [Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1994], 28). In the case of Acts and R 1, more parallels have been isolated, but work toward actual scientific resolution of the problem is similarly neglected and more difficult because the possibility that Acts might be dependent on the tradition behind the source of R 1 must also be contemplated (something Hills did not feel to be necessary for the *Acts of Paul* and hence for him shared distinctive wording was indicative of the dependency of the *Acts of Paul* on Acts). This note has been added, on the one hand, in appreciation of Hills's work and, on the other hand, in an attempt to clarify further the methodology that must be invoked to advance the discussion.

The hypothesis that Christian apocrypha might contain traditions (or even be writings) upon which writings in the New Testament are dependent is, of course, a contemporary one that is turning matters topsy-turvy, first of all in apocryphal studies and then with unimagined force in conventional studies of the New Testament (witness the *Gospel of Thomas*, the *Secret Gospel of Mark*, etc.). It is worth pointing out that this hypothesis (and its attendant excitement) has accompanied the study of R 1 from the days of Lipsius onward.

[19] Virtually no commentaries on Acts have contemplated the possibility that Acts might be dependent on a tradition preserved also (and better) in R 1. Thus, decisions in the commentaries about Lukan redaction in the shared material cannot be adopted in this paper without further consideration of the possibility of common dependency on an older source.

[20] See Jones, *An Ancient Jewish Christian Source*, 47–48. Rufinus, the Latin translator, was best acquainted with a type of Old Latin text of Acts, whereas the unknown Syriac translator probably knew a lost Old Syriac translation of Acts. There is new evidence for dating the Syriac translation of the *Recognitions*, which was made definitely before 411 CE, the date of the oldest manuscript: Ephraem's *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 21.5 is a virtual verbatim citation of R 1.41.3 (Syriac); the *Commentary* 16.22 also knows R 1.54.2. Thus, it is no longer only the disputed second appendix to

the fact that past research has relied almost exclusively on the Latin translation alone,[21] consistent comparison with the Syriac should provide greater precision than has been attained up to now.[22]

B. Most Secure Instances

Three passages provide considerable security about the existence of a literary relationship between Luke's Acts and the source of R 1.27–71.

1. In R 1.65.2–3 Gamaliel calms down the assembled crowd of Jews with words that are very similar to Acts 5:34–39. In common are the figure Gamaliel, the address, "Men, Israelites,"[23] and the contrast of something of human origin that

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the *Commentary* but now also the body of the work itself that witness to the Syriac translation of the *Pseudo-Clementines*. Despite the fact that some concern has been raised over the genuineness of the *Commentary*, it may now be suggested that the Syriac translation derives from around the year 365 CE, which takes one back a few more years than P. de Lagarde's conjecture of 380 CE. These remarks advance my discussion of the date of the Syriac translation(s) in "Evaluating the Latin and Syriac Translations of the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions*," *Apocrypha: Revue Internationale des Littératures Apocryphes* 3 (1992):237–57, pp. 239–40.

21 See the discussion and references in Jones, "Evaluating the Latin and Syriac Translations," 242–46.

22 My summaries of the passages in R 1 will reflect primarily the shared wording of the Latin and the Syriac. Reference to an element found in only one version indicates that I consider that element to be original to the lost Greek; I have generally taken a minimalist approach to the correspondences. Reconstruction of the lost Greek is somewhat overly speculative and can harbor new sets of possible misunderstandings and mistakes; a valuable attempt at such a reconstruction may be consulted in Wilhelm Frankenberg, *Die syrischen Clementinen mit griechischem Paralleltext: Eine Vorarbeit zu dem literargeschichtlichen Problem der Sammlung*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 48.3 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1937).

Passages that in my judgment belong to later redaction (by the Basic Writer or the author of the *Recognitions*) will not be listed and discussed. One example of such is R 1.70.8–71.1, which reports that the enemy threw James down from the top of the stairs and that because James appeared to be dead the enemy did not further mishandle him; the believers approached and took James away. Such a survival through apparent death and revival in the presence of the encircling disciples is reported of Paul in Acts 14:19–20 (Beyschlag, "Das Jakobusmartyrium und seine Verwandten," 159, also refers to the halt in the beating of Paul in Acts 21:32 as a parallel). Nevertheless, the survival of James at this point seems best attributable to the Pseudo-Clementine Basic Writer, who needs James for the framework of his novel (see Jones, *An Ancient Jewish Christian Source*, 152).

There will also be no attempt here to list and comment upon all the parallels suggested in past research. The most extensive list of passages is found in the original dissertation by Robert E. Van Voorst, The Ascents of James*: History and Theology of a Jewish-Christian Community as Reflected in the Pseudo-Clementine* Recognitions *1.33–71* (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1988), 121 n. 7, where sixteen passages in R 1 are mentioned. In the published version (further references in this article will be to the published book), p. 79 n. 4, the number "sixteen" has been retained, but the passages are not listed. Quite a few of the originally listed passages are, in fact, not discussed in Van Voorst's commentary and are not relevant to the question of the relationship with Acts. Brown, *James: A Religio-Historical Study*, 225, and Lüdemann, *Antipaulinismus*, 242f. n. 50 (*Opposition*, 300 n. 50), offer the next longest lists. Beyschlag, "Das Jakobusmartyrium und seine Verwandten," is chock-full with suggested parallels.

23 The Syriac translator had to paraphrase slightly, but a comparison of the Peshitta's rendering of the phrase in Acts 2:22, 3:12, 5:35, 13:16, 21:28 makes it fairly certain that the original Greek of the *Recognitions* was the same as the text of Acts.

will perish with something from God.[24] The similarities are remarkable and suggestive of a literary relationship. Since the address, "Men, Israelites," recurs in several of Luke's (redactional) speeches,[25] it would seem to be a clearly redactional element in Acts; to begin with such an address is part of the uniformity of the Lukan speeches.[26] While it is possible that Luke originally adopted the phrase from the tradition behind R 1, his repeated redactional use of the phrase and his placement of it at the beginning of his speeches make it much more likely that Acts was used by the author of R 1. This line of reasoning would suggest furthermore that the entire motif of Gamaliel trying to appease the Jewish throng (see also R 1.66.4–67.7) was borrowed by R 1 from Acts.[27]

2. R 1.71.3–4 describes how the enemy arranged with Caiaphas the high priest to persecute or massacre all who believed in Jesus and how he departed for Damascus with letters from the high priest Caiaphas (and the other priests) to bring destruction on the believers. This passage has close resemblances to Acts 9:1–2, 22:4–5, and 26:10–12. In particular, mention of the high priest, his letters, and a departure for Damascus all in close proximity makes a literary relationship likely. In contrast to R 1.27–71, Acts elsewhere writes about "letters" from Jerusalem (Acts 15:30, 23:33), and thus the inclusion of "letters" in Acts 9:2 seems to reflect Lukan redactional conceptions.[28] The view that Acts is the source of the material in R 1 receives further support from the observation that Damascus does not further enter into the Pseudo-Clementine account (at least, as we have

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24 Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen*, 246, calls this "Ein exakter Beleg für die Abhängigkeit von der lukanischen Apostelgeschichte" ("an exact witness for the dependency on the Lukan Acts of the Apostles").

25 Acts 2:22, 3:12, 5:35, 13:16, 21:28.

26 See, for example, Eduard Schweizer, "Concerning the Speeches in Acts," in *Studies in Luke-Acts*, ed. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn, 208–16 (Nashville: Abingdon, 1966), 210–11. The phrase itself (with "Israelites") is apparently not witnessed in the Septuagint (see the concordance); it seems to correspond instead with a standard Greek form of address (see Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon with a Supplement 1968*, rev. and aug. Henry Stuart Jones [Oxford: Clarendon, 1968], s.v. ἀνήρ). "Men, brothers" (Acts 1:16, etc.) is found as an address at least once in the Septuagint (4 Macc 8:19) but the address apparently "is a Greek, not a Hebrew or Aramaic formula" (Kirsopp Lake and Henry J. Cadbury, *English Translation and Commentary*, vol. 4 of *The Beginnings of Christianity*, pt. 1: *The Acts of the Apostles*, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake [London: Macmillan, 1933], 12). Édouard Delebecque, *Les Deux Actes des Apôtres*, Études Bibliques, n.s., 6 (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1986), 186, calls the usage of "men" before a collective name "un signe, très classique, de politesse."

The fundamental essay on the redactional formation of the speeches in Acts is Martin Dibelius, "Die Reden der Apostelgeschichte und die antike Geschichtsschreibung," in idem, *Aufsätze zur Apostelgeschichte*, 5th ed., cor., ed. Heinrich Greeven, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 60 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), 120–62 (English translation by Mary Ling, under the title *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* [London: SCM Press, 1956], 138–85).

27 Compare Zeller, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 61–62 (*The Acts of the Apostles*, 1:150–51), and Brown, *James: A Religio-Historical Study*, 227–28. Beyschlag, "Das Jakobusmartyrium und seine Verwandten," 159, points also to the mention of Gamaliel in Acts 22:3.

28 See Adolf von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, 4th ed., improved and expanded (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1924), 340–42, on letters carried by Jewish apostles.

it: here the story continues with the enemy's encounter with the emigrant Jerusalem congregation in Jericho),[29] whereas in Acts the story continues in Damascus (with no mention of Jericho).

3. R 1.36.2 has the same Old Testament citation as Acts 3:22–23.[30] This would not be very remarkable if there were not several shared distinctive features in the wording of the citation. First, the two texts agree in rearranging Deut 18:15 by having "the Lord your God will raise for you" before "like me" rather than after it as in the preserved Septuagint. Second, both texts agree against the preserved Septuagint in having "your" and "you" in the cited phrase in the plural rather than in the singular. Third, the two texts share a reference to the *soul* that will be destroyed, which derives not from Deut 18:19 but rather from Lev 23:29, as is especially clear in the citation in Acts. Thus the two texts share the mixed Old Testament citation from Deut 18:15–16, 19 and Lev 23:29.[31] Fourth, both texts have "that prophet" as the object of the second occurrence of the verb "to listen"; Deut 18:19 differs.[32]

In this third case the evidence for a literary relationship between Acts and R 1 is the strongest yet encountered. Inversely, there is less evidence to indicate the nature of the dependency; the option of common employment of a third source (such as a "testimony book") has been suggested.[33] The citation from Deut 18:15 does recur, however, in Acts 7:37, and here again the order of the phrases differs in the same way from the preserved Septuagint. If one were to follow a tendency of modern research in giving Stephen's speech traditional priority over the other

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[29] Jericho was chosen perhaps in part because of knowledge of the topography but also because Jericho lies within the land of Israel (cf. also the report in Acts 8:1); see Jones, *An Ancient Jewish Christian Source*, 157–58.

[30] There is a useful synopsis of the passages in Kline, *The Sayings of Jesus*, 147, though the Syriac version of R 1.36.2 is not considered here.

[31] Kline, *The Sayings of Jesus*, 148 n. 2, states that the contamination from Lev 23:29 is not in the parallel text in H 3.53.3. On this basis he concludes that R corrected according to Acts and that H is not dependent on Acts but rather on a text of Deut 18 similar to the one known to Acts. It is more likely, however, that H took the saying from the context as found in R and is thus responsible for omitting the statement about the soul; this view explains why H can present the citation as a saying of Jesus (R 1.27–71 is presented as the teaching of the true prophet [Jesus]). Compare Jones, *An Ancient Jewish Christian Source*, 120–21.

[32] The Syriac version has "him" instead of "that prophet," but, in light of the parallel in H 3.53.3 (which I presume to be dependent on the Basic Writing), this must be secondary; the same applies to the Syriac's verb "be obedient" instead of "listen."

[33] Lake and Cadbury, *English Translation and Commentary*, 82, and Kline, *The Sayings of Jesus*, 148–49. Without reference to the *Pseudo-Clementines*, Traugott Holtz, *Untersuchungen über die alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Lukas*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 104 (Berlin: Akademie, 1968), 71–81, argues that Luke drew the citation in Acts 3:22–23 from a "testimony book." The case for Lukan redaction in the citation is made by Martin Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas*, Studien zum Neuen Testament 1 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1969), 66–71, 215–16. See the helpful overview of research by François Bovon, *Luke the Theologian: Thirty-Three Years of Research (1950–1983)*, trans. Ken McKinney, Princeton Theological Monograph Series 12 (Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications, 1987), 95–104.

(redactional) speeches of Acts,[34] Acts 7:37 could be viewed as the basis for the redactionally mixed citation in Acts 3:22–23, especially since this christological perspective is developed in Acts 7 (it is emphasized that Moses was a rejected leader, Acts 7:35, 39) though not elsewhere in Acts. In R 1 the perspective that Jesus is the prophet predicted by Moses is a recurrent one, but the citation does not reappear. Given this state of affairs, along with the evidence of cases 1 and 2, Acts should be judged most likely the origin of the citation in R 1.[35]

C. Probable Instances

4. R 1.34.2 contains a summary statement of the Old Testament genealogy of Isaac, Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs; in its brevity, this statement noticeably resembles Acts 7:8.[36] While in Acts the account of Joseph follows, R 1 continues with what appears afterwards in Acts, namely, the *multiplication* of the Hebrews in Egypt and their liberation by Moses. Before doing so, however, R 1 says "the seventy-two" followed the twelve in the genealogy, and the presence of such a number corresponds with "seventy-five" in Acts 7:14. Seventy-two is a most unusual number to have going to Egypt and is most readily explained as an awkward attempt by R 1 to speak of seventy-two followers of Moses,[37] which the author needed as a prefiguration of Jesus' followers (R 1.40.4). The residual discontinuity speaks for R 1 having changed the text as found in Acts 7.

5. R 1.41.1–2 reports that though Jesus performed signs and wonders, he was crucified (cf. also R 1.59.7); nevertheless, this was transformed to good. These remarks loosely parallel Acts 2:22–24 (cf. also Acts 10:38–40). "Signs and wonders" is a phrase found sporadically across the several groups of New Testament writings, but nowhere nearly as frequently as in Acts, where a redactional preference must have been at work (as the parallel occurrences in summarizing passages indicate, e.g., Acts 2:43, 5:12, 6:8, 14:3, 15:12).[38] Dependency on Acts thus seems most likely. These findings might indicate that the recurrence of the phrase in R 1.58.1, 3 is also dependent on Acts, particularly Acts 7:36, though here there is a precedent in the Septuagint of Deut 29:2.

6. R 1.71.2 states that there were "about five thousand men" who had fled from Jerusalem to Jericho; Acts 4:4 similarly reports that "the number of men was about five thousand." Whereas this is the only mention of a specific number of

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[34] See Ulrich Wilkens, *Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte: Form- und traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 3d ed., Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 5 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974).

[35] So also Howard M. Teeple, *The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet*, Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 10 (Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1957), 88, Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen*, 122, Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas*, 67–68, Lüdemann, *Antipaulinismus*, 242f. n. 50 (*Opposition*, 300 n. 50), and Van Voorst, The Ascents of James, 90.

[36] Dependency on Acts is maintained by Van Voorst, The Ascents of James, 85.

[37] On this number see Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, 96 n. 5. It may well be an imitation of the seventy-two elders of the academy at Yavneh.

[38] Compare Leo O'Reilly, *Word and Sign in the Acts of the Apostles: A Study in Lucan Theology*, Analecta Gregoriana 243 (Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1987), 163, Van Voorst, The Ascents of James, 104–5, and the commentaries.

Christians in R 1, Luke likes to report figures on the growth of the church in Jerusalem (Acts 1:15: one hundred and twenty; Acts 2:41: three thousand; Acts 4:4: five thousand; Acts 21:20: tens of thousands). These numbers seem to be redactional fictions; they bolster the clearly Lukan redactional effort to make the rise of Christianity a major event on the stage of world history. Thus it is likely that R 1 came up with the figure "five thousand men" on the basis of Acts.[39] The importation of the number into R 1 might further be confirmed by the statement in R 1.43.1 and 71.1 that the believers actually outnumbered the nonbelievers, for five thousand seems to be a little low for this framework.

D. Possible Instances

7. The angel who approached Abraham in R 1.32.4 also probably appeared to Moses in the original version of R 1.34.4 (changed by the Basic Writer to the true prophet);[40] the angel in Acts 7:30, 35 is similar.

8. The theory on sacrifices in R 1.36.1, 37.1, and 64.1 bears some resemblances to Acts 7:42–43, though there are no verbal correspondences.

9. The view that Jesus would amend what Moses had allowed in R 1.36.1 resembles Acts 6:14.

10. R 1.43.3 reports on the growth of the church in Jerusalem as does Acts 6:7 (compare also Acts 4:4 and R 1.43.1, 53.2). This type of information seems to reflect the Lukan redactional tendency discussed above (6) with regard to R 1.71.2.

11. R 1.44.1 places the debate (and the subsequent persecution) at the time of the Passover; Acts 12:3 reports an arrest of Peter during the festival of Unleavened Bread.

12. R 1.53.1, 65.2, 5 report that the unbelievers among the Jews were filled with rage, particularly after the disciples' speeches; this motif is also found in Acts 7:54.[41]

13. R 1.55.1 reports the beginning of the discussion between the disciples and the Jewish sects, including the high priests and the priests. This forum is similar to Acts 4:5–6. The disciples stand in both accounts (R 1.55.2; Acts 4:7, cf. Acts 5:25).

14. R 1.55.2, 66.4 report the achievement of silence on the stairs before the debate; compare Acts 15:12, 21:40 (similarly on steps; the stairs are also mentioned in Acts 21:35).

15. R 1.57.3 states that because the disciples had a command not to enter the cities of the Samaritans (cf. Mt 10:5), James and John were hesitant to respond to the objection of a Samaritan. The reference to the cities of the Samaritans seems somewhat out of place here since the discussion is taking place in Jerusalem. Acts 8:5, in contrast, reports that Philip went down to the city of the Samaritans. Thus,

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39 Compare Zeller, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 62 (*The Acts of the Apostles*, 1:151). Beyschlag, "Das Jakobusmartyrium und seine Verwandten," 156 n. 17, however, points to "five thousand men" also in Mark 6:44, and he draws attention to the remark about the late hour in all three accounts.

40 See Jones, *An Ancient Jewish Christian Source*, 151–52.

41 Compare Beyschlag, "Das Jakobusmartyrium und seine Verwandten," 156.

it could well be that R 1 (where reference to the cities of the Samaritans seems out of place) is jabbing at Acts at this point. Acts 8:14 also has John in Samaria.

16. R 1.60.5 mentions the person who became an apostle in the place of Judas; there is a similar report in Acts 1:23, 26.

17. In R 1.62.1–2 Caiaphas tells Peter to stop preaching Jesus in ways similar to the scene with Peter and John before the Sanhedrin in Acts 4.[42] Though few verbatim parallels remain once the Syriac is compared, the objection that Peter is untaught (ἰδιώτης) corresponds noticeably with Acts 4:13.[43] It is repeated in R 1.62.5, 63.1.

18. R 1.63.2 states that the Jewish people should accept Jesus before the disciples go to the nations; a similar chronological order of proclamation is found in Acts 13:46.

19. R 1.65.4 postpones the conclusion of the discussion between the Jewish sects and the apostles till the next day because the day is passing away; the image (see also R 1.71.2) is quite similar to Acts 4:3.

20. R 1.66.1 reports that the disciples went to James, reported to him, ate, lodged with him, and prayed all night (cf. also R 1.71.2 and 44.1). This scene bears similarities to the upper room in Acts 1:13–14 (cf. the house[s] in Acts 2:46 [eating] and the house of Mary in Acts 12:12) and to Paul's visit with James in Acts 21:18–19.

21. R 1.66.2 reports on the disciples "ascending to the temple" (cf. R 1.53.4), a phrase also used in Acts 3:1 (cf. also John 7:14).

22. R 1.67.3 has Gamaliel encouraging the disciples to tell the people, if they know something; the image and wording are similar to Acts 13:15.

23. R 1.69.8 has James continuing to speak for seven days before the disruption by the "enemy." Acts 21:27 has Paul engaged in seven days of purification.

24. R 1.69.8 describes the high priest (with the entire people) as ready to proceed to baptism; Acts 6:7 speaks of the conversion of many priests.[44]

25. R 1.69.8 makes baptism the goal of James's speech; this bears a similarity to Acts 2:38 (especially when the absence of this motif in Hegesippus is considered; more on Hegesippus below).

26. R 1.70.1 has the enemy enter the temple with a few others and begin shouting; this parallels the shouting before the attack on Stephen in Acts 7:57 and Paul's entrance into the temple with others in Acts 21:26, which occasions shouting in Acts 21:28.

27. R 1.70.2 has the enemy say, "What are you doing, O Israelite men?" Acts 14:15 has Paul say, "Men, why are you doing these things?"[45]

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[42] Compare Martyn, "Clementine Recognitions 1,33–71," 279–80, who says the "dependence on Acts is plain to see" and the "dependence on Acts is clear," and Van Voorst, The Ascents of James, 136–37.

[43] See, however, G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), s.v., for other ancient Christian writings that use this word of Christians.

[44] The parallel was pointed out by Lüdemann, *Antipaulinismus*, 243 n. 50 (*Opposition*, 300 n. 50) as evidence of R 1's use of Acts.

28. R 1.71.2 reports on the closing of the temple, similar to Acts 21:30.

29. R 1.71.2 has the church leave Jerusalem for Jericho; this is roughly parallel to the scattering of the church in Acts 8:1 (cf. Acts 11:19).[46] Acts 8:2 then reports the burial of Stephen, while R 1.71.5 (Syriac) reports the burial of two brothers.

E. Conclusion

For the student accustomed to seeing Lukan redaction in, for example, the figure of the rational Gamaliel of Acts, the dependency of R 1 on Acts will perhaps seem obvious. Thoroughgoing reconsideration of the possibility that Acts and R 1 might be dependent on common tradition, however, raises more than a few questions about assumed Lukan redaction. Nevertheless, even under these conditions, several passages remain in which Lukan redaction in Acts appears to be present in R 1 (see numbers 1, 2, 5, 6, 10) or in which the context in R 1 appears to be secondary when compared with the context in Acts (see numbers 2, 4, 6, 15). Nothing was found that would indicate the reverse or common dependency on a third source. Given this state of affairs, the conclusion must be drawn that R 1 is dependent on Acts. Once this literary dependency is established, it is proper to consider virtually all of the passages listed above as instances of the literary influence of Acts on R 1. The author of R 1 was accordingly influenced by the entire book of Acts throughout all sections of his writing. It remains to consider exactly how this Jewish Christian has treated Acts and to ponder why he proceeded as he did.

IV. A Jewish Christian Reads Luke's Acts of the Apostles

A. Introduction

If, as was concluded above, the author of R 1 truly knew and used Acts, R 1.27–71 presents one of the first "commentaries" on Acts.[47] This is a remarkable discovery, especially since this "commentary" is definitely not written in the standard (basically) uncritical and accepting mode of the ancient church but seems instead to be highly critical. How can the author's employment of Acts be characterized?

It is worth recalling at this point that the author of R 1.27–71 used not only the Acts of the Apostles but also a number of other sources, particularly Hegesippus and the *Book of Jubilees*.[48] Such employment of sources suggests that

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45 Beyschlag, "Das Jakobusmartyrium und seine Verwandten," 157, states that coincidence cannot account for the similarity. There is a further parallel in Hegesippus (in Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.23.17); cf. also R 1.70.5.

46 Beyschlag "Das Jakobusmartyrium und seine Verwandten," 157, points to Acts 14:19–20.

47 I avoid saying "the first commentary" only because I believe the text-critical apparatus to the New Testament represents the oldest commentary to the New Testament writings.

48 For the employment of Hegesippus see my previous contribution to the Seminar, "The Martyrdom of James in Hegesippus, Clement of Alexandria, and Christian Apocrypha, Including Nag Hammadi: A Study of the Textual Relations," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1990 Seminar Papers*, ed. David J. Lull, 322–35, Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers Series 29 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1990), 328–31, and Jones, *An Ancient Jewish Christian Source*, 142–45; for *Jubilees* as a source of R 1.27–71, see Jones, *An Ancient Jewish Christian Source*, 138–39; other sources of R

the author of R 1.27–71 sees himself writing a new history of earliest Christianity and thus that his mode of operation might be compared with other ancient historians. The secondary literature on the ancient historians has tended to focus on the exceptional figures as the foundation for modern historiography. There are very few summarizing overviews of the unexceptional historians and their *modus operandi*. It is not that scholarship is unaware that "historical writing of the Alexandrine period suffered immensely under the influences of rhetoric and even more under the addiction of these times to fables, gossip, and anecdotes, under the pleasure one had in sensationalistic historical portrayal, and under the novelistic manner that almost all historians of Alexander the Great approved for fulfillment of their task, thereby setting a very bad example."[49] Students of the Classics have simply seen no particular reason to expound on the procedures of these "historians," who were already castigated (tongue in cheek?) by Clement of Alexandria for being plagiarists of the first degree.[50] From what is known, it is nevertheless readily imaginable that someone might have taken some ὑπομνήματα of Hegesippus and the Acts of the Apostles as the basis for the composition of a better history of earliest Christianity.[51]

1.27–71 are discussed there, pp. 140–49 (Septuagint, Gospel of Matthew, Gospel of Luke, Gospel of John, Justin *Dialogue with Trypho*, and possibly the *Gospel of the Ebionites*).

49 Franz Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1891–92), 1:532 (my translation); German original: "Die Geschichtschreibung der alexandrinischen Periode litt schwer unter den Einflüssen der Rhetorik und noch mehr unter der Fabel-, Klatsch- und Anekdotensucht dieser Zeiten, unter der Freude, die man an historischer Grellmalerei hatte, und unter der romanhaften Art, in welcher fast alle Geschichtschreiber von Alexandros dem Grossen ihre Aufgabe zu erfüllen für gut fanden und damit ein sehr übles Beispiel gaben."

50 Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* 6.2. Hellenistic writers had already studied the phenomenon; see Hermann Peter, *Wahrheit und Kunst: Geschichtschreibung und Plagiat im klassischen Altertum* (Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1911), 450, and especially Eduard Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur* (Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1912). F. Gerald Downing, "Compositional Conventions and the Synoptic Problem," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 107 (1988):69–85, deserves credit for having properly placed the synoptic problem into the context of contemporary compositional conventions; his survey of recent literature and ancient parallel texts is useful. I heartily thank David Seeley (Claremont, CA) for reference to this article and to an array of other literature as well as for a lively discussion of this paper and other topics as we shared an office and teaching responsibilities for New Testament and ancient Christianity at California State University, Long Beach, Spring semester, 1995.

51 The following speaks of R 1.27–71 in terms of ancient historiography. This may be a stumbling-block for some readers. As the citation from Susemihl (above) indicates, in the period under consideration a strict distinction between historical writing and the novel was not maintained. R 1 should be viewed as lying on a spectrum between what we consider history and what we consider fiction. Anyone uncomfortable with placing a work on a spectrum might consider the term "historical novel" and consult the literature on the ancient novel for attempted definitions and distinctions, e.g., Tomas Hägg, "The Beginnings of the Historical Novel," in *The Greek Novel AD 1–1985*, ed. Roderick Beaton, 169–81 (London, New York, and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1988) or the annotated bibliography on the "historical novel" by Otto Mazal, "Der griechische und byzantinische Roman in der Forschung von 1945 bis 1960," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 11–12 (1962–63):9–55, pp. 26–55; within the fold of literature on the New Testament, see Richard Pervo's advancement of the term "historical novel" in his *Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 115–38. Of course, the religious aspect must also be factored in when one considers R 1.

The use of sources without naming them would further form no major exception in ancient historiography; it was rather the rule for finished works.[52] Eloquent rhetorical paraphrase[53] of the sources was the goal.[54] The type of parallels between Acts and R 1.27–71 listed above would thus fit well with such an understanding. The single instance of greater verbatim agreement, the citation from the Old Testament in Acts 3:22–23, is readily explainable as being the one element the author of R 1.27–71 felt no need to paraphrase. The fact that he did not verify (and correct) the citation is what inadvertently betrays most clearly his indebtedness to Acts. The author seems to have been fascinated by this distinctive Old Testament citation; at some point he must have copied it directly out of a manuscript of Acts; and he made it into a central christological conception for his writing. This insight raises the questions of (1) the degree to which Acts influenced the overall design of R 1.27–71 and (2) how the author of R 1.27–71 paraphrased and rearranged his sources, particularly Acts.

B. The Influence of Acts on the Overall Design of R 1.27–71

The author of R 1 appears to have been inspired by Acts, first of all, to write such a historical review of apostolic events. Since Lucian describes the task of the historian as lying in the good arrangement of the events and in their very vivid presentation (*How to Write History* 51), it may be asked whether R 1 displays tendencies to improve the arrangement and presentation of events in Acts.

One instance for examination is an acknowledged goal of the Acts of the Apostles, namely, to show how the gospel got transferred from the Jews to the Gentiles. The author of R 1.27–71 doubtless conceived his narrative as similarly explaining how the break between Christianity and Judaism occurred. By concentrating on *one* major encounter between the apostles and the Jewish sects and priesthood (instead of the barrage of instances in Acts), the author of R 1.27–71 has definitely provided a better arranged and more vivid account: The entire Jewish nation and priesthood was on its way to be baptized when one ruthless "enemy" disrupted all order and thus disturbed the logical outcome of the debate. The author engages in vivid presentation of the gory details, with blood flying in all directions.

The author also seems to have been influenced by the review of biblical history in Acts 7 as an example of how he might proceed. Acts 7 perhaps sparked

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52 See, for example, Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur*, 177–85, Peter, *Wahrheit und Kunst*, 434–38, and Eduard Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v.Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, 2 vols., 2d and 3d ed. (1909–15; reprint, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1974), 1:89–90.

53 This word is used here in the technical sense of a rhetorical method that was learned and practiced in the schools. See, for example, Stanley F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome from the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1977), 255–56, and Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur*, 118–21, 212–15. Relevant ancient discussions include Aelius Theon of Alexandria *Progymnasmata* (Spengel 2:62–64, Walz 1:152–57), Quintilian 1.9.2, 10.5.4–11, and Joannes Doxopatres (Walz 2:269–70), who distinguishes several varieties (I thank Professor Ronald F. Hock, University of Southern California, for this last reference).

54 See Peter, *Wahrheit und Kunst*, 432–33. For paraphrase as rivalry with the original, see Quintilian 10.5.5

the idea of composing a "universal history,"[55] and not just a book of acts. The *Book of Jubilees* proved particularly helpful as R 1 began his account with the creation story. R 1's version is better than Acts 7 insofar as it not only begins at creation but also pursues some clear goals. For example, material from *Jubilees* is adopted to explain how the land of Israel belonged to the Hebrew race even before the time of Abraham. This theme is pursued by the author throughout his composition and forms a remarkable witness to Christian justification for Christian inheritance of the land.[56] The author has developed a distinctively Christian form of deuteronomistic theology.

C. Variations on Acts' Portrayal of Early Christian History

An element of Acts that is conspicuously missing from R 1.27–71 is the attribution of miracles to the disciples. While the conventional wisdom is that the apocryphal acts generally increase the miraculous aspect,[57] R 1.27–71 mentions only the signs and wonders performed by Jesus. None of the apostles does anything miraculous. It is likely that the author saw his history as superior to Luke's precisely in the avoidance of such "wonders."[58] He similarly omits the Holy Spirit as an active personal historical agent (such as in Acts 16:6) and avoids any other sort of direct miraculous impingement of the divine realm on historical events (contrast, e.g., Acts 10:30). The motivation for the Gentile mission comes not from the Holy Spirit but rather from the fact that since some Jews had not believed, others must be called to fill up the number shown to Abraham (R 1.42.1).

A motif in Acts that caught the attention of R 1 is Luke's concern to illustrate the public aspect of the development of Christianity. The author of R 1.27–71 transforms this interest in the world stage into a sharpened focus on the Jewish stage. He uses Luke's illustrious personalities and tallied masses to bolster his case that all the Jews were on the verge of conversion before the disruption by Paul.

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55 On this term see, for example, Raoul Mortley, "The Hellenistic Foundations of Ecclesiastical Historiography," in *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*, ed. Graeme Clarke, 225–50 (Rushcutters Bay: Australian National University, 1990), 226–32.

56 This has been recently studied by Stefan Heid, "Das Heilige Land: Herkunft und Zukunft der Judenchristen," *Kairos*, n.s., 34–35 (1992–93):1–26, pp. 1–5. The text has unfortunately been overlooked by the tradition of scholarship recapitulated recently by Robert L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992); this distinctive text would have added a completely new facet to Wilken's study and would have called for modification of the argument of the book (this early Jewish Christian writing placed great value on the *present and actual* possession of the land).

57 So, e.g., Eckhard Plümacher, "Apokryphe Apostelakten," in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Neue Bearbeitung*, ed. Georg Wissowa et al., supplemental vol. 15, 11–70 (Munich: Alfred Druckenmüller, 1978), col. 13, and Rosa Söder, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und die romanhafte Literatur der Antike*, Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft 3 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1932), 51.

58 Compare, for example, Polybius 12.24.5, where Timaeus of Tauromenium is criticized for having packed his history with miracles, dreams, and superstition.

D. Variations on Acts' Portrayal of Leading Personalities

The author of R 1.27–71 has focused on a few leading personalities and has developed their characters to a considerably greater extent than does Acts. Just as Lucian advises a focus on the generals rather than on an individual soldier (*How to Write History* 49), so the author of R 1.27–71 has eliminated much of the clutter of Acts to focus on the decisive personalities.

The author of R 1.27–71 has corrected Acts' identification of the high priest as Annas to Caiaphas, a gospel figure with much greater profile.[59]

Gamaliel is no longer merely a Pharisaic member of the Sanhedrin who is respected by all (Acts 5:34) but has now become the head of the nation who is furthermore secretly already a Christian (R 1.65.2).

James the brother of Jesus is exalted in a way that completely transforms the picture of the Jerusalem congregation. In R 1.27–71 there is no trace of an early Christian "communism" with uncertain leadership; instead, a bishop (appointed by the Lord himself) governs the congregation with all straightforwardness (R 1.43.3). The success in the conversion of the Jews, which Acts largely attributes to Peter (Acts 2:41, 4:4), is also transferred to James (R 1.69.8). The twelve apostles function virtually as his twelve presbyters. Doubtless the author of R 1.27–71 is drawing here on Hegesippus (preserved in Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.23.4), and it also was from here (Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.23.8, 4.22.7) that the author developed the entire idea of having the apostles debate with the Jewish sects.

In his portrayal of Paul, the author of R 1.27–71 seems to be exercising Lucian's prescribed freedom for a historian to call a respected and powerful figure a "destructive and mad human" (*How to Write History* 38). It is interesting to study how Acts skirts the issue of whether Paul was a murderer: first it is reported that Paul stood over the cloaks and approved while Stephen was stoned (Acts 7:58, 8:1); then it is stated that he dragged off men and women and put them in prison (Acts 8:3); next it is said that Paul was "*breathing* threat and murder against the disciples" (Acts 9:1); then it is reported that he persecuted the Way "up to the point of death" (Acts 22:4). Only in a final summary (Acts 26:10) does the author give an indication of the degree to which he thought Paul was actually involved in the death of believers: Paul cast his vote against the believers as they were being put to death. The author of R 1.27–71, in contrast, decides to "call figs figs" (Lucian *How to Write History* 41) and portrays Paul as a disrupter of all order and rationality and as a violent murderer.[60] It is impossible

59 See also Brown, *James: A Religio-Historical Study*, 228 n. 47.

60 I assume that in R 1.70.8 the source originally described the murder of James at Paul's hands; this was changed by the Basic Writer, who let James survive the attack (see Jones, *An Ancient Jewish Christian Source*, 152). Another instance of Paul's murder is reflected in R 1.71.5. The two versions differ in their wording at this point, and the original text in the *Recognitions* had apparently already been mollified. Originally, the source probably made it clear here that Paul killed two Christians when he passed through Jericho on his way to Damascus. It is therefore incorrect to write about Paul, "Mais même ses plus farouches adversaires juifs et judéochrétiens ne l'ont pas accusé de meurtre" (Philippe H. Menoud, "Le Sens du Verbe πορθεῖν: Gal 1:13, 23, Act 9:21," in *Apophoreta: Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag am 10. Dezember*

to know if the author had independent information on Paul (he is likely to have known other Jewish Christian tales about Paul)[61] or has simply perceived the tendency of Acts and attempted to correct it.

E. Conclusion

Should it be said that the author of R 1.27–71 intended to replace Luke's Acts of the Apostles? This study has suggested that the use of Acts in R 1.27–71 should be viewed within the context of ancient historical writings.[62] Just as a competitive rivalry motivated the rhetorical deliverance of speeches, so too in the writing of history authors saw themselves in competition with each other.[63] Each historian strove to compose a better history. One focus of these writers was doubtless on an ideal and on the attempt to approximate the ideal as best possible. Another focus would have been on the competition at hand. The preface to Luke's gospel, for example, seems to display both focuses: Luke wanted to write a better gospel and probably simultaneously intended to replace the work of his predecessors.[64] The author of R 1 similarly seems to have his eye both on an ideal and on the competition. While Acts was not his only source, R 1's extensive use of Acts and its apparent concern to correct this source seem indicative of the author's desire to replace Acts. It is possible that the author might have wanted to enter his writing as merely another work alongside Acts (he seems to have known and used more than one gospel), but the conflicting point of view makes this possibility less likely.

In any event, the author wanted his voice heard and consciously composed his writing from a perspective that he knew differed from Acts. Drawing on additional sources such as Hegesippus and *Jubilees*, he produced an impressive and straightforward account of the break between Judaism and Christianity and of the issues dividing them. His work doubtless contributed to the call for a translation of *Recognitions* 1–3 into Syriac and to the popularity of the *Recognitions*, once translated by Rufinus, throughout the Middle Ages in the West. Three centuries ago John Toland correctly saw that awareness of ancient Jewish Christianity radically changes one's understanding of the early church. R 1 has sparked the historical interest of modern critical scholarship and has aided the

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1964, 178–86, Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 30 [Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1964], 186).

61 It is not the purpose of this paper to deny that the author of R 1 had access to ancient traditions apart from Acts (and the other source listed above in n. 48). R 1.54.2 is a clear example of the use of further remarkable ancient traditions. Another possible instance is the report on the disciples of John the Baptist in R 1.54.8.

62 Martyn, "Clementine Recognitions 1,33–71," 273, described the procedure of R 1 as "the tactic of taking one's enemy captive in his own territory–in this case, in the writing of church history."

63 See, for example, Peter, *Wahrheit und Kunst*, 431. A vivid description of what the actual competition looked like is found in Lucian *How to Write History* 13–32.

64 So, e.g., Hans Conzelmann, "Luke's Place in the Development of Early Christianity," in *Studies in Luke-Acts*, ed. Leander E. Keck, and J. Louis Martyn, 298–316 (Nashville: Abingdon, 1966), 305. Within the canon it should further be asked, for example, whether 2 Peter intended to replace the Letter of Jude and whether 2 Thessalonians was written to replace or eliminate either 1 Thessalonians or Colossians and Ephesians.

rediscovery of the lost Jewish Christian wing of the ancient church. Any careful reading of R 1.27–71 furthermore advances critical understanding of Luke's Acts of the Apostles. Finally, R 1.27–71 supplies a clear and distinctive point of reference for the debate over the use of Acts in the apocryphal acts of the apostles; it forms perhaps the most remarkable chapter (though a neglected one) in the history of the reception of Acts. In sum, the author of R 1.27–71 has been enormously successful with his composition, despite the fact that the Acts of the Apostles survived as a competing history and dominated the public mind through its unrivaled inclusion in the canon.

Narrative Outline of the Composition of Luke According to the Two-Gospel Hypothesis

Lamar Cope, Carroll College, Waukesha, WI
David L. Dungan, University of Tennessee, Knoxville
William R. Farmer, University of Dallas
Allan J. McNicol, Institute for Christian Studies, Austin, TX
David B. Peabody, Nebraska Wesleyan University
Philip L. Shuler, McMurry University

Introduction

This paper is the final fascicle of our work on the composition of Luke according to the Two Gospel Hypothesis. Earlier fascicles were published in the *SBL 1992 Seminar Papers*, 82–120, on Lk 1:1–7:10; *SBL 1993 Seminar Papers*, 303–333, on Lk 7:11–9:50; and *SBL 1994 Seminar Papers*, 516–573, on Lk 9:51–19:27. This 1995 fascicle deals with the concluding chapters, Lk 19:28–24:53.

Chapter 6. The Arrival of the Prophet-King in Jerusalem Luke 19:28–21:38

Preface

This chapter in Luke falls into three sections: the king comes to claim his city (Lk 19:28–44), he meets opposition and is rejected by the city's leaders (19:45–20:47), after which the king predicts the destruction of the city (21:8–38).

The first section highlights Jesus the king (Lk 19:38) coming to claim the city which housed his father's sanctuary (cf. Lk 2:49). Luke had concluded the previous chapter by having Jesus tell of a certain man who had received a kingship and then returned home (Lk 19:11–27). He now makes it clear that Jesus is that very man who comes to his father's home to receive his kingship. But just as the parable said (Lk 19:27), certain ones in the city will not welcome the return of the royal one (Lk 19:39–40).

In the second section, Jesus enters the temple and conducts a series of debates with the leaders of the Jerusalem community (Lk 19:45–20:47). The debates end with a bitter indictment of the scribes (Lk 20:45–47) followed by a contrasting example of a poor widow who gives all she has, unlike the hypocrisy of wealthy donors (Lk 21:1–4).

The third section (Lk 21:5–38) begins with a comment by some bystanders on the wealth and opulence of the Temple and its votive offerings. Jesus announces that the Temple will soon be destroyed (Lk 21:5–6). People ask when this will happen (Lk 21:7) and Jesus launches into a grim description of the calamities soon to come all over the world, in the course of which the Temple and even Jerusalem itself will be completely destroyed (Lk 21:8–38).

In the Lukan account, all of the action, after Jesus enters the temple, is bounded by a phrase that delimits an inclusio: "Every day he was teaching in the temple" (Lk 19:47 // 21:37). Thus the words in Lk 20:1: "one day as he was teaching the people in the temple area . . ." are an attempt to give the reader/hearer the feeling of actually hearing what Jesus would have said on any particular day.

Section One. The King Comes to Claim His City (Lk 19:28–44)

Mt 20:17; 21:1–9 (21:15–16) ===> Lk 19:28–44 Procession Down the Mount of Olives

Jesus is now at the outskirts of Jerusalem (cf. Lk 19:11). Upon his orders, two disciples get a colt and bring it to him. He rides the colt down the slope of the mountain and a crowd of disciples praise God and cry, "Peace in Heaven" (Lk 19:38). But as Jesus draws near the city his response is to weep. (Lk 19:41) He announces that the city is about to suffer a siege and be destroyed. There may be peace in heaven, but there will soon be death and destruction in Jerusalem.

[The unit opens in Lk 19:28–29 with Luke conflating Mt 20:17 (καὶ ἀναβαίνων ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς Ἰερόσυλυμα) and Mt 21:1 (καὶ ὅτε ἤγγισαν εἰς Ἰερόσυλυμα καὶ ἦλθον εἰς βηθφαγὴ εἰς τὸ Ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν) to form the setting for the arrival of Jesus at Jerusalem. The first reference to "nearing Jerusalem" at Mt 20:17 introduced Jesus' third prediction of the passion in Mt, which Luke already used at Lk 18:31–34/Mt 20:17–19. Next in Matthew's order (Mt 20:20–28) was the story of the Mother of the Sons of Zebedee's request, which Luke may have utilized for a first time much earlier at Lk 9:46–50 (cf. Mt 18:1–6 and Mt 20:20–28). Luke will utilize this same (Mt 18:1–6) or similar (Mt 20:20–28) material when he composes Lk 22:24–27 (cf. the ref. to betrayal at Lk 22:21f. + the argument as to who is greater in Lk 22:24f., and a prediction of betrayal and death at Lk 9:43f + argument as to who is greater Lk 9:46f.). Next in Matthew's order, following the question of the mother of the sons of Zebedee (Mt 20:20–28/Lk 9:46–48/Lk 22:24–27), comes the healing of two blind men upon leaving Jericho (Mt 20:29–34). Luke utilized this unit from Mt already at Lk 18:35–43, but he provides a different locale, namely, when Jesus and his disciples are *entering* Jericho. Next in Matthew's order is Mt 21:1 "and when they drew near to Jerusalem . . . ," which Luke blends with Mt 20:17 at Lk 19:28–29, and resumes following Matthew's order at Lk 19:30/Mt 21:1.

• These two verses (Lk 19:28–29) are replete with linguistic characteristics of Luke. Εἰπών (Lk 19:28 cf. 19:30) is used in multiple contexts and appears twice as many times in Luke as in Matthew. It is therefore a typical Lukan compositional characteristic (cf. Goulder 2:687). The use of πορεύομαι in Lk 19:28 (cf. Lk 19:30, 36) is a linguistic usage of Luke (Collison 60). The construction of καὶ ἐγένετο + temporal ὡς is also a Lukan linguistic feature (Goulder 2:687). Finally, the articular participle of καλέω introducing an appositive is designated by Collison, 80, as a linguistic characteristic of Luke.

• Lk 19:30–31 follows Mt 21:2–3 fairly closely. The use of ὑπαγεῖν is puzzling since Mt 21:2 has πορεύεσθε which would be a Lukan linguistic preference. Since Luke used πορεύομαι or its compounds three times in this pericope, including this verse (Lk 19:28, 30, 36), Luke may have used a synonymous expression for variety (cf. Lk. 10:3). The collocation of ἐν with the relative pronoun (Lk 19:30) is Lukan (Collison 135).

• According to Bauer, 739, πῶλος means "horse" when no other animal is named.

• Luke has revised Matthew's literal fulfillment of Zechariah's prophetic reference to two animals (Zech 9:9/Mt 21:5; cf. Mt 21:2/Lk 19:30).

• Luke, at Lk 19:31, characteristically omits the wording of the Matthean proof from prophecy (Mt 21:4–5).

• Lk 19:32–34 develops further the Matthean version of the search for the colt (cf. Mt 21:6). This may well be a characteristic Lukan attempt at verisimilitude because much of the language, grammar and syntax seems to be Lukan. οἱ κύριοι is also found in Lk 16:13; Acts 16:16, 19.

• The clause ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ χρεῖαν ἔχει forms a small inclusio around this unit (Lk 19:31b, 19:34b). The use of χρεῖαν ἔχειν is characteristic of Luke (5:31; 9:11; 15:7; 22:71).

• For Lk 19:35–36, Luke has followed Mt 21:7–8. In 19:35, Luke uses ἐπιβιβάζειν. In the NT, only Luke uses this word (Lk 10:34; Acts 23:24).

• Luke omits Matthew's reference to the throwing of the leafy branches in Jesus' path (Mt 21:8; Lk 19:36). Origen considered this feature as well as many others in Matthew's narrative of the entry into Jerusalem to be incomprehensible if taken literally. For example, Origen noted that "the branches being cut down from the trees and thrown on the road before him . . . surely they were a hindrance to his passage rather than a well-devised reception." Cf. *Commentary on John* 10.17; *Ante-Nicene Fathers* 10:396. Luke might have had a similar response to some of the details in this unit of Matthew's narrative.

• We noted above that Luke prepared for the arrival of Jesus near Jerusalem with the parable of the pounds (Lk 19:11–27). Its chief theme is the return of a man to receive a kingship. Now, as he approaches Jerusalem, Jesus is received in Lk 19:37–38 as a king. We note that the precise term βασιλεύς, a linguistic characteristic of the text of Matthew, does not appear in Mt 21:9. Thus, the appearance of βασιλεύς in Lk 19:38 reveals Luke's intention here very clearly.

• As an expansion of Mt 21:9, Lk 19:37–38 is careful to point out that Jesus was well received by ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος of his disciples who, upon his appearance, do not threaten rebellion, but praise God.

• In contrast to the glowing acceptance of Jesus by his disciples, Lk 19:39–40 announces his rejection by the Pharisees. Thus, Jesus' prophecy in Lk 13:35 is fulfilled. In addition, since Jesus' prediction in Mt 23:39 (cf. Lk 13:35) *follows* Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (Mt 21:8–9/Lk 19:37–38), Luke has altered the order of Mt in such a way that Jesus' prophecy in Lk 13:35 (cf. Mt 23:39) is fulfilled within the Lukan narrative (Lk 19:37–38), rather than beyond the narrative, if it is fulfilled at all, as Matthew's text (Mt 23:39) would require. That is, Mt 23:39 cannot possibly predict what is to happen in Mt 21:8–9 since Mt 23:39 obviously follows Mt 21:8–9. Luke's reversal of the order of these verses in Matthew is in accord with a demonstrable Lukan motif of Jesus' prophecy, followed by its fulfillment within the Lukan narrative.

• The connection of events happening in fulfillment of a pre-determined plan is characteristic of Luke (cf. Lk 24:7–8). Despite the hopes of many, this visit will not bring peace (Lk. 19:38, cf. 12:51). The Jerusalem leadership begins to line up against Jesus. Rejection is a feature of the beginning of all the major sections of Jesus' ministry in Luke (Lk 4:14–9:50 [4:16–30 at Nazareth by his own people]; 9:51–19:27 [9:51–56 by the Samaritans]; 19:28–21:38 [19:39–40 by the Pharisees; 22:1–24:53 [22:1–6 by Judas]); cf. G. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography* SupNT64, (Leiden: E. J. Brill 1992) 347.

• In Mt 21:15 (cf. Mt 21:9) the children at the temple *cry* Hosanna to the Son of David. In Luke 19:40 Jesus announces that the stones will *cry* out the truth about him (cf. Hab 2:11; Goulder 2:688–689). Does this use of κραζεῖν by Luke reveal Luke's awareness of a neighboring passage in Mt?

• In Lk 19:41–44, Luke completes the narrative account of the Way to Jerusalem by describing what happened on the descent down the Mount of Olives to the city. At least Lk 19:41 and 42 do not have parallels elsewhere in the other Synoptic gospels. Lk 19:41 is an introduction to the account composed by Luke. The use of ὡς is Lukan (about 48

times in Luke-Acts). ἐγγίζειν is also a linguistic usage of Luke (Collison 46) as is κλαίειν (13 times in Luke-Acts as opposed to two times in Matthew; cf. Goulder 2:690)
• In Lk 19:42–44 Jesus pronounces two oracles against Jerusalem (Lk 19:42 and Lk 19:43–44). They are framed by the clauses εἰ ἔγνως (Lk 19:42) and ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἔγνως (Lk 19:44) to indicate something of the pathos of the failure to acknowledge the messianic mission of Jesus: divine punishment will be inevitable. • The oracles are connected by the repetition of ὅτι recitative. The first oracle says that the leaders of Jerusalem should have accepted Jesus' arrival in Jerusalem as a visitation of peace (cf. the Benedictus account in Lk. 1:79. Indeed worthy of note are the large number of echoes between Lk 19:41–44 and the Benedictus materials in Lk 1:71, 74, 78–79). But the understanding of Jesus as the king of peace has been hidden from the eyes of Jerusalem's leaders. The second oracle brings together a catena of passages from the LXX to describe the siege and fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE as a divine visitation of Judgment (cf. Goulder 2:690, who makes a strong case that the two oracles are Lukan *vaticinia ex eventu* in the aftermath of Titus' siege and destruction of Jerusalem). There is Lukan vocabulary here (the phrase τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς is characteristic of Luke (cf. Lk 1:68, 78; Acts 1:20). Thus we are inclined to agree with those who argue that these predictions in Luke have been shaped and made more specific in light of the actual events of the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE, and, as such, provide a terminus *a quo* for the writing of Luke-Acts (*pace* J. A. T. Robinson, B. Reicke). The theme of Jesus as prophet is very strong in Luke; this entire unit, which echoes and imitates the LXX, is therefore a Lukan composition to prepare the way for the dominant theme of the next unit: the destruction of Jerusalem, to which Luke turns very explicitly in Section Three.]

Section Two: The King Meets Opposition and Is Rejected by the City's Leaders (19:45–20:47)

Mt 21:12–13 ===> Lk 19:45–48 Jesus Symbolically Destroys the Temple

No sooner has he made these dire predictions than Jesus goes straight into the Temple and begins to enact God's judgment. He goes up to those who were selling sacrificial animals and casts them out of the Temple, alluding to the words of the prophets, Jeremiah and Isaiah. The chief priests and scribes and city leaders are enraged at Jesus' words and want to kill him, but there is nothing they can do since the crowds hang on his every word. So they must stand by and watch, day after day, as Jesus repeats this message to the people gathered in the Temple precincts.

[The major feature of Luke's account vis-à-vis Matthew (Lk 19:45–46/Mt 21:12–17) is relative brevity. The main thing he emphasizes is "casting out"—a term he gets from the wider context in Jer 7 (cf. Jer 7:15). This means that, in Luke's perspective, this is no "cleansing" nor is Jesus a reformer; as with the sanctuary at Shiloh, the Temple is doomed! So is Jerusalem. The Temple's only remaining function is to provide a platform for Jesus' last speeches. Luke's quotations from Isa 56:7 and Jer 7:11 remind his readers that in Luke's prophecy-fulfillment scheme, the prophet-messiah reiterates the earlier announcement of Jerusalem's doom (Lk 13:34–45) which will be the true fulfillment of Jeremiah's prophecy.
• Although Luke is following Mt at this point, he makes a number of changes. For example, Luke changes Matthew's ἐξέβαλεν in Mt 21:12, to ἤρξατο ἐκβάλλειν (Lk 19:45). This pleonastic/inceptive use of ἄρχομαι + the infinitive is a linguistic characteristic of Luke (Collison 39–40).
• Lk 19:47–48 appears to be a Lukan composition intended to end the scene and provide a transition to the next series of vignettes. The periphrastic imperfect (ἦν διδάσκων) at the beginning or close of a section is characteristic of Luke (Collison 73–74).
• Καθ' ἡμέραν is characteristic of Lukan composition (Lk 11:13; 16:19; 19:47; 22:53). Collison views καθ' ἡμέραν as a "probable linguistic usage of Luke" (Collison 137).

• The phraseology ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς is found also in Lk 20:1, 19; 22:2, 66; and 23:10. It also appears to be Lukan composition.

• The occurrences of ὁ λαός (19:47, 48) and ἅπας (19:47) are characteristic Lukan linguistic usages (Goulder 2:691). Thus we conclude, on the basis of these cases of recurrent linguistic terminology, that Lk 19:47–48 is Lukan composition.]

Mt 21:23–27 ===> Lk 20:1–8
The Jerusalem Leadership Questions Jesus' Authority

Unable to stand idly by, the Jerusalem leadership decides to confront Jesus. "Who gave *you* the authority to do and say these things?" "Answer me this first," replies Jesus. "Was John the Baptist sent by God or acting on mere human authority?" Suddenly realizing they could not say what they actually thought about John (cf. Lk. 7:29–30) for fear of the people, they declined to answer. "Neither will I answer your question," countered Jesus.

[Luke is following the order of Matthew's pericopes at this point. He omits the Matthean account of the cursing of the fig tree (Mt 21:18–22) perhaps because he earlier utilized a parable about a fig tree (Lk 13:6–9) from his non-Matthean source material which symbolically predicted the fate of Jerusalem. Luke then adopts, in the Matthean order, the next four controversy stories (Mt 21:23–22:46; cf. Lk. 20:1–44), artfully fashioning a classic Hellenistic philosophical tableau in which the Visiting Sage is publicly challenged by his opponents on a series of topics: his spiritual authority, his loyalty to the tyrant, ridicule of a point of doctrine, the way of salvation (cf. the unabridged version of Arnold Toynbee's, *A Study of History* (Oxford University Press 1939) 6:376–539, esp. 377–406, where Toynbee has collected a large number of parallels to Gospel vignettes which he divides up into a series of classic "tableaux.")

• In this first vignette, Luke makes few changes to Mt 21:23–27.

• The opening verse (Lk 20:1) is his own composition. The use of καὶ ἐγένετο occurs 24 times in Luke. According to Collison, 43, in ten of these instances (Lk 5:12, 17; 7:11; 8:1; 9:18; 11:1, 27; 14:1; 17:11; and 20:1), the phrase opens a new "act" in Luke's drama, and is a linguistic usage of Luke. The collocation of ἐν with ἡμέρα (Lk 20:1) preceded by ἐγένετο occurs 9 times in Luke. According to Collison, 133, it is a linguistic usage of Luke. The use of διδάσκειν (Lk 20:1) is usually a sign of Lukan composition (Collison 45), although διδάσκειν is also found in Mt 21:23.

• Lk 20:2–5 follows Mt 21:23–25 closely.

• Lk 20:6 has a major change from Mt 21:26 with the occurrence of ὁ λαὸς ἅπας καταλιθάσει ἡμᾶς. The use of ἅπας is Lukan (Collison 183); it occurs 12 times in Luke and only three times in Matthew. Of course λαός is a favorite Lukan term (Goulder 2:692). Although καταλιθάζειν is a *hapax legomenon*, it may echo καταλιθοβολεῖν in Ex 17:4 and Num 14:10 and thus be a Lukan Septuagintism.

• Note also that the *inclusio* of stressing the authority of Jesus in Mt 21:23 and 27 is retained by Luke in Lk 20:2 and Lk 20:8, another possible indication of Luke's direct literary dependence upon Mt.]

Mt 21:33–46 ===> Lk 20:9–19 Jesus Tells a Story about Some Wicked Tenants

Having countered this oblique attack successfully, Jesus goes on the offensive with an equally veiled accusation of his own. Turning to the people standing around, he tells them a story about certain merciless vineyard tenants who repeatedly beat and drive away the vineyard-owner's servants, sent to see how the vineyard is being kept. Finally, the vineyard owner sends his "beloved son," but the tenants murder him in hopes of getting the vineyard for themselves. "What do you think the owner of that vineyard will do to those tenants?" asks Jesus. "He will destroy them and give the vineyard to others!" Clearly sensing Jesus' meaning, the people cry, "God forbid this should happen to Israel!" But Jesus replies with a quote from a Psalm implying that the doom of Israel's leaders is certain. Furious, the "scribes and chief priests" wished to kill Jesus there and then but they held themselves back because they were afraid of what the people would do to them.

[Following the account in which the Jerusalem leaders challenge Jesus' authority (Mt 21:23–27), Mt has two parables about vineyards (Mt 21:28–32 and 21:33–46). Luke omits the first, probably because Luke has just talked about John the Baptist (Lk 20:1–8, cf. Mt 21:32) and because he already has a parable of 2 sons (Lk 15:11–32). Nevertheless, the appearance of ἰδοντες . . . αὐτόν (viz., τὸν υἱόν) in Lk 20:14, also found in the Parable of the Two Sons in Mt 21:32, could be an indication that Luke made passing use of the first parable even as he chose the second for his narrative (Lk 7:29–30 //Mt 21:32; cf. Gundry, *Evidence that Luke used Matthew* 1485).

• Luke's version of the Parable of the Vineyard contains numerous Lukan changes, particularly at the beginning and end (Lk 20:9,19). Lk 20:9a contains a pleonastic/inceptive use of ἄρχομαι + the infinitive (λέγειν) which is a linguistic characteristic of Luke (Collison 39–40). Also, the addition of χρόνους ἱκανούς to Mt at Lk 20:9 is Lukan (cf. Lk 8:27 and 28:8).

• In Lk 20:19 we see a tendency of Luke to prefer the expression οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς (Lk 9:22, 19:47; 20:1; 20:19, 22:2, 66, 23:10). Collison, 168–169, considers it a "probable linguistic characteristic" of Luke.

• In Mt 21:42–44, the parable ends with a verse taken from Psalm 118:22–23 (Ps 117 LXX) to which Jesus adds a warning (Mt 21:44) which is quoted by Luke (Lk 20:18). We note that Mt 21:44 "And he who falls on this stone will be broken to pieces; but when it falls on anyone, it will crush him" has brackets around it and is given a probable authenticity rank of 'C' by the UBS4 editorial committee. Gundry has answered the UBS arguments (cf. Metzger, 58), showing on compositional grounds that it is highly unlikely that Mt 21:44 is a harmonizing addition brought in from Lk 20:18 (cf. *Evidence that Luke used Matthew* 1487). We agree with Gundry. In our judgment, the UBS[4] editorial committee was misled by its reliance upon the Two Source Hypothesis at this point. This is no "harmonization." Mt 21:44 is what Luke saw in his text of Matthew, as the almost unanimous text critical evidence indicates (*include* ℵ B C L W Z Δ Θ, papyri, numerous versions, and Chrysostom, Cyril, Jerome, Augustine || *omit* D 33 it[a.b.d.et al.] sy[s] Irenaeus[lat], Origen, Eusebius[syr]). If the UBS committee had not placed reliance upon the Two Source Theory (see Metzger xxviii), they might have been less inclined to view this passage as "harmonization" and certainly would not have seized on the slight textual evidence available to omit it from their critical text of Mt. It is also worth noting that its inclusion creates a sizable "minor agreement" between Mt and Lk against Mk. In our view, Luke simply copied Mt 21:44 in Lk 20:18.]

Mt 22:15–22 ===> Lk 20:20–26 Will You Pay Caesar's Tax?

Unable to kill him themselves, the Jerusalem leadership resolve to use more devious methods to get Jesus put away once and for all. Hoping to be able to turn him over to the Roman authorities on suspicion of treason, they position a few spies in the crowd posing as avid and sincere listeners, who innocently ask Jesus: "Master, we know you speak nothing but the truth; tell us whether we should pay taxes to the Romans?" If Jesus said, "No," then the Roman authorities would be instantly notified; if he said, "Yes," then he would lose credibility with the people, who hated the Roman tax. Sensing the trap, Jesus asks for a Roman *denarius*. "See Caesar's image on it?" asks Jesus. "Give to Caesar what is Caesar's; but all the more give to God what is God's!" The spies are astonished at the shrewdness of Jesus' answer and fall silent.

[After adapting Matthew's second vineyard parable to his purposes, Luke encounters Mt 22:1–14, which he has already used in Lk 14:16–24. Next comes Mt 22:15–22, the question of paying Caesar's Tax. Luke follows Matthew's version fairly closely, making modifications mainly at the beginning and end so it will fit better into the dramatic action he is building through this series of vignettes.

• Luke modifies Matthew's references to "Pharisees" and "Herodians" (Mt 22:15–16) to "so they (i. e. "the scribes and the chief priests," in Lk 20:19) sent spies." Luke tends to downplay Matthew's strong language regarding "the Pharisees" to such an extent that it is not they but the "chief priests and scribes" who are responsible for the death of Jesus. They are the ones who hand Jesus over to the Roman authorities for sentencing (Lk

23:1–3; cf. Lk 20:20). In fact, after Lk 19:39, the Pharisees never appear in Luke's gospel again. For a fuller discussion see Joseph B. Tyson, The Death of Jesus in Luke-Acts (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1986) 148–153 et passim.

• The rest of the pericope follows Mt more closely.

• The word ἐπιλαμβάνομαι (Lk 20:20, 26) occurs five times in Luke as opposed to once in Matthew (Mt 14:31; cf. Lk 9:47; 14:4; 20:20, 26; 23:26). It also occurs seven times in Acts (Acts 9:27; 16:19; 17:19; 18:17; 21:30, 33; 23:19). Collison lists it as a "probable" Lukan linguistic usage (Collison 49–50).

• In Lk 20:21, we note the collocation of "3rd singular aorist active indicative of ἐπερωτάω + αὐτόν + present active nominative participle of λέγω + διδάσκαλε." This same structure is found in five places in the NT, four times in Lk and once in a parallel in Mt (Lk 18:18, Lk 20:21, Lk 20:27–28/Mt 22:23–24, Lk 21:7) suggesting that it is a characteristic Lukan clause. (cf. Collison 216)]

Mt 22:23–33,46 ===> Lk 20:27–40
The Sadducees Mock Jesus' Teaching on Resurrection

Luke next introduces "the Sadducees," a new group of opponents in the audience in the Temple. They appear to be interested in a ridiculously obscure point of Jewish law concerning the effect of multiple marriages on the legal status of a woman in the Age to Come. Their real purpose, however, is not to learn anything about that, but simply to ridicule Jesus' teaching on resurrection, a doctrine they consider unscriptural. Jesus replies to both parts of their question: the impact of multiple marriages on obtaining eternal life (Lk 20:34–36) and the implicit attack on the doctrine of resurrection (Lk 20:37–38). His interlocutors are so amazed at his learning "they no longer dared to ask him about anything."

[Luke is following the Matthean order directly for the body of this pericope. However, there are significant compositional alterations in the middle and at the end.

• In Lk 20:27–28, the construction "3rd singular aorist active indicative of ἐπερωτάω + αὐτόν + present active nominative participle of λέγω + διδάσκαλε" is also found, as it was in Lk 20:21, where we identified it as a linguistic characteristic of Luke (See above) It also appears in the parable in Mt 22:23–24. Compare Collison (General Usage 11, p. 216) who says "the collocation καί/δέ + ἐπερωτάω + the third personal pronoun + a participle of λέγω + vocative of διδάσκαλος, occurs in 3 instances." He then lists Lk 18:18, 20:21 and 21:7. To these he asks his readers to compare Lk 20:27, 3:10, 3:14 and 20:18.

• Lk 20:34–36 differs strikingly from the parallel in Mt 22:29–30. Matthew's version depicts Jesus simply denying the premise of the Sadducees: that there will be marriage in the Age to Come. In Matthew's version, Jesus' answer means: she will be no one's wife (since there is no marriage in heaven, since they will be like angels, [i.e. sexless?]). However, Luke's version of Jesus' answer strikes off in a very different direction. First of all, he introduces a contrast between οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰώνος τούτου, "the sons of this age," and οἱ δὲ καταξιωθέντες τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκεινοῦ τυχεῖν "those considered worthy (by God) to attain to that age." The first group "marry (male) and are given in marriage (female)." But the second group "neither marry nor are given in marriage." Why not? "Because they are no longer able to die *since they now are* (εἶσιν – present tense) equal to the (immortal) angels (ἰσάγγελοι) and already now are sons of God (υἱοὶ εἶσιν θεοῦ; the medial location of the verb is emphatic) because they already are sons of the resurrection (τῆς ἀναστάσεως υἱοὶ ὄντες; present participle of result). The repeated "sons of–" language may be Lukan. See the similar pair in Lk 16:8 καὶ ἐπήνεσεν ὁ κύριος τὸν οἰκονόμον τῆς ἀδικίας ὅτι φρονίμως ἐποίησεν· ὅτι οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου φρονιμώτεροι ὑπὲρ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ φωτὸς. In Lk 6:35, Luke has also altered Mt 5:45 ὅπως γένησθε υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς to καὶ ἔσεσθε υἱοὶ ὑψίστου (cf. A. D. Nock, "The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos," *HTR* 29 [1936]: 399–88 and "Early Gentile Christianity" in *Essays on the Trinity and Incarnation* ed. A. E. J. Rawlinson, pp. 112f.). For the repeated use of "sons of God/light in the Pauline letters, see Rom 8:14; 9:26; Gal. 3:26; 4:6; 1 Thess 5:5.

• Lk 20:40 is inserted here from the conclusion of the *next pericope* in Mt 22:46 to round off the series of challenges to Jesus.]

Mt 22:41–45 ===> Lk 20:41–44
Is the Messiah No More than David's Son?

Now that his adversaries have fallen silent, Luke goes on to portray Jesus asking them a question of his own. "Do you think that the Promised Messiah is no more than just David's Son? Does not Scripture say that David himself addressed him as 'my Lord?' If David did that, why do you think the Messiah is just the son of David?" Waiting patiently for an answer, Jesus receives none. His foes are baffled by the question.

[Although Luke is following the order of Mt, he omits the story that comes immediately after the Sadducee's mocking question about the resurrection in Mt, i. e. the question about the Great Commandment (Mt 22:34–40), because Luke has already utilized it earlier (Lk 10:25–28). After that, in Matthew's order, comes the question about David's son (Mt 22:41–46), which Luke takes over as the fitting climax to his tableau: having successfully parried all of their trick questions, the Visiting Sage confounds his learned adversaries with an impenetrable riddle of his own.

• Luke has omitted the Matthean note that this question came from the Pharisees (Mt 22:41) because, after Lk 19:39, Luke does not have the Pharisees appear again within the Lukan narrative.

• At the beginning of the pericope, εἶπεν δέ + πρός in Luke 20:41 is a Lukan linguistic usage. εἶπεν δέ occurs at the beginning of a sentence 56 times in Luke and only once in Matthew (Collison 47; cf. Collison 9–10 and 143).

• The question is based on a quotation from Ps 110:1 (Ps 109 LXX) which, according to contemporary convention, was ascribed to King David. Luke alters Matthew's phrase, "David, inspired by the Spirit" to "David himself says in the Book of Psalms" (Mt 22:43/Lk 20:42), interpreting the Psalms as prophetic (cf. Lk 24:44; Acts 1:20 and 13:33).

• As a clue to Luke's own understanding of the answer to Jesus' question, "Is the Messiah more than the son *of David*?" we should remember earlier "son" passages in Luke's Gospel, such as the angel's promise to Mary: "he will be called *son of the Most High*" (ὕψιστος, Lk 1:32) and the glorious ending of Luke's genealogy, "the son of Adam, the *son of God.*" (Lk 3:38).

• The Psalm quote is used again by Luke in Acts 2:34–36 and, there, it is clarified further: "Therefore let the whole house of Israel know that God has made [Jesus] *both Lord and Messiah.*"

• By this quote, Luke returns to the theme of Jesus' identity and authority, originally raised in Lk 20:1–8, and here answered—albeit with a riddle—by Jesus himself.]

Mt 23:1, 6, 14 (Lk 11:43) ===> Lk 20:45–47
Scribes Who Steal from Widows

Jesus now turns to his disciples and, in front of all his opponents, warns them: "Don't put your trust in scribes! They parade around in their expensive robes so as to be honored by all and they like to make long, flowery prayers. But they are the kind who will do anything; they even steal from widows! God will soon pay them back with a doubly harsh punishment!"

[Luke continues to follow Matthew's order, arriving at Mt 23, the great attack on "scribes and Pharisees." For this story, he abridges Mt 23:1–7, turning Matthew's material into a concluding warning about "scribes" to "his disciples" to end his debate tableau. Note Lk 11:49–52 for a similar Lukan summary judgment made to his "disciples."

• Luke has already used most of Mt 23 at an earlier point in condemning the "lawyers and Pharisees" (Lk 11:37–52) so he does not repeat it here.

• As noted above, the Pharisees have been moved off the stage, i.e., at the outskirts of the city (Lk 19:39), in order to focus on "the chief priests, leaders of the people and the scribes" as Jesus' enemies (cf. Lk 20:1, 19, 39). However, as before, the way in which Luke portrays Jesus first condemning these persons and then giving specific instructions to "his

disciples" (= Luke's audience) reveals the important symbolic role these groups of adversaries play in Luke's drama.

• In Lk 20:45, the genitive absolute with the substantive λαός followed by εἶπεν is a typical Lukan construction serving to paraphrase Mt. 23:1. (cf. Collison 77–78, 173–174)

• In Lk 11:43/Mt 23:6–7, Jesus described the *Pharisees* as "loving the best seats in the synagogue, etc." Here, in Lk 20:46, Luke *creates a doublet* of Mt 23:6–7 by portraying Jesus giving a similar warning about the *scribes*. On the import of Luke's changes to Mt 23 in Lk 20:45–47 for the development of the Synoptic Tradition on the Two Gospel Hypothesis see William R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem* (New York: Macmillan, 1964) pp. 265–266 and compare his more recent statements on this same subject in *Jesus and the Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982) pp. 7–8 and *The Gospel of Jesus* (Louisville KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1994) pp. 31–33.

• Lk 20:47 has almost the same wording as the disputed verse, Mt 23:14. Since Mt 23:14 is missing in the best early manuscripts (ℵ B D L Θ several versions and Origen, Cyril and Jerome) and since, when this verse does appear in the MSS, it sometimes comes before and sometimes after Mt 23:13, UBS[4] omits this verse as a harmonization, in our judgment correctly.

• The concluding seemingly out-of-place reference to those "who devour widows' houses etc." in Lk 20:47 (missing entirely from Mt 23) is a Lukan insertion following his typical compositional technique where he introduces a character about to play a role in the drama in a previous pericope. In this case the "widow" will appear in the very next vignette—the widow's offering. (Lk 21:1–4) Compare 4 Ezra 15:49 for a connection between widowhood and the devastation of houses.

• Having given an abstract rule of behavior to his "disciples," Luke next introduces unique material (Lk 21:1–4) to provide a concrete example of it. Luke did the same thing earlier when he connected the abstract admonition to love God and neighbor in The One Who Sees and Does (Lk 10:25–28//Mt 22:34–40) to the (unique) story of the Good Samaritan (Lk 10:30–37) by means of the question "Who is my neighbor?" (Lk 10:29).]

Lk 21:1–4 The Sacrificial Giving of a Widow

As if to emphasize his point, Jesus suddenly notices the rich putting a little of their money into the Temple chest. Then he sees a poor old woman, clearly without a husband to take care of her, drop in two little copper coins. "She is the one who has put in the most!" he says. "Despite her dire poverty she put in all she had to live on while those others gave a pittance out of all they have to live on!"

[Drawing upon his non-Matthean source material, Luke inserts a concrete example of the hypocrisy against which Jesus inveighs throughout the Gospel of Luke. The negative attitude toward the rich is typical of Luke (cf. Lk 6:24; 12:16; 14:12; 16:1, 19, 21–22; 18:23, 25).

• The Temple "treasury" may refer to a large chest or wooden box similar to those found in temples the world over. This unique material is brought in to facilitate a transition to the next story in Matthew's order, namely, the comment on the Temple structures, which Luke converts into a comment on their *magnificence* (Lk 21:5–7).

• The use of τις with a noun, not followed by a genitive (Lk 21:2) is a linguistic characteristic of Luke (Collison 211).]

Section Three: The King Predicts the Destruction of the Temple and the City (21:5–38)

The entire speech of Lk 21:8–36 is a response to the request for a sign as to when the destruction of Jerusalem will take place (Lk 21:7). That is the subject under discussion—nothing less and nothing more.

Jesus solemnly says that the end of the Temple and Jerusalem will soon occur as part of a sequence of momentous events (Lk 21:8–28). In Lk 21:8–11 Jesus describes a period of increasing deterioration of the human and natural world. Then, after a parenthesis in which Jesus provides guidance to his "disciples" on how they are to conduct themselves during this period of persecution (Lk 21:12–19), Jesus goes on to predict that Jerusalem itself will come under direct attack and be devastated by foreign powers (Lk 21:20–24). While this happens, says Jesus, great cosmic omens (σημεῖα) will appear (Lk 21:25). Parenthetically, we note that the Jewish historian Josephus also told of terrifying natural omens and signs which appeared at the Fall of Jerusalem (cf. Jewish War 6:286–315). And then, Jesus continues, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the Son of Man will appear in a great cloud, in great glory. "When they begin to see these things happen," says Jesus to those who inquired of him for a sign (Lk 21:20), "then, lift up your heads for your redemption is near" (Lk 21:28). Jesus concludes his speech with the impressive assurance that "this generation will not pass away till all this has taken place" (Lk 21:32). "So take heed to yourselves and be watchful!" (Lk 21:34). It is evident from Luke's version of this great speech as compared with Matthew's, that the recent destruction of Jerusalem by Titus is viewed by Luke as the decisive sign between the time of the historical Jesus and the imminent appearance of the Son of Man and Final Judgment (cf. Lk 21:27, 36).

Mt 24:1–3 ===> Lk 21:5–7 The Temple is Doomed

Hearing certain individuals in the Temple area expressing deep respect for the magnificence of the buildings and the great amounts of money constantly being dropped into the donations chest, Jesus warns, "Don't think that this great structure has long to last! It will soon be destroyed completely; not one stone left on top of another!" Horrified, they ask him when it will happen.

[Luke passes over the parts of Mt 23 that he has already utilized and resumes following Matthew's order at 24:1–3.

- Luke changes Matthew's *disciples* as the persons asking Jesus about the Temple to an anonymous "some," possibly because Luke does not want Jesus' "disciples" (a major term for Luke which at times carries a double meaning referring to his audience, *viz.*, Christians living in the wider *oikoumenē*) to ask about the future of the Jewish Temple.
- The use of τινων λεγόντων in Lk 21:5 is a typical Lukan stylistic alteration. Lk introduces the indefinite pronoun τις more than twenty times into parallel passages of Matthew (cf. Collison 210).
- In Lk 21:7 the collocation καί/δέ + ἐπερωτοῦν + 3rd personal pronoun + participle of λέγω + the vocative διδάκαλε also occurs twice elsewhere in Luke at Lk 18:18 and 20:21. It appears to be a Lukan phrase. It never occurs in Mt (Collison 216).
- Luke typically omits the repetitious apocalyptic Matthean language (See, for instance, the Lukan omissions of Matthew's παρουσία at Mt 24:3, 27, 37, 39). Luke's version of the question in Lk 21:7 stresses the end *of the Temple/Jerusalem*, not the "end of the age." (cf. Mt 24:3)]

Mt 24:4–7 ===> Lk 21:8–11 False Impersonators Will Appear; Wars, Earthquakes, Celestial Portents

"First of all," says Jesus, "strangers will appear who will claim to be me. Don't be misled by them. And when you hear of wars and riots, do not be terrified. They too must come to pass before the end. There will be terrifying earthquakes and famine; strange portents in the heavens."

[The basic order of Luke's version of Jesus' speech follows Matthew's version (Mt 24:4–36). The alterations, additions and omissions stand out and will be discussed as they appear.

• The opening (Lk 21:8–11) is closely modeled on Mt 24:4–8, with only a few stylistic alterations.

• The verb πλανᾶν occurs only at Lk 21:8a in the Gospel of Luke where it is paralleled by a usage in Mt 24:4. It appears more often in Mt (8 times): four times in this context in Mt 24 to refer to false messiahs (Mt 24:4, 5, 11, 24). The cognate noun is used twice later—referring to the charge that Jesus himself was a false messiah (Mt 27:63, 64). The evidence suggests that Luke took over this non-Lukan technical term from Mt 24:4.

• On the other hand, the term καιρός (Lk 21:8b) occurs in a phrase lacking in the parallel at Mt 24:5, and it is characteristic of Luke (10 times in Mt, 13 times in Lk and 9 times in Acts). Moreover, Collison, 46, considers ἐγγίζειν to be a linguistic usage of Luke.

• In Lk 21:9, Luke adds πρῶτον to balance his revision of Mt 24:6b ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐθέως τὸ τέλος.

• Lk 21:11b is a Lukan addition replacing Mt 24:8. Luke introduces a list of terrifying terrestrial and cosmic cataclysms to form the backdrop for his amplification on the suffering of believers, mentioned next in Mt 24:9a. That verse will provide Luke with the opportunity to bring in similar material from Mt 10:17f.; see next section.]

Mt 24:9; 10:17–22; 24:14 ===> Lk 21:12–19 You Will Be Persecuted because of Me

"And you will be persecuted because you bear my name," Jesus adds. "You will be dragged into synagogues and before kings and governors. But don't be anxious, I will help you defend yourself. Even members of your own family will turn you in to the authorities! Everyone will hate you because you bear the name "Christian." But try to endure it; no one can harm your soul—even if they kill your body."

Matthew 10:17–22	Matthew 24:8–14	Luke 21:12–19	Luke 12:11–12
‹10:17› προσέχετε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων·	‹24:8› πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων.	‹21:12› πρὸ δὲ τούτων πάντων ἐπιβαλοῦσιν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν καὶ διώξουσιν,	‹12:11› ὅταν δὲ
	‹24:9› τότε		
παραδώσουσιν γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια καὶ ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν μαστιγώσουσιν ὑμᾶς·	παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς θλῖψιν	παραδιδόντες εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς καὶ φυλακάς, ἀπαγομένους ἐπὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἡγεμόνας	εἰσφέρωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰς συναγωγὰς καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας,
‹10:18› καὶ ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνας δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖς ἀχθήσεσθε ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ		ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός μου·	
εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.		‹21:13› ἀποβήσεται ὑμῖν εἰς μαρτύριον.	
10:19› ὅταν δὲ παραδῶσιν ὑμᾶς, μὴ μεριμνήσητε πῶς ἢ τί λαλήσητε·		‹21:14› θέτε οὖν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν μὴ προμελετᾶν ἀπολογηθῆναι·	μὴ μεριμνήσητε πῶς ἢ τί ἀπολογήσησθε
δοθήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν		‹21:15› ἐγὼ γὰρ δώσω ὑμῖν στόμα καὶ σοφίαν ἣ οὐ δυνήσονται ἀντιστῆναι ἢ ἀντειπεῖν ἅπαντες οἱ ἀντικείμενοι ὑμῖν.	ἢ τί εἴπητε· ‹12:12› τὸ γὰρ ἅγιον πνεῦμα διδάξει ὑμᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἃ δεῖ εἰπεῖν.
ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τί λαλήσητε· ‹10:20› οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ λαλοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ὑμῖν.			
‹10:21› παραδώσει δὲ		‹21:16› παραδοθήσεσθε δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ γονέων καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων,	
ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν εἰς θάνατον καὶ πατὴρ τέκνον καὶ ἐπαναστήσονται τέκνα ἐπὶ γονεῖς καὶ θανατώσουσιν αὐτούς.	καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν ὑμᾶς,	καὶ θανατώσουσιν ἐξ ὑμῶν,	

‹10:22› καὶ ἔσεσθε	καὶ ἔσεσθε	‹21:17› καὶ ἔσεσθε
μισούμενοι ὑπὸ	μισούμενοι ὑπὸ	μισούμενοι ὑπὸ
πάντων	πάντων	πάντων
	τῶν ἐθνῶν	
διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου·	διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου.	διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου.
	‹24:10› καὶ τότε	‹21:18› καὶ θρὶξ
	σκανδαλισθήσονται	ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν
	πολλοὶ	οὐ μὴ ἀπόληται.
	καὶ ἀλλήλους	
	παραδώσουσιν	
	καὶ μισήσουσιν	
	ἀλλήλους·	
	24:11› καὶ πολλοὶ	
	ψευδοπροφῆται	
	ἐγερθήσονται	
	καὶ πλανήσουσιν	
	πολλούς·	
	‹24:12› καὶ	
	διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι	
	τὴν ἀνομίαν	
	ψυγήσεται	
	ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν.	
ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας	‹24:13› ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας	‹21:19› ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ
εἰς τέλος	εἰς τέλος	ὑμῶν
οὗτος σωθήσεται.	οὗτος σωθήσεται.	κτήσασθε τὰς ψυχὰς
	‹24:14› καὶ	ὑμῶν.
	κηρυχθήσεται	
	τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον	
	τῆς βασιλείας	
	ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ	
	εἰς μαρτύριον	
	πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,	
	καὶ τότε ἥξει τὸ	
	τέλος.	

[Luke inserts material taken from Mt 10 into the context of Mt 24 at this point. Using Mt 24:9a/Mt 10:17 as a bridge, Luke amplifies and modifies the next Matthean section on persecution (Mt 24:9–14) in order to make Jesus' speech apply more aptly to the persecution of Christians in the Mediterranean *oikoumenē* after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman legions in 70 CE.

- In Lk 21:12 the collocation πρὸ + τούτων (Lk 21:12a) is found elsewhere (cf. Acts 5:36; 21:38), so it might be a Lukanism. The phrase ἐπιβαλλεῖν + χεῖρ occurs also in Lk 9:62; 20:19 and four times in Acts. It also appears in Mt 26:50; Mk 14:46 and Jn 7:30, 44, but nowhere else in the NT. We are inclined to view it as a Lukan addition into this context.
- In Lk 21:12–13, the terms "synagogues," "kings and governors," "for my (name's) sake" and "testimony" come from Mt 10:17–18. The current form of Lk 21:12b-13 is a Lukan paraphrase of Mt 10:17–18.
- Lk 21:14–15 is Luke's own paraphrase of Mt 10:19–20, creating a doublet of the same material in Lk 12:11–12/Mt 10:19–20.
- Luke's utilization of the material in Matthew's Mission Discourse reveals careful conservation of the material there. Luke already used Mt 9:35–10:16 as the source for his

two parallel accounts of the Mission of the Twelve (Lk 9:1–6) and the Mission of the Seventy-two (Lk 10:1–16). See *SBL 1994 Seminar Papers,* 520–521, for relevant discussions and synopses. Luke then used Mt 10:26–33, 19–20 for the composition of Lk 12:1b-12, Mt 10:34–37 was the basis for Lk 12:49–53; and Mt 10:37–39 for Lk 14:25–33. Mt 10:24–25 is echoed in Lk 6:37–42. Thus, with the exception of Mt 10:23, which may have inspired the organization of the Lukan Travel Narrative, the only material in the Matthean Mission Discourse Luke has not previously used is precisely the two pericopes which appear here in Lk 21, i.e. Mt 10:17–18 and Mt 10:21–22.

• Luke is aware of the similarity of material in Mt 10:17–22 and Mt 24:9–14; both treat of testimony in times of persecution (cf. παραδίδωμι in Mt 24:9 and Mt 10:17). Thus Luke brings the unused material from Mt 10 into Jesus' speech in Lk 21 in order to amplify that part of Jesus' prediction *and also* Jesus' assurance that He would stand by his faithful in their time of dire need. Thus, Luke himself added Lk 21:18 even though it obviously clashes with the previous verse. (Lk 21:17/Mt 10:30) But this could explain another Lukan alteration in the *next* verse. Mt 24:11–14 is largely omitted by Luke as redundant (Mt 24:11–12) or premature (Mt 24:14). Luke does use Mt 24:13 however in Lk 21:19 but revises it to bring Jesus' conclusion into greater consistency with Lk 21:18, by adding the significant twist at the end, "you will obtain *your souls*" κτήσεσθε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν cf. Lk 9:24 and 17:33; contrast Mt 24:13/Mt 10:22 ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται.

• For a discussion of additional linguistic features in Lk 21:12–19, see Allan J. McNicol, *Jesus' Directions for the Future. A Source and Redaction-Historical Study of the Use of Eschatological Traditions in Paul and the Synoptic Gospel Accounts of Jesus' Last Eschatological Discourse* (Macon GA: Mercer University Press, forthcoming) ms pp. 176–178.]

Mt 24:15–21; 29–31 ===> Lk 21:20–28
Jerusalem Will Be Destroyed and the Son of Man Will Appear

"When you see a great army camped outside the walls of Jerusalem," Jesus continues, "flee for your lives, for it will surely be destroyed according to God's vengeance. Woe unto those who live in Judaea in those days, for they will be killed, driven into exile and enslaved. There will be terrifying signs in the heavens; the ocean waves will beat furiously on the shores. But then the Son of Man will appear in the heavens with great power and glory to save his own! So take heart; when you see these things begin to happen, know that your Rescuer is almost here!"

Luke 17:20–37	Matthew 24:15–42	Luke 21:20–36
‹17:20› Ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ	‹24:15› Ὅταν οὖν ἴδητε	‹21:20› Ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε
ὑπὸ τῶν Φαρισαίων	τὸ βδέλυγμα τ	κυκλουμένην
πότε ἔρχεται	ῆς ἐρημώσεως	ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων
ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ	τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δανιὴλ	Ἰερουσαλήμ,
ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς	τοῦ προφήτου ἑστὸς	τότε γνῶτε ὅτι
καὶ εἶπεν,	ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ,	ἤγγικεν
Οὐκ ἔρχεται	ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω,	ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς.
ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ	‹24:16› τότε	‹21:21› τότε
μετὰ παρατηρήσεως,	οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ	οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ
	φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη,	φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη
	‹24:17› ὁ	καὶ οἱ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς
	ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος	ἐκχωρείτωσαν
See Luke 17:31 below	μὴ καταβάτω ἆραι	
	τὰ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ,	
	‹24:18› καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ	καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς χώραις
	μὴ ἐπιστρεψάτω ὀπίσω	μὴ εἰσερχέσθωσαν
	ἆραι τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ.	εἰς αὐτήν,
		‹21:22› ὅτι ἡμέραι
		ἐκδικήσεως αὗταί
		εἰσιν τοῦ πλησθῆναι
		πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα.
	‹24:19› οὐαὶ δὲ	‹21:23› οὐαὶ
	ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις	ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις
	καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις	καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις
	ἐν ἐκείναις	ἐν ἐκείναις
	ταῖς ἡμέραις.	ταῖς ἡμέραις·
	‹24:20› προσεύχεσθε δὲ	
	ἵνα μὴ γένηται	
	ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν	
	χειμῶνος	
	μηδὲ σαββάτῳ.	
	‹24:21› ἔσται γὰρ τότε	ἔσται γὰρ
	θλῖψις μεγάλη	ἀνάγκη μεγάλη
	οἵα οὐ γέγονεν	ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
	ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου	καὶ ὀργὴ τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ,
	ἕως τοῦ νῦν	
	οὐδ' οὐ μὴ γένηται.	
	‹24:22› καὶ εἰ μὴ	
	ἐκολοβώθησαν	
	αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι,	
	οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη	
	πᾶσα σάρξ·	
	διὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς	
	κολοβωθήσονται	
	αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι.	

‹17:21› οὐδὲ ἐροῦσιν,
Ἰδοὺ ὧδε

ἤ, Ἐκεῖ,

ἰδοὺ
γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ
ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστιν.
‹17:22› Εἶπεν δὲ
πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς,
Ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι
ὅτε ἐπιθυμήσετε
μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν
τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
ἰδεῖν
καὶ οὐκ ὄψεσθε.
‹17:23› καὶ
ἐροῦσιν ὑμῖν,
Ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ,

[ἤ,] Ἰδοὺ ὧδε·
μὴ ἀπέλθητε
μηδὲ διώξητε.
‹17:24› ὥσπερ γὰρ
ἡ ἀστραπὴ ἀστράπτουσα
ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν

εἰς τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν
λάμπει,
οὕτως ἔσται

ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
[ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ].

‹24:23› τότε
ἐάν τις ὑμῖν εἴπῃ,
Ἰδοὺ ὧδε
ὁ Χριστός,
ἤ, Ὧδε,
μὴ πιστεύσητε·
‹24:24› ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ
ψευδόχριστοι
καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται
καὶ δώσουσιν

σημεῖα μεγάλα
καὶ τέρατα
ὥστε πλανῆσαι,
εἰ δυνατόν,
καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς
‹24:25› ἰδοὺ
προείρηκα
ὑμῖν.

‹24:26› ἐὰν οὖν
εἴπωσιν ὑμῖν,
Ἰδοὺ
ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐστίν,
μὴ ἐξέλθητε·
Ἰδοὺ ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις,
μὴ πιστεύσητε·

‹24:27› ὥσπερ γὰρ
ἡ ἀστραπὴ
ἐξέρχεται ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν
καὶ φαίνεται
ἕως δυσμῶν,

οὕτως ἔσται
ἡ παρουσία
τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου·

‹21:24› καὶ πεσοῦνται
στόματι μαχαίρης
καὶ αἰχμαλωτισθήσονται
εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πάντα,
καὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ
ἔσται πατουμένη
ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν,
ἄχρι οὗ
πληρωθῶσιν
καιροὶ ἐθνῶν.
‹21:25› Καὶ ἔσονται
σημεῖα

‹17:25› πρῶτον δὲ
δεῖ αὐτὸν πολλὰ παθεῖν
καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι
ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης.
‹17:26› καὶ καθὼς ἐγένετο
ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις
Νῶε,
οὕτως ἔσται καὶ
ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις
τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου·
‹17:27› ἤσθιον,
ἔπινον,
ἐγάμουν,
ἐγαμίζοντο,
ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας
εἰσῆλθεν Νῶε
εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν
καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ κατακλυσμὸς
καὶ ἀπώλεσεν πάντας.
‹17:28› ὁμοίως καθὼς
ἐγένετο
ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις
Λώτ·
ἤσθιον,
ἔπινον,
ἠγόραζον,
ἐπώλουν,
ἐφύτευον,
ᾠκοδόμουν·
‹17:29› ᾗ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ
ἐξῆλθεν Λὼτ
ἀπὸ Σοδόμων,
ἔβρεξεν πῦρ
καὶ θεῖον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ
καὶ ἀπώλεσεν πάντας.
‹17:30› κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ
ἔσται ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ
ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
ἀποκαλύπτεται.
‹17:31› ἐν ἐκείνῃ
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
ὃς ἔσται
ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος
καὶ τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ
ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ,
μὴ καταβάτω ἆραι αὐτά,
καὶ ὁ ἐν ἀγρῷ ὁμοίως
μὴ ἐπιστρεψάτω
εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω.

‹24:28› ὅπου ἐὰν
ᾖ τὸ πτῶμα,
ἐκεῖ συναχθήσονται
οἱ ἀετοί.
‹24:29› Εὐθέως δὲ
μετὰ τὴν θλῖψιν
τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων
ὁ ἥλιος
σκοτισθήσεται,
καὶ ἡ σελήνη
οὐ δώσει
τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς,
καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες πεσοῦνται
ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,
καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν
σαλευθήσονται.
‹24:30› καὶ τότε
φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον
τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
ἐν οὐρανῷ,
καὶ τότε κόψονται
πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς
καὶ ὄψονται
τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
ἐρχόμενον
ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν
τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
μετὰ δυνάμεως
καὶ δόξης πολλῆς·
‹24:31› καὶ ἀποστελεῖ
τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ
μετὰ
σάλπιγγος μεγάλης,
καὶ ἐπισυνάξουσιν
τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ
ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων
ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν
ἕως [τῶν] ἄκρων αὐτῶν.

ἐν ἡλίῳ
καὶ σελήνῃ
καὶ ἄστροις,
καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
συνοχὴ ἐθνῶν
ἐν ἀπορίᾳ
ἤχους θαλάσσης
καὶ σάλου,
‹21:26›
ἀποψυχόντων ἀνθρώπων
ἀπὸ φόβου
καὶ προσδοκίας
τῶν ἐπερχομένων
τῇ οἰκουμένῃ,
αἱ γὰρ δυνάμεις
τῶν οὐρανῶν
σαλευθήσονται.
‹21:27› καὶ τότε
ὄψονται
τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
ἐρχόμενον
ἐν νεφέλῃ
μετὰ δυνάμεως
καὶ δόξης πολλῆς.
‹21:28›
ἀρχομένων δὲ τούτων
γίνεσθαι
ἀνακύψατε
καὶ ἐπάρατε
τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν,
διότι ἐγγίζει
ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις ὑμῶν.

‹17:32› μνημονεύετε
τῆς γυναικὸς Λώτ.
‹17:33› ὃς ἐὰν ζητήσῃ
τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ
περιποιήσασθαι
ἀπολέσει αὐτήν,
ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπολέσῃ
ζῳογονήσει αὐτήν.
‹17:34› λέγω ὑμῖν,
ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ
ἔσονται δύο
ἐπὶ κλίνης μιᾶς,
ὁ εἷς
παραλημφθήσεται
καὶ ὁ ἕτερος
ἀφεθήσεται·
‹17:35› ἔσονται δύο
ἀλήθουσαι
ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό,
ἡ μία
παραλημφθήσεται,
ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα
ἀφεθήσεται.
‹17:37› καὶ ἀποκριθέντες
λέγουσιν αὐτῷ,
Ποῦ, κύριε;
ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς,
"Οπου τὸ σῶμα,
ἐκεῖ καὶ οἱ ἀετοὶ
ἐπισυναχθήσονται.

‹24:32› Ἀπὸ δὲ
τῆς συκῆς
μάθετε τὴν παραβολήν·

ὅταν ἤδη
ὁ κλάδος αὐτῆς
γένηται ἁπαλὸς
καὶ τὰ φύλλα ἐκφύῃ,
γινώσκετε ὅτι
ἐγγὺς τὸ θέρος·
‹24:33› οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς,
ὅταν ἴδητε πάντα ταῦτα

γινώσκετε ὅτι
ἐγγύς ἐστιν
ἐπὶ θύραις.
‹24:34› ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν
ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ
ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη
ἕως ἂν πάντα ταῦτα
γένηται.
‹24:35› ὁ οὐρανὸς
καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσεται,
οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου
οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσιν.
‹24:36› Περὶ δὲ
τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης
καὶ ὥρας
οὐδεὶς οἶδεν,
οὐδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι
τῶν οὐρανῶν
οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός,
εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ μόνος.
‹24:37› ὥσπερ γὰρ
αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ Νῶε,
οὕτως ἔσται ἡ παρουσία
τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.
‹24:38› ὡς γὰρ ἦσαν
ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις
[ἐκείναις]
ταῖς
πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ
τρώγοντες
καὶ πίνοντες,
γαμοῦντες
καὶ γαμίζοντες,
ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας
εἰσῆλθεν Νῶε
εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν,

‹21:29› Καὶ εἶπεν
παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς·
"Ιδετε τὴν συκῆν
καὶ πάντα τὰ δένδρα·
‹21:30› ὅταν
προβάλωσιν ἤδη,
βλέποντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν

γινώσκετε ὅτι ἤδη
ἐγγὺς τὸ θέρος ἐστίν·
‹21:31› οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς,
ὅταν ἴδητε ταῦτα γινόμενα,
γινώσκετε ὅτι
ἐγγύς ἐστιν
ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.
‹21:32› ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν
ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ
ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη
ἕως ἂν πάντα
γένηται.
‹21:33› ὁ οὐρανὸς
καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται,
οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου
οὐ μὴ παρελεύσονται.
‹21:34› Προσέχετε δὲ
ἑαυτοῖς
μήποτε βαρηθῶσιν ὑμῶν
αἱ καρδίαι
ἐν κραιπάλῃ
καὶ μέθῃ
καὶ μερίμναις βιωτικαῖς
καὶ ἐπιστῇ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς
αἰφνίδιος
ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη
‹21:35› ὡς παγὶς·
ἐπεισελεύσεται γὰρ
ἐπὶ πάντας
τοὺς καθημένους
ἐπὶ πρόσωπον
πάσης τῆς γῆς.
‹21:36› ἀγρυπνεῖτε δὲ
ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ
δεόμενοι
ἵνα κατισχύσητε
ἐκφυγεῖν ταῦτα πάντα
τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι
καὶ σταθῆναι ἔμπροσθεν
τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

‹24:39› καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ἕως
ἦλθεν
ὁ κατακλυσμὸς
καὶ ἦρεν ἅπαντας,
οὕτως ἔσται
[καὶ] ἡ παρουσία
τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.
‹24:40› τότε
δύο ἔσονται
ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ,
εἷς παραλαμβάνεται
καὶ εἷς
ἀφίεται·
‹24:41› δύο ἀλήθουσαι
ἐν τῷ μύλῳ,
μία
παραλαμβάνεται
καὶ μία
ἀφίεται.
‹24:42› γρηγορεῖτε οὖν,
ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε
ποίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ
ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται.

[Lk 21:20 resumes the order of Jesus' speech in Mt 24:15, except that Luke has again historicized the reference to Dan 9:27 in Mt 24:15 to make it recall the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans under Titus in 70 CE, a theme to which Luke returns in a moment.

• Lk 21:21 is a rough approximation of Mt 24:16f., to which Luke, in Lk 21:22, adds an echo of Dt 32:35. The repeated use of ἐν + a prepositional phrase as a substantive in Lk 21:21 is a Lukan characteristic (cf. Collison 227), as is the use of the word πίμπλημι (Collison 60).

• The phrase ἐν γαστρί plus ἔχειν in Lk 21:23 (from Mt 24:19) occurs only here in Lk. It occurs in the parallel in Mt here and twice elsewhere in Mt (1:18, 23). As such, it is an example of a recurrent phrase in one gospel that appears only once in a parallel context in another gospel. Such evidence provides a one-way indicator that the latter gospel (in this case, Luke) was dependent upon the former gospel (in this case, Matthew). (For the method utilized in this argument, see William R. Farmer, "Redaction Criticism and the Synoptic Problem," in *Society of Biblical Literature One Hundred Seventh Annual Meeting Seminar Papers — 28–31 October 1971 Regency Hyatt House - Atlanta, Ga.*, 2 volumes (Society of Biblical Literature, 1971) 1:239–250, esp.246–247 on the import for he Synoptic Problem of recurrent words and phrases that may not be capable of being identified as characteristics of the hand of the final redactor of a gospel.)

• Lk 21:24–26 amplifies Mt 24:21–29 in the interest of historicizing the Fall of Jerusalem by Luke. The appearance of cosmic omens at the terrible carnage accompanying the Fall were also mentioned by Josephus (*Jewish Wars* 6:286–315).

• Since Luke has already utilized material drawn from Mt 24:22–28 (Lk 17:23–24, 37), Luke is able to pass straight from Mt 24:22 to Mt 24:29f/Lk 21:25–26.

• Lk 21:27–28 modifies the ending of Matthew's prediction regarding the gathering in of the elect (Mt 24:30–31) to a more personal and direct: "your redemption is at hand." The [ἀπο]λύτρωσις originally promised at the birth of Jesus will finally become a reality for all who believe in him (cf. Lk 1:68; 2:38; cf. 24:21; Goulder 2:714).]

Mt 24:32–36 ===> Lk 21:29–36 The Final Exhortation to Vigilance

Jesus is describing a terrifying future, but he insists that those true to God will have nothing to fear. "When you see these fearful events begin to happen, don't let your hearts fail you. They are signs that God is preparing the way for the Kingdom! You can be certain what I say is true! So watch and be vigilant, praying that God will give you the strength to endure the trials and tribulations that are sure to be everyone's lot. And may you be able to stand with confidence before the Son of Man on the Day of Judgment, and may you know that you have been faithful to him, come what may."

[Luke continues to follow Matthew's order and content fairly closely. The main alterations are easily explainable according to known aspects of Luke's theology and compositional techniques.

• For example, in Lk 21:29, the construction εἶπεν + δέ/καί + παραβολή is an obvious Lukan addition (Collison 223), as is the addition of ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ in Lk 21:31 to the parallel, Mt 24:33 (Collison 169–170).

• An example of a "one-way indicator" of literary dependence of Luke upon Mt occurs at Lk 21:32/Mt 24:34. The formulation "ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν + οὐ μὴ + Aorist subjunctive verb + ἕως ἄν + Aorist subjunctive verb" is a recurrent linguistic feature of the text of Matthew (see Mt 5:18, 26; 10:23; 16:28; 23:39; 24:34; 26:29; see David Peabody, "A Pre-Markan Prophetic Sayings Tradition and the Synoptic Problem," *JBL* 97/3 [1978] 391–409, esp. 398). The same formulation occurs at Lk 21:32 in a passage parallel to Mt 24:34 where there is literary evidence of copying. In fact, if Lk 22:18 is a Lukan construction based upon the similar formula at Lk 22:16/Mt 26:29, then every occurrence of this formula in Luke's gospel can be explained on the basis of Luke's having fragmentarily copied the formula from Mt (Lk 12:59/Mt 5:26; Lk 9:27/Mt 16:28; Lk 13:35/Mt 23:39; Lk 21:32/Mt 24:34 and Lk 22:16/Lk 22:18/Mt 26:29). However, the reverse is not true because Matthew can utilize this formula not only in contexts parallel to Luke (Mt 5:26/Lk 12:59; Mt 16:28/Lk 9:27; Mt 23:39/Lk 13:35; Mt 24:34/Lk 21:32, Mt 26:29/Lk 22:16/Lk 22:18), but also in literary contexts independent of Luke (Mt 5:18 and 10:23). Not all of the occurrences of this formula in Mt can be explained on the basis of Matthew copying Lk. Hence, the direction of literary dependence, as indicated by this one formulaic expression, moves "one way," from Mt to Lk, and not from Lk to Mt. On the method utilized here, see William R. Farmer, "Redaction Criticism and the Synoptic Problem," in *Society of Biblical Literature One Hundred Seventh Annual Meeting Seminar Papers — 28–31 October 1971 Regency Hyatt House - Atlanta, Ga.*, 2 volumes (Society of Biblical Literature, 1971) 1:239–250 and David Barrett Peabody, "Chapters in the History of the Linguistic Argument for Solving the Synoptic Problem. The Nineteenth Century in Context," in *Jesus, the Gospels and the Church. Essays in Honor of William R. Farmer* ed. E. P. Sanders (Macon GA: Mercer University Press, 1987) 47–68.

• Finally Lk 21:34–36 does not come from Matthew. It is quite similar to Paul's wording in 1 Thess 5:3. Perhaps Luke knew that letter or had access to the same source material Paul draws upon and utilized it to complete Jesus' speech here. In any case, Lukan linguistic characteristics such as the use of προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς (Lk 21:34) and δέομαι give evidence of Lukan editorial activity (cf. McNicol, *Jesus' Directions for the Future,* ms p. 181).]

(Mt 21:17–18) ===> Lk 21:37–38 Conclusion to this Section

Luke concludes this Section by saying that Jesus taught in this manner "every day in the Temple." At night he lodges on the Mount of Olives. In contrast to the hostile reception of the Jerusalem authorities, the people come early every morning to listen to Jesus.

[This brief unit was composed by Luke. It has many similarities to Lk 19:47–48. As in Lk 19:47, Lk 21:37 has the periphrastic imperfect with the participial form of διδάσκειν used in combination with a reference to Jesus being in the temple by day.

• The statement that τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐξερχόμενος ηὐλίζετο εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον ἐλκαιῶν echoes the text of Mt 21:17 καὶ καταλιπὼν αὐτοὺς ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως εἰς Βηθανίαν καὶ ηὐλίσθη ἐκεῖ.

• The reference to rising early in the morning (ὀρθρίζειν, Lk 21:38) perhaps echoes Matthew's use of πρωί (Lk 21:38/Mt 21:18 cf. Goulder 2:717).
• Lk 19:45–48 forms an *inclusio* with Lk 21:37–38, rounding out and concluding Luke's dramatic scene of Jesus teaching in the Temple.]

Chapter 7. The Arrest, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus the King Lk 22:1–24:53

Preface

Luke's narrative of the final, climactic events of Jesus' *bios* (Book One) can be divided into four general groups of smaller scenes and events. Thus we have divided this final "chapter" into the following four sections:

The first section (Lk 22:1–46) centers on Jesus' last act with all his disciples: the Passover Meal.

The second section (Lk 22:47–23:25) focuses on Jesus' arrest, the three trials, public humiliation, and betrayal by his disciples.

The third section (Lk 23:26–56a) focuses on Jesus' crucifixion, death and burial.

The fourth section (Lk 23:56b-24:53) is the conclusion of Book One and contains accounts of the appearances of the risen Jesus to his disciples and eleven apostles and his departure from them.

Section One. Jesus' Last Passover Meal (Lk 22:1–46)

Mt 26:2–5 ==> Lk 22:1–2 The Plot Against Jesus

Luke carefully sets the scene for the critical events that are about to happen. It is the time of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, called Passover, and Jerusalem is bustling with pilgrims, many of whom are visiting the Temple daily to hear Jesus. The chief priests and scribes have resolved to kill Jesus, but it must be done in such a way that they won't be blamed; too many of the people are on his side.

[At Lk 21:37–38, Luke had finished his account of Jesus' final judgment upon Jerusalem. He is ready to narrate the response of the leaders of Jerusalem to Jesus' challenge.

• For his introduction, Luke uses Mt 26:1–5. He has already used the intervening material, Mt 24:37–25:46, or echoed it elsewhere:

Mt 24:37–39 // Lk 17:26–30
Mt 24:40–41 // Lk 17:34–35
Mt 24:42–51 // Lk 12:39–46
Mt 25:1–13 // Lk 12:35–36
Mt 25:14–30 // Lk 19:11–28

Luke omits the next account, Matthew's Last Judgment scene (Mt 25:31–46). Luke frequently will substitute a parable from his own parable material for one utilized by Matthew. In this case, the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Lk 16:19–31) may well have functioned as Luke's parabolic statement about the future judgment. Thus, Luke can omit Mt 25:31–46 as redundant. Skipping over Mt 25:31–46, Luke moves ahead to the next point in Matthew's narrative, the plot against Jesus. This brings Luke to Mt 26:1, with its characteristic Matthean summary phrase, "When he had finished all these sayings—"(cf. Mt 7:28; 11:1; 13:53; 19:1), indicating that Mt is about to embark upon a new "chapter" in the narrative. Luke does likewise. • Lk 22:1 begins with an inceptive use of ἐγγίζειν, which is a linguistic characteristic of Luke (Collison 46). Moreover, Luke, following the precedent of the LXX, identifies the feast as "the Feast of Unleavened

Bread" (Lk 22:17; Acts 12:3; 20:6; cf. Marshall, 786), adding "which is called Passover," cf. Mt 26:2.

• Earlier, in Lk 20:19, the chief priests and scribes sought to "place their hands" on Jesus. They could not because "they feared the people" (Lk 20:19; cf. Acts 5:26). Almost the same terminology is used here by Luke in Lk 22:2. The terminology "fearing the people" appears to be a linguistic usage of Luke (Goulder 2:804).

• Marshall, *Luke*, 787, argues that τὸ πῶς + verb (Lk 22:2, 4) is characteristic of Luke (cf. Lk 1:62). Moreover, ἀναίρεσθαι (Lk 22:2)occurs nineteen times in Acts as well as at Lk 23:32.

• All of these linguistic data suggest that Luke has composed Lk 22:1–2 using Mt 26:1–5 as the only source.]

Mt 26:14–16 ===> Lk 22:3–6 Judas' Betrayal

Suddenly, the Chief Priests and scribes are aided in their scheme by none other than the ruler of the powers of evil, Satan, who enters into one of Jesus' chosen Twelve disciples, Judas Iscariot, and makes him go out and confer with them to plan a way to betray Jesus into their hands when the crowds are not present. Delighted at this turn of events, they pay Judas money.

[Luke is following the order of Mt, but he omits Mt 26:6–13 because he has included a similar story of a sinful woman at Lk 7:36–50. He thus moves directly to the next unit in Mt (Mt 26:14–16), and simultaneously tightens up the narrative flow. Even so, he does add a few items to the Matthean account.

• The use of Σατανᾶς to refer to the Evil One is not unusual for Luke (Lk 10:18; 11:18; 13:16; 22:3, 31 and Acts 5:3; 26:18). It occurs three times in Mt (4:10; 12:26; 16:23), once in the Gospel of John (13:27) and seven times in the undisputed letters of Paul. We conclude that this is a characteristic usage of Luke. Luke attributes the betrayal to the direct intervention of Satan who "entered into Judas" (Lk 22:3; cf. a similar motif in the story of Ananias and Sapphira [Acts 5:3]).

• Lk 22:3 The addition ὁ καλούμενος is a typical Lukan phrase occurring 23 times in Luke-Acts (and not once in Matthew or Mark; cf. Collison 179).

• Lk 22:4 Luke adds a reference to στρατήγοι. This term is later added again to Matthew's account of the Arrest (cf. Mt 26:55) in Lk 22:52 where it is amplified: στρατηγοὺς τοῦ ἱεροῦ and means the *Jewish* "temple police." This is probably the meaning here in Lk 22:4 as well. Although the word στρατηγὸς usually means Roman law enforcement officials in Acts, the use of the term "*temple* police" seems to be congruent with Luke's tendency to downplay the role of the *Roman* soldiers in Jesus' crucifixion.

• Matthew's account specifies that Judas was paid "thirty pieces of silver," a detail for which Luke has substituted the general word "money" (Lk 22:5). The idea is an allusion to an Old Testament text in Mt (Zech. 11:12f.) and Luke may not have noticed this.]

Mt 26:17–19 ===> Lk 22:7–13 Preparation for the Passover Meal

The first day of the Feast of Passover arrives. Jesus and his disciples have spent the night on the Mount of Olives (cf. Lk 21:37). He sends Peter and John into Jerusalem where they will be met by a man carrying a jar of water who will lead them to the room where they will celebrate the Passover Meal with Jesus.

[Luke continues to follow Matthew in order. However, his version of the account containing Jesus' instructions to Peter and John on where to find the room in which they will keep the Passover elaborates on Matthew's account. Hence, all of these additions are to be attributed to Luke.

• Lk 22:7 adds the phrase "on which the Passover lamb had to be sacrificed," a clarification for Luke's Gentile readers.

• Lk 22:8 takes Matthew's "the disciples came to Jesus, saying, 'Where . . .'" and changes the story, giving the initiative to Jesus, who chooses the two chief disciples, Peter and John to go and find the designated room. Luke consistently revises Matthew's account to

make clear that Jesus fully understands God's purposes and is completely in control of what is taking place.

• The reference to Peter and John as the pair chosen to find the room anticipates their significant activities as a pair later in the narratives of Acts (Acts 1:13; 3:1–11; 4:13, 19; 8:14; cf. the reference to James and John in Lk 9:54 and Peter, James and John in Lk 5:1–11, 8:51, 9:28). This tradition, if we may call it such, may be contrasted with the striking series of negative comparisons between "the Beloved Disciple" and Peter in the Gospel of John; on this see especially A. J. Droge, "The Status of Peter in the Fourth Gospel: A Note on John 18:10–11," *JBL* 109 (1990) 307–311. Thus Lk 22:8 is yet another case where Luke specifies, by means of a brief reference, figures who will play an important role later in his narrative.

• All of Lk 22:8 is Luke's own composition. Such terms as εἰπών, πορεύεσθαι, and ἑτοιμάζειν (cf. Lk 22:12, 13), are all linguistic characteristics of Luke (Goulder 2:721).

• Lk 22:10a, with the mention of a man carrying a jar of water, greatly improves the exceedingly vague πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα in Mt 26:18a. The reference to βαστάζειν in Lk 22:10 also appears to be a Lukan linguistic characteristic. It occurs nine times in Luke-Acts as opposed to only once in Mark and three times in Matthew.

• Lk 22:11 omits Matthew's reference to "My time is at hand," perhaps as inappropriate in this context. (See Lk 21:8, cf. Mt 24:5) Otherwise, all of Lk 22:11 is based upon Mt 26:18b.

• Lk 22:12 is Luke's addition to round out the narrative he has constructed.

• Lk 22:13 is essentially the same as Mt 26:19.

*** Excursus ***

Preliminary Discussion of Lk 22:14–38: Reasons for Luke's Changes of Matthew's Last Supper

In good Hellenistic fashion, Luke portrays Jesus as giving a lengthy final speech to his disciples, covering a number of important topics. Since the concept of describing the *thought* of a character was not invented until many centuries later, it was the custom in Hellenistic biography for the protagonist, such as a general, statesman, philosopher, or other, to *make a speech* on the eve of some momentous event in order to let the audience know what he thought about it. One might recall the famous speeches of the dying Socrates in Plato's *Phaedo* or Paul's final oration to the Milesian elders depicted in Acts 20:17–38. In any case, Matthew's very brief Last Supper scene (Mt 26:20–29) is hardly sufficient for the expectations of Luke's audience. This is why Luke brings in material from Mt 20:25–28 and 19:28, as well as adding considerable other material of his own. What was his possible motivation for all these changes?

Luke rearranged and augmented the contents of Mt 26:20–35. In Luke's view, Jesus must appear to be fully in control of everything that transpires during the climactic final hours of his ministry. Nothing can appear to have happened unintentionally to Jesus, God's Prophet and King. Therefore, according to Luke's conception of this meal, which is Jesus' final interaction with his chosen Twelve, Jesus must conduct the meal as if in full awareness of everything about to happen *and prepare for it.* In sharp contrast to Mt, Luke takes great pains to portray Jesus as preparing all of the key actors for their final roles. From this

perspective, there are numerous features of Matthew's narrative Luke felt needed to be rearranged.

For example, Matthew's final dinner begins quite inauspiciously, that is, everyone just begins eating. Abruptly, in the middle of the meal, Jesus drops his bombshell announcement that one of them will betray him. Each disciple asks Jesus, "Is it I?" and when the real traitor, Judas, asks him the same question, Jesus' answer, "You have said so!" may have seemed to Luke as a weak and inconclusive response to Judas. Then Matthew's account seems to break and introduce another vignette: "Now as they were eating . . ." Jesus breaks bread and passes it around with wine, as if nothing has happened. He goes on to add another saying about wine, to the effect that he will never drink with them again. After this, Matthew says they all sang a hymn (Luke's audience might have wondered how they could sing a hymn after all that's happened) and went out. *Outside*, Jesus tells them they will all fall away and deny him, at which point Peter protests that he won't. Jesus reaffirms his prediction, Peter protests again, and then Jesus says nothing, either to Peter or to the rest. Finally, they arrive at Gethsemane. It could be viewed, from the perspective of Greek historiography, as a disjointed and clumsy account.

Luke keeps but rearranges most of these elements, adding others where necessary. First of all, unlike Mt, Luke begins the whole scene with a dramatic pronouncement: "This is my last meal with you!" and then the interchanges become more ominous until the dialogue arrives at a grim discussion of swords, preparing for the terrifying events that come next. Secondly, instead of being scattered over two locales, all of the events have been grouped by Luke into a single scene: Jesus' last meal with his disciples, his final opportunity to interact with his chosen 12 (a group which Luke immediately reconstructs following Judas' betrayal and death in Acts 1).

Where Matthew doesn't try to describe the whole Passover Meal, going instead to the middle: "while they were eating . . ." Luke tries to describe the entire meal from start to finish. He begins by placing *first* Jesus' announcement that this is the last time he will eat and drink with his disciples; forming a suitably dramatic entry into the evening's activities. Here we have the "earnestly earnest" saying (Lk 22:15a) and the "eat of it" (Lk 22:15b) to serve as a pair with the next verse "will not drink it again" (Lk 22:18 // Mt 26:29)—another Lukan eating/drinking reference. *Neither of these are to be confused with the words of institution which come next*; Lk 22:15–18 is a prior and separate unit, namely, Jesus the prophet announcing that this is their last eating/drinking together (a theme he returns to at the end in Lk 22:30 to round out the scene).

Next (Lk 22:19), Jesus passes the broken bread around using words which are a conflation of Mt 26:26 and either 1 Cor 11:24 or a tradition similar to that utilized by Paul. After the supper is over, Jesus passes the second cup (Lk 22:20), this time conflating Mt 26:27 and words similar to those utilized by Paul at 1 Cor 11:25, whence Luke got the detail of "the cup after supper."

After the supper is finished, it is time for the "official announcements." First Jesus announces that one of them who *is betraying* him (present participle) is at that very moment eating with him, pretending that everything is all right. This alteration of the Matthean version is far more stark and dramatic, but it means Luke leaves much of Mt behind. Indeed, the only item Luke keeps of Mt 26:21–

25 is a significant part of vs. 24. Otherwise πλὴν ἴδου κτλ are a Lukan construction. Luke also changes Matthew's description of the disciples asking Jesus, "Is it I?" into the rhetorical question "Who among us would *do* such a thing! (καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤρξαντο συζητεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸ τίς ἄρα εἴη ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ τοῦτο μέλλων πράσσειν), only to begin wrangling over who is going to take control after Jesus is gone (Lk 22:24 , 26, 27 reading μέγας/μείζων as a *terminus technicus* meaning "leader;" cf. GThom 12 (same themes of Jesus' "departure" and who would be "great" = leader after him); see also Mt 20:26–28; 23:11)—the answer to their own question: *they all would!* Luke is here far from Matthew's version as he creates a striking ironic conclusion to this part of the scene.

Why would Luke add material from Mt 18:1–5 (Lk 22:24–29) near the end of his Last Supper account? There must have been a very powerful motivation. That is, Luke's portrayal of Jesus' reaction to the squabbling of the disciples must be regarded as of primary importance for Luke's ecclesiastical agenda. First, Lk 22:27 creates a bridge from Mt 20:20–28 (skipping the "ransom" saying; on this see below) to Mt 19:28. (cf. Mt 19:30 and Mt 20:26–27) In the process, Luke brings back the theme of "table" (Mt 20;28) which will be a key element in Jesus' next prophetic pronouncement. (Lk 22:30) But first, he has Jesus insist that they—the Church's "pillar apostles"—must be willing to *serve*, not rule over the Church like Gentile kings. (Lk 22:25/Mt 20:25) Having said this, Luke goes on to a positive reaffirmation of The Twelve (Lk 22:28–30, an echo of Mt 19:28): they will all be rehabilitated and given fitting rewards—12 thrones in Christ's Kingdom where they will again *sit at table* with him and *eat and drink*, going back to the opening theme. (Lk 22:16, 18, 30)

Next, in Lk 22:31–34, Luke replaces the dialogue between Peter and Jesus in Mt 26:33–35 with a different exchange in which the prophecy of Peter's denial *is preceded by* an assurance that he will "turn again and strengthen his brothers" (Lk 22:32). This reassurance is clearly important for Luke, who plans to have Peter be the leader of the Twelve in the first half of Acts. Thus it is precisely here, in Jesus' last words to Peter, that Luke makes use of Mt 16:17–19 (Peter's confession; cf. Lk 22:32) and Mt 16:22–23 (the reference to Satan, cf. Lk 22:31), which Luke had not used earlier.

With all these matters taken care of, Luke is ready to conclude the Last Supper scene with an ending entirely of his own making. He portrays Jesus asking the disciples if they had need of anything when he sent them out on their (first) mission (Lk 22:35–38, cf. Lk 9:1–6). They say "no." Jesus now says, "This time, you will need to be prepared to take care of yourselves." Then Luke, to prepare for the literal fulfillment of the prophecy Jesus is about to quote from Isa 53:12, has Jesus ask, "Do you have any swords? If you don't, swap your outer mantle for one, because the prophecy must be fulfilled in me 'He was numbered with the transgressors'—*referring to the disciples.* They show him two swords they already have (Luke does not waste time telling us how they got them); Jesus says, "They will do," because he needs only *two* transgressors to fulfill the prophecy to the letter. Singing no hymn, they go out to the Mount of Olives.

Then comes the prayer scene (Lk 22:39–46) during which Judas suddenly shows up with a large crowd of Jesus' enemies ("chief priests, elders and temple police"). (Lk 22:47–48; cf. Lk 22:52–53) His disciples who see what is about to happen ask Jesus, "Lord, shall we strike with the sword?" and, without waiting for

an answer, one of them hacks at the head of the slave of the High Priest, *instantly becoming a transgressor* and literally fulfilling Isaiah's prophecy. This accomplished, Jesus says "Stop!" and heals the slave's wound.

With this as a general explanation for Luke's alterations of Matthew's Last Supper Scene (and after), we may now proceed to more detailed compositional observations.

* End of Excursus *

Mt 26:20–21a, 26–29 ===> Lk 22:14–20 The Final Banquet (cf. 1 Cor 11:23–26)

"When the hour came," Luke writes, "Jesus sat at table with the twelve apostles." Jesus announces that he has earnestly desired to eat this Passover meal with them before he suffers, that he will not eat it again until it is fulfilled in the Kingdom of God. Then, taking a cup of wine, he bids the disciples share it together, saying that *he* will never drink it again until the Kingdom of God comes. Then Jesus breaks the bread and passes it around, saying, "'This bread is my body broken for you; when you eat bread together in the future, do so in memory of me.'" After the meal, according to ancient custom, Jesus passes around another cup of wine, saying, "'This cup of wine is God's new covenant in my blood poured out for you.'"

Matthew 26:20–30	Luke 22:14–20, 39	1 Cor 11:23–26	Luke 22:21–24
‹26:20› Ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης ἀνέκειτο μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα.	‹22:14› Καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα, ἀνέπεσεν καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι σὺν αὐτῷ.	‹11:23› Ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, ὅτι	
‹26:21› καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν εἶπεν,	‹22:15› καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς,	ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ	
Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν	Ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν·		‹22:21› πλὴν ἰδοὺ ἡ χεὶρ
παραδώσει με.		ἢ παρεδίδετο	τοῦ παραδιδόντος με
‹26:22› καὶ λυπούμενοι σφόδρα ἤρξαντο λέγειν αὐτῷ εἷς ἕκαστος, Μήτι ἐγώ εἰμι, κύριε;			
‹26:23› ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν, Ὁ ἐμβάψας μετ' ἐμοῦ τὴν χεῖρα ἐν τῷ τρυβλίῳ οὗτός με παραδώσει.			μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης·
‹26:24› ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ,			‹22:22› ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὸ ὡρισμένον πορεύεται
οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται· καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος.			πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ παραδίδοται.
‹26:25› ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Ἰούδας ὁ παραδιδοὺς αὐτὸν εἶπεν, Μήτι ἐγώ εἰμι, ῥαββί; λέγει αὐτῷ, Σὺ εἶπας.			‹22:23› καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤρξαντο συζητεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸ τίς ἄρα εἴη ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ τοῦτο μέλλων πράσσειν. ‹22:24› Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ φιλονεικία ἐν αὐτοῖς, τὸ τίς αὐτῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι μείζων.

	‹22:16› λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ φάγω αὐτὸ ἕως ὅτου· πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.	
	‹22:17› καὶ δεξάμενος ποτήριον	
See Matt 26:27 below	εὐχαριστήσας εἶπεν, Λάβετε τοῦτο καὶ διαμερίσατε εἰς ἑαυτούς·	
	‹22:18› λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, [ὅτι]	
See Matt 26:29 below	οὐ μὴ πίω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως οὗ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθῃ.	
‹26:26› Ἐσθιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν		
λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον καὶ εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ δοὺς τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἶπεν, Λάβετε φάγετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.	‹22:19› καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.	ἔλαβεν ἄρτον ‹11:24› καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ εἶπεν, Τοῦτό μού ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.
‹26:27› καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες,	‹22:20› καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων,	‹11:25› ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λέγων,
‹26:28› τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.	Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.	Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι·

‹26:29› λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν,
οὐ μὴ πίω
ἀπ' ἄρτι
ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γενήματος
τῆς ἀμπέλου
ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης
ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω
μεθ' ὑμῶν
καινὸν
ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ
τοῦ πατρός μου.

‹26:30› Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες
ἐξῆλθον
εἰς
τὸ Ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν.

See Luke 22:18 above.

‹22:39› Καὶ
ἐξελθὼν ἐπορεύθη
κατὰ τὸ ἔθος εἰς
τὸ Ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν,
ἠκολούθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ
καὶ οἱ μαθηταί.

τοῦτο ποιεῖτε,
ὁσάκις ἐὰν πίνητε,
εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.
‹11:26› ὁσάκις γὰρ
ἐὰν ἐσθίητε
τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον
καὶ τὸ ποτήριον πίνητε,
τὸν θάνατον τοῦ κυρίου
καταγγέλλετε
ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ.

[Luke is following Matthew's basic narrative order, but within this scene he makes some significant alterations.

• Lk 22:14 changes Matthew's "evening" (Mt 26:20) to ἡ ὥρα, a phrase which occurs in Luke-Acts over thirty times. In the Passion narrative, Luke uses it to highlight the gravity of the event as well as to indicate a specific time (See, e.g., Lk 22:53, 59; 23:44; 24:33). In contrast to Mt 26:20, Luke uses ἀναπίπτειν to describe the posture of the guests at the meal, a word he has used earlier (Lk 11:37; 14:10; 17:7). Luke changes Matthew's "twelve disciples" to "apostles" in order to distinguish between the many "disciples" and the twelve "apostles;" (cf. Lk 6:13) this distinction will be critical later (cf., e.g., Lk 24:33).

• Lk 22:15–16 is Luke's construction based on Mt 26:29 and 1 Cor 11:23 or similar tradition. Luke adds the words Ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα in Lk 22:15. This construction that makes use of cognate words has been identified as a Septuagintism (cf. Gen 31:30; Ps 105:4) and is characteristic of Luke's usage (cf., e.g., Acts 5:28; 23:14). The statement in Lk 22:15b-16: "I will not eat the Passover again until my suffering is completed/accomplished/fulfilled (τὸ με παθεῖν . . . πληρωθῇ) in the Kingdom of God (ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ), might mean fulfilled *according to God's Plan* (cf. the repeated references to this concept after the resurrection: Lk 24:26–27, 44 δεῖ πληρωθῆναι). In other words, Luke might mean this to refer, not to some distant future event, but specifically to the "eating and drinking" with his disciples following the "fulfillment"—that is, the crucifixion and resurrection which for Luke inaugurates the Kingdom. As such, this might point toward the repeated "eating" references later in Lk 24:30–35, 41–4341.

• Lk 22:17–18 is based on Mt 26:27–29. However, Luke has split the Matthean passage in half (i.e., created a doublet), placing the statement "I shall not drink again of this fruit of the vine until I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom" (Mt 26:29) directly after Lk 22:15–16 so that it forms a parallel to the opening statement's reference to "eating" in the kingdom of God—even though Luke has taken Matthew's cup terminology of the ritual of the Eucharist (Mt 26:27) to use here. The meaning of Lk 22:18 is almost the same as Mt 26:29: "I will never drink wine again until the Kingdom of God comes," except Luke means this *non-apocalyptically*. It will be "fulfilled" in the course of the next three days. Thus, Lk 22:15–18 forms an initial unit whose central point is: this is the last Passover I will eat with you until all Scriptures are fulfilled in me and I eat with you again on Sunday!

• Lk 22:18 The phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν is a significant Lukan term. It occurs five times in Lk (1:48; 5:10; 12:52; here; 22:69), once in Acts (18:6), once in 2 Cor 5:16, and nowhere else. It means "from now on," as we can see from Jesus' warning to the High Priest:
Luke 22:69 **ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν** δὲ ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενος ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ.
On ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, see the further discussion under Lk 22:69 below.
• Lk 22:19–20 These verses are Luke's version of the "institution of the Eucharist" proper. He has put it here, following Matthew's order (thereby creating a *second* cup), but has conflated Mt 26:26–28 with the material also known to Paul (cf. 1 Cor 11:23–26, the reference to *the cup after supper* is mentioned in Lk 22:20, 1 Cor 11:25a and nowhere else in the NT):

Lk 22:20	καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως	μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λέγων...
1 Cor 11:25a ὡσαύτως	και τὸ ποτήριον	μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λέγων...

(For an additional reason why we believe Luke is using material found in 1 Cor., see below the discussion of φιλονεικία at Lk 22:24.)
As noted above, by this process, Luke creates references to *two* cups at the Last Supper. This has led to centuries of attempts to emend the text to bring Luke's account into greater harmony with the other Synoptics. Thus half of Lk 22:19 and all of vs. 20 have been deleted in the past (cf. the recommendation of part of the UBS[3] editorial committee; Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* 176). The textual base for the "short reading" consists of D and some versions of the Itala. The textual support for the "longer reading" includes $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ ℵ A B C L W Δ Θ Ψ numerous versions and quotations. UBS[4] includes it with a "confidence grade" of {B}. One argument usually advanced against the genuineness of the longer reading says that it is a harmonization with the Eucharistic usage of the Pauline churches in 1 Cor 11. For the Two Gospel Hypothesis, this close echo of a Pauline letter is viewed as a sign of genuineness of the longer ending; we have found other examples of a close bond between phrases in Lk and passages in the genuine letters of Paul. Nor is the customary argument that Luke avoids substitutionary atonement language valid, particularly when it relies on an *emended* text of Lk 22:19–20 as part of its evidence. Finally, the alleged appearance of non-Lukan vocabulary in these two verses can be accounted for by Luke's importation of Pauline liturgical expressions (see Metzger *op. cit.* 177). We agree with UBS[4], therefore, in concluding that Luke's version of the words of Jesus associated with the bread and wine are a conflation of Mt 26:26–28 and 1 Cor 11:23–25.]

Mt 26:22–25 ===> Lk 22:21–23
He Who Is Betraying Me Is Here at the Table

Without pausing, Jesus then announces, "But, note well! The hand of the man who is betraying me is with mine on the table! The Son of Man must indeed suffer what has been determined by God, but woe to the man who brings it about!" The disciples are stunned by Jesus' words and ask each other who would possibly do such a thing?

[Luke now incorporates Matthew's account of the exchange between Jesus and Judas in Mt 26:21–25. He greatly abbreviates Matthew's version in order to bring into the Last Supper a vignette where the Twelve quarrel among themselves over who would be the leader after Jesus' death. (Lk 22:24–27) Luke's purpose for bringing together Jesus' announcement of his betrayer (Lk 22:21–23) and this struggle for dominance (Lk 22:24–27) may be that he sees that struggle among the eleven as equivalent to Judas' betrayal of Jesus. At least that would appear to be the effect of placing it where he does. Although this makes it a strikingly severe judgment upon the Twelve, it is not unlike what we have seen from Luke's hand earlier (Lk 9:28–62). More on this in the next pericope.
• Lk 22:21–23 shows numerous signs of Lukan editing. Πλήν is a frequently used word in Luke (15 times in the Gospel, 4 times in Acts; cf. Collison 120–121). Πλήν οὐαί occurs three times (Lk 6:24 [no parallel with Mt]; Lk 17:1/Mt 18:7 and here in Lk 22:22, cf. Mt 18:7).

• Luke skillfully inserts τραπέζης at Lk 22:21 so there will be an echo later when Jesus looks forward to the τραπέζης μου ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου (Lk 22:30). Jesus' last earthly banquet—to be repeated by his disciples in memory of him—is a proleptic taste of the Messianic banquet in his Kingdom.

• Goulder notes that the construction τίς + optative (Lk 21:23) occurs eleven times in Luke-Acts and never in Mt (or Mk). (cf. Collison 209) Goulder also notes that τίς with the partitive genitive occurs five times in Lk as opposed to once in Mt (Goulder 2:809, cf. Collison 210). We, thus, concur with Goulder that Lk 22:23b is a Lukan composition.]

Mt 26:31–35 =====> Lk 22:24–38
Leaders Must Serve – I Will Reward You in My Kingdom!
(Mt 18:1–5; 20:25–28; 19:28)

No sooner does Jesus announce that his betrayer is present and the Twelve react in shock, than they suddenly begin quarreling over who should take over Jesus' position as the leader, as if he were dead already. Jesus scolds them for their arrogance, warning that their attitude makes them no different than Gentile tyrants whom God will certainly destroy. "Whoever would be a leader like me must follow my example and serve," warns Jesus. He goes on to temper his harsh rebuke by promising them, who alone have been with him through everything, twelve positions of highest honor in his Kingdom.

[Luke utilizes Mt 26:31–35, but adds material from Mt 18, 19 and 20, in order to provide Jesus with a major statement during his final meal about squabbling among the Twelve over who is number one. Echoes of this squabble can be clearly detected in Paul's letters and the Gospel of John.

• Lk 22:24 contains considerable evidence of Lukan compositional activity. ἐγένετο δέ is a Lukan linguistic characteristic (Collison 43). We also note that δὲ καί occurs in Luke-Acts 48 times as opposed to only 6 times in Matthew and twice in Mark (cf. Goulder 2:802 whose figures are incorrect)

• The use of τό in a construction that raises an indirect question is also characteristic of Luke (Goulder 2:806).

• The term φιλονεικία is a NT hapax at Lk 22:24. Could it be an echo of 1 Cor 11:16? The clause in 1 Cor 11:16 δοκεῖ φιλόνεικος εἶναι is similar to Lk 22:24 δοκεῖ εἶναι. Furthermore, this reference to φιλόνεικος in 1 Cor 11:16 (another NT hapax) can also *point forward* to the squabbling at Corinthian Eucharists described by Paul in 1 Cor 11:17–22. These could be additional indications that Luke is quite familiar with not only the Gospel of Matthew but also the Pauline tradition preserved in 1 Cor 11, not only with the received terminology on the supper *but also* the rebuke against squabbling which Luke also seems to have combined with Mt 26:26–29.

• In Lk 22:25, the addition of the reference to benefactors εὐεργέται to Mt 20:25 is a nice touch for audiences in the Greco-Roman world.

• Three of Luke's seven uses of μείζων appear within this literary context (Lk 22:24, 26, 27; See also Lk 7:28bis, 9:46 and 12:18) while the Matthean parallel here is not μείζων, but μέγας. (Mt 26:26) That Luke should alter μέγας το μείζων is understandable because the comparative degree of the adjective is proper Greek while the positive degree is more typical of Hebrew style or the LXX which reflects that style. Our conclusion is that this cluster is an echo of what is otherwise a fairly wide-spread Matthean phrase that includes μείζων (cf. Mt 11:11; 18:1, 4; cf. Mt 5:19).

• The words ἐν μέσῳ (Lk 22:27) occur frequently in Lk-Acts (Lk 2:46; 8:7; 10:3/Mt 10:16; 21:21; 22:55; 24:36; Acts 1:15; 2:22; 4:7; 17:22 and 27:21), and may be considered a characteristic expression of Luke which is almost always missing from the Matthean parallel context.

• Lk 22:29. Luke omits the specific reference to Jesus' death as a ransom in Mt 20:28. Compare the related Lukan omission of "ransom" at Mt 20:28, cf. Lk 18:27. However, Isa 53 remains in the background throughout the Last Supper scene in Lk. In Lk 22:20, Jesus announces the new covenant of Jer 31:31. Now Luke has Jesus the king bestow upon the Twelve the covenantal blessings of the kingdom (Lk 22:29). When the kingdom

comes they will again eat and drink with him (Lk 22:30), a wide-spread Lukan motif (17 times in Luke-Acts). In the unique passage about the swords (Lk 22:35–38), the words about "being numbered with the transgressors," Luke explicitly quotes Isa 53:12 at Lk 22:37 (*see further below*).

• Lk 22:31–32 is a Lukan composition. It prepares for the dominant role Peter will play in Acts 2–12. The occurrence of δεῖσθαι (Lk 22:32) is one of fifteen usages of this expression in Lk-Acts. It occurs only once in Mt and is characteristic of Luke's theme of prayer. Lk 22:31–32 is an anticipation both of Peter's betrayal and his restoration. Jesus prays (δέομαι, Lk 22:32) and later invites Peter and the other disciples to pray (προσεύχομαι, Lk 22:40, 46). Instead they fall asleep and Peter betrays Jesus. Ultimately, however, Jesus' prayer is answered when Peter is rehabilitated.

• Lk 22:33 may reveal Luke's knowledge of Peter's martyrdom which, according to tradition, occurred in Rome during the reign of Nero, just prior to the outbreak of rebellion in Judea in 66.

• Lk 22:35 curiously echoes the instructions of Jesus to the "72 others" "not to take purse, bags, or sandals" (Lk 10:4) rather than the instructions to the Twelve to take "no staff, nor bag, nor bread, nor money" (Lk 9:3).

• Lk 22: 36–38 contains the famous *crux* regarding Jesus' admonition to purchase swords. For what purpose? We believe the answer to this question lies in Luke's quotation of a text from Isaiah (Isa 53:12), "And he was reckoned with transgressors." Very soon Jesus will be arrested and, although he will be entirely innocent, *his disciples* will perform an act of criminal aggression, thus bringing about the requisite circumstance that Jesus "will be reckoned with (two) transgressors." To make it clear that this was not their idea, Luke portrays Jesus advising the disciples to purchase (= barter for) *two* swords.

• Now at the end of Jesus' ministry, the hour of crisis has arrived. The expression ἀλλὰ νῦν . . . τοῦτο τὸ γεγραμμένον δεῖ τελεσθῆναι ἐν ἐμοί (Lk 22:36–37) clearly refers to Isa 53:12/Lk 22:37, but it is also an echo of what Jesus said at the beginning of his ministry: σήμερον πεπλήρωται ἡ γραφὴ αὕτη ἐν τοῖς ὠσὶν ὑμῶν (Lk 4:21, cf. Lk 4:18–19/Isa 61:1–2; 58:6, another text from Isa). Thus, from beginning to end, the ministry of Jesus according to Lk unfolds according to the scriptures.]

Mt 26:30, 36–46 ===> Lk 22:39–46
Jesus Piously Submits to God's Will

Jesus and the disciples return to the Mount of Olives for the night as is their custom. Beseeching his disciples to pray for God to protect them from temptation, he goes off by himself and devoutly submits his will to God, come what may. Coming back, he finds that his disciples have fallen asleep "out of sorrow." Jesus wakes them, warning them once more to be on guard against temptation—well knowing what is about to happen.

[Luke returns to the order of Matthew's pericopes (Mt 26:36–46). However, Luke makes considerable editorial changes in Matthew's account of Jesus' prayer in Gethsemane. The complex Matthean structure is greatly reduced. The three-fold asking the disciples to keep watch, praying in the supine posture (signifying total submission) for the cup to be removed, and then returning to find the disciples sleeping, is eliminated by Luke. Instead, Luke softens Jesus' agony (we take Lk 22:43–44 to be a later addition (see below) so that Jesus appears in greater control of events. Thereby Luke speeds up the action by removing unnecessary repetition and softens the disciples' seemingly uncaring behavior.

• Lk 22:39. Instead of Matthew's phrase: "they went out to the Mount of Olives" (Mt 26:30), Luke describes Jesus purposefully leading the disciples: "he came out and went . . . to the Mount of Olives and the disciples followed him." The use of πορεύεσθε with εἰς (Lk 22:39) is a Lukan linguistic characteristic (Collison 61). Earlier, Luke had established the fact that Jesus regularly spent the nights of his last Passover in Jerusalem at the Mount of Olives (Lk 21:37). Now, in Lk 22:39, Luke announces that, "in keeping with his custom," Jesus proceeds to the Mount of Olives to pray.

• Lk 22:40. Luke has taken the instruction to pray against temptation in Mt 26:41 and placed it at the beginning of the scene (Lk 22:40) and then repeated it again at the end

(Lk 22:46), creating a doublet which forms a nice inclusio. Prayer is an essential factor in meeting the challenges of Satan, who seeks to test the disciples (Lk 11:4; 22:31–32). Unlike Jesus, the disciples fail to pray and the later narration in Lk depicts the sad consequences.

• Lk 22:41. Luke avoids Matthew's depiction of Jesus lying face down before God, the abject submission or *proskynesis* commonly expected of subjects when asking royalty for anything. Instead, Luke depicts Jesus as kneeling, possibly a more noble posture.

• Lk 22:43–44 is considered to be an interpolation by UBS[4]. The ms. evidence against its genuineness is very strong: $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ $\aleph^{1}$ A B N T W and a few early versions. In favor are $\aleph^{*.2}$ D L D Q Y numerous versions and virtually all patristic citations. The UBS committee therefore regards it as an ancient and honorable early reading, but not original. B. Ehrmann has made a strong case for the view that these verses are both literarily and theologically intrusive in Luke's account (Ehrmann, 187–194). However, David Crump, *Jesus the Intercessor* WUNT 2/49 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1992) 116–121 has made a strong case for the genuineness of these verses, noting the presence of several linguistic characteristics of Luke. On the other hand, ἀγωνία, ἱδρώς, and θρόμβος are *hapax legomena.* Thus, on balance, we incline to omit, mainly because of the ms. evidence.

• In Lk 22:46, in place of the Matthean γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε (Mt 26:41), Luke has ἀναστάντες προσεύχεσθε. The use of ἀνιστάναι as a participle is characteristic of Luke (cf. Lk 22:45; Goulder 2:88, cf. Collison 37).]

Section Two. Jesus' Arrest, Trials, and Public Humiliation (Lk 22:47–23:25)

Mt 26:47–56 ===> Lk 22:47–53
The Authorities Seize Jesus in the Middle of the Night

As Jesus was speaking, suddenly a crowd including Temple police appears, led by none other than Judas, who well knew where to find Jesus, all alone, in the middle of the night. Judas tries to kiss Jesus in greeting but Jesus pulls back. His other disciples ask Jesus if they should resist, and, before he can answer, one of them strikes at the head of the slave of the high priest, cutting off his right ear. Instantly Jesus forbids any more fighting and heals the slave's wound. "Why did you come out with such a force tonight?" Jesus asks the chief priests and elders. "Were you too afraid to seize me when I was there in the Temple with you day after day? Afraid what the people would do to you? Never mind; this is your brief moment and that of the authority of darkness. Let's go."

[Luke continues to follow Matthew's order for this account. The significant Lukan additions and omissions can easily be explained according to Luke's own compositional activity.

• Lk 22:47. Luke follows Matthew fairly closely, modifying the account only to emphasize that "Judas was leading" everybody (cf. Acts 1:16b, unlike Mt, where Judas is simply in the crowd). Repeated terminology and a similarity of theme with Lk 22:1–3, the beginning of this chapter in Lk, seems to indicate that this is the beginning of a section in Lk. The general themes of testing and trial featuring Judas is common to both units. Compare also ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα (Lk 22:3) and εἷς τῶν δώδεκα (Lk 22:47). The use of ὁ λεγόμενος (Lk 22:47) echoes a similar Lukan usage at Lk 22:1. In Lk 22:47b ἐγγίζειν (cf. Lk 22:1 again) is a linguistic usage of Luke (Collison 46).

• Lk 22:48. Luke inserts the title "Son of Man" into the Matthean context (Mt 26:49–50) to bring this fateful moment into line with what Jesus had said about Judas at the Last Supper (Lk 22:21–22).

• Lk 22:49. In contrast to Mt, where the disciples begin to resist without first asking Jesus' permission, Luke portrays them asking Jesus, but going ahead without waiting for an answer.

• Lk 22:50. In contrast to Matthew's reading, "ear," Luke specifies that it was the servant of the High Priest's "*right* ear."

• Luke skips over Jesus' words in Mt 26:52–54. Luke wants to give no indication whatever that Jesus was even potentially prepared to resist arrest, or could possibly have used

overwhelming force if he had desired to. Such ideas are absolutely outside the Lukan portrayal of Jesus the non-resisting, non-retaliating Savior of the poor, disenfranchised and outcast.

• Lk 22:53b. Luke adds the reference to "your hour and the power of darkness," (cf. Mt 26:55) to underline the divine clash going on behind the scenes. The reference to darkness anticipates the eclipse which occurs the next day precisely at noon, the moment of Jesus' death (Lk 23:44–45).]

Mt 26:55, 57–58, 67–75; 27:1 ====> Lk 22:54–66a
The Detention of Jesus at the High Priest's House

The Temple authorities seize Jesus and take him away, bringing him into the house of the High Priest for safe-keeping. Peter follows, attempting to mingle with the crowd sitting around a fire in the courtyard. But a serving maid spots him and says, "You were with him!" Peter vehemently denies it. Again someone else insists that he was one of Jesus' group, but again Peter denies any knowledge of Jesus. A third person calls attention to his Galilean accent but again Peter denies knowing Jesus. Suddenly a rooster crows and Peter sees Jesus turn and look at him. Remembering Jesus' prediction, Peter flees, weeping bitterly in shame. Meanwhile, those holding Jesus began to beat him and to spit on him. They blindfolded him and hit him repeatedly, saying, "Come on you prophet! Tell us who hit you!"

Matthew 26:57–75	Luke 22:54–65	Luke 22:66–71
‹26:57› Οἱ δὲ κρατήσαντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπήγαγον πρὸς Καϊάφαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα, ὅπου οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι συνήχθησαν.	‹22:54› Συλλαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἤγαγον καὶ εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως·	‹22:66› Καὶ ὡς ἐγένετο ἡμέρα, συνήχθη τὸ πρεσβυτέριον τοῦ λαοῦ,
‹26:58› ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἕως τῆς αὐλῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἔσω ἐκάθητο μετὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἰδεῖν τὸ τέλος.	ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἠκολούθει μακρόθεν.	ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ γραμματεῖς, καὶ ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον αὐτῶν
‹26:59› οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τὸ συνέδριον ὅλον ἐζήτουν ψευδομαρτυρίαν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὅπως αὐτὸν θανατώσωσιν, ‹26:60› καὶ οὐχ εὗρον πολλῶν προσελθόντων ψευδομαρτύρων. ὕστερον δὲ προσελθόντες δύο ‹26:61› εἶπαν, Οὗτος ἔφη, Δύναμαι καταλῦσαι τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν οἰκοδομῆσαι. ‹26:62› καὶ ἀναστὰς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνῃ τί οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν;		
‹26:63› ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐσιώπα. καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος ἵνα ἡμῖν εἴπῃς εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς		‹22:67› λέγοντες, Εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός, εἰπὸν ἡμῖν. **See Luke 22:70 below.**
ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. ‹26:64› λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Σὺ εἶπας· πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν,		εἶπεν δὲ αὐτοῖς, Ἐὰν ὑμῖν εἴπω, οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε· ‹22:68› ἐὰν δὲ ἐρωτήσω, οὐ μὴ ἀποκριθῆτε.

ἀπ' ἄρτι
ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενον
ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως
καὶ ἐρχόμενον
ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν
τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

See Matt 26:63 above

‹26:65› τότε ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς
διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ
λέγων,
Ἐβλασφήμησεν·
τί ἔτι
χρείαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων;
ἴδε νῦν ἠκούσατε τὴν
βλασφημίαν·
‹26:66› τί ὑμῖν δοκεῖ;
οἱ δὲ ἀποκριθέντες εἶπαν,
Ἔνοχος θανάτου ἐστίν.
‹26:67› Τότε ἐνέπτυσαν
εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἐκολάφισαν αὐτόν,
οἱ δὲ ἐράπισαν
‹26:68› λέγοντες,
Προφήτευσον ἡμῖν,
Χριστέ,
τίς ἐστιν ὁ παίσας σε;

See Luke 22:65 below

See Luke 22:64 below.

‹26:69› Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἐκάθητο
ἔξω
ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ·
καὶ προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ
μία παιδίσκη

λέγουσα,
Καὶ σὺ ἦσθα
μετὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Γαλιλαίου.
‹26:70› ὁ δὲ ἠρνήσατο
ἔμπροσθεν πάντων λέγων,
Οὐκ οἶδα τί λέγεις.

‹22:69› ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν δὲ
ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενος
ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως

τοῦ θεοῦ.
‹22:70› εἶπαν δὲ πάντες,
Σὺ οὖν εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ;
ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφη,
Ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι.

‹22:71› οἱ δὲ

εἶπαν,

Τί ἔτι
ἔχομεν μαρτυρίας χρείαν;
αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἠκούσαμεν
ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ.

‹22:55› περιαψάντων δὲ πῦρ
ἐν μέσῳ τῆς αὐλῆς
καὶ συγκαθισάντων
ἐκάθητο ὁ Πέτρος
μέσος αὐτῶν.

‹22:56› ἰδοῦσα δὲ αὐτὸν
παιδίσκη τις
καθήμενον πρὸς τὸ φῶς
καὶ ἀτενίσασα αὐτῷ εἶπεν,
Καὶ οὗτος
σὺν αὐτῷ ἦν·
‹22:57› ὁ δὲ ἠρνήσατο
λέγων,
Οὐκ οἶδα αὐτόν, γύναι.

‹26:71› ἐξελθόντα δὲ	‹22:58› καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ
εἰς τὸν πυλῶνα	
εἶδεν αὐτὸν ἄλλη	ἕτερος ἰδὼν αὐτὸν
καὶ λέγει τοῖς ἐκεῖ,	ἔφη,
Οὗτος ἦν μετὰ Ἰησοῦ	Καὶ σὺ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶ.
τοῦ Ναζωραίου.	
‹26:72› καὶ πάλιν ἠρνήσατο	ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἔφη,
μετὰ ὅρκου ὅτι	
Οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον.	Ἄνθρωπε, οὐκ εἰμί.
‹26:73› μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ	‹22:59› καὶ διαστάσης
προσελθόντες	ὡσεὶ ὥρας μιᾶς
οἱ ἑστῶτες εἶπον τῷ Πέτρῳ,	ἄλλος τις διϊσχυρίζετο λέγων,
Ἀληθῶς	Ἐπ' ἀληθείας
καὶ σὺ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶ,	καὶ οὗτος μετ' αὐτοῦ ἦν,
καὶ γὰρ ἡ λαλιά σου	καὶ γὰρ Γαλιλαῖός ἐστιν.
δῆλόν σε ποιεῖ.	‹22:60› εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος,
‹26:74› τότε ἤρξατο	
καταθεματίζειν	
καὶ ὀμνύειν ὅτι	
Οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον.	Ἄνθρωπε, οὐκ οἶδα ὃ λέγεις.
καὶ εὐθέως	καὶ παραχρῆμα
	ἔτι λαλοῦντος αὐτοῦ
ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν.	ἐφώνησεν ἀλέκτωρ.
	‹22:61› καὶ στραφεὶς
	ὁ κύριος ἐνέβλεψεν
	τῷ Πέτρῳ,
‹26:75› καὶ ἐμνήσθη ὁ Πέτρος	καὶ ὑπεμνήσθη ὁ Πέτρος
τοῦ ῥήματος Ἰησοῦ	τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ κυρίου
εἰρηκότος ὅτι	ὡς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι
Πρὶν ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι	Πρὶν ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι
	σήμερον
τρὶς ἀπαρνήσῃ με·	ἀπαρνήσῃ με τρίς.
καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἔξω	‹22:62› καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἔξω
ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς.	ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς.
	‹22:63› Καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες
	οἱ συνέχοντες αὐτὸν
	ἐνέπαιζον αὐτῷ δέροντες,
	‹22:64› καὶ περικαλύψαντες
	αὐτὸν
See Matt 26:67 above.	ἐπηρώτων λέγοντες,
	Προφήτευσον,
	τίς ἐστιν ὁ παίσας σε;
See Matt 26:65 above.	‹22:65› καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ
	βλασφημοῦντες
	ἔλεγον εἰς αὐτόν.

[Although Luke is following the general order of events in Mt 26:57–75, he rearranges Matthew's account to produce more powerful dramatic irony.

• Lk 22:54 opens with a usage of συλλαμβάνω from Mt 26:55. Characteristically, Luke then omits Matthew's reference to the fulfillment of scripture (Mt 26:56) and resumes following Mt at Mt 26:57.

• Luke moves Peter's denial from its current location in Matthew's order *after* the trial before the High Priest (Mt 26:69–75) forward, so that it occurs in darkness while Jesus is being detained at the High Priest's house (Lk 22:54b-62). This fulfills Jesus' prophecy about Peter's denial at Lk 22:34 and conforms with Jesus' words at Lk 22:54, "This is the hour of the authority of darkness." Other than this, Luke makes few changes in the story itself, except the striking addition at the end, after the third denial, "Jesus turned and looked at him" (Lk 23:61). This brilliant touch heightens the dramatic irony and prepares perfectly for the next element in the account. Lk 22:62 contains exactly the same wording as Mt 26:75b which supports a direct literary relationship between these two passages (Contrast Mk 14:72).

• Lk 22:63–65. Luke also moves Matthew's account of the slapping and spitting and demanding that Jesus prophesy (Lk 22:63–65; cf. Mt 26:67–68) forward so that it follows immediately after the fulfillment of Jesus' prophecy regarding Peter (Lk 22:54–62), thus heightening the dramatic irony of *that* detail as well. Note that Luke adds the information that *someone blindfolded Jesus* prior to the demand that he prophesy (Lk 22:64), a detail which, since it is lacking in Matthew's version of the story, makes the question: "Who struck you?" seem pointless to Luke because Jesus could see who it was. Luke corrected this. We believe Luke's addition of the blindfold could be evidence of Luke's secondary character compared to the version in Mt. A fuller discussion of this "major agreement" of Mt and Lk against Mk (Mt 26:67–68/Lk 22:64 cf. Mk 14:65) and the manner in which this tradition may have developed, assuming the Two Gospel Hypothesis, may be found in Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, 148–151 and 284–286 (cf. Farmer, *The Gospel of Jesus*, 134–136).

• Lk 22:66. Luke concludes the scene in the High Priest's house by using material from Mt 27:1 to create a transition to a wholly new scene: a formal, *morning* trial before the council of elders (Lk 22:67–71). In the process, Luke changes the nature of the scene in the high priest's house, turning it into a kind of midnight detention of Jesus until daybreak, when a full-fledged trial can be convened before the Jewish council of elders in Jerusalem. This stands in sharp contrast to the account in Mt, which depicts a rushed, middle-of-the-night, kangaroo-court type "trial" in the house of the High Priest, far from public view. Luke wants a much more formal, explicit condemnation of Jesus by the leading Jerusalem authorities, to oppose to three hearings before the Roman authorities, in each of which Jesus is going to be declared innocent of any wrongdoing.]

Mt 27:1; 26:57, 59, 63–66 ==> Lk 22:66b-71
Jesus Is Examined by Jerusalem's Council of Elders

At daybreak, Jesus is brought before Jerusalem's Council of Elders and Priests, who examine him concerning his claim to be the Messiah, the King of the Jews. (cf. Lk 23:2–3) "Tell us if you really are the Messiah," they demand. Jesus refuses to participate in the proceedings, telling them, "Even if I did tell you anything, you wouldn't believe it. But know this much: the Son of Man will soon be seated in honor at the right hand of God the All-Powerful!" "Well, are you saying you are the Son of God, then?" they sneer. "You say that I am," says Jesus. At this, the proceedings suddenly break off. "He has incriminated himself by his own words," they cry, and prepare to take Jesus to Pilate to appeal for his execution.(Lk 23:1)

[Luke is following the general order of Mt, despite having split the midnight scene in the High Priest's house (Mt 26:57–75) into two different locales. The hearing before the council of elders now has greater legitimacy and gravity because it takes place in the light of day. (Lk 22:66) The motive for Luke's creating a daylight hearing before the Jewish council in place of Matthew's middle-of-the-night charade is, as pointed out above, to regularize the official Jewish opposition to Jesus, bring it out into the light of day and

thereby emphasize it more fully than Matthew does. This seems to be part of Luke's agenda to *remove as much blame as possible from the Romans for Jesus' gruesome execution.* Instead, Luke revises the narrative so as to place the blame squarely upon the Jerusalem Jewish authorities. Of course, this theme is already there in his source, Mt, but Luke greatly intensifies it. The other alterations Luke introduces into this scene have mainly to do with making the hearing more comprehensible to his Gentile audience.

• Lk 22:66 opens with the clause, καὶ ὡς ἐγένετο ἡμέρα. The use of καί ὡς to open a temporal sequence is Lukan (Collison 117). The use of καὶ ἐγένετο is a classic Lukan Septuagintism (cf. Collison 42–43). The reference to day comes from Mt 27:1. The rest of Lk 22:66 clearly echoes Mt 26:57 (ἀπήγαγον) and Mt 26:59 (συνέδριον).

• Lk 22:67a. Luke omits the early portion of the trial scene before the "Sanhedrin" in Mt (Mt 26:59–63a). The false witnesses and ancillary accusation (destroy the temple) muddies the dramatic flow. Instead, Luke focuses on Mt 26:63b: "And the high priest said to him, 'I adjure you by the living God, tell us if you are the Christ, the Son of God.'" Luke splits this into two separate questions (Lk 22:67a 70a). He deals with "Christos" separately, getting this potentially disturbing political title out of the way quickly, focusing attention on the second title: "Son of God," as the more important. As a result, Luke has to create Jesus' first answer, "If I told you, you would not believe and, if I should question you, you would not answer," (Lk 22:67–68) which is a parallel to σὺ εἶπας (Mt 26:64), which Luke will use as an answer to the second question (Lk 22:70b).

• Lk 22:69. Luke gets this statement from Mt 26:64, but he completely de-eschatologizes Matthew's quotation of Dan 7:7–13, turning Jesus' prediction of divine judgment into a simple forecast of his own imminent (ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν = "from this time on" New American Bible, "from now on" RSV, NIV, New Jerusalem) glorification to God's right hand, a theme Luke repeats at the crucifixion (Lk 23:42f.) and again in the martyrdom of Stephen (Acts 7:56). The cognate terms ἀπ' ἄρτι and ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν appear at exactly the same point in their respective sentences (Lk 22:69/Mt 26:64) and they serve the same grammatical function. Compare the very similar sentence constructions at Mt 23:39/Lk 13:35 where ἀπ' ἄρτι appears in the text of Matthew but Luke has no parallel to this construction. The expression ἀπ' ἄρτι is found in the gospels of Matthew and John, but not in Mark or Luke. Matthew uses the expression ἀπ' ἄρτι three times in his gospel. All three Matthean usages are in texts paralleled by Luke. Every time the expression appears in the text of Matthew, the parallel text of Luke either lacks the expression (Mt 23:39 cf. Lk 13:35) or the expression ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν is found (Mt 26:29/Lk 22:18; Mt 26:64/Lk 22:69). Luke uses ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν three other times within his gospel and once in Acts (Lk 1:48, 5:10, 12:52, Acts 18:6). Collison, 158–159, notes that "The expression ἀπ' ἄρτι, used 3 times in Mt (and at John 13:4, 14:7 and Rev 14:;13), is condemned by the Atticists." (cf. Collison 163 on Luke's avoidance of ἄρτι). This evidence is wholly consistent with the Two Gospel Hypothesis whereby Luke made direct use of Matthew. If the Atticists condemned ἀπ' ἄρτι, it would be appropriate for Luke, who is generally regarded as the better Greek stylist, to have improved Matthew's Greek expression.

• Lk 22:70–71. Taking the second question from Mt 26:63b with the answer in Mt 26:64a, Luke combines these with the reaction of the High priest in Mt 26:65 to conclude the scene. The reaction of the court in Luke "What further testimony do we need? We have heard it ourselves from his own mouth" is puzzling. Jesus has said nothing incriminating, yet they act as if he has. (Note that Luke has dropped Matthew's reference to "blasphemy" in Mt 26:65.) We suggest that Luke is intentionally *making the court appear irrational.* Luke's version of the trial focuses on a single issue: whether his inquisitors will accept Jesus as the "Son of God." When it becomes apparent to them that Jesus refuses to accept their obvious belief that he is *not* the "Son of God," they fly into a rage, acting as if he has condemned himself somehow—when he obviously has not. This leaves Luke's *audience* with but one conclusion: the Jerusalem authorities who condemned Jesus were blindly opposed to Jesus actually being the Son of God. This, of course, is precisely the conclusion Luke intends to leave with his audience. The leaders of Israel's religious establishment blindly rejected the Truth standing before them. Indeed, Jesus the Prophet tells them this is precisely what they are now doing: "If I did tell you who I am

you would not believe and if I did ask [why you do not believe?], you would not answer!" Luke's revisions clearly serve the needs of Luke's missionary agenda in the wider Gentile missionary world.]

Mt 27:2–31a ==> Lk 23:1–25
Jesus Is Found Innocent in Three Trials before the Roman Authorities

Because they cannot carry out capital executions themselves, the entire council, chief priests and scribes, get up and take Jesus to Pilate's residence for sentencing. Once there, they accuse Jesus of two new charges intended to alarm this Roman governor: "This man tells others not to pay the tribute tax to Rome! And he says *he* is our King rather than Caesar!" Pilate asks, "*Are* you the king of the Jews?" "These are your words, Pilate" says Jesus, "not mine." "He hasn't done anything illegal," Pilate tells the Jewish authorities. Furious, they shout, "But this man has been stirring up the people from Galilee to Jerusalem! You must put a stop to it!" "So he is a Galilean?" asks Pilate. "Then I will send him to the governor of Galilee, Herod Antipas. Let him decide what to do with this man." So they take Jesus to Herod, who again finds Jesus innocent of any wrongdoing. After a brief mocking of Jesus by his guards, Jesus is brought back to Pilate, now dressed in mock-royal robes. Once again, Pilate addresses the Jerusalem authorities: "I have examined this man in light of the charges you bring against him. So has Herod. Neither of us finds him guilty of anything. I am going to release him." Enraged, they shout, "Release somebody else! This man should be crucified!" "Why?" asks Pilate. "What has he done? I can find no reason to execute him!" But the Jerusalem elders continue to insist vehemently, "Crucify him! Crucify him!" Finally, bowing to their demand, Pilate sentences Jesus to be crucified.

[Although Luke is following the general order of events in Mt, instead of Matthew's somewhat hurried, disjointed portrayal of events, Luke creates a dramatic series of sharply etched trial scenes, as Jesus is brought before one Roman authority after another; first Pilate, then Herod, and finally Pilate again. Each trial scene is linked to the previous by a powerful, recurrent phrase: "**I find no cause (for execution) in this man**." Luke's uncharacteristic repetitive prolongation of this part of Matthew's Passion Narrative is intended to counterpoise the actions of the Jerusalem authorities, who are portrayed as senselessly screaming for Jesus' blood, over against the perplexity and genuine concern of the Roman authorities, who repeatedly find him innocent. Although it is clear that the basic outlines are there in Mt, to wit that Pilate thinks Jesus is innocent but bows to the vehement insistence of the Jerusalem authorities to crucify Jesus, Luke has lifted up these two themes to a much more explicit level by means of three trials, each saying more or less the same thing. This fits a basic theme in Luke that, although Jesus received widespread support among the people of Israel, he was rejected by a jealous group of its leaders. With this general perspective in mind, we would like to make the following detailed observations.

• Lk 23:1–3 is a combination of Mt 27:2, 11–14. Luke omits Matthew's mention of the death of Judas (Mt 27:3–10) because he intends to provide his own version of the death of Judas in Acts 1:16–20. ἀνιστᾶν (Lk 23:1) is a linguistic characteristic of Luke (28 times in Luke and only twice in Matthew; cf. Collison 37). [ἅ]πας τὸ πλῆθος is also a Lukan construction occurring 7 times in Luke-Acts and never in Matthew or Mark (Goulder 2:807).

• Lk 23:2–3 is based upon Mt 27:11–12, to which Luke has made some modifications. The phrase ἤρξαντο δὲ κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ λέγοντες (Lk 23:2) is very similar to words used to describe Paul's trial before Felix: ἤρξατο κατηγορεῖν . . . λέγων in Acts 24:2 (cf. Goulder 2:757). We suspect that the specific charges mentioned in Lk 23:2 are Lukan composition. In Matthew's version, Pilate's question (Mt 27:11a) seems unmotivated (How did Pilate find out Jesus was the king of the Jews?). Luke remedies this lack by having the Jewish authorities *accuse* Jesus of this charge, which prompts Pilate to ask Jesus, "Are you indeed the king of the Jews" (Lk 23:3a), which, with Jesus' brief answer, is now based directly on Mt 27:11a.

• Lk 23:4–5 is Luke's recomposition of Mt 27:12–14. For an echo of Luke's language in 23:5, cf. Acts 10:37. Why did Luke deviate so radically from Mt? It is possible that

Matthew's version may have seemed dramatically deficient to Luke. For one thing, the false and groundless accusations mentioned in Mt 27:13 are not specified, leaving the audience wondering what they could have been. Luke remedies this lack by stating what they are, thus showing that they truly are false and groundless. Moreover, Matthew's conclusion: "and Pilate wondered greatly" is hardly the reaction Luke is interested in, being too wishy-washy and ambiguous. So Luke has Pilate say decisively: Οὐδὲν εὑρίσκω αἴτιον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ thus sounding the major theme of this pericope for the first time: the Roman authorities repeatedly proclaim Jesus' innocence. We note in passing that Luke does not drop this theme at the end of this series of trials, but in fact continues it to the end of the crucifixion scene: the *Lukan additions* stress Jesus' *innocence*: the judgment of the second thief (Lk 23:41) and finally the centurion's reaction (Lk 23:47).

Lk 23:4 ὁ δὲ Πιλᾶτος εἶπεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ὄχλους, οὐδὲν εὑρίσκω αἴτιον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ.

Lk 23:14 εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς . . . ἐγὼ οὐθὲν εὗρον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ αἴτιον.

Lk 23:22 ὁ δὲ τρίτον εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς, οὐδὲν αἴτιον θανάτου εὗρον ἐν αὐτῷ

That these formulations may be Luke's own creation (of a triplicate, no less!) can be supported from Luke's exclusive use of the neuter substantive of αἴτιος in contrast to the feminine noun ἡ αἰτία which is found everywhere else:

Mt 27:37 καὶ ἐπέθηκαν ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένην . . .

Mk 15:26 καὶ ἦν ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ τῆς αἰτίας αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένη . . .

Jn 18:38 λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πιλᾶτος . . . αὐτοῖς, Ἐγὼ οὐδεμίαν εὑρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ αἰτίαν.

Jn 19:4 Καὶ . . . ὁ Πιλᾶτος λέγει αὐτοῖς . . . ὅτι οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εὑρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ.

Jn 19:6 λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλᾶτος . . . ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐχ εὑρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ αἰτίαν.

Luke *can* use the feminine noun; cf. Lk 8:47 ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἔλαθεν τρέμουσα ἦλθεν καὶ προσπεσοῦσα αὐτῷ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἥψατο αὐτοῦ ἀπήγγειλεν ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ὡς ἰάθη παραχρῆμα. The use of the substantive is typical of Greek philosophical writing (so Liddell-Scott *s.v.* αἴτιος II.2); an echo of this use occurs at Heb 5:8f. καίπερ ὢν υἱός, ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθεν τὴν ὑπακοήν, καὶ τελειωθεὶς ἐγένετο πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου. Otherwise, the papyri provide no basis for making any distinction between the two forms; both are equally common in legal contexts (see Moulton-Milligan s.vv.). We conclude from this evidence that Luke is editing and using his own linguistic preference rather than the term found in the tradition at this point.

• Lk 23:6–12 is probably a Lukan composition, whose central purpose is to canvas the entire Roman judiciary present in Jerusalem, as it were, so as to remove all doubt what their attitude toward Jesus was. Herod the Tetrarch is portrayed as being eager to see Jesus, an obvious echo of the earlier Lukan references to Herod at Lk 9:7–9; 13:31–32. Here Herod's wish to see Jesus is fulfilled and he finds nothing worthy of punishment in Jesus. So, after letting his guards playfully torture Jesus a little (an echo of Mt 27:27–31a, transposed to this *Jewish* context), Herod sends Jesus back to Pilate. At the end of the pericope, a subsidiary theme emerges: Herod and Pilate agree on Jesus' innocence and "they became friends that very day" (Lk 23:12).

• Lk 23:13–16 is the focal point of the pericope where Pilate reaffirms his earlier (and Herod's intermediate and supporting) judgment: "Nothing deserving death has been done by this man!" The language of this vignette is filled with Lukan linguistic characteristics. The most notable example is πρός with a verb of saying (Lk 23:14) which occurs 151 times in Luke/Acts and never in Matthew (cf. Goulder 2:808). The clause παιδεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἀπολύσω in Lk 23:16, repeated in Lk 23:22b, may also be Lukan. παιδεύειν occurs only in Lk among the canonical gospels.

• Lk. 23:17. We concur with UBS^4 that Lk 23:17 is not original (*omit*: $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ A B L T and a few early versions || *include* ℵ W Δ Θ Ψ and most Byz. witnesses).

• Lk 23:18–19. Luke abbreviates the Matthean version of the Barabbas incident (see Mt 27:17–26) and the reference to Pilate's wife's dream (Mt 27:19). Mt 27:19 is Matthew's main reference to Jesus' innocence; Pilate's wife refers to Jesus as τῷ δικαίῳ ἐκείνῳ "that righteous [=innocent?] man"—wording that could be the source for Luke's version of

the centurion's statement at the crucifixion Ὄντως ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος ἦν (Lk 23:47). In his version of the Barabbas incident, Luke does recount that Barabbas's crime was murder in the city (Lk 23:19). That the Jerusalem leadership was willing to free Barabbas is, in Luke's estimation, another example of that leadership's perfidy.

• Lk 23:20–23 is a modification of Mt 27:21–23. Lk 23:20 alters the first two elements of Matthew's three-fold question-and-answer structure in Mt 27:21–23 by the summary: "Pilate, *wishing to release Jesus.*" But, in the context, Pilate is rebuffed by the Jewish authorities who insist on Jesus' crucifixion. Then Luke 23:22a picks up the third question of Pilate in Mt 27:23a: "Why, what evil has he done?" To this Luke *adds Lk 23:22b:* the third, emphatic repetition of οὐδὲν αἴτιον θανάτου εὗρον ἐν αὐτῷ. After this, Luke resumes Matthew's version at Mt 27:23b: "But they shouted all the more . . . (etc.)" which Luke changes to the more effective "their voices prevailed."

• Lk 23:24–25 is Luke's summary of Mt 27:24–26. Luke may have omitted the reference to Pilate's washing his hands (and the subsequent self-oath of the Jews) in favor of the more direct "So Pilate gave sentence that their demand should be granted." The rest of Lk 23:24–25 follows Mt 27:26.]

Section Three. Jesus' Crucifixion, Death and Burial (Lk 23:26–56)

Mt 27:31b-32 ====> Lk 23:26–31
Jesus Speaks a Final Warning to the Women of Jerusalem

Jesus is immediately led away, taken outside the city to be crucified without delay. Those who are leading Jesus away seize a passer-by to carry his cross for him. Women who are following behind begin to weep, lamenting Jesus' death. "Don't cry for me!" he tells them. "Weep for yourselves and your own children, for I tell you they will see such days of terror that they will wish they had never been born!" Two criminals are also taken out to be killed with Jesus.

[Luke still follows the basic order of Mt 27. However, Luke carefully moves over the single most damning passage in Matthew's entire narrative regarding Roman involvement in Jesus' death, *viz.* where the Roman soldiers viciously torment Jesus (scarlet robe, crown of thorns, mocked and beaten; Mt 27:27–31). Luke rewrites this brutal scene for a *Jewish context* and has *Herod Antipas'* soldiers thus mock Jesus (Lk 23:11 see above). Thus we see here another attempt on the part of Luke to shift as much blame for Jesus' death as possible away from the Roman officials and onto the Jerusalem authorities. Indeed, in the pericopes to come, Jesus will be ringed about by sympathetic voices with the sole words of hatred and vengeance coming from Jerusalem's "high priests and elders." In place of this scene, Luke substitutes a scene not found in Mt: Jesus' warning to the women of Jerusalem about their own impending destruction. Let us now consider some of the compositional details.

• Lk 23:26 repeats Mt 27:31b and then adds to the information in Mt 27:32 the secondary details "who was coming in from the country" and "to carry the cross *behind Jesus.*" The use of ἀπήγαγον in Lk 23:26 comes from Mt 27:31 (cf. Mt 27:2). καὶ ὡς (Lk 23:26), used temporally is a "likely" linguistic characteristic of Luke (Collison 117). ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι occurs 12 times in Luke-Acts as opposed to only once in Matthew and is a "probable" linguistic usage of Luke (Collison 49–50).

• Lk 23:27–31 is Lukan composition. It presents Jesus' prophetic announcement of the future calamity of the Fall of Jerusalem (cf. Lk 19:41–44; 21:20–24). Luke had omitted the Matthean account of the acceptance of "all the people" for the death of Jesus (Mt 27:24–25), but in Lk 23:27–28 Luke brings over from Mt 27:25 the references to λαός and τέκνα and restricts the address of the word against the city to the "daughters of Jerusalem." Whereas in Matthew "all the people" take direct responsibility for their actions in putting Jesus to death, Luke redirects his readers' attention to the actual destruction of Jerusalem which occurred in their time: undaunted in the least by his own impending death, Jesus the Prophet of God gives his final warning to the "daughters of Jerusalem" about their own impending destruction.

• Lk 23:29 is a deliberate contrast with Lk 11:27–28. There the womb and the breasts that nourished Jesus were honored. Now, in Lk 23:29, the wombs and breasts of these women will be dry and barren. In Lk 23:28, the references to "weeping" (κλαίειν) reflect a reversal of the eschatological blessings of the kingdom (cf. Lk 6:21).
• Lk 23:29 also echoes Lk 21:23 which is also a text on the Fall of Jerusalem. In days to come, barrenness will be reckoned as a blessing.
• The phraseology of Lk 23:29–30 reflects a number of Septuagintisms—especially terminology drawn from Hos 10:8 and probably also Hos 9:12–16. Luke has placed this terminology in the mouth of the prophet Jesus who will be the agent to bring these ancient prophetic words to fulfillment.
• Lk 23:31 may have been a traditional proverb which Jesus spoke to his own generation. Luke applies it to the fall of Jerusalem.

Mt 27:27–31, 33, 35, 37–38, 41–44,-48 ===> Lk 23:32–43
The Crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth

Jesus and two thieves are led out to be killed. The procession arrives at a place called, "The Skull," and Jesus and the two criminals are crucified. Jesus prays for God to forgive those who are killing him. While the crowds watch in silence, the Jerusalem authorities cannot resist gloating over their victim. "If *this* is the Christ of God, his *Chosen One*, let God prove it by saving him!" The Roman soldiers also mock him, offering him sour vinegar to drink and saying, "If you really are the king of the Jews, save yourself!"—for someone has put a placard over Jesus' head that reads: "This is the King of the Jews." One of the criminals screams at him, "Are *you* the Christ? Then save yourself and us!" The other criminal rebukes him, saying "Do *you* dare call upon *him?* We are being punished for what we did, but he is innocent!" Then turning to Jesus the criminal says, "Jesus, remember me when you enter into your kingdom!" Jesus replies, "Today you will be with me in Paradise!" Just then, about noon, the sun's light begins to fail and darkness falls over everything. It gets darker until mid-afternoon when the Temple veil protecting the Holy of Holies suddenly rips open. At that moment, Jesus cries out, "Father! Into thy hands I commit my spirit!" and dies. The Roman centurion watching all this praises God and says, "Certainly this man was innocent." The crowds begin to leave, weeping bitterly, but those acquainted with Jesus stand to one side watching it all happen.

[Luke has been following Matthew's order for the account of the crucifixion. Luke uses Matthew's account, but rewrites it freely, causing many transpositions. We will discuss each of these alterations as they come up.
• Lk 23:32. Luke frames the crucifixion with an inclusio on the fate of the two criminals (Lk 23:32–33 and 39–43). Luke 23:32–33 is based upon Mt 27:33. The net effect is that the emphasis on the fulfillment of Is 53:12 is deepened. Jesus is numbered with the transgressors (cf. Lk 22:37). Evidence of Lukan terminology would include the use of ἄγειν (Lk 23:32; Collison 35) and ἕτερος (Collison 184–185). The reference to κακοῦργοι (Lk 23:32, cf. Lk 23:33 and 39) is unusual. The only other place this term occurs in the NT is 2 Tim 2:9. ἀναιρεῖν may also be Lukan (21Xs in Lk-Acts, Mt 2:16, 2 Thess 2:8, Heb 10:9 and nowhere else in the NT).
• Lk 23:33 is quite similar to Mt 27:33, with Luke omitting the unnecessary Hebrew word, "Golgotha." The use of καλεῖν (Lk 23:33) in the form of an articular participle introducing an appositive is Lukan (Collison 80, cf. Collison 179).
• Lk 23:34 contains a major text critical dilemma. A number of early witnesses omit the verse entirely: $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ $\aleph^{1}$ B D* W Θ it^{a,d} syr^{s} cop^{sa,bo}. The great majority of witnesses, including other important early ones, include it: $\aleph^{*\,2}$ A C D^{2} L Δ Ψ and a large number of patristic citations. UBS^{4} places it within ⟦ ⟧ indicating their view that it is not original, but should be included nevertheless because "it bears self-evident tokens of its dominical origin" (Metzger 180). What this statement might mean is uncertain. We are inclined to accept this verse as original for two main reasons. The evidence in Sinaiticus suggests an answer to the conflicting mss evidence. The original hand included it but the first corrector omitted it, possibly under the influence of the rampant anti-Jewish sentiment which permeated the orthodox Church from the mid-second century onwards. Indeed, it was a

widely held view among Christians from the late first century onwards that the "Judaioi" had brought death and destruction upon their nation by crucifying the Son of God. From this perspective, it could have seemed inappropriate for Jesus to forgive the Jews and various attempts were made to omit it from Luke's text. We view this reaction as misguided since the antecedent intended by Luke may not have been the Jerusalem authorities at all but *exclusively the Roman soldiers.* When the text says "forgive *them* for they do not know what they *are doing*" (present active tense) the pronoun "they" clearly refers to the previous verse: "and there *they* [i.e., the Roman soldiers] crucified him . . ." While Luke was quite intent on making sure the Romans came away with minimal blame for Jesus' death, that is far from the case regarding "the chief priests and elders of the people." This interpretation is supported by the reference in Acts 2:23 τοῦτον τῇ ὡρισμένῃ βουλῇ καὶ προγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ ἔκδοτον διὰ χειρὸς ἀνόμων προσπήξαντες ἀνείλατε. The words underlined should not be translated "hands of lawless men" (*RSV NAB NIV??*) but "you crucified and killed by the hands *of those outside the law* (*NRSV;* "you used *heathen men* to crucify and kill" *NEB* is similar but uses an outmoded term). Thus translated, it is a specific reference to the *Roman soldiers* used by the Jerusalem authorities to execute Jesus. Therefore we agree with the second corrector of Sinaiticus who disagreed with the first corrector: *this verse is original.* Our second consideration is that Jesus' act of forgiveness fits perfectly into Luke's moral and theological agenda (cf. Goulder 2:765), as we can see from his account of the first Christian martyr, Stephen, a story which is closely modeled on the death of Jesus and one which contains precisely those two sayings from the cross where Luke differs from Matthew's version of Jesus' last words (Lk 23:34 and 23:46), including this plea for forgiveness (see Acts 7:59–60); Lk 23:34b is dependent upon Mt 27:35.

• Lk 23:35. Luke is primarily dependent upon Mt 27:41–43 for this verse, although he has shortened it considerably and rephrased their taunt. The words "if he is the *Christ of God,* his *Chosen One*" are a deliberate echo of several momentous earlier usages of these terms by: the angels (Lk 2:11), Peter (Lk 9:20) and the Voice of God at the Transfiguration (Lk 9:35; cf. Acts 2:36; 3:18). They come back now filled with rage, not honor and reverence, in a bitterly ironic way (similar to Matthew's powerful use of Psalm 22:8 in Mt 27:42–43). Luke introduces a reference to the people in Lk 23:35a, portraying them impassively standing around, watching all that happened, instead of Matthew's violent, taunting, jeering mob (Mt 27:38–40). Luke wants everyone to be on Jesus' side (or at least not opposed to him) *except* the Jerusalem authorities. In fact, this half-verse could be based upon Ps 22:7:

Ps 22:7 Πάντες οἱ θεοροῦντες με ἐξεμυκτήρισάν με
Lk 23:35a καὶ εἱστήκει ὁ λαὸς θεωρῶν. ἐξεμυκτήριζον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες

Note that Luke seems to have split the action in Psalm 22:7 and referred it to two different groups: the *crowd* stands and *watches,* while the *leaders* mock and *deride.* This would be consistent with Luke's editorial concern to restrict Jesus' opposition to the Jerusalem leadership.

• Lk 23:35–38 is a conflation of Mt 27:48 (sour wine/wine vinegar), the mocking by the soldiers (Mt 27:27–31) and the chief priests, scribes and elders (Mt 27:37–42, especially Mt 27:42a), with the inscription (Mt 27:37). Luke omits Matthew's other reference to the offer of wine mixed with gall (Mt 27:34). It is superfluous to the narrative. The effect of Luke's composition is to condense the activity into one drink-insult, one reference to him as "king"—a jeer fittingly coming from their Roman lips, culminating with a reference here to the sign over Jesus' head where it fits in with the soldier's taunting reference to "king." Some suggest that the soldiers referred to in Luke's account were not Roman soldiers, but Herod Antipas' guard. Granted Luke has done all he could to portray the Jewish authorities as the only persons who persecuted Jesus, including partially ignoring the scene in Mt 27:27–31 where the *Roman* soldiers beat and mock Jesus, although he transferred some of its content to *Herod's* soldiers in Lk 23:11. However, the "soldiers" mentioned at the crucifixion in Lk 23:36 are called οἱ στρατιῶται while the term Luke uses for Herod's soldiers in Lk 23:11 is ὁ Ἡρῴδης σὺν τοῖς στρατεύμασιν αὐτου. A statistical examination reveals that the term στρατιῶται

only refers to Roman soldiers throughout the Gospels (Mt 8:9; 27:27; 28:12; Mk 15:16; Lk 7:8; Jn 19:2; 19:23, 24, 32, 34). In any case, Herod's soldiers did not have authority to carry out crucifixions; only Roman soldiers did. Thus, while Luke does remove most, he does not remove *all* guilt for Jesus' death from the Romans. The "salvation" first promised in Lk 2:11 is now being brought to realization.

• Lk 23:39–43 uses Mt 27:44 to conclude the inclusio that began at Lk 23:32–33 and to create a dialogue not found in any other crucifixion account. Luke has one of the criminals recognize Jesus as king (Lk 23:42). The ensuing dialogue plays three key roles in Luke's agenda: (a) It introduces into the crucifixion scene a person from the opposite end of the social spectrum from the powerful priests and the passive crowd and lets him instantly recognize Jesus' innocence and majesty. (b) It reinforces, in the very midst of the worst the Jerusalem authorities can do to hurt Jesus, Luke's major theme of Jesus' control over all situations. He portrays Jesus calmly reassuring the criminal that the two of them will be in Paradise by day's end. The one who had been derided as impotent (Lk 23:35, 39) actually is able to bring salvation (Lk 23:42–43). (c) It halts the horrible stream of abuse aimed at Jesus from all of his tormentors and prepares the reader/listener for Jesus' noble final words (and certainly not Matthew's terrifying wordless scream in Mt 27:50). This leaves Luke's version of Jesus' noble words in the audience's memory as "the Lord's Last Words." "Father, into your hands I deliver my spirit." (Lk 23:46)

Mt 27:45, 51, 50, 54–55 =====> Lk 23:44–49
The Death of Jesus

While the cosmos is veiled in darkness, Jesus, with great trust in God, firmly commits his spirit with his dying words to the heavenly Father (cf. Ps 31:5= Ps 30:5 LXX). In the presence of the crowds who watch in remorse, a military captain glorifies God and pronounces him innocent. This verdict anticipates God's verdict which will be announced with the resurrection.

• Lk 23:44–45 is based upon Mt 27:45, 51a. We surmise that Luke brings together the two signs of divine anger to reinforce each other dramatically. Nevertheless, Luke has no intention of using these references to the sun's darkening and the earthquake in their original apocalyptic meaning. Matthew's version, with its continuation, the tombs opening and the dead being resurrected and coming into Jerusalem (Mt 27:51b-53) intends to show portents that the general resurrection began *at Jesus' death.* Jesus' death formed the apogee of the "woes of the Messiah," after which, according to the kind of Jewish apocalyptic prophecy Mt exhibits, comes the final trigger of the end of the age and Judgment Day. Thus for Mt, Jesus' resurrection is not viewed as an isolated "miracle," but as part of the beginning of the general resurrection. Jesus belongs to the "first wave," as it were, the "first fruits of the [universal] resurrection," which is precisely what Paul says in the chapter where he explains to the Christians at Corinth what Christ's resurrection meant: "Christ has been raised from the dead, *the first fruits* of those who sleep" (1 Cor 15:20, 23). Given this understanding, one can easily see why the Christians at Thessalonika became confused when some of their members died, since they were supposedly living in the "time of the (general) resurrection." Luke, on the other hand, who has the destruction of Jerusalem behind him, as well as the deaths of Peter and Paul, must recast the meaning of the death of Jesus *in light of the church's experience of his day.* Thus, he consistently de-eschatologizes Mt in preparation for his account of the early Church in "the Acts of the Apostles," which culminates on a note of expectant waiting for the end to come and Christ to return in glory. Thus, Luke does not portray Jesus' resurrection in Jewish eschatological terms as the "first fruits of those that sleep," but, in Hellenistic fashion, as an isolated reappearance of a spiritual being from the realm of the dead. Compare the appearances of Herakles, Achilles, etc. (David R. Cartlidge and David L. Dungan, eds., *Documents for the Study of the Gospels* [2nd revised and enlarged edition, Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994] pp. 185–200, 225, 236–238). The addition of the phrase τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλιπόντος to Mt 27:45 (Lk 23:45) to explain the darkness at the crucifixion (cf. Lk 22:52) echoes Joel 2:31 (cf. Acts 2:20). Thus, the arrival of the darkness seems to be a signature of Luke to echo the idea that it is the time of the last days. The detail of

darkness serves here as a Lukan substitute for the Matthean account of the graves of the dead begin opened (c. Mt 27:51b-53). Note also that Jesus, as the New Adam (cf. Lk 3:38) has just opened the doors of paradise to one of the thieves (Lk 23:43).

• Lk 23:46 is based upon Mt 27:50. Luke, however, does not echo Ps 22 (=Ps 21 LXX) which is formative for Mt 27:46–50 and the entire Matthean Passion account. Instead, Luke echoes Ps 31:5 (=Ps 30:5LXX) as the scriptural basis for Jesus final words.

Ps 30:5 Εἰς χεῖράς σου παραθήσομαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου, ἐλυτρώσω με, Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας

Lk 23:46 Πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου.

These words from Ps 31 (=Ps 30LXX) are intended by Luke to replace *both* anguished cries in Matthew's account (Mt 27:46 and 27:50), but the specific location and choice of the wording may have been suggested to Luke by the presence of the term πνεῦμα in Mt 27:50. In any case, it is Luke's intention to leave the impression that Jesus' last moments were not filled with confusion and dreadful agony, but instead with steadfast courage and confidence in God's deliverance. Luke's drastic revision at this point fits in with similar alterations made by Luke previously, all of which tend to portray Jesus as being much more in control of the situation. It also provides the model and example of perfect martyrdom, which is then echoed faithfully by the dying Stephen in Acts 7:59–60.

• Lk 23:47–49. This material is based upon Mt 27:54–55. Foremost in this passage is Luke's alteration of the pronouncement of the Centurion in Mt 27:54.

Mt 27:54 Ὁ δὲ ἑκατόνταρχος. . . λέγοντες, Ἀληθῶς **θεοῦ υἱος** ἦν οὗτος.

Lk 23:47b Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης. . . λέγων, Ὄντως ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος **δίκαιος** ἦν.

This change belongs to Luke's major purpose throughout the trials and execution scene to have numerous actors, from many perspectives, all pronounce Jesus *innocent,* making the Jerusalem leadership's insistence on his guilt stand out all the more glaringly as completely groundless and wicked. The concluding reference to the "women who. . stood and saw these things" (Lk 23:49b) is a final dramatic touch: all of Jesus' male supporters have long since disappeared. Now the women step forward and begin to play their decisive role in the ensuing events following Jesus' death.

• Lk 23:49a appears to echo directly Ps 38:12 (=Ps 37:12LXX). This text is connected with material drawn from Mt 27:55 to bring back into the narrative the women who had been with Jesus from Galilee. (Lk 8:1–3) The phraseology ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας (Mt 27:55/Lk 23:49) is significant because this phrase seems to be characteristic of the text of Mt (Mt 19:1, cf. Mt 21:11; See Gundry, "Matthean Foreign Bodies," 1490). This is good literary evidence that Luke is dependent upon Mt.

• Lk 23:49 closes out the responses to the crucifixion. An inclusio is formed around the next unit with the references to women (Lk 23:49 and Lk 23:55–56).

Mt 27:57–61; 28:1 ===> Lk 23:50–56a
The Burial of Jesus

Joseph of Arimathea, a member of the Jerusalem council was not in agreement with the council's decision to put Jesus to death. So, he goes to Pilate and receives custody of Jesus' body and places it in a tomb. This took place late on Friday evening and was observed by the women of Galilee. They take their leave and prepare ointments and similar materials to place upon the body as soon as the Sabbath is over.

[Again Luke follows the order of Matthew. Matthew highlighted the action of Joseph of Arimathea and Luke does the same.

• Luke has omitted the specific names of the women in Lk 23:55 who came to the tomb (Mt 27:61; cf. Mt 27:56). However, the reference to women who followed Jesus from Galilee (Lk 23:49) echoes Lk 23:27 and Lk 8:1–3, where these women were first named, and looks forward to Lk 23:55 and 24:6–10, where the women are named again, and to Lk 24:22–24 which includes an explicit retrospective reference to the women's roles in Luke's narrative.

• Also, Lk 23:50 apparently omits ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης (Mt 27:57) to describe the time of the burial, but uses Mt 28:1 (ἐπιφώσκειν) to say that the burial took place on the Day of Preparation, just as the Sabbath was about to come (Lk 23:54).
• The use of ὑπάρχειν (Lk 23:50) occurs 40 times in Lk-Acts and is a linguistic characteristic of the text of Luke (Goulder 2:809; cf. Collison 66–67). This word occurs only 3 times in Matthew and is absent from Mark. Collison, 66–67, adds that ὑπάρχω, used as a substitute for εἶναι, is a linguistic characteristic of Luke.
• Also ἀνήρ (Lk 23:50) which occurs 127 times in Lk-Acts (8 times in Mt) is a linguistic characteristic of the text of Luke (Goulder 2:800).
• The Lukan descriptions of Joseph of Arimathea in Lk 23:50 as ἀγαθός and δικαίος are appropriate words to describe a decent man to a Hellenistic audience (cf. Simeon in Lk 2:25). Thus these Lukan additions to Mt 27:57 are understandable.
• The reference to βουλή in Lk 23:51 is important. This is a technical term in Luke-Acts to describe the plan of God as it is unveiled in the Christ event. However, as Squires [*The Plan of God in Luke-Acts,* 1] argues, βουλή is also used by Luke (Lk 23:51 and Acts 27:12, 42) to refer to human plans that are set to thwart God's will. In this redactional verse Luke is opining that Joseph of Arimathea, who was looking for the kingdom of God, was not in agreement with the human plans that had resulted in the crucifixion of Jesus.
• Lk 23:52–53a stand in verbatim agreement with Mt 27:58a and four of the five words in Lk 23:53 are found in Mt 27:59. Goulder 2:772–773, has drawn attention to the considerable number of minor agreements between Matthew and Luke against Mark at this point. Of these, he notes ἐνετύλιξεν αὐτό (Mt 27:59/Lk 23:53) and προσελθών (Mt 27:58/Lk 23:52) as especially significant. Gundry, ["Matthean Foreign Bodies," 1491] considers resumptive οὗτος, a linguistic characteristic of the text of Matthew (Mt 3:3; 5:19; 7:12; 12:23; 13:19; 14:1; 21:10, 11; 26:23; 27:37), as betraying direct Matthean influence on Luke (Mt 27:58/Lk 23:52). ἐπιφώσκειν in Mt 28:1 and Lk 23:54 are the only NT usages of this word. Its appearance in these parallel contexts supports a direct literary relationship between Matthew and Luke. This combination of evidence:
(a) extended verbatim parallel wording between Mt and Lk,
(b) repeated minor agreements between Mt and Lk against the text of Mk, and
(c) a significant syntactical usage of Mt appearing in the text of Lk represents a concatenation of linguistic agreements between Mt and Lk that are difficult to explain on the Two Source Hypothesis.
• Lk 23:54–56a is based upon Mt 28:1 and Mt 27:61. Luke's reference to women here (Lk 23:55) reflects the earlier language of Lk 23:49/Mt 27:55–56 and other Lukan contexts. (See above.)]

Section Four. Conclusion of Book One; Appearances of the Risen Jesus (Lk 23:56b–24:52)

Mt 28:1–10 ====> Lk 23:56b-24:12
The Women Do Not Find Jesus' Body in the Tomb

As soon as the Sabbath is over, the women hurry to the tomb to anoint Jesus' body. When they get there, they are greatly disturbed to find the tomb open and his body gone. Suddenly two men in shining robes appear to them and ask, "Why do you seek the living among the dead?" They remind the women that Jesus had told them long before that he would be crucified and, on the third day, rise again from the dead. The women run back and tell the eleven apostles what they have seen, but the men don't believe them. Peter runs back to the tomb to see for himself; all he sees are the cloths that had wrapped Jesus' body. He goes to his own home, wondering what has happened.

[Luke continues to follow Matthew's order for this account, except that he skips Mt 27:62–66, the story of the attempt to bribe the guards to put out a false rumor regarding the theft of Jesus' body. However, Luke reflects a knowledge of Mt 27:62–66 by the conflation of παρασκευή (Mt 27:62) with ἐπιφώσκειν (Mt 28:1) to form Lk 23:54. This

story may not have been useful to Luke for a number of reasons. It brings Pilate back into the picture in a scene where the Jerusalem authorities basically tell him what to do. That is not the carefully nuanced relationship Luke has constructed so far. Secondly, it re-involves the Roman soldiers and Luke has finished with them by means of the Centurion's glowing statement. Thirdly, it introduces an ambiguous idea regarding possible underhanded dealings by Jesus' disciples which goes totally against the grain of Luke's portrayal of them following Jesus' resurrection. So he omits this story and goes straight to Mt 28:1.

• Lk 23:56b-24:1 picks up the account at Mt 28:1. Where Matthew says the women went τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ, presumably while it was still dark (cf. Jehoshua M. Grintz, "Hebrew as the Spoken and Written Language in the Last Days of the Second Temple," *JBL* 79 (1960): 32–47), Luke says they went *early on Sunday* (ὄρθρου βαθέως), presumably in the light of day. On the issue of the time of women's arrival at the tomb and some potential reasons for Luke and Mark to have modified Mt on this point, see W. R. Farmer, "Notes for a Compositional Analysis on the Griesbach Hypothesis of the Empty Tomb Stories in the Synoptic Gospels," in *Occasional Notes on Some Points of Interest in New Testament Studies,* pamphlet (Macon GA: Mercer University Press, 1980) 7–14.

• Lk 23:56–24:1 contains a μέν ... δέ construction which is used in order to highlight Luke's view that the resurrection took place early in the morning on the first day of the week. Indeed, Lk 24 is a series of epiphanies of angels and the resurrected Jesus that all appear to have taken place on this day (cf. Lk 24:1, 13, 28–33). Mt 28:1 says that the women went to the tomb after the Sabbath and then uses ἐπιφώσκειν to describe the "dawning" of the new day (i.e. Saturday evening according to the Jewish reckoning of the day). Thus, for Mt, the women discover the tomb as empty on Saturday evening. Luke, however, in Lk 23:54–56, moves this same visit of the women back to the day of Preparation for the Sabbath (Friday afternoon). Luke then has a second visit on Sunday morning, the important "first day of the week" (Lk 24:1). Luke highlights the morning visit by using ὄρθος at Lk 24:1 (cf. Acts 5:21), a derivative of ὀρθρίζειν (Lk 21:38, cf. ὀρθρινός at Lk 24:22). βάθυς appears here (Lk 24:1) and at Acts 20:9. ὀρθρός also appears at Jn 8:2, but nowhere else in the NT. Βάθυς also appears at Jn 4:11, Rev 2:24 and at Acts 20:9, but nowhere else in the NT.

• Luke omits Matthew's list of names at Mt 28:1, since he is going to provide a different list in a much more formal way at Lk 24:10.

• Lk 24:2–9 is closely related to Mt 28:2–7. Lk omits the earthquake (cf. Luke's earlier omission of Mt 27:51b-53), descent of the angel, rolling away of the stone, and the fainting of the guards in Mt 28:2–4, in favor of a more mysterious, subtle scene: the women arrive at the tomb and find it open and the body missing. Stunned, they are suddenly confronted by two angels, (an alteration of Matthew's single angel) whose purpose may be to recall the phraseology ἄνδρες δύο in Lk 9:30 (cf. Acts 1:10). At Lk 9:30 the two "men" are Moses and Elijah, and they may be here as well in further anticipation of Jesus' "exodus." (cf. Lk 9:31)

• Lk 24:4–5. The words of the angel in Mt require modification because Luke's plan contains no appearances of Jesus in Galilee (although Lk 24:6b still contains the word). There are numerous echoes between Lk 24:5 and Mt 28:4–5. In Mt 28:4, the appearance of the angel produces fear (φόβος) and shaking (σείειν). Mt also says that the guards became as dead (Mt 28:4). The fear of the women and their perplexity echoes Matthew's "fear" and "shaking." Mt says the guards became "as dead" and Luke says the angels ask "why do you seek the living among the dead?" using customary Lukan terminology (cf. e.g., Lk 15:32; 20:38; Acts 10:42; 25:19).

• The women are told by the angels to remember that Jesus had already told them in Galilee about the Passion and the Resurrection (Lk 24:6–8). The verb μιμνήσκεσθαι and its cognates are stock terminology in Luke-Acts to heed the divine word (cf. Lk 11:16 and R. J. Karris, "Women and Discipleship in Luke," *CBQ* 56/1 (1994) 14–15). These verses then are meant to tie the women retrospectively to what has happened before; i.e., it would appear that the women were *disciples* in Galilee (Lk 8:1–3 cf. Lk 23:55). See the

Lukan passion prediction in Galilee at Lk 9:18–22. Does Luke understand the women to be among the disciples?

• Lk 24:12 is included on a split vote by UBS[3] (see Metzger 184) but included in UBS[4] with a grade of "B". The textual evidence for inclusion is very strong. *Include:* $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ ℵ A B L W Δ Θ Ψ plus numerous versions and fathers; *omit:* D and the Itala. Note also within this verse the presence of such of Lukan linguistic characteristics as ἀναστάς, θαυμάζειν, and τὸ γεγονός (Goulder 2:200, 805, 802). We see no reason to consider this verse as a later addition, especially in view of the fact that it, together with Lk 24:34, brings the text of Lk closer to 1 Cor 15:5.]

Lk 24:13–35. Jesus Appears to Two Associates of the Apostles on the Way to Emmaus

Later in the day, two friends of the eleven apostles go to a nearby village named Emmaus. As they are walking along, Jesus appears and joins them, but mysteriously they are prevented from recognizing him. "What are you talking about?" he asks. "Do you alone live in Jerusalem and not know the things that happened there in recent days?" they reply. "Which things?" Jesus asks in reply. "Well," they say, " Jesus of Nazareth, a mighty prophet of God, was condemned and crucified by our chief priests and rulers! We hoped he was going to liberate Israel, but instead they killed him three days ago! But this morning some women in our group made us ecstatic, telling us a tale about his empty tomb and about a vision of angels who told them he was alive! So some others of our group also went to the tomb and confirmed that part of the women's story about the empty tomb" "How can *you* be so slow and foolish!," says Jesus. "Did you not learn that it was necessary for God's Messiah to suffer, as the scripture predicted, and then to enter into his glory?" Then Jesus interprets the scripture from Moses through all the prophets about all the things concerning himself. When they come to Emmaus, the two men prevail upon this seemingly reluctant, apparent stranger to stay with them for the night. At dinner, Jesus takes bread, blesses it, breaks and gives it to the two men whose eyes are immediately opened and they realize who he is, but Jesus suddenly vanishes. After they recount to one another what they learned from Jesus about the Scriptures, the men get up and return to Jerusalem where they find the eleven apostles and some others pondering the news that Jesus had appeared to Simon. So the two men tell these others that he had appeared to them as well when he was breaking bread with them.

[At this point, Luke departs entirely from the order of pericopes in Mt, finishing his composition with stories that are unique among the canonical gospels. Whether this material comes from earlier tradition or was created by Luke himself is a question we will not attempt to answer here. However, we will attempt to shed some light on how the material in Lk 24 functions within the larger narrative of Luke-Acts. The central feature of the conclusion of the Gospel according to Luke is the return of Jesus from death and the complete rehabilitation of the Eleven Apostles. Jesus comes to them and, finally, God opens their minds so that they can understand the Scriptures and see that what happened to Jesus was God's plan from the beginning. Note that the Holy Spirit is given to the Apostles *twice*, first, implicitly, so they might understand the Scriptures (Lk 24) and second, explicitly—after Jesus' definitive departure into heaven (Acts 1:9–11)—to enable them to *speak and hear in foreign languages* so they can be Christ's witnesses to all nations (in Acts 2, cf. Lk 24:24:48). At several points, Luke includes minor details which are then picked up in the opening two chapters *of his next book*, the Acts of the Apostles. We have seen this overlapping or interweaving compositional technique used frequently in transitional passages in earlier parts of the Gospel of Luke and will comment on it in the material below.

• Luke stops following the order of Matthew at Mt 28:11–15, the story of the bribery of the Roman guards. Since Luke had already omitted the antecedent to this story (Mt 27:62–66), Mt 28:11–15 hardly fits Luke's rewritten narrative to this point. Nor does Luke use any details from this unit in Mt. In view of the continuation in Acts, Luke has entirely different purposes in mind for the conclusion to the biography of Jesus. Nor does Luke

take over Matthew's conclusion (Mt 28:16–20), although he does preserve significant echoes of it, indicating to us he was aware of the importance of its contents (see below).

• Lk 24:13ff., 28, 32. We have seen that one of Luke's most commonly employed narrative devices to organize his narrative and present new material is to construct a travel scene, where Jesus teaches "on the road" (Lk 24:32). Such is the case here. "Emmaus" has no other significance for this account than that it is a destination for two friends of the apostles, providing a vehicle for the very important teaching Jesus gives in the conversations with the two men. As soon as it is accomplished, the two rush back to Jerusalem.

• Lk 24:17–27. What is the teaching that Luke wanted to include within this brief story he created? It is nothing less than the fundamental explanation of Jesus' death as given by the Risen Jesus; certainly an important message for Luke's audience. Jesus meets two associates of the apostles and one of them named "Cleopas" brings up the most sensitive question of all: did Jesus somehow fail to accomplish his mission? Did God inexplicably betray Jesus into the hands of his enemies? . . . παρέδωκαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἡμῶν εἰς κρίμα θανάτου καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἠλπίζομεν ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ μέλλων λυτροῦσθαι τὸν Ἰσραήλ (Lk 24:20–21a). In other words, no sooner has Luke completed the description of Jesus' death, than the narrative immediately has the risen Jesus encounter two close associates of the Apostles who ask the question on everyone's mind—only they are too afraid to voice it: "Jesus was condemned and crucified by the Jerusalem authorities. And we had hoped he was about to redeem Israel—*but we were sadly mistaken because Jesus didn't do it!*" At this, Jesus demonstrates his impatience with these disciples and says: "O foolish men, slow to believe what the prophets have spoken! *Was it not necessary that the Christ should suffer and enter into his glory?*" There can be little doubt that this question was one of the most frequently encountered objections to the Christian gospel in the wider Gentile mission. Thus, in the closing portion of his Gospel, as well as in Acts, Luke turns to this issue no less than *five times*. (Lk 24:26, 46; Acts 3:18, 17:2–3, 26:22–23)

The reference to the λύτρωσις τοῦ Ἰσραήλ brings up one of the most important themes of Luke's entire *bios*. Luke introduces the term λύτρωσις at the very beginning in the "prophecy of Zechariah" (Lk 1:67–79; see above). After this magnificent hymn, which beautifully summarizes important themes of the Hebrew prophetic books (especially Isaiah), Luke introduces in quick succession two more "prophets" who repeat the theme of the redemption of Israel: Simeon (Lk 2:25) and Anna (Lk 2:38). In this way, Luke powerfully reinforces the idea that Jesus of Nazareth is God's chosen one to bring redemption to Israel (cf. Lk 24:21); he will bring her "consolation" (παράκλησις τοῦ Ἰσραήλ Lk 2:25). Then at the end of his *bios* of Jesus "the prophet of the Most High," Luke *completes the circle* and comes back to this central concept. Redemption comes through the passion of the Messiah. He will touch on it once more in Acts 1:6. There Luke deals explicitly with the related and extremely sensitive *political* dimension of the coming of the Kingdom. The answer to this very sensitive question is given in the story line of Acts (cf. Acts 1:8). The Kingdom will come through the mission of the apostles and the expansion of the Church to Rome. As such, this hardly presented an open threat to the imperial powers.

• Lk 24:25–27. Essential to the very bedrock of Luke's narrative is the prophecy-fulfillment understanding of Jesus' Messiahship. "And beginning with Moses and all the prophets, he interpreted for them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself" (Lk 24:27). Luke will repeat this motif almost immediately when Jesus reappears to the Eleven Apostles in the very next vignette (Lk 24:44f). The use of δεῖ (Lk 24:26) to refer to the fulfillment of God's purposes and will (βουλή, cf. Lk 23:51, Acts 2:23, 4:28, 20:27) echoes a central theme of Luke-Acts.

• Lk 24:30–31 (cf. Lk 24:35b). The meal is another favorite motif of Luke. (Lk 4:1–2, 5:30–39, 6:1–5, 7:31–35, 7:36–50, 8:55, 9:10–17, 10:7–8, 12:19, 12:22, 12:29, 12:37–40, 12:45, 13:26–29, 14:1–24, 15:11–32, 16:19–31, 17:8, 17:27–28, 20:45–47, 22:7–39 and 24:43.)

Mt 28:18–20 *Lk 24:36–49*

Jesus Appears to the Eleven Apostles in Jerusalem

The two men immediately rise and return to Jerusalem to tell the eleven apostles that they have seen and spoken with the risen Jesus. The apostles tell them Jesus has appeared to Peter, too. Suddenly, Jesus stands before them all. They are terrified, thinking he is a ghost. "Touch my hands and feet!" he says to them. "I am no ghost! Here, give me something to eat!" and they give him fish, which he eats before them. The disciples are overjoyed that it really is the physical Jesus risen from the dead. Then he opens their minds to understand the Scriptures, saying "everything written about me in the Law and Prophets must be fulfilled; namely, that the Messiah of God must die and rise on the third day, and that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached to all nations." Jesus then bids them remain in Jerusalem until they have been given power from heaven to become his witnesses to all nations.

[Luke continues to present material different from Mt as a way of concluding his account of Jesus' life and ministry and preparing for the next "book," the history of the activities of the apostles.

• Lk 24:33 "where they found the eleven gathered together" makes it obvious that the persons to whom Jesus appeared in the previous story could not have been members of the Eleven Apostles. The reference to the eleven is an anticipation of the narrative in Acts 1.

• Lk 24:34 picks up the theme of Peter's special position vis-à-vis the rest of the disciples found elsewhere in Luke and given decisive emphasis in the Last Supper scene (Lk 22:31–32). This verse, though apparently a minor detail, is in fact critical for Luke's entire historical picture, since it prepares the way for Peter's hegemony in Acts 2–12. The fact that Jesus is described as appearing first to Peter *and then* to the rest of the apostles, is, in our view, an allusion to the pre-Pauline tradition recorded in 1 Cor. 15:5: ". . . and (Jesus) appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve."

• Lk 24:35b is a possible allusion back to the saying about "never eating again until all things are fulfilled in the Kingdom of God," (Lk 22:16) prior to words of institution in Lk 22:19b. In Luke's eyes, Jesus' mission has indeed been at least partially fulfilled "in the Kingdom of God," and the faithful can now enter into his presence through "breaking bread" together (cf. the central importance of eating meals together in Acts).

• The text of Lk 24:40 has been questioned in the past. B. Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 217–219, regards this verse as early interpolation in opposition to docetic Christology. We follow the text of UBS^4 which includes it on the basis of overwhelming textual attestation; *include*: $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ ℵ B A W Θ Ψ *et al.* || *omit* D it sy$^{s.c}$.

• Lk 24:36–42 is Luke's attempt to provide a literal fulfillment of Jesus' repeated prophecy that he would be captured by evil men, be killed, and on the third day rise from the dead (cf. Lk 9:22, 44, 18:31–33, cf. Lk 13:32–33, 24:6–7, 19–27, Acts 3:13–15, 10:39–41). Here Jesus proves that it really is he, not some phantom of his former self. The account (especially when Lk 24:40 is included) exhibits close parallels with the appearance to Thomas (Jn 20:24–29) and eating fish with the disciples at the Sea of Tiberias (Jn 21:9–12).

• Lk 24:44–48 is Luke's decisive rehabilitation of the eleven apostles. Despite all the earlier passages where the apostles are portrayed as being blind, obtuse, incompetent, petty, vengeful and cowardly, in this scene they are finally given a divine opening of their minds (Lk 24:45). At last *they understand the scriptures.* Now they understand why everything happened the way it did; now they understand that nothing was accidental, or outside of God's plan. Now Jesus adds the important words: "repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in (my) name to all nations" (Lk 24:47; cf. Lk 3:3/Mk 1:4 and Acts 5:31), which we consider to be an intentional echo of Mt 28:19–20. This verse, with its weighty pronouncement: "you are my witnesses" (Lk 24:48) is the "Lukan great commission." What this commission means will be spelled out in detail in Luke's second book, the Acts of the Apostles. Thus, we have a typical Lukan compositional technique, whereby he prepares in one scene for important events to take place later. (cf. Acts 1:8, 22; 2:32; 3:15; 5:32; 10:39, 41; 13:31; 22:15, 20; 23:11)

• Lk 24:49 is another example of the Lukan compositional technique. See especially the note to "stay in the city (cf. Acts 1:4) until you are clothed with power from on high." This is clearly an anticipation of the baptism of the Holy Spirit described in Acts 2:1–4.
• In sum, this pericope consists of numerous features intended to overlap with the narrative in Acts, and prepare the way for the events in the sequel.]

(Mt 28:16–20) *Lk 24:50–53*

The "Exodus" of Jesus from the Eleven in Jerusalem

The eleven leave Jerusalem and go out to nearby Bethany, across the Kidron valley. There Jesus blesses them and is taken up to heaven. The disciples bow in worship and then return to Jerusalem with great joy. There they pass their days in the Temple, blessing God for all they have witnessed.

[The previous pericope and this one have very close ties to the narrative in Acts 1:2–11, which is a retrospective summary of these events. However, commentators have noticed numerous minute discrepancies between the two accounts, so that paralleling them is not as straightforward as one might expect. Indeed, the history of the text of Lk 24:32–53 and Acts 1:2–11 reveals the presence of numerous ancient attempts to bring the two narratives into closer agreement.

This "exodus" scene was anticipated in Lk 9:31 (cf. Lk 9:51 if the reading is ἀναλήμψις). As Elijah was taken up into heaven and his return was anticipated, so now Jesus, *the* prophet, is taken up to heaven and his return is anticipated (Lk 24:51/Acts 1:8).

• Lk 24:50 The reference to Bethany may be motivated by its association with "mount of olives" (Lk 19:29); i.e., Jesus parts from the apostles on a mountain (cf. Mt 28:16).
• Lk 24:51b καὶ ἀναφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν has in the past been questioned as to its originality. However, UBS[4] includes it, as do we, primarily because the supporting ms. evidence is overwhelming, but also because its omission is understandable as an attempt to bring this passage into greater harmony with the next "assumption" described in Acts 1:9–11 (cf. the revealing discussion of the ancient attempts to emend the text in ℵ* D it[a,b,d,e] in Metzger 189f.).
• Lk 24:52 καὶ αὐτοὶ προσκυνήσαντες αὐτόν has also been questioned, but in view the overwhelming ms. evidence, and especially Mt 28:17 καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν προσεκύνησαν . . . we are inclined to view this as original in the text of Luke. In view of Acts 1:3–4 οἷς καὶ παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν . . . δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσεράκοντα ὀπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ συναλιζόμενος . . . αὐτοῖς κτλ "being lifted into heaven" is no more than a temporary "disappearance," followed by numerous epiphanies during the following 40 days. It is possible that what Luke has in mind are the numerous other appearances of the risen Jesus described in 1 Cor 15:3–7.]

Pauline Theology: Some Thoughts for a Pause in Its Pursuit

Paul W. Meyer
Chapel Hill, NC

The situation of today's meeting has suggested the above title almost by necessity. The work of the Pauline Theology Group has been under way, in one form or another, since 1985. And not in vain. The material produced along the way attests to an immense amount of diligent analysis of Pauline texts, careful methodological reflection, and lively and earnest debate.[1] To go back through it is a chastening and enlightening experience. One thing on which everyone can agree is that the task of understanding the apostle's theology remains an ongoing one and that this year's final meeting of the Group is only a pause in the pursuit of a complex and many-faceted endeavor. Retrospective appraisal and discussion is the order of the day. What is offered here is nothing but a few reflections intended to contribute to, perhaps even more to provoke others to contribute to, that discussion.

If there is no consensus at the end of this stage of the inquiry, there is one conspicuous thread that has run through the discussion; namely the repeated use, in one way or another, of the uncommonly suggestive pair of terms, "coherence" and "contingency," that J. Christiaan Beker brought into play early on.[2] Beker's own first definition, before the work of this Group began, was:

> Paul's hermeneutic cannot be divorced from the content of his thought, because he relates *the universal truth claim of the gospel* directly to *the particular situation to which it is addressed.* His hermeneutic consists in the

[1] Major portions of this material are preserved and accessible in the *SBL Seminar Papers* of these years, but most especially in selected and revised form in two volumes: Jouette M. Bassler, ed., *Pauline Theology, Volume I: Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), hereafter simply *Pauline Theology I*; and David M. Hay, ed., *Pauline Theology Volume II: 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), hereafter *Pauline Theology II.* A third volume, devoted to Romans, is in preparation. At least three important articles, written independently by members of the Group but with explicit reference to its work, should be mentioned: Victor P. Furnish, "Paul the Theologian," *The Conversation Continues: Studies in Paul and John in Honor of J. Louis Martyn* (ed. Robert T. Fortna and Beverly R. Gaventa; Nashville: Abingdon, 1990) 19–34; idem, "On Putting Paul in His Place" (the 1993 SBL Presidential Address), *JBL* 113 (1994) 3–17; and Leander E. Keck, "Paul as Thinker," *Int* 47 (1993) 27–38.

[2] "Recasting Pauline Theology: The Coherence-Contingency Scheme as Interpretive Model," *Pauline Theology I,* 15–24.

> constant interaction between the *coherent center* of the gospel and its *contingent interpretation.*[3]

For some this language will recall issues that exercised New Testament interpretation at an earlier time under such rubrics as the universality and particularity of the gospel, revelation and history, and even, from longer ago, "the necessary truths of reason" and "the accidental truths of history."[4] Others balk at even suggesting such a connection. Our subject, after all, is Pauline *theology*. What can the rational contrast between consistency and confusion in theology have to do with the metaphysical difference between the transcendent and history? Furthermore, times have changed. The goal in the use of this "coherence-contingency scheme" is to try to get beyond some of those older antitheses and polarities. It may be worth asking whether we have succeeded.

One may perhaps begin with *contingency* and with a brief historical reminder. Robert Morgan has written about a major turn in New Testament theology that took place about the time of the first World War.[5] The historical criticism of the closing nineteenth century had so driven home the contingency of early Christian history and its documents that all previous sense of divine transcendence had been rather thoroughly wrung out of it. The New Testament had become the merely human sediment left by a multiplicity of first-century developments in religion. The result was the loss not only of a sense of the unity of the New Testament but also of the very category of revelation. It was only the neo-Reformation "theology of the word" after the War that was able to recover the latter, and then only by relocating revelation in proclamation.

> Revelation occurs in the act of proclamation when the message is "got across" and a hearer "gets the message" and acknowledges Jesus as his Lord in faith. It is therefore no longer located in the documents (or tradition), nor in the history, but in the event in which, on the basis of the tradition, the Christ (who touches history only as a tangent touches a circle) is represented. This event is not within human control but the human activity of proclamation sets the stage for it. God will enter the stage or speak to the hearer, evoking faith or rejection, where and when he wills.[6]

Such a relocation opened up some distinct advantages, the foremost one being the complete freedom with which the true historical contingency of all New Testament documents could now be acknowledged. One did not have to

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[3] *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980) 11; emphasis added. The book's discussion after this opening definition should not be read without consulting Beker's own corrective and refining reflections in the article cited in the preceding note.

[4] Gotthold Lessing, "On the Proof of the Spirit and of Power," *Lessing's Theological Writings* (trans. and ed. Henry Chadwick; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957) 53.

[5] Robert Morgan, "Introduction: The Nature of New Testament Theology," *The Nature of New Testament Theology: The Contribution of William Wrede and Adolf Schlatter* (ed. Robert Morgan; SBT 2/25; Naperville, IL: Alec R. Allenson, 1973) 33–35.

[6] Ibid., 34–35.

compromise historical evidence and findings about their provenance, date, authorship, literary character or integrity, or suppress the discovery of real historical diversity or variation (including outright "contradictions") for the sake of preserving the gospel "message." Of that freedom we have all been beneficiaries.

Other effects were less benign. The relocation itself can be regarded as an attempt to rescue Christian faith and the idea of revelation from the tyranny of the contingent. Separated from the particular historical occurrence of the life of Jesus of Nazareth and (to focus now more closely on the Pauline letters) his crucifixion, the revelatory event of proclamation was movable, and its relationship to the theology contained in the New Testament writings could vary. That act of proclamation, as the point at which human activity could become transparent to, and transmissive of, God's challenging presence and life-giving power, that founding *kerygma* that elicits and validates human believing, could be understood as coming *before* the written gospels and Pauline letters. This was the case in the generally more historical perspective of a Rudolf Bultmann, for whom "the kerygma of Jesus as Messiah is the basic and primary thing which gives everything else—the ancient tradition and Jesus' mesage—its special character."[7] What one finds in Paul's letters, then, are "theological thoughts" that "are the unfolding of faith itself growing out of that new understanding of God, the world, and man which is conferred in and by faith" (understood as "faith is the kerygma").[8] Here the revelatory event calls forth and shapes theology. Still, kerygma, as the event of the gospel's encounter, and theology, as its subsequent and derivative elaboration and elucidation, however important the living connection between them, are kept distinct in both function and form.[9] This does justice to the event-character of the gospel—"For Paul, the gospel is first and fundamentally *an event*, not a message"[10]—but it draws a fairly sharp line between preaching and theology, a line that may be self-evident in later church life but is much harder to locate exegetically in Paul's letters.[11]

Or that founding act of proclamation could be understood as coming *after* the written gospels and Pauline letters. This was the case in the generally more systematic and ecclesiological perspective of a Karl Barth and rather specifically in the words of Robert Morgan cited above; this is proclamation in the ongoing

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7 Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (2 vols.; trans. Kendrick Grobel; New York: Scribner's, 1951 and 1955) 1.42.

8 Ibid., 2.239.

9 So Furnish, "Paul the Theologian," 27.

10 Ibid., 26; emphasis original.

11 Furnish ("Paul the Theologian," 33, n. 70) tries to preserve this line when he questions Lou Martyn's language about a "theological event" Paul was confident God intended to occur at the reading of his letter in the Galatian congregation (see J. Louis Martyn, "Events in Galatia: Modified Covenantal Nomism versus God's Invasion of the Cosmos in the Singular Gospel: A Response to J. D. G. Dunn and B. R. Gaventa," *Pauline Theology I* [160–179] 161, the revised version of the paper to which Furnish refers). But he implicitly concedes how hard this is when he remarks, "Paul's apostolic service, which includes but is by no means restricted to his preaching . . . , bears witness to this event [of the gospel] and is thus in its own way *eventful*" (ibid., 26; emphasis added).

life of the church throughout its history. What one sees in Paul's letters from this point of view is the historically contingent "raw materials of early Christian tradition that is interpreted in the direct address of the sermon and only there becomes "gospel." Here the relationship between Paul's theology and preaching is reversed. Paul's letters are more like proclamation in form, which, even though now relegated to a past that has become distant and exotic, still provides both standard and example to the present; and their theological content, as tradition, shapes and norms contemporary proclamation. Still, the distance between the "events of the gospel and the historical event of the cross has become even greater.

In either case, no matter where the founding act of proclamation is understood to be located, the relationship of that proclamatory event to the preceding history that calls it forth and validates it, remains in some doubt. The historical contingency of the cross has been escaped or overcome or transcended. In the first instance this has been done by resort to an indefinable kerygma in which Jesus of Nazareth *becomes* the Christ. This kerygma presupposes faith, so that the truly founding event is the rise of Easter faith. In the second instance, it has been done by shifting the crucial occurrence to the epistemological event, the "aural event,"[12] in which the hearer "gets the message." Either way, to the historical contingency of the cross there has been added the existential or epistemological contingency of human believing. The attempt to rescue the Christian faith and revelation from the supposed and feared tyranny of the contingent has ended in the doubling of that tyranny.

Let us leave "contingency" and turn to "coherence." In our discussions there have been many attempts to define and locate it, starting with Beker himself, the person responsible for putting it in the forefront of our vocabulary.[13] There has been widespread agreement with Beker concerning the occasions and situationally diverse character of Paul's letters, coming to a head in the discussion of Romans and the rejection of Melanchthon's now notorious assessment of it as a compendium of Christian doctrine. But, beginning with Beker's own initial juxtaposition of these two key terms, there has persisted a powerful tendency to use "coherence" as the *opposite* of contingency, to direct the search for it toward various strategies for *transcending* or even suppressing the historical and the contingent, and so to escape the supposed tyranny of the latter in another way.

This can take various forms. One is to look for it in a belief system that is assumed to be the single source behind all the variety of what Paul writes. N. T. Wright's very definition of "Pauline theology" has it "refer to that *integrated* set of beliefs which may be supposed to inform and undergird Paul's life, mission, and writing, coming to expression in varied ways throughout all three.[14]

> It is not enough, however, merely to consider the specific topics treated by Paul at this or that point in his letters. It is also important to ask questions about the underlying structure of his belief system. . . . Here we have to do

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12 The term is used by Martyn, "Events in Galatia," 161.

13 See especially his "Recasting Pauline Theology," 15–18.

14 "Putting Paul Together Again: Toward a Synthesis of Pauline Theology (1 and 2 Thessalonians, Philippians, and Philemon)," *Pauline Theology I* (183–211) 184; emphasis added.

> with issues too large to be seen frequently on the surface: questions of monism and dualism; of paganism, pantheism, and polytheism; of monotheism, its alternatives and its implications. It is my conviction that if we are really studying Pauline theology these issues must at least be on the table, if we are not to condemn ourselves ultimately to *shallowness.* Ultimately, *theology is all about the great wholes,* the single worldviews that determine and dominate the day-to-day handling of various issues. Most, perhaps all, *great thinkers and writers* can in the last resort be studied at this level.[15]

It is no surprise that immediately following these words Wright devotes a rather full (and not uninstructive) discussion to such "worrying things" as "contradictions, tensions, inconsistencies, and antinomies." There is more than a hint here that greatness and substance and profundity in theology is to be found only beyond and behind the contingencies of history. Yet in the same context Wright says of Paul's theology that it "consists precisely in the redefinition, by means of christology and pneumatology, of those two key Jewish doctrines [sc. monotheism and election]," [16] suggesting on the contrary that Paul's theology is after all deeply imbedded in significant historical change. Part of what Wright is after is to counter "aggressively deconstructive analyses such as Heikki Räisänen's," [17] and to make sure that we do not reduce Pauline theology "on the one hand to a mere function of social forces or rhetorical conventions nor subsume it on the other hand under the tradition loci of a different age." [18] So the search for coherence is motivated at least in part by the desire to respect Paul's integrity. But that is not all.

Richard Hays looks for coherence in the "symbolic world" shared by Paul and other early Christians, including his readers, and shaped by tradition. He finds Foam Chomsky's model useful:

> Paul's particular statements, which are contingent pastoral responses to specific historical situations, are to be read as performances of a competence supplied by this larger communal symbol system; the symbol system is a language, and Paul's letters are utterances within the language.[19]

Pauline theology does not reside in this symbolic world, but consists of the "characteristic patterns of critical reflection" that recur as Paul "attempts to persuade his readers to interpret the practical consequences of *foundational assumptions (axioms)* that they putatively share with him in light of his convictions." [20] Though such foundational assumptions still seem to be the origin of coherence, Hays is more ready to concede that "ideational coherence" is the

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15 Ibid., 186; emphases added.

16 Ibid., 184.

17 The words are those of Richard Hays, "Crucified with Christ: A Synthesis of the Theology of 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Philemon, Philippians, and Galatians," *Pauline Theology I* (227–246) 229.

18 Wright, 196–7.

19 Hays, 228.

20 Ibid., 228–9; emphasis added.

product of *our* own constructive efforts "to make sense of Paul's writings by rearticulating their message in a form different from the form that Paul himself employed."[21] Why are such synthetic reconstructions important? They "hope to generate imaginative accounts of Pauline theology that have the power to *elicit consent* from the community of putatively competent readers"; they are our attempts by trial and error to reach a level of understanding that will strike informed readers as a satisfying account of the texts.[22] Coherence is here much more closely linked to the hermeneutic process of interpreting Paul's letters in the modern world, and Hays's essay in synthesis ends with a very useful summary of the unresolved issues with which anyone is left who attempts to interpret the five Pauline letters covered in *Pauline Theology I.* In the end, however, Hays returns to Paul's own thinking rather than that of his interpreters; he finds "the *ground of coherence* in Paul's thought" to lie in "the narrative framework of the symbolic world presupposed by that theology" which has its heart in "the kerygmatic story of God's action through Jesus Christ."[23]

This turn to narrative has two consequences. One is that it encourages the idea of "the history of salvation" as the place to look for coherence in Paul's theology, thus renewing a debate that remains unresolved in our discussions. The suggestion is adopted and developed by David Lull and Robin Scroggs.[24] Hays himself, after making the suggestion that it is the narrative dimension of Paul's theology that supplies its coherence, raises the most serious problem with it:

> In other words, Paul does not interpret the foundational story as a simple linear *Heilsgeschichte* from Abraham to the present moment. Rather, for Paul, Christ's death has introduced a surprising discontinuity in Israel's history, simultaneously necessitating and enabling a new reading of scripture that discloses its witness to the gospel.[25]

The second consequence of Hays's move, and the net result, is this pointer to "God's action through Jesus Christ" as the root and fount of theological coherence in Paul. This is fruitful and promising, for it moves the discussion of coherence to another level since Jesus Christ (or Christology) is also for Paul the point at which ultimate theological meaning is most intimately linked to the contingency of a very particular historical event. We shall return to this point. For the moment, one further observation on the search for coherence may still be in order.

The question persists: what accounts for the urgency and drive behind this search? There can be little doubt that human understanding, by its very nature,

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21 Ibid., 230.

22 Ibid., 230–31; emphasis added.

23 Ibid., 231–2; emphasis added.

24 David J. Lull, "Salvation History: Theology in 1 Thessalonians, Philemon, Philippians, and Galatians: A Response to N. T. Wright, R. B. Hays, and R. Scroggs," *Pauline Theology I,* 247–265; Robin Scroggs, "Salvation History: The Theological Structure of Paul's Thought (1 Thessalonians, Philippians, and Galatians)," *Pauline Theology I,* 212–226. For two vigorous rejections of "salvation history" as the solution to the problem of coherence in Paul's theology, see Martyn, 172–74, and Keck, "Paul as Thinker," 33–34.

25 Hays, 237.

reaches for inclusiveness and universality. There is always a touch of human hybris in that, but also of the human freedom that includes the impulse toward systematization. The inductive reasoning that shapes our work as historians aims at comprehensive conclusions, for what cannot be accounted for lives on to threaten the plausibility of every explanation. So, for example, as Victor Furnish reports, Joseph Fitzmyer does not hesitate to provide "a systematization of the Apostle's thought in a form in which he himself did not present it" since it is the task of the biblical theologian "to express the *total* Pauline message, which *transcends the contextual situation* and embraces also the relational meaning of the Pauline utterances."[26] The total Pauline message is beyond our reach, of course, if for no other reason than the limitations of our sources. But even if we should narrow the theological interpreter's task within these limits to its more descriptive dimensions and eschew such systematization, and even if we have become less sanguine about the search for a "center" to Paul's thinking, there remains that strong desire to find what it takes to integrate the apostle's thinking into a coherent whole, or to find, in the expressive words of Jouette Bassler,

> a pattern, a center, a commitment, a conviction, a vision, an underlying structure, a core communication, a set of beliefs, a narrative, a coherence—something—in Paul's thoughts or behind them that dispels any abiding sense of mere opportunism or intellectual chaos on the part of the apostle. Yet nowhere, it seems, does this core, center, vision, etc. come to expression in a noncontingent way.[27]

A clue to the pathos behind this search for an inclusive coherence appears in an observation made early in the Group's discussions by Paul Achtemeier, who formulated the search for the coherence of Paul's gospel as a question; namely,

> how to isolate from the welter of situation-conditioned material present in Paul's letters that material which represents *positions or expressions which themselves do not depend on a given contingent situation for their validity.*[28]

This suggests that what is at stake is to identify not only what controls or shapes the apostle's argument at any given moment but also what can so transcend the limitations of historical contingency as to supply warrant for its truth and reliablility. That adds another dimension to the search. If we are dependent on "coherence" for that kind of warrant, does that not disclose a new tyranny, this time of "coherence"? Can coherence supply what is being asked of it? Is that the source, the originating fountain, of "the truth of the gospel" for Paul?

Are we then torn between a tyranny of contingence and one of coherence? The material produced by this Group is permeated with intimations that this polarity, useful as it has proven to be as a heuristic device, cannot provide the key to understanding Paul's theology. One may begin with Achteheier again, who

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26 Joseph Fitzmyer, *Paul and His Theology: A Brief Sketch* (2d ed.; Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1989) 38, as quoted by Furnish, "Paul the Theologian," 22. I regret that Fitzmyer's book was not available to me for the writing of this paper.

27 "Paul's Theology: Whence and Whither?" *Pauline Theology II*, (3–17) 6.

28 "Finding the Way to Paul's Theology: A Response to J. Christiaan Beker and J. Paul Sampley," *Pauline Theology I*, 25–26; emphasis added.

stresses the dynamic quality not only of Paul's thought but also of Paul's particular and occasional reactions to the various situations he addresses.[29] Of special importance are the many scattered observations that recognize the contingent character of Paul's *theology* and his "core convictions." "We do not have a non-contingent expression of what Paul felt represented the coherent center of the faith."[30] We have seen that Bultmann already spoke of Paul's theology as an "unfolding" process. In offering retrospective modifications of his book *Paul the Apostle,* Beker speaks more and more of a hermeneutical process characterized by "the reciprocal and circular interaction of coherence and contingency."[31] Bassler prefers to speak of Paul's theology as an "activity,"[32] and she is vigorously seconded in this by Steven Kraftchick, who develops the thought in his own way.[33] Furnish portrays the apostle's theology as a continuous working out of an understanding of the gospel, not merely the application to a "target" situation of a gospel already formulated.[34] In his earlier article, both the title and the concluding sentence imply that the search is not so much for Paul's theology as it is for "Paul the Theologian."[35]

These intimations have deeply colored our discussions of Paul's theology with the twofold benefit that his theology is conceived in a much more flexible and dynamic way, and the rigid polarization of "coherence" and contingency has broken down to the point where it no longer confronts us as an inescapable alternative. Nevertheless, these advances notwithstanding, something of the old model of "theology" still clings to many of our formulations. This is the assumption that Paul's relatively coherent thought world (rightly recognized to be highly complex and syncretistic) is always the starting-point, the storehouse, the repertoire, the competence *out of which* Paul addresses each of the particular crises he confronts. This can be illustrated from Beker's own uncommonly suggestive, and for our discussions seminal, essay. A major step forward is taken when Beker identifies Paul's "theology" with his "interpretive activity." But then in the next breath "coherence" is located in the "convictional basis" from which Paul's activity moves, "the truth of the gospel" (Gal 2:5, 14).[36] Even if "coherence" refers to something "fluid and flexible," it "nourishes" Paul's thought.[37] It is "the *abiding solution* to Paul's private contingency (in *answering* the crisis of his personal life) but also the *abiding solution* to the various problems of his churches (in *answering* their several crises)."[38] It does not matter how flexibly "coherence" is defined; if "the truth of the gospel" is understood as the

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[29] Ibid., 33–34.

[30] Ibid., 32.

[31] Beker, "Recasting Pauline Theology," 24.

[32] "Paul's Theology: Whence and Whither?" 1–12.

[33] "Seeking a More Fluid Model: A Response to Jouette M. Bassler," *Pauline Theology II* (18–34) 30–33.

[34] "On Putting Paul in His Place," 12–17.

[35] "Paul the Theologian," 30.

[36] "Recasting Pauline Theology," 15.

[37] Ibid., 16–17.

[38] Ibid., 17; emphases added.

"answer" to various problems, we are still stuck in the image of Paul as a problem-solver in the churches that came to him for "answers" and of the gospel as a resource in the tool-bag of this "fixer." The English word "answer" does not function here as "Antwort" (a response in a process of dialogue) but as "Lösung" (a solution to a puzzle). But the underlying definition of theology, not to mention the image of Paul, ill fits either the apostle or Beker. In both verses in Galatians 2, "the truth of the gospel" is used teleologically; it is not a given but is at risk and has to survive (διαμεῖναι, v. 5, a punctiliar aorist) or be attained (πρός and acc., v. 14). In the very same sentence, Beker himself also identifies "the truth of the gospel" as "the apocalyptic interpretation of the cross and resurrection of Christ." That is a powerful move in a different direction in which cross and resurrection are the "given," the precipitating occasion is the crisis confronting Paul, but the "theology" is the "Antwort," the response, the *resulting outcome* in the process of interpretation. (If "content" is to be located anywhere, it is here; "content" and "process" is a useful distinction but in the end a false alternative in defining Paul's "theology.")

It is the conception of "theology" operative here that is the issue. Once again, there have appeared, scattered throughout the Group's materials, many pointers in a different direction. Andrew Lincoln's very careful and instructive analysis of the interplay among tradition, gospel and audience in Rom 1:18–4:25 offers repeatedly a closeup look at Paul's argument as a theology in the making, though he stops short of calling it that.[39] "These insights [in Rom 2:17–24] *produce* finally a whole new perspective on who is a Jew."[40] The early chapters of Romans show Paul *forging a theology* based on his gospel through *creative* interpretation of Jewish and Jewish Christian tradition."[41] Beker suggests that "a disclosure theory of truth" might prove to be more compatible with Paul's hermeneutic than "a coherence theory of truth," though he does not pursue the question of what the former might look like.[42] Troels Engberg-Pedersen writes: "All this tends to emphasize the dynamic and open-ended character of Paul's theologizing. What we see in the letters is a symbolic universe *in the making*, not a fully worked out, static, and final one."[43] This series of quotations may be ended with the arresting, and I believe correct, observation of Steven Kraftchick: "Sometimes Paul discovered where he wanted to go during the act of composition rather than prior to it."[44]

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39 "From Wrath to Justification: Tradition, Gospel and Audience in the Theology of Romans 1:18–4:25," *Society of Biblical Literature 1993 Seminar Papers* (ed. Eugene H. Lovering, Jr.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993) 194–226.

40 Ibid., 209; emphasis added.

41 Ibid., 223; emphasis added.

42 "Recasting Pauline Theology," 20.

43 "Proclaiming the Lord's Death: 1 Corinthians 11:17–34 and the Forms of Paul's Theological Argument," *Pauline Theology II* (103–132) 106; emphasis original.

44 "Seeking a More Fluid Model," 24. This observation recalls the striking declaration attributed to Daniel J. Boorstin, one-time Distinguished Service Professor of American History at the University of Chicago, Librarian of Congress, Pulitzer Prize recipient, and author, among many other books, of *The Discoverers* (New York: Random House, 1983): "I write to discover what I think."

Instead of assuming most of the time that Paul's "theology" or "convictions" are the *resource* or starting point *from* which he addresses the issues placed before him, may one rather, as a kind of "experiment in thought," think of them more consistently as the end-product and result, the *outcome to* which he arrives in the process of his argument, his "hermeneutic," or his "theologizing" Many features of Paul's letters that hate come under scrutiny in the course of these discussions recommend such a shift.

(1) The later letters, most conspicuously of course Romans, incorporate the experiences and the theological formulations of earlier crises. It is not just the case that we find blocks of text in Romans that look like sermonic materials or arguments used on previous occasions. New contingencies produce new coherences in formulation; the process of reflection yields new theological affirmation, less inchoate, more pregnant. Can anyone deny the sense of progression in the work of this Group as it has moved from 1 Thessalonians to Romans? Has this been only a progression in the scope and range of Pauline texts under review, or has it not also been a progression in the *emergence* of the "Pauline theology/theologies" we have been seeking at a new level of coherence just with the new diversity? If so, then the "coherence" of Pauline theology is itself the product of historical process, i.e., it is itself "contingent"—as is demonstrated in the sometimes painful awareness that the end result of one line of "theologizing" on one occasion is not in all respects logically compatible with that of another and cannot be made to be so. Then one would no longer be able to speak of "the non-contingent bedrock of Pauline theological convictions."[45]

(2) Romans 9–11 may well serve as Exhibit No. 1. This is a matter of much dispute and hangs on the detailed exegesis of these chapters, about which there is important debate within the Group.[46] But a very persuasive case has been made out by Nikolaus Walter for the view that Paul himself did not clearly see, when he wrote Rom 9:1, where chap. 11 would end and "dass wir hier tatsächlich an einem gedanklichen Ringen teilnehmen, dessen Ausgang noch nicht mit den ersten Sätzen von Kap. 9 feststand."[47] Despite wildly differing conclusions about where Paul comes out, many interpreters seem willing to agree on the highly contingent nature of Paul's "theologizing" here. The main disagreements over the "coherence" that does or does not ererge from Paul's "spiritual struggle" in these chapters boil down, it seems to me, to what Richard Hays has called "vicarious inclusion in corporate salvation," the second of the three unmet "hermeneutical challenges" with which he ends his partial synthesis of the shorter letters.[48] That topic cannot be pursued here.

(3) Galatians may provide an example on which we agree more quickly. Lou Martyn has observed, "Had the Teachers not had such extraordinary success with

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45 Achtemeier, "Finding the Way to Paul's Theology," 31.

46 E. Elizabeth Johnson, "Romans 9–11: The Faithfulness and Impartiality of God," and Douglas Moo, "The Theology of Romans 9–11: A Response to E. Elizabeth Johnson," papers presented to the Pauline Theology Group on November 21, 1993 at the Annual Meeting of the SBL in Washington, DC. Revised versions of these papers will appear in *Pauline Theology III* (see note 1).

47 "Zur Interpretation von Römer 9–11," *ZTK* 81 (1984) (172–195) 176.

48 "Crucified with Christ," 246.

their Abraham sermons, we would probably know nothing of Paul's interpretation of the patriarch, for Romans 4 is clearly a reworking of Galatians 3."[49] Perhaps even more significantly, he adopts and persuasively passes on a lesson he credits to E. Grässer,

> that the term "covenant" does not itself point to a fundamental element of Paul's theology. With few exceptions, Paul employs the term only when one of his churches has become enamored of the use being made of it by traveling evangelists who stand in opposition to his mission (Galatians 3–4; 2 Corinthians 3).[50]

It is a confirmation of my point (and not a refutation of Martyn's) when Richard Hays points out that "righteousness/justification language . . . appears only in the letters where the question of covenant membership for Gentile Christians is a disputed matters (for "covenant membership" one may substitute the more Pauline "standing in God's grace" [e.g. Rom 5:21] and the point still stands).[51] Despite the argument between Martyn and Dunn over whether "covenantal nomism" best characterizes Paul's theology or that of the Teachers he is opposing, they seem to agree "that the Antioch incident was a decisive factor in *the development of Paul's understanding of the gospel.*"[52] The question whether the situational demands in Galatians *suppress* the coherent "core" of Paul's theology or rather *elicit* it and bring it into full view,[53] has proven to be a fruitful test case for examining the validity of any definition of "coherence," but either outcome to that debate will serve as a powerful argument for the contention that "coherence" (and in its wake Pauline "theology") is the result of Paul's "theologizing" and not its presupposition.

(4) Paul's uses of scripture seem to confirm this proposal. It turns out on closer observation that scriptural citations are in most cases not a starting point of Paul's "theologizing" but are drawn into the argument as a kind of ladder by which to reach a new level of meaning and coherence—a ladder on which Paul knows he can rely but one that he redesigns as he uses it. He has a certain confidence that scripture can help him reach a goal that is not yet in his grasp, and the resulting pattern comes close to showing that "theology" is something one "does" or produces rather than "has" and that Paul's theology in particular is not the *father* of his "theologizing" but its *child.* Much remains yet to be done in any analysis of Paul's use of scripture from this perspective; "interpretation of Israel's scripture" is another of Hays's unmet "hermeneutical challenges."[54]

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49 "Events in Galatia," 166–7, n. 15.

50 Ibid., 171, n. 26.

51 "Crucified with Christ," 237.

52 James D. G. Dunn, "The Theology of Galatians: The Issue of Covenantal Nomism," *Pauline Theology I* (125–146) 144; emphasis added. Cf. Martyn, "Events in Galatia," 164–5 and *passim.*

53 In the context of Beker's claim that apocalyptic is the heart of Paul's gospel, this question has taken the specific form of a debate over whether Galatians is devoid of apocalyptic or "is fully as apocalyptic as are the other Paulines" (Martyn); see Beker, *Paul the Apostle,* 58, and J. Louis Martyn, "Apocalyptic Antinomies in Paul's Letter to the Galatians," *NTS* 31 (1985) (410–24) 410–12 and 420-21.

54 "Crucified with Christ," 246.

(5) In the early discussions of methodology in this Group, Paul Sampley formulated a series of "specific procedures" for moving "from text to thought world" in Paul's letters.[55] Although Sampley stresses "pervasive flexibility" and adaptability as characteristic of Paul's letters and the degree to which their agenda is "fundamentally set by his perception of the needs and struggles of a given community,"[56] these procedures were nevertheless formulated with an eye to moving backward "to the thought world from which his thoughts gain expression," in order from there to facilitate a "reconstruction of what we might call a theology of Paul"; this will always be a modern abstraction, a distillation that we gain from his thought world."[57] What is proposed here is in many ways a reversal of direction in this procedure, in which "Pauline theology" would be less an "abstraction" or "distillation" on our part and more closely identified with the actual conclusions reached in Paul's arguments. But the point to be made now is that many of the procedures Sampley proposes turn out to be just as serviceable and useful if one asks where Paul's theology "comes out." They include, for example, asking: "where does Paul self-correct?" "what matters are treated as indifferent?" and especially, "what shall we make of the frequency with which Paul mentions goals in his letters?"[58] Again, we cannot pursue the matter further here.

These may be some of the reasons encouraging one to experiment with a different way of conceiving "Pauline theology." But the proposal implies some correlates and raises some questions to which we may turn in conclusion.

In the first place, a word about "argument." Lou Martyn is not happy with a "definition of the theology of Galatians as a responsive argument" and proposes that the theology of the letter is much more closely connected with "the letter's work" and that Paul "*does* theology [here] by writing in such a way as to *anticipate* a theological *event*," an "aural event" in which "God will re-preach his gospel to the Galatians."[59] But as Martyn's own case unfolds, it becomes clear that the real issue at stake is not whether Paul's letter contains an argument that "responds" to the situation in that congregation but rather what the strategy of Paul's argumentation is and on whose terms and within whose frame of reference it is carried through.[60] Martyn's answers to those critical questions and the suggestion that they display Paul's way of "doing" theology seem to demonstrate that no clear line can be drawn in Paul's letters between argument, rhetoric (the art of persuasion!) and theology, and even to raise doubts about how far we can go with the relatively useful but ultimately only heuristic distinction between proclamation and theology *in Paul's letters*.[61]

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55 "From Text to Thought World: The Route to Paul's Ways," *Pauline Theology I* (3–14) 9–14.

56 Ibid., 5.

57 Ibid., 3.

58 Ibid., 10 and 13.

59 Martyn, "Events in Galatia," 160–61.

60 Ibid., 162–63.

61 The distinction is energetically defended by Furnish, "Paul the Theologian," 27. One may readily grant that the distinction is clear and even essential in the contemporary ecclesiastical and academic context. A flaw in Furnish's exceptionally clear and instructive article is that he first establishes a useful but modern definition of "Christian theology" independently of Paul and

A more important point is that since Paul's theology has been so frequently spoken of in our discussions in terms of his "foundational convictions," the present proposal might be construed as implying that Paul had no convictions before engaging in this activity and brought none to the writing of his letters. The absurdity of that implication might then count as a decisive reason for rejecting the proposal. This requires some discussion. Much depends, of course, on the definitions with which one starts. Jouette Bassler finds Daniel Patte's definition helpful: "A conviction is a self-evident truth." The way to locate convictions in theological argument is then to identify what in it is "established as self-evidently good and desirable."[62] Convictions remain here clearly within the realm of that *from* which Paul argues. Steven Kraftchick points out that conviction statements function in different ways in Paul's letters and for that reason should not be identified as the foundation of Paul's theologizing but as its "presuppositions or products," part of Paul's "raw data."[63] Sometimes Paul's argument is directed at *changing* his readers' presuppositions about what is good and desirable, real or illusory, so that the conviction is something arrived at in a particular setting and occasion, not only by his readers but also, as we have suggested, even by Paul himself.

To propose that one should at least experiment with an understanding of Pauline theology as the product and outcome of Paul's various concrete and contingent acts of "doing theology" does not in any way call into question the importance of convictions that Paul brings to these enterprises. But "convictions" will now carry a somewhat different meaning. If anything comes close to being self-evident, it is that not only Paul but also his readers carry to the writing and the reading respectively of those letters a large freight of pre-understandings, assumptions, opinions, beliefs and even convictions. Some are held in common; some are not. Some are silently taken for granted; some are named and drawn upon in argument. Some have been previously planted by Paul, wittingly or unwittingly; some have been planted by his opponents. Some Paul attempts to encourage and reinforce; some he aims to call into question and to change. This freight includes what some writers of our papers have referred to as "world view" and others as "symbolic world"; certainly we should think as well of scripture and even of pre-Pauline Christian traditions. For purposes of reflecting on Pauline theology, we may embrace most of this under the heading of (religious) "tradition." Paul, after all, was not the first to speak of God, of God's presence and action (even in Jesus of Nazareth), his freedom and faithfulness, his Mercy

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then asks whether Paul may be regarded as a theologian who fits it (ibid., 25–26). An alternative is to begin with an analysis of what the apostle does and then ask whether that can be fitted under the umbrella of "theology." "It is a body of tradition rather than a system of theology with which Paul interacts. But if the creative reformulating and transforming of inherited images and metaphors are what constitutes doing theology, then Paul is certainly a theologian par excellence" (William S. Campbell, "The Contribution of Traditions to Paul's Theology: A Response to C. J. Roetzel," *Pauline Theology II* [234–54] 254).

62 Bassler, "Paul's Theology: Whence and Whither?" 12, citing Daniel Patte, *Paul's Faith and the Power of the Gospel: A Structural Introduction to the Pauline Letters* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) 11 and 17.

63 "Seeking a More Fluid Model," 28–29.

and Judgment, or of love, righteousness, sin, suffering, and of life and death. At this point Andrew Lincoln's careful analysis of Rom 1:8–4:25 is helpful. He has

> suggested three main coordinates in the theology of Romans 1:8–4:25—*tradition*, which provides most of the symbol system within which the argument takes place, *gospel*, which supplies the convictions by which the symbols are realigned and reshaped, and *audience*, whose needs influence the argument but are interpreted in the light of the gospel,[64]

and he has summed it all up in one of the best one-liners of our material: "tradition, gospel and audience abide, these three; and the greatest of these is gospel."[65]

Clearly it is the "gospel" that ultimately controls the process of Paul's "theologizing"; on that there seems to be wide agreement. Leander Keck ended his major paper on Romans for the Group, "What Makes Romans Tick?" with the statement:

> Romans ticks at all because Paul did not allow his immediate situation to govern completely what he had to say but allowed the inner logic of his gospel to assert itself even if that meant subjecting his first readers to a certain amount of theological overkill.[66]

But now, just what is that "gospel" and what its inner logic" that not only gives coherence to this multi-faceted body of Pauline literature but also so transcends the contextual situation of that literature that it still calls for a hearing today? What is it that "realigns" and "reshapes" the symbols of Paul's tradition so that a distinctive "Pauline theology" that is also a *Christian* theology emerges? Lincoln still refers to "convictions" that the gospel supplies; but he has made the important step of making "convictions" depend upon and derive from this "gospel" instead of standing for its substance. Picking up Sampley's point that one clue to "coherence" in Paul is provided by basic points from which he argues,[67] Achtemeier focuses on "those generative statements or beliefs that seem to underlie larger developments in Paul's letters," and lists as one of these the resurrection. It is "a non-contingent component of valid Christian faith," which is affirmed as an act of God in the confessional formula of Rom 10:9b and which, as Achtemeier goes on to elaborate, can be shown to be not only central for Paul but also "generative of other beliefs and to that extent foundational for Paul's gospel."[68]

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64 The words are taken from the four-page "Reply to Jouette M. Bassler distributed by Lincoln at the November 20 session of the Pauline Theology Group at the 1993 Annual Meeting in Washington, DC (emphasis added). They are his own summary of pp. 225–6 of his "From Wrath to Justification: Tradition, Gospel and Audience in the Theology of Romans 1:18–4:25."

65 "From Wrath to Justification," 226.

66 "What Makes Romans Tick?" a paper delivered at the November 21 session of the Pauline Theology Group at the 1992 SBL Annual Meeting in San Francisco; a revised version will appear in *Pauline Theology III* (see note 1).

67 "From Text to Thought World," 11.

68 "Finding the Way to Paul's Theology," 35.

Here we have come, I believe, very close to our answer. But we have not quite reached it yet. In a crucial observation, Calvin Roetzel has noted, "it is simply inadequate to say the cross is foundational without noting the way the interpretation of the cross is changed by its context and then bends back onto the context to shape that as well."[69] That is to say, every reference to the resurrection in Paul's letters, every "affirmation," "conviction," or "belief," even every pre-Pauline confessional formula, every statement of it as "gospel" is embedded in historical contingency. There *is* no "noncontingent bedrock of Pauline theological convictions.[70]

Here, as often in the past, Leander Keck has come to our aid, in an article written to honor Paul Achtemeier.[71] "Paul," he writes,

> was an ex post facto thinker. Ex post facto thinking occurs not only after an event but because of it, and with continual reference, explicit or implicit, to it. The event's very "happenedness" requires thinking. . . . For Paul, this given, this event, this compelling datum that evoked his ex post facto thinking was the resurrection of the crucified Jesus.[72]

As God's act, this is the "bedrock" that elicits and shapes "convictions" but is not itself a "conviction." Not the Easter faith of the early church or its proclamation, not some contentless and intangible "kerygma" behind all the theological formulations of the New Testament, not the apostolic preaching of Jesus *as* the Christ, but God's act of confirming and vindicating the crucified Jesus. Cross and resurrection cannot be separated or played off against each other.[73] Without God's act the cross would be without special meaning, another human defeat. The resurrection does not eradicate the death of Jesus, but *makes* it an "apocalyptic event," and Paul uses apocalyptic categories and traditions to make clear what God's raising of this Jesus makes this event mean: "the very structure of reality is transformed."[74]

Another way of putting this is to say that Paul sees the contingently historical event of the crucifixion of Jesus as made normative by God's action. That is to say that God has validated this contingent historical evert as the point where human believing and knowing may genuinely transcend the contingent and find an authentic coherence to life and thought. This historical event has become the eternally reliable clue and criterion for discerning God's true presence, nature, and intention, and thus the true historical locus of "revelation." This "accidental truth of history" has been made the disclosure point for the "necessary inner logic" of the gospel. And it in turn is called upon by the apostle to provide coherence in that "creative reformulating of inherited images and metaphors"

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69 "The Grammar of Election in Four Pauline Letters," *Pauline Theology II* (211–33) 228.

70 Achtemeier, "Finding the Way to Paul's Theology," 31.

71 "Paul as Thinker," 27–38.

72 Ibid., 29–30.

73 As seems to happen, for example, in Gaventa's discussion of Galatians, "The Singularity of the Gospel," 156–7.

74 Hays, "Crucified with Christ," 239.

that constitutes for him the doing of theology.[75] The resulting outcome, for our continuing profit and reflection, is "Pauline theology."

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75 Campbell, "The Contribution of Traditions to Paul's Theology," 254 (cf. n. 61 above).

In Quest of Paul's Theology: Retrospect and Prospect

James D. G. Dunn
University of Durham

I

The quest for Paul's theology has been a frustrating experience.[1] In the earlier sessions of the quest we wrestled repeatedly with the problem of defining our subject matter. The issue was posed in the opening paper of the resultant volume by Paul Sampley: are we talking about "Paul's thought world," that is, "the fundamental frame of reference within which things made sense to Paul and out of which he operated?" Or do we mean the "communication of his thoughts in his letters to various churches?"[2] Alternatively expressed, by "Paul's theology" do we mean only the theology of each particular letter, or the theology of all the letters aggregated into a whole? Do we mean the theology of the Paul who stood behind the letters, or the theology of Paul the letter writer as such? Or as the issue was posed on several occasions, do we mean Paul's theology or Paul's theologizing?[3] Or again, to adapt a distinction from current hermeneutical debate, do we mean the theology *behind* the letter(s), or the theology *in front of* the letter(s), that is, the theological *event* "as it was intended and actively anticipated by Paul."[4]

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[1] I refer, of course, to the decade of meetings of the Pauline Theology Consultation, latterly the Pauline Theology Group, at the SBL meetings from 1986 to this its final session in 1995. Papers from the earlier meetings (1986–88, 1989–91) have been published as *Pauline Theology, Volume 1: Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians and Philemon*, ed. J. M. Bassler (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) and *Pauline Theology, Volume 2: 1 and 2 Corinthians*, ed. D. M. Hay (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), cited subsequently as *TheolPl* 1 and *TheolPl* 2 respectively.

[2] J. P. Sampley, "From Text to Thought World: The Route to Paul's Ways," *TheolPl* 1.4–5.

[3] So, e.g., V. P. Furnish: "while Paul's letters do not yield any kind of a comprehensive theological system, they introduce us to Paul the theologian, to a person engaged in earnest theological reflection. Hence, the subject of the present essay is not '*the* theology of 1 Corinthians,' but Paul's theological reflection as that is evident *in* this letter" ("Theology in 1 Corinthians," *TheolPl* 2.61; see also his description of the actual task, *TheolPl* 2.63).

[4] J. L. Martyn, "Events in Galatia: Modified Covenantal Nomism versus God's Invasion of the Cosmos in the Singular Gospel," *TheolPl* 1.161. In his earlier version of the paper delivered to the 1988 Chicago meeting, Martyn put the point more specifically: "it is that aural event (the Galatians' hearing Paul's letter read out to them) and its Pauline anticipation that constitute the theology of the letter" (manuscript p. 11).

The degree of confusion within the ongoing discussion is easily illustrated by noting the various working definitions used in the course of the decade of the quest.

Bassler: "theology . . . defined as Paul's appropriation and application of scripture and Christian traditions to the specific situation of the Thessalonian community";[5]

Stowers: "Theology is a method of organizing religious knowledge that arose at a particular time in the history of Christianity";[6]

Wright: "Paul's theology consists precisely in the redefinition, by means of christology and pneumatology, of those two key Jewish doctrines," referring to what he has just described as "the twin heads of Jewish theology, namely, monotheism and election, God and Israel";[7]

Scroggs: "Paul's theology is what he thinks about the transcendent and its intervention into immanent reality";[8]

Hays: "When we seek the 'theology' of the letters . . . we are concerned neither with the performance as such nor with the competence as such, but with the ideational *mediating structures* that characterize Paul's critical selection, organization, and interpretation of the elements of the communal symbolic universe"; "the specific task of 'Pauline theology' is to study the hermeneutical transformations that Paul performs in appropriating elements of his symbolic universe for the situation of his readers";[9]

Furnish: "the presuppositions, convictions, and concerns which inform and thereby distinguish Paul's interpretation of the gospel"; or again, "critical reflection on the beliefs, rites, and social structures in which an experience of ultimate reality has found expression";[10]

Bassler again: "The *raw material of Paul's theology* (the kerygmatic story, scripture, traditions, etc.) passed through the *lens of Paul's experience* (his common Christian experience as well as his unique experience as one 'set apart by God for the gospel') and generated a *coherent (and characteristic) set of*

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5 J. M. Bassler, "Peace in All Ways: Theology in the Thessalonian Letters," *TheolPl* 1.71.

6 S. K. Stowers, "Friends and Enemies in the Politics of Heaven: Reading Theology in Philippians," *TheolPl* 1.106. To be fair, Stowers adds that Paul "deserves to be considered at most only a precursor of Christian theology" (1.106).

7 N. T. Wright, "Toward a Synthesis of Pauline Theology (1 and 2 Thessalonians, Philippians, and Philemon)," *TheolPl* 1.184.

8 R. Scroggs, "Salvation History: The Theological Structure of Paul's Thought (1 Thessalonians, Philippians, and Galatians)," *TheolPl* 1.212.

9 R. B. Hays, "Crucified with Christ: A Synthesis of the Theology of 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Philemon, Philippians, and Galatians," *TheolPl* 1.228, 246.

10 V. P. Furnish, from an unpublished paper distributed to the 1986 meeting, cited by J. M. Bassler, "Paul's Theology: Whence and Whither?" *TheolPl* 2.7 n.16. The second quotation comes from his "Paul the Theologian," in *The Conversation Continues: Studies in Paul and John in Honor of J. L. Martyn,* ed. R. T. Fortna and B. R. Gaventa (Nashville: Abingdon, 1990) 25, also cited by C. B. Cousar, "The Theological Task of 1 Corinthians: A Conversation with Gordon D. Fee and Victor Paul Furnish," *TheolPl* 2.90.

convictions. These convictions were refracted through a prism, Paul's *perception of the situations that obtained in various communities,* where they were resolved into specific *words on target for those communities.*"[11]

Engberg-Pedersen suggests "that we understand Pauline theology in terms of the following two categories . . . (T)he first category is that of *Paul's own variously formulated theological conceptions.* The other category is that of the 'application' of the theological conceptions to those other things" ("for example, particular moral issues, personal experiences, social conditions, and also such contingent matters as the theological conceptions of Paul's opponents").[12]

Hay: "Theology emerges as Paul listens to the doubts of others and those in his own mind, reflects on essential convictions, and ponders which warrants preserve 'the fear of the Lord' and are likely to persuade."[13]

With such a diversity in understanding of the object of the exercise and of the method of pursuing that object, it was not surprising that Steven Kraftchick's two contributions to the second volume of collected papers struck a gloomy note: "regardless of the methods of inquiry we have adopted, the full recovery of Paul's thought has remained beyond our collective grasp"; "the more a Pauline theology is predicated upon its historical and rhetorical circumstances, the more just those things recede from our grasp."[14] Kraftchick's challenge is one to which the Group has not so far responded.

Another factor contributing to what appeared to several as a steady lowering of spirits within the Group in its latter stages was the chosen way of proceeding. By deliberate choice we have focused on each letter in turn and roughly in chronological sequence, leaving the four *Hauptbriefe* till the end. The intention was impeccable: that we should gain as clear a perception as possible of what the smaller Pauline letters contributed, individually and together, to the quest, without their contribution being determined or swamped by the impact of the *Hauptbriefe.*[15] The problems, however, have been severe. For one thing, by the time we reached the later letters the question of definition and method had largely run out of steam,[16] so that we lost the benefit which their theological weight would have brought to our discussions. Moreover, the inference that initial syntheses would somehow provide a core for subsequent syntheses, resulting in a final grand synthesis, was probably too naive from the start. Worst of all, in leaving Romans till the end, we found ourselves, with the day already far spent, confronted by the highest mountain peak of all. The initial scouting

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11 Bassler, *TheolPl* 2.11.

12 T. Engberg-Pedersen, "Proclaiming the Lord's Death: 1 Corinthians 11:17–34 and the Forms of Paul's Theological Argument," *TheolPl* 2.104.

13 D. M. Hay, "The Shaping of Theology in 2 Corinthians: Convictions, Doubts, and Warrants," *TheolPl* 2.155.

14 S. J. Kraftchick, "Seeking a More Fluid Model," *TheolPl* 2.34; also "Death in Us, Life in You: The Apostolic Medium," *TheolPl* 2.156.

15 The ground rules were not always observed, however.

16 Kraftchick had called for a moratorium on the onward procession of papers "until questions of definition and procedure are more fully agreed on" (*TheolPl* 2.34).

parties led by Tom Wright and Lee Keck made good progress,[17] but thereafter we were confronted by a maze of different paths and may have lost our way, at least insofar as real theological engagement was concerned, with the question of how the theology of Romans might be added into the earlier syntheses left to one side. To attempt some sort of summary, of course, is the task in hand. But experience to date in the Group will not raise expectations very high.

On the other hand, we should not allow ourselves to become unduly depressed. A careful reading of the above definitions reveals a considerable degree of consensus on the nature of what it is we are looking for—in particular, on the dynamic character of Paul's theology, that his theology was an "activity" (to use Bassler's term),[18] or, alternatively expressed, that his theology was always interactive. Even when the definition is drawn up in terms of content and its "application" (Engberg-Pedersen) there is no attempt to identify a theology which could be spoken of somehow independently of and unaffected by Paul's addressing his churches. To put the same point another way, Paul is never simply theologian, he is always at one and the same time Paul the theologian, missionary, and pastor, or simply, Paul the apostle.[19] The main difference between the definitions is the degree of complexity of model which each has used—some content with a simple or general statement, whose complexity will become apparent in the elaboration of the theology itself, others striving for a definition which encapsulates the way Paul's theology/theologizing actually worked in practice.

Again, when we look at particular controversies which marked the different meetings of the Consultation/Group, it becomes clear that the disagreements often boiled down to points of detail and emphasis, to the effects of perspective and the degree of light and shade. In contrast, there was broad agreement on larger issues, not least on the character, focus and major themes of Paul's gospel. Indeed, part of the disappointment of the later meetings was the lack of really meaty theological disagreements to spark the passions and rekindle the enthusiasms .

The first volume of the collected papers gives a remarkable indication of consensus even in disagreement. A rereading of the papers in that volume (covering Thessalonians, Philippians, Philemon and Galatians) indicates two

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17 N. T. Wright, "Romans and the Theology of Paul," *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers 1992*, ed. E. H. Lovering (Atlanta: Scholars, 1992) 184–213; L. E. Keck, "What Makes Romans Tick?" a paper distributed at the 1992 meeting of the Group. Keck devotes most of his paper to introductory matters, although its too brief final section is highly suggestive. Unfortunately I was unable to attend the 1992 meeting, so my impressions of the 1992 meeting are not first hand. However, it will become apparent that my own way of modelling Paul's theology (below section II) has important points of similarity with Wright's. And Keck's conclusion—"What makes Romans tick is neither Paul's situation nor even the actual content . . . but the convictions that not only permit/require these contents to be articulated but which also allow them to be juxtaposed" (his ms p. 30)—is similar to the perspective from which I approach particular issues in Paul's theology in section III below.

18 Bassler, *TheolPl* 2.10–11, 16–17. See also Furnish, cited by Cousar, *TheolPl* 2.91; Hay, *TheolPl* 2.135–6; Kraftchick, *TheolPl* 2.157.

19 In earlier papers, cf. B. R. Gaventa, "Apostle and Church in 2 Corinthians," *TheolPl* 2.193–9; R. Jewett, "Ecumenical Theology for the Sake of Mission: Romans 1:1–17 + 15:14–16:24," *Society of Biblical Literature 1992 Seminar Papers*, ed. E. H. Lovering (Atlanta: Scholars, 1992) 598–612.

large measures of consensus. One was over the apocalyptic substratum of Paul's theology, early on proposed by Chris Beker in his restatement of Paul's theology (or hermeneutic) as "shaped by a complex interaction of coherence and contingency."[20] This evidently struck a chord, not only in the papers on Thessalonians,[21] but also in Martyn's strong presentation of the apocalyptic character of the theology of Galatians, followed by Beverly Gaventa,[22] a letter which, oddly enough, Beker had found difficult to fit into his scheme;[23] and also in Paul Achtemeier's initial response to Beker and in the final (partial) syntheses of Tom Wright and Richard Hays.[24]

Yet at the same time, all four of those contributing the final (partial) syntheses of the first volume were agreed that some version of "salvation history,"[25] or what Stowers calls "the grand narrative" about God, Christ and Paul,[26] was unavoidable in speaking of a basic schema underlying Paul's theology.[27] It is true that Martyn puts himself in direct opposition to any rapprochement between the two emphases: "the singularity of the Seed spells . . . the end of *Heilsgeschichte* as a view that encompasses a linear history of a people of God prior to Christ"; "*throughout* Galatians, far from proposing a linear history that begins with Abraham, Paul stands in opposition to such a view."[28] But the double consensus shows that it is not necessary to pose the two as such sharp alternatives and antitheses: after all, Israel's own apocalyptic expectation (as indeed Paul's too) was as much of consummation and transformation as of disruption and new beginning; and the papers of Wright and Hays show clearly that it is possible to construct (or recognize) a synthesis which combines both a narrative substructure to Paul's theology and a full recognition of the apocalyptic/eschatological break-through of the cross and resurrection.[29]

To mention but one other point of consensus underlying fierce disagreement. The debate on the meaning and significance of *pistis Christou* divided the Group more or less down the middle.[30] And there seemed to be no

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[20] J. C. Beker, "Recasting Pauline Theology: The Coherence-Contigency Scheme as Interpretive Model," *TheolPl* 1.15. See his earlier *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980).

[21] By E. Krentz, "Through a Lens: Theology and Fidelity in 2 Thessalonians," *TheolPl* 1, chap. 5; R. Jewett, "A Matrix of Grace: The Theology of 2 Thessalonians as a Pauline Letter," *TheolPl* 1, chap. 6; Bassler, *TheolPl* 1, chap. 7.

[22] Martyn, *TheolPl* 1, chap. 12; B. R. Gaventa, "The Singularity of the Gospel: A Reading of Galatians," *TheolPl* 1, chap. 11.

[23] Beker, *Paul* 58.

[24] P. J. Achtemeier, "Finding the Way to Paul's Theology," *TheolPl* 1.30; Wright, *TheolPl* 1.184, 197–201; Hays, *TheolPl* 1.231ff.

[25] Scroggs, *TheolPl* 1.215f; D. J. Lull, "Salvation History: Theology in 1 Thessalonians, Philemon, Philippians, and Galatians," *TheolPl* 1, chap. 16.

[26] Stowers, *TheolPl* 1.117.

[27] Wright, *TheolPl* 1, chap. 13; Hays, *TheolPl* 1.231ff. But note Bassler's caution (*TheolPl* 2.8).

[28] Martyn, *TheolPl* 1.174–6.

[29] Wright, *TheolPl* 1, chap.13; Hays, *TheolPl* 1, chap. 15.

[30] Though there will probably be different estimates of whether one side or other was in the majority; the point, for what it is worth, is difficult to determine since only a minority of those present took part in the debate.

middle ground between the alternatives—either "the faith(fulness) of Christ," or "faith in Christ."[31] What became evident in the debate on the issue, however, was that each side agreed in large measure with the theological point being claimed by the other. Those opting for the objective genitive rendering ("faith in Christ") were equally ready to accept a reading of Paul's theology in terms of Christ's obedience on the cross as an expression of God's faithfulness to his people and promises. And those who insisted on a subjective genitive reading ("the faith of Christ") certainly had no wish to deny that belief in Christ was a fundamental part of Paul's gospel. In other words, the disagreement was, in effect, only over the rendering of that particular phrase—more a grammatical dispute than a theological dispute.

These illustrations probably indicate a truer picture of the debate about Paul's theology—broad consensus on fundamental structures, with vigorous disagreement on particular details of content and interaction with his audiences. So perhaps we may proceed with lighter hearts than at first seemed possible.

II

Much of the discussion on methodology and definition focused on the model by means of which we can most helpfully conceptualise Paul's theology and theologizing. We became accustomed to images like substratum, master-symbolism, basic grammar, integrative metaphor, narrative structure, and so on. The most popular one, by a short head, seems to have been that of "lens," though what the lens was and what was passed through it was less agreed. For Edgar Krentz "apocalyptic was the theological lens"; for Hays our objective was "to trace the contours of the hermeneutical lens through which Paul projects the images of the community's symbolic world onto the screen of the community's life"; for Bassler, as we have already seen, the lens is Paul's experience through which the "raw material of Paul's theology" passed (*sic*).[32]

For myself I wonder if such imagery is not as much a hindrance as a help: the flash of illumination which it brings to one aspect of the process of Paul's theology can be soon lost in the qualifications and complications we have to introduce to make the image adaptable to the complex reality of that theology. Is there not a simpler and more natural model or parallel—that of our own theologizing? Perhaps it takes a European to make this point, given that theology as such continues to hold an honored place within the academic and university traditions of Europe. Is it inappropriate and unjustified to wonder out loud whether the difficulty of this forum in gaining a handle on Paul's theology may perhaps reflect what, to European eyes, appears to be an embarrassment at the enterprise of theology and loss of theological nerve in north America? Be that as it may, our best insights into the complexity of Paul's theology as activity may well come from reflection on our own activity in theologizing.

In most contemporary theologizing three phases or levels can be distinguished. The first or deepest level is that of inherited convictions or traditional

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31 The main papers in the debate were by R. B. Hays, "Pistis and Pauline Christology: What is at Stake?" and J. D. G. Dunn, "Once More, *PISTIS CHRISTOU*," printed in *Society of Biblical Literature 1991 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1991) 714–29 and 730–44 respectively.

32 Krentz, *TheolPl* 1.52; Hays, *TheolPl* 1.228; Bassler, *TheolPl* 2.11.

life patterns. At this level we are dealing with axioms and presuppositions, often hidden or undeclared. An important part of theological education is to enable and facilitate critical self-reflection on these presuppositions. The second is the sequence of transformative moments in the individual's (or community's) growth and development. These window opening experiences, including conversion experiences, usually generate other insights and corollaries and can shape attitudes and determine important life choices. They will be much nearer the surface of the person's theology and more obvious to the onlooker. The third level is, of course, the ongoing interaction of the presuppositions and principles of the other two levels with the questions and challenges of each day. This will be the level nearest the surface, by which I mean the level most accessible to the onlooker, which is not the same as saying it is a superficial level.

In addition we need to recall that most theologizing is undertaken within a community (and/or communities) and in relation to a community's traditions, life, needs and opportunities. This means that theology is unavoidably dialogic in character. There is something missing in a theology conceived simply as the individual wrestling with some concept or belief in some secluded academic's study. According to Paul, community grows out of shared experience (the *koinonia tou pneumatos*), and the community of Christ's body grows by the interactive sharing of the Spirit's gifts. The encounters of theological dialogue within and between communities are the life-blood of theology, and as such encounters move to and include the deeper level they can be among the richest and most challenging of theological experiences.[33]

All this is fairly basic stuff but it bears upon our concerns in several ways. First, it should reassure us that the enterprise of questing after Paul's theology is a worthwhile exercise, that our degree of failure to pin Paul down at various points should cause us no surprise. After all, we engage in lively theological discussion with our contemporaries. Yet which of us can pin down the living theology of our dialogue partners? We can encounter each other theologically at different levels of our theology, but which of us can describe with confidence more than a handful of the others' theological convictions and principles? How often have you and I mused over a colleague's position on some controversial theological point, uncertain as to where she or he finally stands? And yet we nevertheless can and do have real theological communication. And yet most theologians belong to communities of faith and worship and can even use the same creeds and liturgy. Astonishing!

Why should we expect more in our dialogue with Paul? Of course we cannot argue with and interrogate Paul as we can a contemporary. On the other hand, the variety of letters he has left us, and to a variety of situations, yet over a comparatively short period, allows us to come at Paul's theology from a variety of angles and brings us as close as we can ever get to a dialogue with a historical figure. Moreover, when we look at the theology of Paul as presented by the full range of his modern dialogue partners, what we actually find can be represented

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[33] This movement to deeper depths of theological differences has characterized the course of the ecumenical movement's intra-traditions dialogue through the 20th century.

as a standard distribution curve[34]—that is, a large degree of consensus within fairly limited parameters, with increasingly divergent views gaining sharply decreasing support. And why should we expect more? This simply reflects the nature of interactive theology, including our own with Paul's. When I write a theology of Paul all I can hope for is to strengthen the broad consensual positions where I also think they are correct and to help gain support towards a fresh consensus on items and details where I think the contemporary consensus has become a little lopsided.

That being said, I would have to add that the value of theologizing Paul's theology, or of theologizing in dialogue with Paul, should never be measured merely in terms of the votes of theologians. That would be wholly contrary to Paul's own theological evaluation. Consequently, my primary hope in any theology of Paul would be to re-express something of the life-shaping power which his first readers and hearers evidently experienced through his writings, to help my readers experience afresh Paul's theology as activity and event, perhaps even, dare I say it, as Word of God. However frustrating, the quest for Paul's theology is never less than rewarding, so long as it is carried through as a theological exercise.

Second, our own experience of dialogue generally (not just theological dialogue) should give us pointers on how we ourselves can hope to move between the different levels of Paul's theology. The key term here is "allusion." This is a term which Richard Hays in particular has brought into our dialogue.[35] But as Harold Bloom had already pointed out,[36] our guild as a whole has been remarkably insensitive to the reality and power of allusion within our documents. Despite our best efforts we have on the whole been content to stand outside the communities of discourse within which our documents emerged and flourished and to which they give expression. We have been like people trying to listen in to other peoples' conversation, a conversation with which we were ourselves too little conversant, and indeed sometimes unsympathetic. That so much of their conversation consequently passes us by should cause us no surprise.

Which of us is not aware of the character of community discourse, and particularly of the bonding power of allusion within that discourse? It is the shared experiences and convictions which can be taken for granted which bond a community together. It is the shared experiences and convictions to which an allusion is sufficient to evoke a corporate sense of belonging and well-being which tell you most about the character of a community. Which of us has not been a guest at some celebration or gathering where in-jokes and allusions function almost tangibly to bond the community together, while also making the guests aware that they are outsiders? Which of us has not had the experience of joining with a different faith community, perhaps in another country, and

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34 Properly speaking, of course, the standard distribution curve should be four-dimensional (including movement through time), but that would simply make the model so complex as to lose its heuristic value.

35 R. B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, 1989).

36 H. Bloom in *Poetics of Influence,* ed. J. Hollander (New Haven, Conn.: Henry R. Schwab, 1988) 387–424: "New Testament scholarship manifests a very impoverished notion as to what literary allusion is or can be" (392). I owe the reference to my doctoral postgraduate Stephen Wright.

stumbling repeatedly at the taken-for-granteds and allusions which we do not recognize?

The importance of this observation for our quest of Paul's theology is that it undermines the strategy which the Consultation/Group adopted. That is to say, it becomes virtually impossible, or at least unrealistic, to try to confine our dialogue with Paul's theology to a single letter. For each letter is itself part and expression of the larger community of discourse within which Paul and his churches were caught up. Each letter, therefore, contains taken-for-granteds and allusions which we will be unable to elucidate from that letter alone (if at all); we will always find ourselves as strangers at some other community's meal table, missing and misunderstanding more than we can grasp. We need the other parts of the dialogue available to us, which are Paul's other letters, if we are to have any hope of penetrating to any degree at all below the surface of any single letter. And we need the corpus of Paul's letters set against the background of other NT writings and other Jewish (and Hellenistic) writings of the period if we are to have any hope of catching the allusions which must, a priori, have been part of the discourse of Jewish and Hellenistic Christian assemblies.[37] In short, even if we want to stick at the level of the individual letter, the letter itself, with its varied more and less obvious allusions, forbids us to do so.

This line of reflection leads to a third observation. The model thus far sketched out, the model of contemporary theological dialogue, with its communal dimension and therefore also its frequently allusive character, might seem to leave all in a state of flux. Certainly at the most surface level of the letters, Paul's own stated strategy of "all things to all" (1 Cor 9:19–22) suggests a pragmatism and flexibility whose integrity we at our distance might not be able fully to comprehend.[38] And when we switch attention to the deeper level of underlying convictions and paradigms, the degree to which we are forced to depend on hearing allusions correctly or appropriately again makes the enterprise more hazardous.[39] The disagreement between Krentz and Jewett on whether "grace" in 2 Thessalonians is merely part of a "stock formula" (Krentz) or "the underlying theological matrix of the letter" (Jewett)[40] is a small reminder of just how difficult it is to locate oneself within a discourse with whose terms one is not wholly familiar. And the danger of our last observation (no letter is an island!) is that we might find ourselves going round in circles, always having to refer elsewhere to illuminate any individual text, caught in another version of the hermeneutical circles, or, alternatively expressed, in the exegetical equivalent of an infinite regress.

Here again, however, there is some ground for hope. For there is one letter of Paul's which is less caught in the flux and developing discourse of Paul's

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37 I have developed the point in my SNTS paper, "Prolegomena to a Theology of Paul," *NTS* 40 (1994) 407–32.

38 As I believe to be demonstrated by the theses regarding the self-contradictions within Paul's writings associated particularly with the names of E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) and H. Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1983). Not to mention the debate as to how principalled and how pragmatic was Paul's advice regarding the role of women within worship and ministry.

39 As Wright's grand narrative thesis warns us (*TheolPl* 1, chap. 13; also "Romans," e.g., 211).

40 Krentz, *TheolPl* 1.59; Jewett, *TheolPl* 1.65.

churches than the others. And that is Romans. In the movement and dialogue of Paul's theology, his letter to the Romans is a relatively (I stress, relatively) fixed point. It was written to a church which was not his own founding. It was not so much occasioned by circumstances and his own personal involvement. It was written at the end of a (or better, the) major phase of Paul's missionary work which included (almost) all the other undisputed letters. It was written under probably the most congenial circumstances of his mission, with time for careful reflection and composition. And above all, it was written to set out his own understanding of the gospel as he had thus far proclaimed it, and as he hoped to commend it both in Jerusalem and beyond Rome to Spain. In short, it is the most sustained and reflective statement of Paul's own theology by Paul himself.

This suggests to me that the most obvious place to locate oneself within the dialogue of Paul's theology is in Romans itself. That is to say, not to attempt to describe simply the theology of Romans as the theology of Paul. But rather to view Paul's theology from the perspective given by Romans, to use Romans as the relatively fixed point in the flow and development of Paul's theologizing and to compare other formulations with that in Romans. This will mean looking backwards to earlier formulations, to see how Paul had varied and developed them. It will also mean looking forward, to see how Pauline theology continued to develop, on the assumption that the tail of the comet can tell us something about the comet itself. But the main hope and effect of a Romans-centered theology of Paul will be to recognize the living and dynamic character of Paul's theology as a faith- and religion-shaping activity.

In short, the model of our own theologizing has highlighted three useful pointers in the quest for Paul's theology. One is the recognition of different levels—the inherited, axiomatic level of taken-for-granted presuppositions, the transformative moments of personal insight and development, and the interaction with diverse situations and issues. It will not be merely coincidental that these three levels are particularly evident in Paul's theology. I have elsewhere already described these as, first, the elements of his faith inherited from his ancestral religion ("the story of Israel"), second, the impact of his conversion in particular ("the revelation of Christ") but also of further interaction with pre-Pauline Christian tradition and crises in his mission to the Gentiles prior to his letter writing, and third the interaction of the letters themselves.[41] The second pointer is the importance of being sensitive to allusions as a way of recognizing dimensions of Paul's theology not immediately evident on the page in front of us and as a way of discerning the relative weight to be given on the one hand to the understated taken-for-granted, and on the other to the particular formulation intended for the situation actually being addressed. The third pointer is the advisability of taking Romans as providing the relatively most stable framework on which we should be able to reconstruct a theology of Paul which Paul himself might have owned.

41 "Prolegomena," 427–31, where for sake of fuller analysis I distinguished two levels within the present second level.

III

In what follows, we have time to give only an outline of what such a theology of Paul might look like. Even so it will have to be a selective outline, seeking chiefly to provide a few illustrations which might help shed light on some of the still contentious issues within the continuing debate on Paul's theology. That the outline will look somewhat like older-fashioned theologies should neither surprise us nor cause us to shy away from such an outline. On the contrary, these older theologies simply demonstrate the influence of Romans in their construction—and quite properly so, as I have just argued. Indeed, our contemporary attempt to distance ourselves from the model of such older theologies may have been a factor in feeding our own frustrations, since in spurning them we have too readily spurned Romans as the model, making our task immeasurably more difficult rather than more modern.

1. A theology of Paul really does have to begin with Paul's *theology of God.* God is the greatest of all taken-for-granteds in Paul's writings, despite the fact that *theos* occurs nearly 550 times in the Pauline corpus, as against nearly 380 occurrences of *Christos* and 275 occurrences of *kyrios.* Given these figures we should perhaps rephrase our point, that God is not so much taken for granted in Paul's theology as taken for granted in *our* dialogue with and attempts to describe Paul's theology. As Nils Dahl pointed out twenty years ago, "the understanding of God has been the neglected factor in the study of NT theology as a whole."[42]

The reason for the neglect is obvious. God was not a point of theology at issue, save where Paul made it so; Paul did not have to argue for belief in God. God was common ground between Paul and the recipients of his letters. Even former polytheists did not have to be repersuaded with regard to the one God of Israel and Father of the Lord Jesus Christ (cf. particularly 1 Thess. 1.9–10). And so, the unemphasized too easily became the overlooked. In other words, theology in the narrow sense, belonged to the theology and faith which Paul inherited as a Jewish boy and from which he never shifted. And even with his Gentile converts, the transformative moment of their conversion had evidently become so axiomatic as to require no further exposition. But simply because Paul does not treat of God as subject matter of his particular theologizing, in the way he does subjects like justification and the church, should not be an excuse for us to ignore this dimension of his theology or to assume in effect that it was not a vital and fundamental factor in the theologizing as well as worship of his churches.

Here is where Romans provides an important guideline. For its exposition of Paul's gospel begins at once with a threefold statement about God's power, God's righteousness and God's wrath (Rom. 1.16–18). And its now generally recognized climax is Paul's defense of God's faithfulness and mercy (Romans 9–11; 15:7–13). It is precisely the strength and to the credit of Beker that he brought this neglected dimension so much center stage in his own theology of Paul.[43] And earlier papers of the present Consultation/Group are to be commended

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[42] N. A. Dahl, "The Neglected Factor in New Testament Theology," *Reflection* 73 (1975) 5–8, cited by L. E. Keck, "Toward the Renewal of New Testament Christology," *NTS* 32 (1986) 363.

[43] Beker, *Paul,* particularly 355–67.

likewise.[44] Nevertheless the full significance of this axiomatic feature of Paul's theology still needs to sink in. Not least the fact that Paul retained his fundamental belief in God as one (Rom 3:29; 1 Cor 8:6; 15:28). At no point does he give any hint or suggestion that he thought he was abandoning or calling into question that foundational credo. On the contrary, this evidently continued to be the framework within which Paul developed and expressed his christology (not least 1 Cor 8:6), and the recognition of this fact simply has to be a constraining factor in our interpretation of the great christological passages like Phil 2:6–11. As Kraftchick justifiably observed, "part of Paul's task as a 'theologian' was to create contexts that narrowed the possible avenues of interpretation to those consonant with other aspects of the gospel."[45] In this case, the context of Paul's christology was Paul's continuing monotheism which narrows the possible avenues of interpreting Paul's christology.[46]

2. A second fundamental strand of Paul's theology, in the light of Romans, has to be *the framework of Israel's story*. This is not to downplay the universal perspective which also shapes Paul's theology—God as Creator (Rom 1.19ff), who will have mercy on all (11:32). It is rather to draw attention to the degree in which Paul interweaves Israel's story within this larger indictment and hope. It is well known, for example, that the indictment of human failure and idolatry in 1:23ff. echoes the Psalmist's own condemnation of *Israel's* fall in the idolatry of the golden calf (Ps 106:20).[47] Nor is it accidental that the main thrust in the second half of the indictment in Rom 1:18–3:20 is clearly directed against Israel (2:1ff), with 3.19a deliberately underlining the point.[48] So the fact that 11:32 ("God has confined all in disobedience in order that he might have mercy on all") comes as the climax to Paul's attempt to resolve the problem of Israel and of God's faithfulness to Israel should occasion no surprise.

There are several points of contemporary importance which follow from this. One is the point that Paul's doctrine of justification arose within this framework, the framework of presupposition that the one God was the God of Israel, that God was thus committed to Israel as over against the (other) nations, and that God's righteousness was to be understood in terms of this commitment. That is

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44 See E. Richard, "Early Pauline Thought: An Analysis of 1 Thessalonians," *TheolPl* 1.43; Krentz, *TheolPl* 1.57–9; Gaventa, *TheolPl* 1.150; Wright, *TheolPl* 1.184; Lull, *TheolPl* 1.250; G. D. Fee, "Toward a Theology of 1 Corinthians," *TheolPl* 2.40–3; Furnish, *TheolPl* 2.67–9, 79–80; C. J. Roetzel, "The Grammar of Election in Four Pauline Letters," *TheolPl* 2, chap. 11; A. T. Lincoln, "From Wrath to Justification: Tradition, Gospel and Audience in the Theology of Romans 1:18–4:25," *Society of Biblical Literature 1993 Seminar Papers,* ed. E. H. Lovering (Atlanta: Scholars, 1993) 222.

45 Kraftchick, *TheolPl* 2.180.

46 See further L. W. Hurtado, *One God. One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (Philadelphia: Fortress/London: SCM, 1988); J. D. G. Dunn, "Christology as an Aspect of Theology," in *The Future of Christology: Essays in Honor of Leander E. Keck,* ed. A. J. Malherbe and W. A. Meeks (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993) 202–12.

47 See, e.g., my *Romans* (WBC 38; Dallas: Word, 1988) 61. I am more open than I was in *Romans* 383 to the likelihood that Rom 7:9–11 includes an allusion to Israel's own fall into sin and death as well as that of humankind at large; see particularly F. Thielman, "The Story of Israel and the Theology of Romans 5–8," *Society of Biblical Literature 1993 Seminar Papers,* ed. E. H. Lovering (Atlanta: Scholars, 1993) 227–49.

48 Similarly, Lincoln, *SBLSP 1993,* 211–2.

to say, in Stendahl's terms, the doctrine of justification as we find it in Paul arose precisely as an attempt to resolve the problem of how the other nations can after all be acceptable to God.[49] This was a point made occasionally in the past,[50] but it was largely lost to sight in the dominant tendency to focus the theology of justification in the individual's finding peace with God.[51] And though this nationalistic dimension is now more widely heard and recognized, an adequate integration of these different dimensions has yet to be achieved.

Another point which has exercised me greatly in recent years is what this continuing framework of Paul's theology says about Christianity's own identity, particularly insofar as it allows Paul to be a shaping force in defining that identity.[52] For if Paul is right, if the story of Israel is still fundamental to a Pauline shaped Christian theology, then what should that say to Christianity's understanding of its relationship not simply with historic Judaism but with the other main religion which has grown from the same root, and which, on the face of it at least, has more claim to the scriptures of Israel than Christians have? If, alternatively, Paul's understanding of his mission to the Gentiles as a fulfillment of Israel's responsibility to be a light to the nations is a properly Jewish interpretation of the Abrahamic promise, then what does that factor add to contemporary Jewish/Christian dialogue? The debate about Paul as apostle or apostate is still only in its early stages.[53]

3. A third element in the outline has, of course, to be *the Christ focus of Paul's theology*. This is the theme to which Paul turns at once having completed his indictment in Rom 3:20. What is striking in this case, however, is that Paul spends so few verses expounding his christology: a mere six verses (3:21–26) answers to an indictment of some sixty-four verses (1:18–3:20). Evidently this too belongs to a deeper level of Paul's theology, what I have described as the second level, the impact of the revelation of Christ on Paul. In this case it largely consists of what is usually recognized to be an earlier kerygmatic formulation (3:240–26),[54] what Paul had learned from others or had himself formulated at an earlier period. At any rate the fact that it can be simply cited rather than argued for presumably means that Paul could assume it was common ground with his Roman audiences. This is the level, we might say, where the matter is not so much taken-for-granted, as not-requiring-to-be-elaborated since it was part of the common stock of Christian tradition shared among the churches. I have elsewhere reflected on the fact that so much of Paul's christology seems to share this same character and how surprisingly uncontroversial so much of his christology seems to have been,

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49 K. Stendahl, *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles* (Philadelphia: Fortress/London: SCM, 1977) 1–2.

50 Particularly W. Wrede, *Paul* (London: Philip Green, 1907) 122–8.

51 See further my "The Justice of God: A Renewed Perspective on Justification by Faith," *JTS* 43 (1992) 1–22.

52 I may refer here simply to my *The Partings of the Ways between Christianity and Judaism and their Significance for the Character of Christianity* (London: SCM/Philadelphia: TPI, 1991), which one or two Jewish scholars saw as an expression of some kind of Christian triumphalism, failing to recognize that the critique and challenge was directed primarily to Christian self-definition (as the last part of the title indicates). Further papers on the theme are in press.

53 The echo of A. F. Segal, *Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, 1990) is deliberate.

54 See, e.g., the brief discussion and those cited in my *Romans* 163–4.

among his own churches at any rate.[55] But I still await fuller engagement on the point from those who I know disagree.

Since so much has been said on this subject, a natural focus for Christian engagement with Paul's theology, as reflected not least in the papers of the Consultation/Group, I need add little more in this particular exercise. We should recall, however, the tension referred to above, between an apocalyptic christology and a climax-of-salvation-history christology, which remained unresolved from the discussion of the theology of Galatians.[56] I have already indicated my own conviction that this conflict should surely be resolvable since Paul seems to speak in both sets of terms. But perhaps the model developed in the meantime strengthens that case. For what we have here, surely, is a clash between two levels of Paul's theology, or, as we might say, two of his constitutive narratives. The one, Israel's story, which, as Romans indicates, Paul thought was still to reach its climax. The other, Christ's story, whose shattering impact on Paul on the Damascus road gave it a lastingly and definitively apocalyptic character. Paul continued to tell—and to live—both stories. Alternatively, could we not say that Paul's theology focused round two dominant integrative metaphors? And, as is the case when several metaphors are in use, the metaphors did not jell entirely. But that is the nature of metaphors, and the impulse to make them jell or to subordinate one to the other is actually a failure to respect their metaphorical character, an attempt to turn them into propositions which can be measured for consistency. At any rate, the debate should not be left in its present unsatisfactory, unresolved condition.

4. A fourth foundational strand in Paul's theology is his emphasis on *faith* as the appropriate human response to divine grace. I have little need to restate here the central role of faith in Romans, as elsewhere in Paul. We may think, for example, of its place in Paul's self-definition of his apostolic task (Rom 1:5), of its role in the thematic statement of the letter (1:16–17), and of its focal significance in the crucial passage 3:21 to the end of chap. 4. Particularly important is the latter part of Romans 4 where Paul states more clearly than anywhere else what he understands "faith" to be and involve—an unconditional trust and reliance on God alone, on God's promise and power and on nothing of human capacity or ability (4:18–21). Also to be noted in the same passage is the way Paul portrays this faith as the trust and reliance of the creature on the Creator and integrates acknowledgment of (old) creation with hope of new: the faith is in God "who gives life to the dead and calls things which have no existence into existence" (4:17). Such trustful reliance is obviously the reversal of humankind's initial failure to glorify and give thanks to God (1:21).[57]

This line of theological reflection raises one of the perennial issues of Pauline theology which, despite that, still receives too little attention. I refer to the tension between the christocentric faith for which Paul's gospel calls and the fact that he is able to document, define and justify that faith from OT precedents and texts (Gen 15:6 and Hab 2:4). Putting the point bluntly, if it is faith like that of

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55 J. D. G. Dunn, "How Controversial was Paul's Christology?" in *From Jesus to Paul: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge,* ed. M. C. de Boer (JSNTS 84; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1993) 148–67.

56 See above (section I) and *TheolPl* 1, Parts IV and V.

57 Hence the significance of both eaters and non-eaters being able to "give thanks" in 14:6.

Abraham which is called for, why need it be specifically faith in Christ? Paul's answer would presumably be that God's eschatological purpose so focused in Christ that faith in Christ is now the eschatological equivalent of Abraham's faith. But the answer raises the further question, whether the focus of God's grace is now so exclusively in Christ that there can no longer be faith in God (like that of Abraham) unless it is faith in Christ. That seems a harsh corollary to draw, only validated by 9:32–33 in relation to Israel, and even so put in some question by his understanding of faith in terms elsewhere applied to universal wisdom in 10:6–9, 18.[58]

It is not unimportant to appreciate that this is another example of the tension between the different levels of Paul's theology. For the tension is that between Paul's continuing faith in God and his new, eschatological faith in Christ. In fact it is another way of posing the tension already observed between some form of *Heilsgeschichte* and the apocalyptic dimension in Paul's theology, between the continuity and discontinuity of Paul's gospel with the preceding story of God's call of Israel. Once again we have to insist that Paul did hold both together in his theology. But now we also have to say in addition, that it is constitutive of Paul's understanding of faith that the two be held together: to put too much weight on the one would make Paul's christology redundant; whereas to put too much weight on the other would be to separate Paul's christology from his theology of God. This latter, it seems to me, is the ultimate danger of the emphasis of Martyn and Gaventa, that they open the door to a kind of Marcionism.

Here too it may be appropriate to add a further thought on my own dispute with Hays on *pistis Christou*.[59] For if *pistis Christou* does denote "the faith(fulness) of Christ" (Hays), then that would put it more on the side of continuity with the divine purpose as laid out in the OT. At the center of Paul's gospel would be the claim that Jesus himself was faithful, very much, indeed, as Abraham had been found faithful in his readiness to offer up Isaac (1 Macc 2:52; Jas 2:21–23)—or so Paul's assertion would surely have been heard—Jesus' faithfulness being understood as an expression of the divine faithfulness (cf. Rom 3:25 and 8:32).[60] My problem with such an exposition is that it would make the *pistis Christou* phrase in effect continuous and consistent with Jewish (= Abraham's) faithfulness in doing what the law requires ("the works of the law") (in contrast to Rom 4:2). And yet Paul seems to set the two concepts (covenant faithfulness and *pistis Christou*) in antithesis, not least in Gal 2:16, with *pistis Christou* more on the side of "the revelation (apocalypse) of Christ" (1:12, 16) than of continuity with older understandings.

Moreover, quite how this faithfulness of Christ would count as decisive in exempting Gentile Christians from showing an equivalent faithfulness is a logic which proponents of the *pistis Christou* = "the faith of Christ" thesis need to explain. On the contrary, a *pistis Christou* = "the faith of Christ" thesis makes better sense of *Peter's* position in the Antioch confrontation (Gal 2:11–14), a Christ whose faithfulness justified faithful Jewish believers in refusing to eat with Gentile believers. Whereas Paul's position makes better sense if *pistis Christou* denotes the faith *in* Christ which called in question the need for the faithfulness

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58 For details of the argument behind this assertion see my *Romans* 602–5.

59 See above n. 31.

60 So in effect Wright, *SBLSP 1992*, ed. E. H. Lovering (Atlanta: Scholars, 1992) 189.

practiced by Peter and the other Jewish Christians. In short, it seems more likely that at this point *pistis Christou* should be reckoned more on the apocalyptic rather than the *Heilsgeschichte* side of the tension in Paul's understanding of faith. If Martyn pushes too hard in one direction, on this point Hays pushes too hard in the other. Neither succeeds in getting the balance quite right between these two fundamental levels of Paul's theology.

5. Time and space permit only one other example of how a theology of Paul might proceed using the model of our own theologizing. The illustration I choose is Paul's understanding of and attitude to *the law.* It has been a surprising feature of the Group's debates that this subject has not come to the fore in more explicit terms. And yet it has been one of the most burning issues in recent literature on Pauline theology. In preparation for an international symposium on "Paul and the Law" in Durham in September 1994 I found no difficulty in amassing some 150 titles (essays and monographs) on the subject, well over half of them with "law" or "Torah" in the title.[61] In contrast, our own relative lack of interest in this subject in the Pauline Theology Group probably provides a further indication of a regrettable and growing divergence between the concerns of North American NT scholarship and those of Europe, with a warning to us lest, despite the vitality and rich diversity of North American scholarship, we (I speak as a member of the Group) are in danger of becoming somewhat parochial!

Of course, there are obvious reasons for the divergence of concerns at this point. For one thing, the impact of Sanders's work has been more immediate and far-reaching in North America, whereas German scholarship in particular is only beginning to come to terms with it. And for another, the reason why there has been relatively little debate on the issue among ourselves is presumably that there is a broader consensus on "the new perspective on Paul" in North America than in Europe, which could be a cause for some gratification. And yet the European debate has brought to the fore some fundamental theological issues in the exegesis and interpretation of Paul and the law which a Pauline Theology Group cannot ignore.

Perhaps the most important of these has been the question whether Paul's critique of the law had to do more with the relationships between Jew and Gentile in the Christian churches or with the standing of the human being before God. As hinted earlier, there has been a measure of agreement in the new perspective debate that justification by faith arises as an issue in Paul's letters within the context of his mission to the Gentiles. But the dispute continues as to whether Rom 4:4–5 exposes a deeper issue and constitutes a critique of a contemporary Jewish belief that acceptance by God could be and was to be

61 The relative silence of the Group on the subject is all the more surprising since the three most recent full studies on the theme all come from North America—S. Westerholm, *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith: Paul and his Recent Interpreters* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988); T. R. Schreiner, *The Law and its Fulfilment: A Pauline Theology of Law* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993); F. Thielman, *Paul and the Law: A Contextual Approach* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1994). The papers of the Durham Symposium will be published under the title *Paul and the Law,* ed. J. D. G. Dunn, by J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen.

earned by works.[62] Here again, however, it may well be that the solution lies in a confusion of the different levels of Paul's theology. For my own part, the most obvious exegesis of Rom 4:4–5 sees it not as a critique of a current Jewish attitude, but as an appeal to a generally accepted Jewish theologoumenon. No Jew nurtured in the story of Abraham's call by God or in the theology of Deuteronomy would readily conclude that divine choice and acceptance was based on human achievement. The fundamental axiom of human dependence on divine initiative is common ground between Paul and characteristic Jewish theology. The dispute arose rather over how this axiom applied to Gentiles, particularly Gentiles in relation to an Israel already chosen by God and in covenant relation with God.

In other words, the clash over the law between Paul and his fellow Christian Jews was most probably between two levels of Paul's theology, or between the fundamental level of his inherited theology, and the level determined for him by the revelation of Christ. The fundamental level of justification by grace was a point of consensus between them. That is why Paul could refer to divine grace and faithfulness so briefly—as to an accepted axiom; there was no need to explain or defend it, in contrast to the meaning of "faith." The technique is similar to that used in the preceding paragraph, where appeal was made to the common credo that God is one, as something none of the disputants would question. In both cases mere reference to the underlying agreement enables Paul to focus the argument on the actual issue between him and his critics: how this common theologoumenon speaks to the issue of Gentile acceptance before God and to the role of "works of the law" in the process.

This distinction between the levels on which Paul's theology (here of the law) functions should help to ease if not resolve the most important standing problem in modern perception of Paul's attitude to the law. For if the law is at the heart of a fundamentally mistaken understanding of how humans may be accepted by God (as though acceptance had to be earned by good works), then it should follow that Paul rejected the law entirely and broke with the law completely. And so most who read Rom 4:4–5 in that way want to read Paul. The problem is, however, that Paul seems to want to continue attributing a very positive role to the law (Rom 2:13; 3:31; 8:3–4; 13:8–10). If, on the other hand, Paul's critique of the law has in focus particularly Jewish unwillingness to accept Gentiles as full members of the same faith community, then a better balance between Paul's negative and positive treatments of the law can be achieved. There is, of course, more to be said,[63] but at least the model of different levels in Paul's theology points a hopeful way out of the impasse on this particular question.

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62 See particularly Westerholm's *Israel's Law,* which has caught well the concerns of many European, particularly Lutheran Neutestamentlers. In contrast, the papers on Romans 1–4 seemed content to stay rather more at the level of the surface issue—C. H. Cosgrove, "The Justification of the Other: An Interpretation of Rom. 1:18–4:25," *Society of Biblical Literature 1992 Seminar Papers,* ed. E. H. Lovering (Atlanta: Scholars, 1992) 613–34; Lincoln, *SBLSP 1993* 194–226.

63 See further my "Was Paul Against the Law? The Law in Galatians and Romans: A Test-Case of Text in Context," in *Texts and Contexts: Biblical Texts in Their Textual and Situational Contexts: Essays in Honor of Lars Hartman,* ed. T. Fornberg and D. Hellholm (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995) 455–75; and "In Search of Common Ground," in the Durham Symposium papers (above n . 61).

IV

There are many other themes which a theology of Paul needs to tackle, but I hope the above examples have dealt with at least some of the most important and deeply felt issues. It would also be my hope that the examples illustrate a larger continuity and consensus between Paul and his Jewish heritage than has often been recognized, and that in consequence a larger degree of consensus might be seen to be possible among present-day students of Paul's theology.