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Taking on the Elite: The Matthean Controversy Stories

Introduction

In recent years the social location of the Gospel of Matthew has come under renewed investigation. It has been proposed that the community reflected in the gospel ought to be seen as a Jewish sect in the period of formative Judaism after the destruction of the temple. The community was in competition with other groups for a leadership role in the process of re-forming a Jewish identity. The seemingly anti-Jewish statements of the gospel must be explained as attacks on groups which had a similar claim rather than being read as indications of a separation from Judaism as a whole.[1]

If this theory is correct, the community of Matthew's gospel appears to be in a marginalized social position. On the one hand, the attacks on other claims to leadership indicate that the Matthean claim was not universally recognized. On the other hand, the identification of the opponents with the Pharisaic and early Rabbinic movement indicates that there was already a "fledgling coalition of forces"[2] whose claim to leadership was beginning to carry some weight.[3]

Matthew's description of the interaction between Jesus and the Jewish leaders mirrors the later situation of conflict of his community. These interactions take place almost exclusively in the setting of controversy stories.

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1. As examples of such an approach see: J. Andrew Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism. The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990); J. Andrew Overman, *Church and Community in Crisis. The Gospel According to Matthew*, The New Testament Message in Context (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996); Anthony J. Saldarini, "Delegitimation of Leaders in Matthew 23," *CBQ* 54 (1992): 649-80; Anthony J. Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

2. David C. Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Gospel of Matthew*, SNTSMS 88 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 183-84.

3. Even the gospel seems to reflect this situation in 23:2. Cf. Mark A. Powell, "Do and Keep What Moses Says (Matthew 23:2-7)," *JBL* 114 (1995), 419-435. Hans-Juergen Becker, *Auf der Kathedra des Mose. Rabbinisch-theologisches Denken und antirabbinische Polemik in Matthäus 23,1-12*, ANTZ 4 (Berlin: Institut für Kirche und Judentum, 1990).

Even though Matthew uses this form mostly as given by the sources,[4] the evangelist shapes these traditions considerably. The particular issues at stake are reformulated, the conflict emphasized. This paper outlines some of the tools used by Matthew to express the opposition of a marginalized Jewish group to the Jewish leaders of the time. Since it is not possible to treat all of the 17 controversy stories in the short space of this paper, two will exemplify the mechanisms employed by Matthew.[5] They are 12:38-45 and 22:34-40.

1 Two Examples of Controversy Stories

1.1 Matthew 12:38-45

The controversy over the demand for a sign occurs in a number of variations in the synoptic tradition. Mk 8:11-12 reports the demand for a sign without the reference to the sign of Jonah. Mt. 16:1-4 parallels this occurrence with the addition of the sign of Jonah. In Mt. 12:28-45 the demand occurs in an expanded version. The sign of Jonah as well as the Queen of the South appear, together with the parable of the returning spirit. The earlier occurrence of the demand probably led to the addition of the sign of Jonah to the later. In 12:38-45 the evangelist used material from Q 11:16, 29-32, 24-26 and shaped it into his controversy story, as he did already in 12:22-37.

Matthew inserts Pharisees and scribes as the opposition.[6] Matthew makes no reference to the testing of Jesus in 12:38, and the sign is not specified as

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4. This paper assumes the two source hypothesis. Under this hypothesis the Matthean controversy stories are all found in the sources at Matthew's disposal, with the exception of 21:14-17.

5. For a fuller investigation of all the controversy stories see B. Repschinski, *The Controversy Stories in the Gospel of Matthew*, FRLANT 188 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, forthcoming). As controversy stories I take 9:2-8, 9-13, 14-17; 12:1-8, 9-14, 22-37, 38-45; 13:53-58; 15:1-9; 16:1-4; 19:3-9; 21:14-17, 23-27; 22:15-22, 23-33, 34-40, 41-46.

6. The scribes occur 20 times in the gospel as a group opposing Jesus. Of these, 10 occurrences mention them together with the Pharisees (5:20; 12:38; 15:1; 23:2,13,15,23,25,27,29). The Pharisees are already present in 12:22-37. They possibly appear by way of Mk 8:11. W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew*, 3 vols., ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988-1997), 2:351.

being from heaven.[7] The request of the opponents is redactionally introduced with "teacher," a belittling title.[8]

The answer of Jesus is introduced as a response to the request for a sign (12:39). Matthew departs from Q by stating that an "evil and adulterous generation demands a sign." Q states that "this generation is an evil generation. It seeks a sign." Matthew's statement is less sweeping than Q's. Those who seek a sign are evil and adulterous, and they are Pharisees and scribes.[9] While the target is more directly identified, the countercharge is sharpened. Μοιχαλίς, introduced by Matthew, is probably used in its Old Testament sense of faithlessness to the covenant,[10] a theme already undergirding the quotation Hosea 6:6 (9:13; 12:7). As in Q, Matthew states that no sign will be given except that of Jonah, adding "the prophet." Matthew reverses the order of the sayings about the men of Niniveh and the Queen of the South, probably in order to keep the sayings concerning Jonah together.[11]

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7. Both these elements were probably present in Q already. John S. Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels. Synopsis, Critical Notes & Concordance*, Foundation and Facets Reference Series (Sonoma: Polebridge Press, 1988), 98-101.

8. In Matthew only the opponents of Jesus call him teacher: 8:19 (the prospective disciple is not accepted), 9:11; 10:24-5; 12:38; 17:24; 19:16; 22:16, 24, 36: 23:8; 26:18. See also: Janice C. Anderson, *Matthew's Narrative Web: Over, and Over, and Over Again*, JSNTSup 91 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 118-9. And when Matthew has Jesus ask those calling him teacher (9:11) to learn (9:13: πορευθέντες δὲ μάθετε), they do not do so (12:7: εἰ δὲ ἐγνώκειτε).

9. Davies and Allison assume a consistent use in Matthew's gospel of "generation," denoting the contemporaries of Jesus or Matthew. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:260-261. However, in this instance it is the asking for the sign that makes the generation evil. Those asking are Pharisees and scribes. It would seem inconsistent to include the bystanders and the crowd that just reacted positively to a miracle of Jesus (12:23). The composition of the pericope as a controversy story would lose its logic. This does not invalidate Lövestam's observation that "this generation" alludes to the generation of the flood and the desert wanderings in the Old Testament, and thus in the New Testament signifies a group's relation to God (Evald Lövestam: "The ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη Eschatology in Mk 13.30 parr.", in Lambrecht, *Apocalypse*, 403-413).

10. Relevant texts are Ezekiel 23; Hosea 1-3; 5:3-4.

11. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:351.

12:40 gives an interpretation of the sign of Jonah different from Q 11:30. In Q the preaching of Jonah to the Ninevites is the sign.[12] Matthew sees the sign in Jonah's three days and three nights in the belly of the whale and compares it with the Son of Man who spends three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. Mt. 12:40 has sometimes been regarded as a post-Matthean interpolation.[13] While this seems unlikely the verse could be left out in its entirety without loss of narrative flow. Its counterpart in Lk. 11:30, however, could not be left out at all without the reversal of the saying of the Queen of the South and the Ninevites.[14] This makes it likely that the Lukan form of the

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12. Q does not connect Jonah with the death and resurrection of Jesus. Two explanations remain. Since in Q the sign of Jonah is connected with the son of Man, the sign given to the evil generation might be the coming of the son of Man in judgment. On the other hand, it might also be the preaching of judgment given by the earthly Jesus and its continuation by his followers. Both possibilities are discussed by Kloppenborg, who suggests the second possibility as the more plausible one since it reconciles more easily with the story of Jonah preaching judgment and effecting repentance. John S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q. Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections*, Studies in Antiquity and Christianity (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 131-33.

13. Most strongly it has been argued by Stendahl and Cope. Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and its Use of the Old Testament*, Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis XX. 2nd edition (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1968), 132-33; O. Lamar Cope, *Matthew. A Scribe Trained For the Kingdom of Heaven*, CBQMS 5 (Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association, 1976), 40-42. Stendahl's arguments are: a) Together with 13:14-15, the reference to "three days and three nights" is the only literal quotation of the LXX in the gospel of Matthew. b) 12:40 seems to interrupt the sequence of 12:39-41, where the "evil and adulterous generation" parallels "the Ninevites" and "Jonah" parallels "one greater than Jonah." The addition of "prophet" indicates that Matthew was thinking of Jonah's teaching rather than his subaquarian sojourn. c) Justin Martyr quotes the passage in *Dialogue with Trypho* 107:1-2 without 12:40. d) All textual witnesses are from the third or fourth century. — Several arguments must be held against this thesis. a) There is no evidence in the textual witnesses that imply the possibility of an interpolation. b) Perhaps Stendahl has wrongly identified 12:39-42 instead of 16:1-4 as the source for Justin's quotation. See: Arthur J. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr*, NovTestSup 17 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), 121. c) Stendahl implies that 12:41 is quoted by Justin, Cope corrects him by saying that it is not. Cope, *Matthew*, 41 n.70. If 12:41 is not quoted by Justin either, why should it be considered less of an interpolation than 12:40? d) Justin clearly implies that the sign of Jonah referred to the cross and resurrection of Jesus, which Stendahl admits. The interruptive nature of 12:40 when compared with verses 39 and 41-2 can be explained through the Matthean interpretation of a traditional saying which is still faithfully reproduced.

14. See Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 130-32.

saying is the more original one. Matthew took more freedom in the redaction of the sayings.[15]

With the redaction of 12:40 Matthew achieves a christological emphasis. The comparison, faulty though it may be in detail,[16] draws a parallel between Jesus and Jonah which returns in 16:4.[17] The emphasis is no longer on the Ninevites who repented, but on Jonah himself. Consequently, the emphasis also shifts from the people of this generation to Jesus himself.

With 12:41-42 the focus returns again to the generation that was indicted in 12:39. Except for Matthew's pre-positioning the Ninevite saying the Lucan and Matthean versions are quite congruent.[18] Both sayings conclude that there is πλεῖον here as compared to the preaching of Jonah or Solomon. Matthew's christological case, made in 12:40, continues through 41-42. Thus, despite its neuter gender, πλεῖον must be interpreted as referring to Jesus.[19] The

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15. S. Chow argues that Matthew preserves Q better than Luke. Simon Chow, "The Sign of Jonah Reconsidered: Mt. 12:38-42 and Lk. 11:29-32," *Theology and Life* 15-16 (1993): 56-59. Chow's argument rests on the assumption that Q's version needs to imply the episode of the fish for a complete understanding of the sign of Jonah. This is not convincing.

16. According to the narrative of Matthew, Jesus did not spend three days and three nights in the tomb. Davies and Allison appeal here to "poetic license." Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:356. Luz is probably more correct in relating 12:40 to 27:63-64 where Matthew speaks of the resurrection of Jesus "after three days" and "on the third day" interchangeably. Ulrich Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, EKK I, 4 vols (Zürich: Benziger, Neukirchener, 1985-), 2:278.

17. Luz comments that Matthew's interpretation of the sign of Jonah follows "was für jeden Juden and der Geschichte Jonas am wichtigsten war: an seine Errettung aus dem Bauch des Fisches." Luz, *Matthäus*, 2:277. This must be modified. Three narratives stress various elements of the Jonah story: In the *Lives of the Prophets* Jonah's family is given, but his mission is only mentioned cursorily, and the episode in the belly of the fish is not central at all. Josephus mentions Jonah in *Ant.* 9.10.2, §§204-214. There episode of the storm is important while the episode of the fish occurs almost as an afterthought. An earlier mention of Jonah occurs in 3 Maccabees 6:8 where the episode of the fish is reported as central, while it is also mentioned that he was restored afterwards to his family; the sermon is not mentioned. Jonah was a *topos* for discussion, yet with varying emphases.

18. The only difference aside from the order of the two sayings is the Matthean omission of τῶν ἀνδρῶν in 12:42 and the concomitant change to αὐτήν instead of αὐτούς. This change can easily be explained with the parallelizing tendency of Matthew. He gains the double use of μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης in verses 41 and 42.

19. Luz interprets πλεῖον as neuter: "Am wichtigsten aber ist, daß Matthäus hier nicht einen »dogmatischen« christologischen Satz formuliert, sondern »offen« auf das verweist, was in Christus an Israel geschieht: Das »Mehr« konnte Israel erfahren; Matthäus erzählt davon

rearrangement of the saying concerning Ninevites and Queen of the South suggests as much.[20]

The two sayings also draw attention to correct behavior in the face of Jesus: As the Ninevites, people are expected to repent, and like the Queen of the South, people are expected to come from afar to listen to Jesus. Both examples are drawn from Gentiles and heighten the embarrassing nature of the refusal of Pharisees and scribes to listen to Jesus.[21] But the undertone of these sayings is more than embarrassing, it is threatening with the last judgment. The judgment will be rendered on the criterion whether this generation listens to Jesus or not. And the judgment will be rendered by Gentiles.[22]

Matthew closes the controversy with a saying of the unclean spirit returning with his friends to the clean house (12:43-45). The passage originates with Q,

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in seiner Geschichte." Luz, *Matthäus*, 2:280-281. He comments similarly on 12:6.

20. Davies and Allison question whether behind these two sayings was a christological dimension already before Matthew. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:358. Luke, preserving the older version of Q, is less clear on the point than Matthew, since he compares Jonah with Jesus in 11:30, but then continues to talk about the Queen of the South in 11:31, only to return to Jonah in 11:32. Thus, if there is a christological interpretation implied, it is less obvious. Alternately, πλεῖον could be a reference to the kingdom. Charles H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom* (New York: Scribner, 1961), 31. Fuller sees the preaching of Jesus compared to the preaching of Jonah. Reginald H. Fuller, *The Mission and Achievement of Jesus. An Examination of the Presuppositions of New Testament Theology*, SBT, vol. 12 (Chicago: Allenson, 1954), 34-35.

21. Luz sees here a foreshadowing of the post-resurrection Gentile mission of the Matthean church. Luz, *Matthäus*, 2:281. It is hard to assess this claim. On the one hand, it is probably significant that Jonah and Solomon both made great impressions on Gentiles. On the other hand, these verses were not composed by Matthew, only used by him. Furthermore, the sayings serve to illustrate the judgment over this evil generation. If an allusion to a Gentile mission is implied, it is not in the foreground of its Matthean context.

22. Luz rightly points out the shocking nature of the assessment of "this generation." Luz, *Matthäus*, 2:280.

although in a different context.[23] Matthew uses this saying as a parable about his opponents appending 45c: "So it shall be also with this evil generation."[24]

The saying has generated a variety of interpretations.[25] Matthew applies the saying to "this generation." In the narrative context it is not a reflection on the past but the future (ἔσται). But what will happen to "this generation?"

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23. The saying lacks a parallel in Mark. Lk. 11:24-26 and Matthew are in almost complete agreement except for: Verse 43: Matthew inserts δέ, has οὐχ εὑρίσκει for μὴ εὑρίσκον. Verse 44: Matthew might have inserted τότε, but the Lukan witnesses are not conclusive. Matthew moves ἐπιστρέψω, and uses a different compound: Luke has ὑποστρέψω. Matthew inserts σχολάζοντα. Verse 45: Matthew inserts μεθ ἑαυτοῦ and moves ἕπτα. Matthew inserts οὕτως ἔσται καὶ τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ τῇ πονερᾷ. Q 11:24-26 follows the saying of being for or against Jesus.

24. Originally this might not have been so. The saying itself does not give any indication that it is to be understood as a parable, nor does it imply any indication for a course of action. Luz, *Matthäus*, 2:281. Perhaps it was a straightforward warning for people who had benefitted from the exorcisms of Jesus. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:360. See also Dale C. Allison, *The Jesus Tradition in Q* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1997), 120-32.

25. Hill sees it as a warning to the community. David Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, NCB (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1972), 221. But the evil generation is identified as the Pharisees and scribes. Gundry applies an allegorical interpretation and identifies the period of the absence of the spirit with the time of the righteousness of Pharisees and scribes and the time of the return "represent[s] an outburst of multiplied evil on the part of the scribes and Pharisees, an outburst that will falsify their righteousness." Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew. A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church Under Persecution*, 2nd edition (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 246. While Gundry rightly identifies the Pharisees and scribes as the evil generation, there is no period of righteousness for the Pharisees in Matthew. Fenton believes that "the possessed man stands for *this generation* of the Jews; the exorcism is the ministry of Jesus; the emptiness of the man is the unbelief and unrepentance of the Jews; and their *last state* is their condemnation at the last judgment." J. C. Fenton, *The Gospel of St. Matthew*, Pelican Gospel Commentaries (Baltimore: Penguin, 1964), 133. But Fenton introduces Jews that are not present in the pericope. Strecker relates the two periods of the emptiness of the man and the return of the spirits to the resurrection of Jesus. Georg Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit. Untersuchung zur Theologie des Matthäus*, 3rd edition (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 105-06. Hummel sees a similar relationship to the destruction of the temple. R. Hummel, *Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kirche und Judentum im Matthäusevangelium* (München: Kaiser, 1963), 126-27. Both interpret the saying *ex eventu* from their respective views of salvation history in Matthew; but there is little to bear this out in the actual text of the saying, and they must look elsewhere for confirmation. Similarly, Davies and Allison see the saying as a reflection of the evilness of Israel who has heard one greater than Solomon and did not repent. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:360.

Often "this generation" is identified with the exorcized man.[26] But this identification is problematic. Since "this generation" refers to the scribes and Pharisees of 12:38, one cannot speak of them being exorcized. Their opposition to Jesus has been clear from the beginning of the gospel, and the reader has never seen them as anything else but γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν (3:7), lacking in righteousness (5:20). But if one gives up on the connection between "this generation" and the opponents of 12:38, the whole construction of the controversy as including 12:43-45 falls apart. The repetitious use of "generation" throughout (12:39.41.42.45) falls short of its unifying function for the controversy if its meaning changes.[27]

The saying 43-45 takes a much greater narrative interest in the sojourn of the spirit than in the fate of the man, and the man is indeed only interesting in as much as he reflects the effects of the spirit and his friends. The text describes the spirits as πονηρότερα (12:45) while the generation is repeatedly described as πονηρά (12:39.45). Thus there is a connection between the spirits and the generation. The opponents of Jesus go through a period of "waterless places" or little success, while Jesus exorcizes, or preaches the gospel. But they come back in greater numbers and occupy their old house. This could be a reflection of the Matthean community on their experience of the authority of Jesus. While Jesus defeated the Pharisees and the scribes, amply documented in the controversy stories, the experience of the community was that the evil spirits had returned home. Israel was once more in the hold of the Pharisees, and the Matthean community in Israel was severely marginalized. The saying, then, would be a reflection on the context of the

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26. As an example see Daniel Patte, *The Gospel According to Matthew. A Structural Commentary on Matthew's Faith* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 181.

27. Schlatter proposes a rather ingenious solution to this conundrum. He interprets by identifying "this evil generation" with the possessed man, but then maintains that these verses remain mysterious just like saying of Capernaum's exaltation (11:23), because it originates in the royal consciousness of Jesus. Adolf von Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus. Seine Sprache, sein Ziel, seine Selbstständigkeit: Ein Kommentar zum ersten Evangelium*, 6th edition (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1963), 421. Needless to say, such a theological interpretation goes beyond the confines of historical critical exegesis, and perhaps beyond the text itself.

Matthean community, framed as a prophecy of Jesus (ἔσται) concerning the fate of a still unconverted Israel.[28]

Now it is apparent why Matthew added that Jonah was a prophet (12:39). As Jonah gave a prophecy of doom that led to the repentance of the Ninevites, Jesus, greater than Jonah, is giving a prophecy of doom that should lead to the repentance of his opponents, but it does not. Consequently, a severe denunciation of Pharisaic leadership is included as the reason for the horrible state of Israel in Matthew's time. Israel has become possessed by evil spirits, by an evil and adulterous generation, by the opponents of Jesus. For Matthew this might have been one explanation for the failure of Israel to follow Jesus even though it seemed positively inclined for a while.[29]

This parable, then, provides a fitting climax for the controversies of Mt. 12. Throughout this chapter the accusations against Jesus and the counter accusations against the Pharisees rose to a higher pitch. The Pharisees and their collaborators are portrayed as opponents of Jesus who lead Israel astray, and the horrendous state of Israel after the failure to follow Jesus is now for all to see. The Pharisees are, metaphorically speaking, demons.

Matthew's redactional activity in the whole controversy story focuses on two central issues. The first is the christological reinterpretation of the sign of Jonah. The second is the severe denunciation of the opponents. These are the poles between which the reader must make a decison.

1.2 Matthew 22:34-40

The controversy over the great commandment of the Law (22:34-40) follows Mk 12:28-34, but shortens it considerably and creates a new setting for

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28. Against Luz, who sees this future not in the present of the Matthean community but in the final judgment of 12:41-42. Luz, *Matthäus*, 2:282. Otherwise, Luz, too, identifies the "house" with Israel, but fails to pay any attention to the roving spirits.

29. Important here is Matthew's treatment of the crowd as interested in Jesus, excited about him, even following him. Key texts that have already occurred at this juncture are: 4:25; 5:1; 7:28-29; 8:1; 9:8; 9:33. Most important is 12:23 where the people's interest becomes an acrimonious controversy between Jesus and the Pharisees.

the story.[30] In Mark, it is a scholastic dialogue between a scribe asking for wisdom[31] and Jesus. The dialogue ends with the agreement of the scribe and Jesus' praise (12:32-34). Matthew creates a controversy. He omits the agreement between Jesus and the scribe.[32] Matthew has the Pharisees return[33] to engage Jesus, and one of them becomes their spokesman and is perhaps further qualified as a lawyer (22:34-35).[34] The Pharisees in Matthew are at this point known as invariably hostile to Jesus. As a result, the setting owes almost nothing to Mk 12:28.[35]

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30. Lk. 10:25-28 reports the same story. Common with Matthew are: Verse 25: νομικός, though its presence in Mt. 22:34 uncertain; ἐκπειράζων αὐτόν, though Mt. 22:34 uses the simple form of the verb πειράζων; διδάσκαλε. Verse 26: ὁ δέ; there might be a relation between εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν and the Matthean ἔφη αὐτῷ; in verse 28 Luke first uses the preposition ἐξ found in Mk 12:30, but then switches to ἐν found in Mt. 22:37. Both Matthew and Luke do not report the conciliatory note of Mk 12:32-34, and both omit the Markan remark that the scribe saw that Jesus answered the Sadducees well. This has led some scholars to posit some literary relationship between Matthew and Luke at this point, sometimes involving Q. Yet if the material did exist in Q the agreements are statistically at the low margin. Ennulat 1994: 280}. The agreements can be explained otherwise: νομικός must be discounted since it is not well enough attested for Matthew; πειράζων is a favorite of Matthew in controversy stories (16:1, here introduced into the sources by Matthew; 19:3; 22:18; 22:35); the same is true for διδάσκαλε.

31. For Bultmann, this is the defining difference between controversy apophthegm and scholastic apophthegm: Rudolf Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 2nd edition (New York: Harper, 1968), 54-55. See also the explanations of Lausberg as "Antwort-Chrie." Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der Literarischen Rhetorik. Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft*, 3rd edition (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1989), 537-38.

32. Matthew omits the scribe, the phrase "seeing that he answered them well" (12:28) and the entire passage 12:32-34.

33. In 22:15-22 the Pharisees engage Jesus in the controversy over paying taxes. On being silenced, they leave him. The Sadducees appear with their question about the resurrection (22:23-33). After their defeat the Pharisees return once more.

34. The description of the Pharisee as a lawyer (νομικός) is somewhat doubtful. Most manuscripts include the word. However, it is absent from family 1 and "widely scattered versional and patristic witnesses." Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd edition (New York: United Bible Societies, 1994), 48-49. In Matthew, the word does not occur elsewhere. The word might have been introduced through the influence of Lk. 10:25, or through ἐν τῷ νόμῳ (22:36).

35. The only agreements between Mt. 22:34-35 and Mk 12:28 are ἀκούσαντες in Mt. 22:34 (cf. ἀκούσας in Mk 12:28) and ἐπηρώτησεν ... αὐτόν in 22:35.

In 22:34 Matthew writes that the Pharisees heard that Jesus had silenced the Sadducees, replacing Mark's note that the scribe heard how Jesus answered them well (12:28). Thereupon the Pharisees "gather together"[36] and question Jesus once more. Matthew may have consciously quoted Ps. 2:2 here.[37] If this is so, the controversial character of the setting is enhanced even further. The quotation suggests that the Pharisees are like the Gentile kings who plot against God and the Messiah. If the allusion to Ps. 2:2 makes reference to Jesus as the Anointed of God, it also presages the fate of the Pharisees: "He who sits in the heavens laughs; the Lord takes them in derision" (Ps. 2:4). The Pharisees can only enkindle the wrath that will consume them in self-made disaster (Ps. 2:12).

Verse 35 continues the hostility. The Pharisee is described as πειράζων αὐτόν. It marks the question as insincere and recalls previous attempts to entrap Jesus (16:1; 19:3).[38] In 22:18 this attitude was already rebuked. Furthermore, the Pharisee uses the title "teacher," (36) which now occurs for the third time in successive controversies (22:16, 24, 36). As before, the title denotes not only antipathy for Jesus but also irony on the part of Matthew: Those who call Jesus "teacher" never learn from him.

The question itself asks which is the great commandment in the Law. Matthew has changed the question from Mark's version. While Mark was interested in the command that is πρώτη πάντων (12:28), Matthew asks for

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36. A few manuscripts have instead of ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, ἐπ αὐτόν (D it sy^{s,c}). While this does not put the first reading in any serious doubt, it reflects the setting of hostility which Matthew creates. Harrington indicates that the use of συνάγω might point to the synagogue. Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Matthew*, Sacra Pagina 1 (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991), 315.

37. Gundry maintains that "gathered together to the same place" is a typically Matthean allusion to the Old Testament, in this case to Ps. 2:2. Indeed, the LXX uses the same phrase there. The full quotation reads: παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. Gnilka suggests that περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ (22:42) is an additional piece of evidence that Matthew knowingly quoted Ps. 2:2. Joachim Gnilka, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, HthKNT 1 (Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder, 1986-1988), 2:259. However, the different prepositions caution against Gnilka's easy association.

38. Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew 14-28*, WBC 33B (Dallas: Word Books, 1993), 646. The temptation of Jesus (4:1-11) might also be in view.

the command that is μεγάλη ἐν τῷ νόμῳ.[39] The precise meaning of Matthew's phrase depends on the interpretation of "great." On the one hand, it could be taken as a Semitism, where the simple adjective signifies the superlative.[40] However, a definite article is missing, and thus the question might be directed at the quality needed for any commandment to become great.[41] Mark's question aims at the first commandment of them all. Matthew is aware of the impetus of Mark's questions and shows this in 22:38 where he inserts αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μεγάλη καὶ πρώτη ἐντολή. Here the definite article is present.[42] The question itself, however, reveals the Matthean intent. Matthew, like Mark, uses the interrogative pronoun ποία. Thus the question is qualitative to begin with. Furthermore, Matthew leaves out the Markan phrase πρώτη πάντων which indicates that Mark's question is aimed at one command that supersedes all others. Given the qualitative nature of the interrogative pronoun and the omission of the Markan specification, Matthew's question is aimed at the kind of commandment that must be considered great. Consequently, Matthew's categorization of commandments differs to a great extent from Mark's. Matthew argues with μεγάλη as a category of

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39. The phrase ἐν τῷ νόμῳ represents "Matthew's special diction"and interest (cf. 5:17). Gundry, *Matthew*, 448. The word νόμος occurs eight times in Matthew, but not in Mark. The phrase ἐν τῷ νόμῷ occurs also in 12:5.

40. Gundry, *Matthew*, 448; Hagner, *Matthew 14-28*, 646; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:240.

41. This position is held by Gnilka. He maintains that the questions aims at the rabbinic practice of weighing commandments against one another as light or heavy. Thus the question about "welche Qualität ein Gebot haben müsse, um unter die großen, wichtigsten gezählt zu werden" would conform more to rabbinical practice and consequently be more Matthean in its intention. Gnilka, *Matthäus*, 2:259. Davies and Allison admit this meaning as a distinct possibility. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:240.

42. Davies and Allison use this as the reason to argue for the question to mean "What is the greatest commandment in the Law?" They write: "[I]t is wiser to suppose that question corresponds to answer, and the answer offers 'the greatest and first commandment'." Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:240. But Matthew calls the command to love one's neighbor δευτέρα δὲ ὁμοία αὐτῇ (22:39). Consequently, while Matthew uses "first" and "second," this use is probably inspired by Mark, while his qualifications of omitting "first" in the question and adding "equal" to the qualify the "second" command indicate that Matthew is interested in the quality that lets one classify the commandments as great. Consequently, ποία should be taken to mean "what sort of."

commandments and subsumes under this category the Markan distinction between πρώτη and δευτέρα and calling them ὁμοία. Consequently, Matthew also omits the further Markan qualification that μείζων τούτων ἄλλη ἐντολὴ οὐκ ἔστιν (11:31).

The answer of Jesus is introduced very briefly (22:37).[43] Matthew omits Mk 12:29, thus sharpening the focus on the commandment itself.[44] Instead of Mark's ἐξ + Genitive Matthew uses the more polished ἐν + Dative. Furthermore, Mk 12:30 has four elements of the command to love God: καρδίας, ψυχῆς, διανοίας, ἰσχύας. Matthew takes over the first three elements, but omits the last. This redaction reflects Deut. 6:5 which also has three elements. On the other hand, it is somewhat surprising that Matthew chooses to omit ἰσχύς and keep διάνοια. Both Hebrew text and LXX are, in fact, closer in meaning to ἰσχύς.[45] Matthew chose to retain Mark's first three elements and omit the fourth.

Matthew adds 22:38, echoing 22:36 by repeating μεγάλη and ἐντολή. The mention now of πρώτη echoes Mk 12:28-29 and prepares for Mt. 22:39 where the second commandment is introduced.[46] Verses 36, 38 form an inclusion, heightening the formality of Jesus' declamation of the law.

Verse 39 equals the love of neighbor to the love of God. Matthew changes Mark to make this point explicit.[47] He then quotes Lev. 19:18, following Mark and LXX. Matthew emphasizes the second commandment even more in verse

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43. Matthew does not use the Markan introduction to the answer of Jesus ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησους ὅτι (12:29), but merely notes ὁ δὲ ἔφη αὐτῷ.

44. Mk 12:29: "The first is this: Hear, O Israel: The Lord Our God, the Lord is one." Gundry claims the omission as evidence for Matthew's presumed interest in antinomianism in his community. Gundry, *Matthew*, 449. But the situation is a controversy with leaders who are known as opponents of Jesus and the community. A transference to antinomians takes this controversy out of an established narrative context.

45. The Hebrew text reads וּבְכָל־מְאֹדֶךָ while the LXX reads ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δυνάμεώς σου. This departure from the Hebrew text makes it unlikely that Matthew's introduction of the preposition ἐν was motivated by the Hebrew בְּ, as suggested by Gundry. Gundry, *Matthew*, 449.

46. Gundry, *Matthew*, 449. Gnilka adds: "Als das größte und erste Gebot ist die Gottesliebe zweimal als das vorrangigste gekennzeichnet." Gnilka, *Matthäus*, 2:260.

47. Matthew changes Mk 12:31 from αὕτη to δὲ ὁμοία αὐτῇ.

40. He omits Mk 12:31c (μείζων τούτων ἄλλη ἐντολὴ οὐκ ἔστιν). Instead, Matthew maintains that on both these commandments ὅλος ὁ νόμος κρέμαται καὶ οἱ προφῆται. The two commandments are now paired. The commandment to love one's neighbor is no longer, as in Mark, subordinated to the command to love God.[48]

The Matthean formulation, perhaps similar to expressions in rabbinic literature,[49] makes the double love command the linchpin for the whole law and the prophets. Thus the whole of the Law remains in force.[50] Mt. 22:40 seems to imply not just a memory card for learning the Law, but a hermeneutical principle that allows for the interpretation of the Law.[51]

Finally Matthew omits the reaction of the opponents in Mk 12:34d and transposes it to Mt. 22:46.

Matthew's redactional activity focuses on three central issues. The first is the creation of a controversy story. The second is a christological focus. And

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48. Gundry, *Matthew*, 450.

49. Donaldson shows that the Hebrew and Aramaic words תלא/תלה are widely used in Tannaitic literature. The expression was used to relate individual precepts of the law to more general ones for the purpose of aiding memorization. A particular example would be the saying attributed to Bar Qappara in *b. Ber.* 63a: "What is the smallest portion of scripture from which all essential regulations of the Torah hang (תְּלוּיִין)?" The answer is given with Proverbs 3:6: " In all your ways acknowledge him, and he will direct your paths." There are similar references in *m. Ḥag.* 1:8; *t. Ḥag.* 1:9; *t. 'Erub.* 8:23. Donaldson goes on to argue that in the LXX, κρεμάννυμι is the most common rendering of תלא/תלה. Therefore, κρεμάννυμι is supposedly a *terminus technicus* known to Matthew. This argument presumes that the Hebrew/Aramaic term was already so established in Matthew's time that its Greek translation had taken on the same special meaning. This is difficult to ascertain, particularly since Matthew uses κρεμάννυμι also in 18:6 redactionally in its literal meaning. Terrence A. Donaldson, "The Law That Hangs (Matthew 22:40): Rabbinic Formulation and Matthean Social World," *CBQ* 57 (1995): 689-96.

50. Harrington adds: "At least in theory." Harrington, *Matthew*, 316. The third and fifth antithesis can be interpreted to set aside at least the literal interpretation of the Law; for a survey see: K. Snodgrass, "Matthew and the Law," *SBLSP* 1988, 539, n. 21.

51. Günther Bornkamm, "Das Doppelgebot der Liebe," in *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag am 20. August 1954*, ed. W. Eltester, BZNW, vol. 21 (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1954), 93. A similar mechanism seems to undergird the controversy 12:1-14 where the charge of unlawful behavior is countered with the appeal to Hosea 6:6.

the third is a more nuanced relationship between the particular laws in question and the whole Jewish Law.

2 Patterns

2.1 The Opponents

The two examples of the Matthean controversy stories show some patterns which appear throughout the gospel. A first observation is the appearance of the Pharisees in both stories as the opponents of Jesus. Even though Matthew seems generally fond of grouping the Jewish leaders in pairs[52] the controversy stories do not exhibit this feature prominently. In the 17 controversy stories only 7 present the opponents as a combination of subgroups (9:14-17; 12:38-45; 15:1-9; 16:1-4; 21:14-17, 23-27; 22:15-22). The first and last of these concentrate on the Pharisees.[53] In three others the Pharisees appear as well (12:38; 15:1; 16:1). Matthew follows his sources in the concentration on the Pharisees, with the exception of 12:38 where he introduces the Pharisees. In the ten controversies featuring only one group of opponents the Pharisees appear most frequently (9:10-13; 12:1-8, 9-13; 19:3-9; 22:34-40; 22:41-46), four times owing to Matthean redaction (9:10-13; 12:22-37; 22:34-40; 22:41-46).

The opponents are generally described as evil.[54] This is their root trait which is spelled out through various attributes.[55] They are called "brood of vipers" (3:7; 12:34; 23:33) or "hypocrites" (6:2, 5, 16; 15:7; 22:18; 23:13, 15,

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52. See Sjef van Tilborg, *The Jewish Leaders in Matthew* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 1-7. His list is completed by Anderson, *Web*, 97, n. 1. Pharisees and scribes orccur in 5:20; 12:38; 15:1; 23:2, 13, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29. Chief priests and Elders, a Matthean combination: 21:23; 26:3, 47; 27:1, 3, 12, 20; 28:11-12. Chief priests and Pharisees: 21:45; 27:62. Chief priests and scribes: 2:4; 20:18; 21:15. Chief priests and the Sanhedrin: 26:59. Scribes and Elders: 26:57.

53. In 9:14-17 the disciples on John recede into the background, while in 22:15-22 the Pharisees are the chief perpetrators in the attempt to entrap Jesus.

54. They think evil thoughts (9:4); consequently they are evil themselves (12:34, 39; 16:4).

55. On the narrative theory of character description see Jack D. Kingsbury, *Matthew as Story*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 9-28. Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse. Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), 107-38.

23, 25, 27, 29; 24:51), and are described as "blind guides" (15:14; 23:16, 34). They are described as producing evil fruit, or no fruit at all (3:7-10; 12:33-34; 21:43). They are shown as ignorant about the scriptures (12:3, 5; 19:4; 21:16; 21:42; 22:29, 31). They take counsel against Jesus (12:14; 22:15; 26:3-4; 27:1) and tempt him repeatedly (16:1; 19:3; 22:18, 35). They accuse him of collusion with Beelzebul (9:34; 10:25; 12:24) and request a sign while ignoring the signs given already (12:38; 16:1). The characterization of the Jewish leaders never varies from these parameters. As such they are "flat characters" in the narrative[56] and function like types. There is no development of the character of the opponents, it is stated at the outset and does not vary. This explains why in 22:34-40 Matthew changes a scholastic dialogue in Mark into a controversy story.

The controversy stories bear this out to a large extent. In the answers to the opponents much invective is used, and much of it is due to Matthean redaction. The following list shows all the invective used, with Matthew's additions underlined:

9:2-8	ἐνθυμεῖσθε πονηρά (4)	scribes
12:1-8	οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε (3) οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε (5) εἰ δὲ ἐγνώκειτε (7)	Pharisees
12:22-37	γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν ... πονηροὶ ὄντες (34)	Pharisees
12:38-45	γενεὰ πονηρὰ καὶ μοιχαλίς (39) τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ τῇ πονηρᾷ (45)	scibes and Pharisees
15:1-9	ὑμεῖς παραβαίνετε τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ (3) ὑποκριταί (7)	Pharisees and scribes
16:1-4	γενεὰ πονηρὰ καὶ μοιχαλίς (4)	Pharisees and Sadducees

56. "Flat" characters in a narrative possess only very few traits and thus are highly predictable in their behavior. Kingsbury, *Matthew as Story*, 10. Kingsbury adapts a scheme of Forster and Abrams. E.M. Forster, *Aspects of the Novel* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1954); M. H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 4th (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1981).

19:3-9	οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε (4)	
	πρὸς τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν (8)	Pharisees
21:14-17	οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε (16)	chief priests and scribes
22:15-22	τί με πειράζετε, ὑποκριταί (18)	Pharisees and Herodians
22:23-33	πλανᾶσθε μὴ εἰδότες (29)	
	οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε (31)	Sadducees

Whenever Matthew polemicizes against the Jewish leaders the Pharisees emerge prominently, and the presence of the Pharisees elicits much redactional activity. The redaction of 12:38-45 has shown to what lengths Matthew is prepared to go. The only conspicuous absences of the Pharisees are in the plotting of the death of Jesus and the passion predictions.[57]

As a consequence, within the flat character of the Jewish leaders as the opponents of Jesus the Pharisees play a particular role. They appear as the chief opponents of Jesus in the controversy stories, and most of the invective of the gospel is directed towards them. Matthew inserts chapter 23 as a critique of the Pharisees[58] and heightens the attention to the Pharisees in other places as well. Matthew continues a trend already found in his sources. However, this trend is noticeably intensified by Matthew.

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57. Matthew describes the Pharisees only once as plotting directly against Jesus, in 12:14. There the Pharisees plot how to destroy (ἀπολέσωσιν) Jesus. This verse is a quotation of Mk 3:6, though Matthew omits the Herodians. The Pharisees plot once more, but only how to entrap Jesus in his talk (22:15). When the chief priests and elders plot, they plot the death of Jesus in much clearer terms. In 26:4 they conspire "to arrest him by stealth and kill him," (ἀποκτείνωσιν) while they plot "to put him to death" (θανατῶσιν) in 27:1. The only time the Pharisees are seemingly linked with the death of Jesus is in the verses following the parable of the wicked tenants (21:45). Yet the Pharisees here are mentioned after the chief priests, who figure prominently in the trial of Jesus. Furthermore, here there is only an attempt to arrest Jesus, not yet to kill him. Finally, the attempt fails because they fear the crowds.

58. This statement makes no judgment about the source-critical evaluation of chapter 23. For a recent evaluation of the scholarship on this problem and a defense of chapter 23 as a pre-Matthean literary construct see: Kenneth G. Newport, *The Sources and Sitz im Leben of Matthew 23*, JSNTS, vol. 117 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995). Newport himself proposes a source comprising the Sermon on the Mount and Mt. 23 which is not explainable by Q or Lukan knowledge of Matthew (p. 177).

The increased attention to the Pharisees points to a particular Matthean interest that cannot be explained as historically motivated.[59] It seems more plausible that Matthew was interested in the Pharisees because he and/or his community knew them. This implies that the controversies between Jesus and the Pharisees reflect at least some of the contemporary relationship between the Matthean community and the Pharisees.

The controversy over the demand for a sign exemplifies this trend admirably. Matthew combines material from Q to indict the Pharisees much more strongly than either of his sources has done. At the same time, the indictment of the Pharisees is related to the abominable state of the man possessed. A similar observation can be made about the controversy over plucking grain on the Sabbath (12:1-8). The Pharisees are shown up as ignorant of the scriptures (12:3, 5). At the same time Matthew shows that the priests are guiltless on the Sabbath, while the Pharisees, in judging the disciples, condemn the guiltless. The disciples of Jesus take the place of the priests in the temple.

But beyond the direct comparison between the Jewish leaders and the community all the controversy stories are geared towards the delegitimation

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59. The role of the Pharisees in the story of the historical Jesus has recently come under renewed investigation. Serious doubts have been raised that the Pharisees were actually the chief opponents of Jesus as they are depicted in the gospels. Thus Berger proposes that the oldest traditions behind some of the controversy stories in Mark's gospel is the contrast logion. In particular he observes this for Mk 2:16-17, 18-20, 23-28; 3:1-4; 7:1-23; 10:1-12; 12:13-17. Berger argues that these early Christian traditions were made biographical through the insertion of the figures of Jesus and Pharisees as antagonists, and are thus representative for the controversies between the early Christian communities and the Pharisees. Klaus Berger, *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu: Ihr historischer Hintergrund im Judentum und im Alten Testament. Vol. I: Markus und Parallelen*, WMANT 40 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972), 576-78. Hultgren argues a similar point when he argues that the pre-Markan collection 2:1-3:6 received its current references to scribes and Pharisees through the influence of 3:6 which was inserted by the pre-Markan compiler. Arland Hultgren, *Jesus and His Adversaries: The Form and Function of the Conflict Stories in the Synoptic Tradition* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1979), 159. Morton Smith probably goes too far by arguing that there were no Pharisees in Galilee during Jesus' lifetime. Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978), 153-57. For a summary argument in favor of the Pharisees as a post-resurrection opposition to the early Christians see also E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 287-93.

of the opponents as rightful leaders of Israel. Their objections against Jesus and his disciples do not hold up under the arguments made by Jesus. Their interpretation of the law is shown to be faulty in the extreme whenever they bring it up. Matthew uses irony to illustrate the ineptness of the opponents in justifying themselves (22:15-33). The repeated quotation of Hosea 6:6 casts serious doubts on their covenant loyalty. Matthew holds the opponents of Jesus responsible for the events that led to the destruction of Jerusalem because they plot against God and his Messiah like the Gentile rulers (22:34). Their rejection of Jesus and of the Matthean community makes them unfit to lead Israel. With the fate they brought upon Jerusalem through this rejection they have shown that their claim to leadership is pretentious.

2.2 Jesus

Both examples of controversies in Matthew's gospel exhibit a tendency to emphasize their christological implications. The re-interpretation of the sign of Jonah in 12:40 draws attention to the death and resurrection of Jesus as the sign which ought to produce repentance but does not do so. The messianic allusion in 22:34 provides an explanation for this fact: The opponents of Jesus are like the gentile rulers who conspire against God and his Christ.

The two examples also show how the argument between opponents and Jesus often involves the Hebrew Scriptures. In both stories Jesus emerges as superior in the argument through the use of scripture. This feature is a pattern in the controversy stories as a whole. Of the 17 stories eight deal with the Law in different ways. Two contain a direct accusation that either the disciples or Jesus break the Law (12:2-8, 9-14). The controversy over the tradition of the elders (15:1-9) turns through Jesus's answer into the accusation that the Pharisaic traditions stand in opposition to the Law. The controversy over divorce (19:3-9) shows how the opponents are mistaken in their interpretation of the Law. Similarly, the question of the resurrection is revealed as a frivolous misinterpretation of scripture (22:23-33). Conversely, Jesus can also show that the imperial tax is, contrary to the opinion of his opponents, not a matter of the Law (22:15-22). And when the opponents are asked to interpret Ps. 110:1 they

cannot answer (22:41-46). But the failure of the opponents is not just ignorance, but the considered refusal to learn from Jesus (9:13; 12:7).

When Matthew deals with the Law in a controversy story, he redacts heavily. Thus 12:1-8 is augmented by the argument of the guiltlessness of the priests on the Sabbath, while 12:9-14 adds the argument of the sheep in the pit. The opposition between the tradition of the Elders and the Law (15:1-9) owes to Matthean redaction the avoidance of the abolishing of all purity laws.

The controversy stories claim that Jesus does not countermand the Law but that he interprets it better than his opponents, and with a refinement absent from Matthew's sources.[60] While the controversy stories would lend themselves to the elaboration of Jesus as a new Moses[61] they do not exhibit this tendency. Matthew is content to show Jesus as superior in argument. However, the two examples show as well that this superiority is not adequately expressed by calling Jesus "teacher" even if he acts like one (7:29; 9:13; 12:7).[62]

2.3 The Conflict

A third pattern visible in the examples is the seemingly unbridgeable gap between the opponents and Jesus. None of the controversies actually leads to a conversion, or to a coming closer between the opposing parties. The stories always close with the silencing of the opponents of Jesus, and the last controversy makes clear that the silencing is complete and absolute (22:46). Between the two positions there is no compromise possible. The controversy

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60. It would lead too far to analyse the particular thrust of the Matthean agenda in treating the Law. I find the view of Matthew as a prophetic interpreter of the Law quite persuasive. See Alexander Sand, *Das Gestz und die Propheten* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1974); Klyne Snodgrass, "Matthew and the Law," in *Treasures New and Old. Recent Contributions to Matthean Studies*, ed. David R. Bauer and Mark A. Powell (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 179-96. Snodgrass also discusses the various scholarly approaches to Matthew's treatment of the Law.

61. See Dale C. Allison, *The New Moses. A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993).

62. Again Matthew redacts the use of this title to reflect a consistency not present in Mark. There the disciples as well as those seeking a healing or opponents use the title: 4:38; 5:35: 9:17, 38; 10:17, 20, 35; 12:14, 19, 32; 13:1; 14:14. In Matthew, only opponents use the title.

stories depict two divergent ways of Judaism, and their aim is the *confutatio* of the opponents who from beginning to end are in the wrong.[63] The opposites are absolute. Therefore, they do not contain a moment of suspense in the progression of the gospel narrative. They serve to illustrate a conflict without resolution. As a consequence, each victory of Jesus in a controversy is a moral one, not a real one. Its value remains an apologetic justification for the position of the Jesus group against the position of the opponents.

These features of the controversies have form-critical consequences. Even though controversy stories have often been classified as a sub-group of chreia,[64] the Matthean redaction goes substantially beyond chreia. It seems likely that Matthew was influenced by the literary form of the ἀγὼν λόγων, or contests in dialogue.[65] This literary form was first developed as a dramatic,

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63. Klaus Berger, "Hellenistische Gattungen im Neuen Testament," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, ed. W. Haase (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), II.25.2: 1310.

64. Bultmann and Dibelius were influential in discussing the controversy stories as apophthegms or paradigms respectively. Bultmann, *History*, 11-69; Martin Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, 3rd. ed. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1959), 44-58. Taylor called them pronouncement stories. Vincent Taylor, *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition*, 2nd (London: Macmillan, 1935), 65. Since then the study of chreia has made great strides; as examples must suffice: Robert C. Tannehill, "Introduction: The Pronouncement Story and its Types," *Semeia* 20 (1981): 1-13; Berger, "Hellenistische Gattungen," 1308-30; Robert C. Tannehill, "Types and Functions of Apophthegms in the Synoptic Gospels," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der Neueren Forschung*, ed. W. Haase (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), II.25.2: 1831-85; Ronald F. Hock and Edward N. O'Neil, *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric*, vol. 1, *The Progymnasmata* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986); Vernon K. Robbins, "Introduction: Using Rhetorical Discussion of the Chreia to Interpret Pronouncement Stories," *Semeia* 64 (1994): vii-xvii. All these studies show that the controversy stories can be related to chreia in their origin. However, the literary form of chreia is less able to account for the Matthean propensity to elaborate these stories. Thus Hultgren does not share this view. Hultgren, *Adversaries*, 39.

65. The *terminus technicus* ἀγὼν λόγων is already attested in Euripides, *Andromache* 234. Alternatively ἄμιλλα λόγων is used in *Medea* 546. Michael Lloyd, *The Agon in Euripides* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 5. Berger discusses the form briefly in relation to the literary form of controversy stories, yet his suggestion has not been taken up to my knowledge. Berger, "Hellenistische Gattungen," 1305-10. With regard to Greek literature the form has been discussed exhaustively in W. J. Froleyks, "Der *Agon Logon* in der antiken Literatur," diss (Bonn: Universität Bonn, 1973). He shows convincingly how widespread this form was throughout many types of Greek and Hellenistic literature. There does not seem

and often lengthy, description of irreconcilable positions in Greek tragedies.[66] Although the origin of the *Agon* lies in Greek tragedies, other forms of literature soon adapted it until it became a widespread literary form. Stock literary devices in the *Agones* include the situation of dialogue, the use of invective, often the presence of an arbiter, initial self praise of the party that goes on to loose the argument.

Several of these characteristics do not show up in the controversy stories.[67] Yet some analogies are noticeable. Both forms engage in a contest already predetermined in its outcome. The contest itself centers around issues of a deeper significance than the anecdotal nature of chreia can sustain. Among these is the sustained hostility between Jesus and his opponents. Matthew's propensity to elaborate Jesus' response to objections from opponents goes beyond the demands for wit and brevity in chreia. This is not only true of the controversy over the demand for a sign, but also visible in the two Sabbath controversies (12:1-8, 9-13) or the controversy over collusion with Beelzebul (12:22-37). Thus it seems likely that the *Agones* offered Matthew the necessary elements to enhance the significance and rhetorical dignity for a greater forensic power.

Conclusion

The controversy stories show a deep-seated conflict between Jesus and the Matthean community on the one hand, and the Jewish leaders on the other. Matthew emphasizes this conflict by concentrating on the Pharisees as the opponents in these stories, by sharpening the mutual hostility as well as

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to be a consistently used English translation of the term, therefore *Agon* shall be used in the following.

66. For an example from Greek tragedy see Euripides, *Electra* 988-1138.

67. The arbiter is absent, the self praise does not occur, the controversy stories are often brief, or elaborate on the answer of Jesus but not the initial statement of the opponents. Berger includes invective in the list of missing items Berger, "Hellenistische Gattungen," 1306. However, this must be modified. The description of the opponents as roaming spirits must be counted as such, as also "hypocrites" (15:7; 22:18) or "offspring of vipers" (12:34), or the description of an "evil and adulterous generation" (12:39, 45; 16:4).

refining Jesus' arguments as they relate to scripture. Thus the controversy stories are a tool to delegitimize the Jewish leaders.

In order to achieve this goal Matthew expanded on the apophthegmatic character of these stories and moved them closer to the *Agon*. Consequently, the controversy stories can argue with more sophistication than the restrictions of chreia allow for.

The literary relationship to the *Agon* also emphasizes the unbridgeability of the conflict. It is sustained without mitigation throughout the gospel. As much as the controversy stories mirror the social location of the Matthean community they show how far the community had distanced itself from the Pharisees and their successors in the period of formative Judaism. Pharisaism and its claim to leadership is rejected completely. However, the arguments also show how much common ground there is between the community and its opponents. When the Hebrew Scriptures and the Law in particular are thematized repeatedly, and when Matthew shapes his controversies to reflect a more nuanced approach to these than either of his sources provided, the proximity between the opposing groups is evident. The Matthean controversy stories reflect the attempt of a community to delegitimize the Jewish leaders through the attempt to show how Jesus is the better interpreter of the Law, and how the community preserves continuity with Jesus.

Seleucid Royal Ideology

Erich S. Gruen

No text declares the principles and precepts of Seleucid royal ideology. The monarchs, to our knowledge, did not employ court philosophers or publicists who would proclaim their virtues and objectives to the realm. In Macedon, the Antigonid royal line did encourage Stoics and other intellectuals to frame a political theory congenial to their authority. But nothing of the kind is attested for the Seleucids. A whole genre of literature, prefigured in the 4th century BCE and in full flower during the Hellenistic period, specified guidelines for the ideal ruler: Peri Basileias (On Kingship). But such works circulated to an elite readership, not for broad public consumption. In form, at least, they were directed to the ruler, not produced by or for him, some even conveying, by implication, critiques of royal behavior. None of these treatises survives. We have many titles and authors, but no texts and few fragments. Some sense of their character may be surmised from a surprising source, the Letter of Aristeas, whose symposium includes rapid-fire questions and answers, most of them concerning proper behavior by a monarch. But that work was composed by a Hellenized Jew in the context of the Ptolemaic kingdom. Nothing comparable exists for the Seleucids.[1]

Even if it did, such a text would not get us far. Few subjects of the realm would have access to learned treatises. Nor would they concern themselves with the formulations of philosophers on the ideals of royal conduct. One

must look to other sources as a means of discerning the manner in which Seleucids presented themselves to their subjects: coins, inscriptions, official documents, and even the circulation of popular stories that would appeal to a wide readership and build an image of the ruler. In the absence of systematic theorizing, we need to piece together the portrait from a variety of sources and through a variety of means. Ruler theory remains elusive and largely unarticulated. But the kings did employ a range of modes whereby to represent their qualities and objectives, and to establish the bases of relationships with the nations and cities in their domain. Insofar as Jewish texts responded to the circumstances of Seleucid rule, this needs to be viewed in the broader context of Seleucid history - - not just the traumatic events of Antiochus Epiphanes' reign.

The founder of the line, Seleucus I Nicator, faced a formidable task. Lacking any kinship to the Macedonian royal house and contending against a fearsome collection of rivals for the mantle of Alexander the Great, he needed to establish credentials that would afford some claim to legitimacy in the turbulent age of the Diadochoi. Seleucus confronted that task with energy and ingenuity.

First and foremost, he cultivated a connection with Alexander himself. Several stories surfaced alluding to it, doubtless fabricated or embellished but supplying valuable clues to Seleucus' package of propaganda. One of them conveyed a fanciful but meaningful parallel to the legend of Alexander's divine birth. Seleucus' mother, so it was claimed, had a dream that she spent an erotic night with Apollo, during which she conceived her son. The god, out of gratitude for the evening of pleasure, presented her with a ring carved with the image of an anchor, to be given to her son. Sure enough, such a ring turned up on the bed the next morning, and Seleucus,

nine months later, was born with a birthmark in the shape of an anchor.[2] That story was bound to ring a bell with most readers or auditors. It bore a close resemblance to the narrative of Alexander's birth, the product, so the most celebrated version had it, of a union between his mother Olympias and the god Zeus. The latter was in the form of a surreptitious serpent - - much to the chagrin of Olympias' husband Philip.[3] In each case, the divine birth signalled a glorious future. A second story reinforced the message. When Seleucus was on campaign as one of Alexander's generals, he consulted the oracle of Apollo at Didyma which greeted him as "King Seleucus" - - a harbinger of what he could expect in his future. And the prediction was confirmed by none other than Alexander himself who appeared standing shoulder to shoulder with Seleucus in a dream, forecasting his position of leadership.[4] In case anyone had doubts, a third tale was designed to assuage them. This one took place at Babylon, near the end of Alexander's life. While the king was sailing in the Babylonian lagoons and conceiving irrigation projects, a wind blew off his diadem which landed in a bunch of reeds marking the tomb of a Babylonian ruler of old. Seleucus, as one version had it, immediately dived into the waters to retrieve the diadem and placed it on his own head to keep it dry while he swam back to Alexander. It was an obvious omen of his own kingship to come. Subsequent readers recognized the significance in an episode that shortly preceded Alexander's death and heralded the greatest of his successors.[5] One more tale reaffirmed the association. On the eve of the great "battle of the kings" at Ipsus in 301 BCE, Demetrius Poliorcetes dreamed that Alexander came back from the grave and asked him for the watchword to be used in the battle. Demetrius, unfortunately for him, gave the wrong one: "Zeus and Victory." It did not include a reference to Alexander! The specter then abandoned Demetrius

and moved to the camp of his enemies.[6] The principal beneficiary and victor at Ipsus was, of course, Seleucus Nicator.[7]

None but the most credulous will pin faith on any of these tall tales. No matter. What they represent is, quite obviously, an endeavor on the part of Seleucus, at a time when he had already acquired royalty, to justify that august status by linking himself to Alexander the Great - - whose blood line had died out. The aura of Alexander's kingship, his divine sonship, the oracular predictions of his victories, and the military exploits themselves would now form part of Seleucus' own self-fashioning.

The coinage produced for Seleucus underscored the Alexander connection. The king controlled mints at Babylon, Ecbatana, Susa, and Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. Alexander types continued unabated in the early years of Seleucus, with the legend of "Alexander the King" appearing with regularity. After 305, when Seleucus himself took the royal title, his own name began to appear on the coins, but the Alexander types continued to be used, and Alexander's image itself appears on bronze and gold coinage from Susa and Ecbatana well into the later years of Seleucus.[8] One might explain the use of Alexander types on silver coinage as facilitating international commercial exchange, for the types were ubiquitous in the eastern Mediterranean. But bronze coins were minted largely for local consumption. Seleucus was advertising his association with Alexander as a means to legitimize royal authority among the peoples of a vast realm who had hailed Alexander as both conqueror and successor of the Persian empire.

The divine heritage of Apollo, as we have seen, marked a notable parallel to that which Alexander had claimed from Zeus. And Seleucus Nicator exploited that legacy to good effect. He made a display of restoring to Apollo's shrine at Didyma the bronze statue of the god that had been looted

two centuries earlier by the Persian king and kept at Ecbatana since then.[9] The laureate head of Apollo appears regularly on the obverse of Seleucus' bronze coinage, especially in the eastern parts of his domain, in Mesopotamia and Iran, where it could serve as a bonding device for Greeks and Macedonians settled in those lands and also bind them to the purported son of Apollo. The tale of Apollo as sire of Seleucus, however it was understood, took hold in the west as well, and was acknowledged in official documents and diplomatic correspondence in subsequent years. The kinship of Apollo and the Seleucids appears, for instance, in an honorary decree at Ilium for Antiochus I, in a letter from Seleucus II to the city of Miletus, and in a festival hymn at Erythrae, all enshrined on stone.[10]

When Seleucus Nicator took the title of king in 305, he did not define his kingdom in geographical terms, limited by terrain or boundaries. No document identifies him as "king of Syria," "king of Babylonia," or even "king of Asia."[11] The assocations with Alexander and with Apollo offer an insight into the presentation of Seleucid rule projected to the peoples within its sway. Seleucus crafted means to express ties with a non-existent royal past and to allege a divine heritage that imitated the practices of the Macedonian monarchs. The kingship of the Seleucids did not confine itself to particular territorial holdings. It was conceived from the start as perpetuation of the empire of Alexander.

Legitimation of the monarchy constituted only a first step. Installation of a dynasty was the next task, more difficult but essential. In the convulsive era of the Diadochoi, nothing held higher priority than a sense of continuity and permanence. The Seleucids went about that task energetically. Their emphasis upon the closeness and unity of the family recurs again and again. Colonial foundations carried the range of family names: Antiochia,

Laodicea, Stratonicea, Seleucia, Apamea. Seleucus Nicator named them after his father, his mother, his wives, and himself, plainly a deliberate display of familial harmony.[12] Seleucus took the further step of making his son Antiochus a full partner in the governance of the realm. They are designated as co-rulers in both Greek and Babylonian documents. Coins from the royal mints in Babylon and Ai Khanoum carry the names of both kings. And Antiochus received full authority over the "Upper Satrapies," essentially all the eastern holdings of the Seleucid empire.[13] This move was conscious innovation. The Achaemenids never engaged in joint-rulership. Nor did the Seleucids themselves resort to it thereafter with regularity. The new institution emerged to confront the tumultuous transition era of the Diadochoi. It removed any doubts about succession, discouraged rivalry in the court, distributed power over the vast realm, and made public declaration of mutual confidence between father and son.

The posture and policy receive dramatic illustration in a celebrated romantic tale. The story goes as follows. Seleucus Nicator, in a typical marriage of diplomacy among the Diadochoi, had wed Stratonice, the beautiful daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes. A happy enough marriage, but unfortunately Seleucus' son Antiochus fell in love with his father's young bride. The noble youth strived to overcome his obsession, said nothing to anyone, and reproached himself for this inconvenient passion, but could not get over Stratonice. Antiochus became ill with love-sickness, took little food, and began to waste away. Seleucus was alarmed. The court physician Erasistratus could find nothing physically wrong. But he detected all the signs of a desperate and hopeless love. How to identify the object of Antiochus' affections? Erasistratus observed his patient closely and continuously, particularly when any attractive young persons (whether male

or female) came into view. Antiochus was unmoved by all of them, with one notable exception. Whenever Stratonice crossed his path, the young man began to stammer, broke into a cold sweat, suffered palpitations, became deathly pale, and ultimately sank into a stupor. Erasistratus now knew the truth, but could not quite bring himself to blurt it out to Seleucus. An indirect approach was better. The doctor pretended that it was his own wife with whom Antiochus was infatuated, thus prompting the king to request him to yield her up for the greater good of the nation. Erasistratus then asked the question he had withheld: "would you give up your own wife, if she were Antiochus' secret desire?" Seleucus answered unhesitatingly in the affirmative. Erasistratus proceeded to reveal the truth, Seleucus was overjoyed, gave Stratonice to his son (though only after some persuasion had to be applied to her), and announced wedding plans not only to the court but to an assembled gathering of the people.

Such is the tale, a celebrated one through the ages. An astonishingly wide range of sources, Greek and Roman, retailed it, a great favorite among writers from Pliny the Elder to the 4th century emperor Julian the Apostate.[14] The story itself plainly forms a romance, a reworking of the theme present in Euripides' Hippolytus, though with gender roles reversed. How much of it stems from fact cannot be determined. Nor does it matter. The public presentation counted. Whether or not Antiochus was smitten by his father's young wife, whether or not Seleucus nobly yielded her up in order to save his son's health, the new marriage did take place, and the king made a point of announcing it to the subjects of his realm. The entire Seleucid army and the populace at large were gathered to hear the news.[15] Seleucus wished, in effect, to make an empire-wide declaration.

To what end? Political reasons doubtless played a role. The alliance with Demetrius, father of the bride, had a high priority in the politics of diadoch rivalries. Seleucus was in his sixties. The wedding of Stratonice to his son would guarantee continuity of the alliance into the next generation. It would not only prevent Demetrius from dangling her as marriage-bait to another rival but would assure him that Seleucus had no comparable plans for his son. In short, it solidified the link between the Antigonid and Seleucid houses. And since Stratonice had already produced a child (albeit a girl), the new union also raised the likelihood that she might soon present Antiochus with a son and heir. All perfectly reasonable motives on the political front. But there is more to it than that. The public display of family solidarity had central importance. Seleucus broadcast the event as widely as possible. It declared a bonding between father and son that would give the inhabitants of the empire confidence in the enduring stability of the regime. The announcement came simultaneously with the designation of Antiochus, together with his queen, as supreme lords of the Upper Satrapies.[16] That can hardly be a coincidence. The appointment sent a signal to the dwellers in those regions of dynastic harmony and unity.

Any truth to the story of Stratonice and the love-sick Antiochus? Who knows? But it might not be unreasonable to suggest that the report was contemporary - - and deliberately spread by the court. It certainly cast Seleucus in a favorable light, exhibiting his strong affection for his son and his concern for the future of the empire. It also placed stress on the noble restraint of Antiochus who yielded only on the importunings of his father. The account of Stratonice having to be cajoled and persuaded by the king's friends conveniently underscored the impression of her great affection for Seleucus as well as her willingness to advance the objectives of the family.

Indeed the whole narrative of a romantic infatuation by Antiochus may well have been concocted to soften the perception that the move was a mere tightening of political bonds with the Antigonids. Seleucus held the dynastic public image as his first consideration.

The emphasis on family loyalty and the continuity of the regime persists in subsequent generations. The use by Antiochus I and later rulers of a chronological scheme based not on the years of their own reign but on a starting date of 311 BCE, when Seleucus I had recovered Babylon, emphasized an unbroken duration of the dynasty that superseded individual rulers. Acknowledgment of the closeness of the family occurs in epigraphical documents. Decrees of Didyma in 299, for instance, honor Seleucus I, his first wife Apama, and his son Antiochus for financing the building of a temple and shrine. Their contents indicate that the family made a show of collaborative activity through joint benefactions.[17] Another decree from Ilium in the time of Antiochus I makes a point of honoring his entire family, including his deceased father.[18] A Babylonian text refers to gifts by Laodice, wife of Antiochus II, and her sons Seleucus and Antiochus.[19] Comparable emphasis can be found in the next century when Antiochus III, through a letter to his governor in Media, asked the Median city of Laodicea to bestow and expand honors for his wife Laodice.[20] And Laodice's own letter to Iasus in 195 stressed her benefits for the city, supplied in combination with Antiochus.[21] Whatever the realities of the situation (and we have plenty of evidence for internal strife within the Seleucid house) familial harmony remains a central theme in the dynasty's public presentation.

Ruler cult has close connection with this theme. The payment of divine honors to Seleucid kings may have originated on the initiative of Greek

cities within their domain. But a full scale dynastic cult orchestrated from the center eventually took hold as well, another instance of the Seleucid campaign to broadcast the solidarity of the regime.

The city of Ilium erected an altar and instituted sacrifices and games to Seleucus Nicator at the end of his reign.[22] Cults then sprang up in a number of communities in the time of Antiochus I and Antiochus II: Erythrai, Smyrna, Teos, Bargylia, Miletus.[23] These all represent civic cults installed by individual communities as a show of gratitude to the kings for benefits bestowed or a means to express loyalty to the regime. By the time of Antiochus III at the end of the 3rd century BCE, however, the royal house promoted a dynastic cult that extended beyond piecemeal honors and encompassed priests who ministered not only to the current monarch and his son but to all their ancestors in the Seleucid line. Letters of Antiochus III to the satraps of Caria and Media decree the establishment of priestesses for his wife Laodice, and they imply that similar missives went to every satrapy of the empire. This constituted a statewide worship.[24] A decree of Antioch in Persis confirms the fact quite plainly. It registers a priest of Seleucus I, Antiochus I, Antiochus II, Seleucus II, Seleucus III, Antiochus III, and his son. One could not wish a better indicator of a collective dynastic cult.[25] There is no reason to believe that this first saw the light of day in the time of Antiochus III. It seems unlikely that the Seleucids would have lacked a statewide cult when the Ptolemies had long had one. The origins may go back to Antiochus I who erected a temple at Seleucia to honor his deceased father.[26]

This is hardly the place to enter into the thorny thicket of controversy over the meaning of ruler worship. Were kings reckoned as on a par with the gods or only granted unusual honors as great benefactors and protectors?

The issue will not be solved here. But some relevant items might be noted. The Ilian decree to Antiochus I proposes to offer sacrifices to Athena and other divinities on behalf of Antiochus and his family, thus putting him in a category different from the traditional gods. Yet the same decree allots a priest to Antiochus himself and addresses him with the cult titles of Soter and Euergetes.[27] The ruler thus can have his own cult, while simultaneously being under the protection of the established gods. The dual practice is attested also in an edict of the Ionian League directed to Antiochus I. The League instituted a sanctuary, festival, sacrifices and an altar to Antiochus, full accoutrements of divinity. But it is noteworthy that the inscription prescribes sacrifices both to the gods and goddesses and to Antiochus, his son, and his wife.[28] The divinity of the ruler, therefore, appears as parallel to, but not identical with, that of the other gods. Antiochus II, however, even took the title of Theos itself - - or, at least, offered no disclaimer when the Milesians bestowed it upon him. Use of the epithet without a modifier is significant.[29] Whether his successors adopted the designation remains unknown. No evidence exists from the reigns of Seleucus II and Seleucus III on this matter. But the city of Teos did set up agalmata, cult images for Antiochus III and his wife Laodice, to be installed next to the statue of Dionysus. They were to share the temple and other honors with Dionysus, so that they could confer blessings upon the community.[30] Connections with the divine had become a staple of the Seleucid image.

Generosity was a hallmark of the regime, a conventional feature of Hellenistic royalty. The Seleucids showed themselves especially conspicuous in this regard, showering benefactions and patronage upon Greek communities throughout their lands and outside them as well: endowments, gifts, land grants, loans, festivals, buildings, awards of

autonomy, and alleviation of taxes. The women of the royal house shared in this bestowal of bounty. No need to supply illustrations. Epigraphic testimony abounds on the subject. The Seleucids, in this regard, fitted the mold of gracious donors to which most Hellenistic monarchs aspired. It supplied a reminder to the Greeks within their dominion of the wealth and resources of the regime.

The Seleucids, however, reached outside the Greek and hellenized communities. Their support and encouragement of indigenous traditions stands out most markedly, a significant element in their self-representation. The ancient city of Babylon, for example, continued to thrive. Seleucus I, although he built a new city at Seleucia on the Tigris, maintained the walls of Babylon and the sanctuary of Ba'al.[31] Cuneiform texts indicate the unbroken vitality of Babylonian institutions and society. The traditional priesthood, temple authorities, and officialdom of the city remained in place. Antiochus I subsidized the building of religious shrines in Babylonian communities to Babylonian deities. The wife and sons of Antiochus II supplied expropriated land to the Babylonians. And Antiochus III made offerings to Marduk and Ishtar at the temple of Esagila in Babylon.[32] The Babylonian clay cylinder in cuneiform Akkadian in the time of Antiochus I is especially revealing. The king himself there recorded his building or rebuilding of the sacred temples, Esagila and Ezida. The choice of Akkadian, no longer a spoken language, gave a tone of authority and antiquity to his words, and also catered directly to indigenous sentiment. Antiochus adopted the language, style, and content of traditional Babylonian building inscriptions. And he paid homage to the Babylonian gods. It is noteworthy that the document refers to King Seleucus as a Macedonian, whereas Antiochus, the present king of Babylon and caretaker of the

temples, lacks that designation. He had taken on the guise of a champion of native traditions. And, not least, he called for the favor of the divinity Nebo to be imparted to himself, his wife, and his son, yet another reaffirmation of family solidarity.[33]

Elsewhere, the Seleucids also showed sensitivity to indigenous practices and institutions. The cult of Sabazios, prominent in Iran, appears to have proceeded without interference throughout the Seleucid period.[34] Antochus III, as a recently discovered inscription informs us, issued directives to the island of Icarus (Falaika) in the Persian Gulf for the movement of a temple, evidently in support of the native religion, and also lifted taxes on exports - - just as his ancestors had done.[35] At Sardis, a letter from both Antiochus III and Laodice promised the rebuilding of the city, exemption from tax, and the restoration of the gymnasium.[36] And another letter of Antiochus (which Antiochus is uncertain) guaranteed the inviolability of a local shrine at Baetocaece in northern Syria and the revenues with which it could honor the community's deity.[37]

All of this supplies valuable context for Antiochus III's celebrated "charter for the Jews." The documents, or rather report of documents conveyed by Josephus, have received extensive debate and discussion, a matter of high controversy and complexity. It would be inappropriate to add fuel to that unquenchable fire here. Two items appear in Josephus' account set in the immediate aftermath of Antiochus' victory over Ptolemaic forces in the Fifth Syrian War: a letter by Antiochus to Ptolemy, his governor of Coele-Syria, instructing him to accord various services to the Jews who had supported his cause in the war, and a more general pronouncement by the king about the protection of Jewish privileges.[38] Nearly every provision of the texts has been a subject of dispute. And some certainly may be the

product of Jewish reworking. The clauses in the letter that provide for repatriation of scattered inhabitants and repopulation of Jerusalem, for instance, seem more like Jewish than Seleucid concerns.[39] Specified beneficiaries of tax relief like temple scribes and temple singers would not likely be familiar to the Seleucid court, a peculiarity made more peculiar by the absence of any reference to the High Priest.[40] And the particulars of the king's pronouncement regarding prohibition of various animal flesh and skins into Jerusalem defy satisfactory explanation.[41] That pronouncement itself contains too many oddities to employ as reliable testimony.

Antiochus' letter to his governor, Ptolemy, however, has higher credibility. The epistle fits approriately within the framework of Seleucid statements and conduct elsewhere in their realm. As we have seen, the kings had regularly shown themselves solicitous of native temples and shrines. Antiochus' promises to help rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem, to supply resources for the sacrifices, and to offer tax relief are closely paralleled by comparable declarations to the shrine of Baetocaece in northern Syria and to the island Icarus in the Persian Gulf. And both of those, like the letter on the Jews, were transmitted by the king to a royal official in the region, the standard means of delivering such messages.[42] The phrases that appear in Josephus' text about royal guarantees that the Jews can live under their own ancestral laws, can enjoy alleviation of taxes, and will receive subsidies from the crown represent conventional Hellenistic practice - - as do the references to the good will of the beneficiaries and the magnanimity of the benefactor.[43]

It is, of course, open to anyone to argue that adherence to convention does not prove authenticity. A clever fabricator would make sure to adapt his creation to the prevailing phrases and familiar slogans of diplomatic exchange. But the letter of Antiochus not only suits Seleucid policy

generally. It corresponds more specifically to policy in Palestine. That was established by an inscription found near Beth Shean a generation ago, recording a dossier of letters from Antiochus to the same Ptolemy registered by Josephus and to various other officials, protecting the inhabitants of neighboring villages from unlawful billeting and violation of other rights.[44] And Antiochus' generosity to the Jews was pursued by his successor Seleucus IV, as is attested by an independent source: II Maccabees. Seleucus, like his predecessor, footed the bill for sacrificial worship in the Temple.[45] The Seleucids evidently found it convenient to their image to exhibit the same solicitude for native rights in Palestine that they practiced elsewhere in their realm.[46]

The backdrop to Antiochus IV's notorious actions in Jerusalem now begins to take shape. And he stands out rather strikingly from that backdrop. But a critical question remains to be asked about Seleucid ideology and the character of Seleucid rule in the Near East: did the regime pursue a policy designed to promote Hellenism in the lands under its authority? This, of course, would have direct bearing on any understanding of Antiochus Epiphanes and the upheaval he wrought in Judaea.

The Seleucids were assiduous colonizers.[47] Major colonial foundations arose in Syria, both at new sites and as overlays on older communities. Greek poleis were planted in Media and Persis. Dedications to Greek deities appear on altars at Falaika in the Persian Gulf and even in Persepolis. Babylonians adopted Greek names. Susa sported a gymnasium and Sardis became a polis. On the face of it, this suggests an energetic effort to spread the blessings of Hellenism to the indigenous folk of the Near East. A closer look, however, complicates and modifies the impression.

First in Iran. A Greek polis, Antioch, stood in Persis already in the time of Antiochus I. The king beefed up its numbers by sending a whole new group of colonists from Magnesia.[48] Dedications in Greek to various Hellenic deities appear on altars in Persepolis in the early 3rd century.[49] Susa contained a colony of Greek immigrants which possessed a gymnasium, paid cult honors to Seleucid kings and their wives, and served as a site for the royal court.[50] The city of Laodicea had been installed in Media by the reign of Antiochus III.[51] A conscious effort to implant Greek institutions and transfer Greek settlers to the former heartland of the Persian empire seems evident. Yet these activities did not entail the suppression of native traditions or even the removal of native administration. Seleucus I employed mints at Susa and Ecbatana to produce coinage with Aramaic lettering, thus presenting himself as an heir to native rulers.[52] Excavations at Susa show Greco-Macedonians living side by side with the indigenous population.[53] And the king's authority was exercised in the area through Persian administrators.[54] The evidence thus suggests that Seleucid monarchs encouraged the proliferation of Hellenic institutions familiar to settlers of Greek origin without compromising the integrity of pre-existing practices.

Next in Babylonia. The ancient city of Uruk shows little Hellenic cultural infiltration. No Greek inscriptions, burial practices, or artifacts have turned up in the excavations. The art and architecture remained sturdily Mesopotamian. The officialdom and the governing structure, although under Seleucid overlordship, also retained traditional forms.[55] To be sure, a number of the inhabitants of Uruk took on Greek names. But this practice doubtless confined itself to the elite who sought posts within the administration, some of whom had the names bestowed upon them by the king for services performed. It does not represent enforced assimilation. Retention of the

Babylonian name would normally accompany adoption of the Greek designation, thus a double-barreled nomenclature, like Anu-uballit-Kephalon. Nothing new in this. Babylonians had taken on Persian names in the Achaemenid period. The Seleucid governor in Uruk under Antiochus II and Seleucus II, with such a double-barreled name, was himself a Babylonian.[56] This does not represent Seleucid imposition of Hellenism. The city of Babylon itself in the Hellenistic period did contain a theater, a gymnasium, and a corps of ephebes.[57] That should hardly cause surprise. Greeks resident in the city would naturally seek to introduce practices comfortable and familiar from their origins. But there is no evidence for Greek political institutions in Babylon. Babylonian officials ran the show on a local level, and the king communicated to them in Aramaic.[58] The very fact of Seleucids adopting clay tablets to record public documents demonstrates a readiness to adjust to local practices.

Next, the Persian Gulf. The island of Icarus (Falaika) has produced a dossier of three inscriptions of the late 3rd century shedding important light on Seleucid rule in that area. The first two, quite brief, represent dedications by Greek residents to traditional Greek divinities.[59] This, of course, is also unsurprising. The settlers will not have abandoned the customary practices and rites that they brought with them. More interesting is a lengthier document recording directives from the king, Antiochus III, issued by letter to a high ranking official, transmitted to a subordinate and then delivered to the inhabitants of the island. The fragmentary text speaks of the establishment of an agon, thus evidently another step in supplying settlers with the Hellenic institutions of the homeland. But the bulk of the message directs itself to the implementation of orders in the interests of native inhabitants: the movement of a temple, the prohibition of interference with

the rights of dwellers, freedom from taxes on exports, and provision for land assignations.[60] The precise meaning of these clauses is obscure, because of uncertain readings on the stone. The general import, however, carries significance for the larger question. The king's pronouncements both authorized the establishment of a Hellenic cultural institution and guaranteed the privileges of the indigenous population. This was not Hellenic imperialism designed to impose the superior culture upon the inferior. The conclusion is further confirmed by archaeological data showing material artifacts of a traditional Mesopotamian style and the absence of any physical separation between Greeks and non-Greeks.[61] The evidence suggests neither assimilation nor segregation, but a modus vivendi, not always untroubled, between the cultures. Seleucid policy aimed to reduce friction and advance the interests of both.

Finally, Syria itself, principal base of the empire of the Seleucids. The inaugurator of the dynasty, Seleucus Nicator, as is well known, made the foundation of Greek poleis a lynchpin of his policy. Four great cities rose in northern Syria under his aegis, each named for a member of the family: Antioch, seat of Seleucus' court, named after his son, its harbor city Seleucia, named after himself, Apamea on the middle Orontes, site of his arsenal and elephants, named after his Iranian wife, and its port city Laodicea, named after his mother. The king established at least a half dozen other poleis in the northern region, with Greco-Macedonian designations, like Beroea, Chalcis, and Hierapolis.[62] There can be no question that he endeavored to promote Hellenic enclaves loyal to him in a period of tumult and fierce rivalry among dynasts. But when the monarchy had entrenched itself in the region, the need for further foundations waned. After Nicator's feverish activity in a period of two decades, his successors planted only three

sites in Syria over the next two centuries, and none of them on the scale of the founder. This makes it clear that the rulers engaged in no campaign to Hellenize the region. There is a striking absence of evidence for colonial foundations on the Phoenician coast, in Judaea or Idumaea. Garrisons were installed at Samaria, Dura, and Pella during the Hellenistic period. But the cultural accoutrements of a polis, like theaters, gymnasia, or public buildings do not make an appearance. Those settlements, it can be surmised, had a purely strategic purpose.[63] A mingling of peoples appears to have taken place in the region without signs of great friction. Phoenician migrants, for instance, could settle in Marisa in Idumaea and describe themselves, *in Greek* , as "Sidonians in Marisa."[64] The Samaritans could even make dedications in the sacred Hellenic isle of Delos and designate themselves as "The Israelites on Delos who pay their tithes to the holy Mt. Gerizim."[65] The dwellers in Hierapolis near the Euphrates, a native site rechristened as a polis by Seleucus Nicator, retained traditional religious cults despite the Hellenic veneer, as their dedications at Delos show.[66] Ostraca from the region illustrate the mingling of the cultures, some in Greek, some in Aramaic, some bi-lingual.[67] And a full scale bilingual inscription from Tel Dan, probably when the area was under Seleucid control, gives a vow by an individual to an unspecified god.[68] The fact that he employed both languages, in a private dedication, perhaps suggests that he was covering his bets - - but it also implies that the divinity was open to importuning in the languages of both cultures. No tension or inconsistency marked that combination.

Hellenic and indigenous cultures could obviously coexist in the realm of the Seleucids without enforced assimilation on the one hand or apartheid on the other. A few examples from outside the areas already discussed can

readily be offered to confirm that proposition. In the west, a joint decree by two villages in Asia Minor, one apparently native and the other with Greek settlers, gave priviliges to Seleucid officials, one with a Greek, the other with a Semitic name.[69] Far off in the east, at Ai Khanoum in Bactria on the Oxus where Greek settlers had congregated, both Hellenic and a variety of Near Eastern artistic components exist in the palace, the monuments, the pottery, and even the gymnasium.[70] And perhaps the most striking instance comes from the edicts of Asoka, the ruler of the Mauryan state in Afghanistan, who converted to Buddhism in the mid 3rd century BCE. He had the edicts carved on rock, conspicuous advertisements of his stance, to confront travellers on the principal roads of his kingdom. They include a magnificent bilingual inscription, inscribed in Greek and Aramaic, that alludes to Greeks and Iranians within his kingdom who have embraced Buddhism and makes reference to the land ruled by Antiochus and beyond that to the regimes of Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas, and Alexander, evidently the span of Hellenistic kingdoms.[71] The edict, exhibiting Asoka's desire to bring the blessings of Buddha to all peoples, betrays no sense of friction with the Seleucid realm, let alone with Hellenism. To the contrary, it discloses a cordial cohabitation of Greeks, Iranians, and natives within his own domain.

The transplantation of the Greek language, practices, and institutions to the lands under Seleucid rule does not represent a crusade to inflict the Hellenic way of life upon the subjects of the empire. Sardis adopted the form of a polis around the mid 3rd century, with a boule and ecclesia, and could boast of a gymnasium.[72] Perhaps about the same time the Cilician city of Tarsus was renamed Antioch-Cydnus and added the familiar Greek civic features of boule, ecclesia, and prytaneis.[73] None of this required a wholesale

abandonment of previous cultural elements and allegiances. Sardis and Tarsus were important cities for Seleucid administration in Asia Minor. Installation of Greek civic organs would facilitate the governing process. There is no reason to infer suppression or compromise of traditional customs, any more than in Falaika or in Susa. The smooth running of empire could only gain from the encouragement of indigenous interests.

The notorious actions of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in Judaea can now be set in proper context. He plainly did not inherit any ideology of Seleucid rule that propagated the spread of Hellenism, repressed the rights of subject states and peoples, and endeavored to stamp out rival cultures and traditions. Indeed, so far as our evidence goes, he appears, on the whole, to fit snugly within the practices of his predecessors.

Antiochus, in good Seleucid tradition, paraded the closeness of the family and solidity of the dynasty. Never mind that rumor suggested his responsibility for the murder of his own nephew, a potential rival for the throne.[74] The public show had the greater weight. Antiochus named his son as co-regent, a demonstration of confidence and collegiality. The fact is registered on a Babylonian cuneiform tablet, thus indicating acknowledgment by subjects of the realm.[75] Family ties received recognition from as far away as Achaea in the Peloponnese. An inscription from the region records the erection by a local figure (though evidently one with connections to the Seleucids) of a statue group that represented Antiochus, his wife Laodice, and their son.[76] And to underscore the point, the son received the epithet of Eupator.[77]

Association of the dynasty with divinity continued in the reign of Antiochus IV. His devotion to Zeus Olympius is well known. But the earlier view that this signalled an effort to employ the god as a unifying emblem

throughout the realm, a form of Hellenic encroachment on native cults, has been satisfactorily discredited. The worship of that deity in Seleucid lands preceded Antiochus IV, and the king showed reverence to a variety of gods and cults.[78] Antiochus' attachment to Zeus Olympius carries a more modest but more characteristic meaning: a nod to the god of his ancestors, the patron deity of Seleucia, the first city of the dynasty.[79] Nor did his adoption of the novel title "Theos Epiphanes" constitute any endeavor to impose a uniform cult upon the inhabitants of the realm. The designation appears on the coinage but only in scattered areas. In most places in the east he was simply "King Antiochus," and in Greece itself generally just "Epiphanes" - - without the divine connotation.[80] As for "Theos" he was not the first Seleucid to whom the epithet was ascribed. Antiochus I, at least, had enjoyed it before him.[81] Antiochus Epiphanes did not propose to homogenize the religious traditions of his diverse subjects.[82] On the whole, he followed the footsteps of his ancestors.

Antiochus stepped easily into the long-standing Seleucid role of euergetes. Indeed he relished the reputation of prince of benefactors. Documents aplenty exhibit his success in wooing the cities of Greece proper, the Aegean isles, the Hellespont, and western Asia Minor: dedications and benefactions by Antiochus, decrees in his honor or in honor of his ministers, embassies to his court, memorials to his deeds. His repute for conspicuous generosity, particularly in paying homage to the gods, was broadcast around the Hellenic world. In such matters, so the near contemporary historian Polybius remarked, he surpassed all his predecessors.[83] At home, the great cities of Syria also gained spanking new buildings, sanctuaries, and monuments.[84] Comparable documentation does not survive from elsewhere in the Near East, the lands under Seleucid suzerainty. But there is no reason

to doubt that the king showed himself equally assiduous in bestowing benefits upon the denizens of his realm. And it is noteworthy that the bronze coinage issued by the mints of individual cities in Syria, Palestine, Phoenicia, and Mesopotamia shows a wide range of local types, some of them including un-Hellenic images and bi-lingual legends.[85] Antiochus Epiphanes, like his forebears, encouraged the juxtaposition of Greek and native elements.

Did Antiochus seek to infuse the culture of the Hellenes into the lands of the east through the planting of colonies and the creation of poleis? So it is often said. No fewer than fifteen colonial foundations from Cilicia to Media were once ascribed to him - - with the goal of "hellenizing the empire."[86] In fact, no decisive testimony links Epiphanes to *any* of these sites. In some cases, the conclusion is demonstrably refutable. In others the surmise rests only on the first appearance of numismatic evidence in his reign - - which provides no more than a terminus ante quem. Elsewhere we have testimony that Antiochus renamed cities, not that he founded them. Even those named Epiphania need not be his; Antiochus VIII also used the epithet Epiphanes.[87] The picture of Antiochus IV as great colonizer and hellenizer evaporates.

To be sure, "Hellenistic" cities, whether colonies, refoundations, or just renamed sites, existed in Palestine. But none can with certainty - - or even plausibility - - be assigned to the Seleucids, let alone to Antiochus Epiphanes.[88] The Diadochoi fought over the region and the Ptolemies controlled it for a century before Seleucid hegemony took hold. Most of the Greek immigration occurred during that period and, doubtless, much of the reshaping of the communities into poleis or some form of organization amenable to Hellenic overlordship. And the coming of the Greeks did not, in any event, entail the eradication or suppression of traditional rites and habits

that can be traced to Phoenicians, Philistines, or even Canaanites.[89] The Seleucids inherited an ongoing process rather than instituting a cultural campaign.

The actions of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in Judaea stand out starkly and glaringly in contrast. Far from representing Seleucid ideology of rule, they were at drastic variance with it. It would be inappropriate - - as well as foolhardy - - to reenter the forest of speculation on Antiochus' motivation and objectives. But the context of Seleucid policy generally (and indeed of Antiochus' own conduct elsewhere) exposes the highly unusual, aberrant, and probably unique nature of his infamous deeds at Jerusalem. Indeed, the Hasmonean dynasty itself, although it emerged in opposition to Antiochus' actions, depended in large part during the subsequent decades upon the acknowledgment, cooperation, and backing of the Seleucids.[90] Insofar as Jewish historiography, apocalyptic pronouncements, and wisdom literature represent a reaction to the cataclysmic consequences of Epiphanes' bizarre behavior, they do not reflect the standard principles, professed or practiced, of the Seleucid monarchy.

[1] For a useful survey of such texts, see F.W. Walbank, in F.W. Walbank et al., The Cambridge Ancient History, VII.1 (Cambridge, 1984), 75-81. See also the remarks of G.J.D. Aalders, Political Thought in Hellenistic Times (Amsterdam, 1975), 17-38, and R.A. Billows, Kings and Colonists: Aspects of Macedonian Imperialism (Leiden, 1995), 56-70, with further bibliography.

[2] Justin, 15.4.3-5.

[3] Plutarch, Alex. 2.

[4] Diodorus, 19.90.3-4.

[5] Appian, Syriaca, 56.

[6] Plutarch, Demetrius, 29.1-2.

[7] On these tales, see the discussions of R.A. Hadley, Historia, 18 (1969), 142-152; G. Marasco, Appiano e la storia dei Seleucidi (Florence, 1982), 69-84; A. Mehl, Seleukos Nikator und sein Reich (Louvain, 1986), 95-103; J. Grainger, Seleukos Nikator (London, 1990), 2-3, 13-14, 80, 163-164.

[8] Cf. Hadley, JHS, 94 (1974), 50-65; O. Morkholm, Early Hellenistic Coinage (Cambridge, 1991), 62, 71-73.

[9] Pausanias, 1.16.3, 8.46.3.

[10] OGIS, 219, line 26; OGIS, 227, lines 4-5; SIG, 412.

[11] Cf. E.S. Gruen, in J.W. Eadie and J. Ober, The Craft of the Ancient Historian, Essays in Honor of C.G. Starr (Lanham, MD, 1985), 253-271.

[12] Appian, Syriaca, 57. Others received designation from Greek or Macedonian cities, yet another sign of continuity. And still others were named after Alexander, for reasons already suggested above.

[13] Plutarch, Demetrius, 38; Appian, Syriaca, 59, 61; OGIS, 214, 2. Further testimony and discussion in S. Sherwin-White and A. Kuhrt, From Samarkhand to Sardis: A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire (Berkeley, 1993), 22-24.

[14] The fullest versions are in Plutarch, Demetrius, 38, and Appian, Syriaca, 59-61. Among other sources, see Val. Max. 5.7.ext. 1; Pliny, NH, 7.123; Lucian, Dea Syria, 17-18; Julian, Misopogon, 347-348. Among modern discussions, see A.B. Breehaart, Mnemosyne, 20 (1967), 154-164; Marasco, Appiano, 104-114; A. Mastrocinque,

Manipolazione della storia in età ellenistica: I Seleucidi e Roma (Rome, 1983), 11-38; K. Broderson, Athenaeum, 63 (1985), 459-469; Mehl, Seleukos Nikator, 230-267.

[15] Appian, Syriaca, 61; Plutarch, Demetrius, 38.8.

[16] Appian, Syriaca, 61-62; Plutarch, Demetrius, 38.8.

[17] I Didyma, 479-480.

[18] OGIS, 219, lines 3, 24, 43-46.

[19] R.J. van der Spek, in A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White, Hellenism in the East (Berkeley, 1987), 62, 66.

[20] L. Robert, Hellenica, 7 (1949), 5-22.

[21] SEG, 26.1226.

[22] OGIS, 212. The decree also acknowledged Seleucus as descendant of Apollo.

[23] See, e.g., OGIS, 219, 222, 226, 229; SIG, 426; IGRR, IV, 1539, 1759; Milet, I, 7, 194. Cf. C. Habicht, Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte (Munich, 1970), 82-108.

[24] OGIS, 224; Robert, Hellenica, 7 (1949), 5-22.

[25] OGIS, 233; cf. also OGIS, 245.

[26] Appian, Syriaca, 63.

[27] OGIS, 219, lines 17-27, 32, 38.

[28] OGIS, 222, lines 22-34, 42.

[29] Appian, Syriaca, 65; OGIS, 226. The idea that he received this designation solely for his assistance to the Milesians seems quite unlikely.

[30] P. Herrmann, Anadolu, 9 (1965), 34-36, lines 44-52.

[31] Pausanias, 1.16.3.

[32] See the discussions by Sherwin-White and van der Spek, in Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, Hellenism in the East, 14-30, 60-70.

[33] The text may be found in J.B. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament (Princeton, 1969), 317. See the analysis by Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, JHS, 111 (1991), 71-86.

[34] See Robert, CRAI (1975), 306-330.

[35] C. Roueché and S. Sherwin-White, Chiron, 15 (1985), 1-39.

[36] P. Gauthier, Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes (1989), II, 13, lines 2-7.

[37] Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie , VII.4028B-C.

[38] See the account in Josephus, Ant. 12.138-146. The most penetrating analysis remains that of E. Bickermann, REJ , 100 (1935), 4-35 = Studies in Jewish and Christian History (Leiden, 1980), 44-85. A more skeptical view in J. Gauger, Beiträge zur jüdischen Apologetik (Köln/Bonn, 1977), 23-151.

[39] Josephus, Ant. 12.139, 12.143.

[40] Josephus, Ant. 12.142.

[41] Josephus, Ant. 12.146-147.

[42] Josephus, Ant. 12.140-144. On the other documents, see above, nn. 35, 37.

[43] Josephus, Ant. 12.138-140, 142.

[44] The inscription was published by Y.H. Landau, IEJ, 16 (1966), 54-70; further improvements of the text in T. Fischer, ZPE, 33 (1979), 131-138; J.M. Bertrand, ZPE, 46 (1982), 167-174.

[45] II Macc. 3.2-3. The Jews themselves negotiated this and other privileges with the Seleucid court; II Macc. 4.11.

[46] It is not impossible that they consciously reaffirmed the principles earlier implemented by the Achaemenids. The Book of Ezra has Cyrus authorize the rebuilding of the Temple and Artaxerxes provide for the financing of the sacrifices and furnishings, relieve the priests and officials of taxes, and direct the Jews to live under their own laws; Ezra, 1.1-4, 7.12-26. The parallels with Antiochus' letter are notable. Cf. P. Briant, in P. Bilde, et al., Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom (Aarhus, 1990), 58-60.

[47] See, in general, G. Cohen, The Seleucid Colonies (Wiesbaden, 1978); J. Grainger, The Cities of Seleukid Syria (Oxford, 1990).

[48] OGIS, 233, lines 14-15.

[49] Robert, CRAI (1967), 281-296.

[50] SEG, VII, 2, 3, 4.

[51] Robert, Hellenica, 7 (1949), 7-22.

[52] A. Houghton, Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau, 59 (1980), 5-14.

[53] R. Ghirshman, Iran: Parthians and Sassanians (London, 1962), 102.

[54] Strabo, 15.3.24.

[55] See van der Spek, in Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, Hellenism in the East, 70-74; M. Colledge, ibid, 145-146, 154-155. G. McEwan, Klio, 70 (1988), 412-421, sees a greater degree of Hellenization, but acknowledges the absence of any friction over it.

[56] van der Spek, in Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, Hellenism in the East, 68-69; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, From Samarkhand to Sardis, 149-153.

[57] Diodorus, 34/5.21; SEG, VII, 39.

[58] S. Smith, Babylonian Historical Texts (London, 1924), 150-159.

[59] Roueché and Sherwin-White, Chiron, 15 (1985), 4, 10.

[60] Roueché and Sherwin-White, Chiron, 15 (1985), 15-16.

[61] H.E. Mathiesen, Ikaros: The Hellenistic Settlements I: The Terracotta Figurines (Copenhagen, 1982); L. Hannestad, Ikaros: The Hellenistic Settlements II: Pottery from Falaika (Copenhagen, 1983).

[62] See H. Seyrig, Syria, 47 (1970), 290-311; Grainger, Cities of Seleukid Syria, 31-87.

[63] See F. Millar, in Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, Hellenism in the East, 114-115.

[64] OGIS, 593.

[65] P. Bruneau, BCH, 106 (1982), 465-504.

[66] P. Bruneau, Recherches sur les cultes de Délos (Paris, 1970), 466-467.

[67] L.T. Geraty, BASOR, 220 (1975), 55-61.

[68] BE (1977), #542.

[69] M. Wörrle, Chiron, 5 (1975), 59-87.

[70] A useful summary of the findings by P. Bernard, Scientific American , 246 (1982), 126-135. See also Colledge, in Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, Hellenism in the East, 145-146, 154-156; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, From Samarkhand to Sardis, 134-136, 177-179; I. Nielsen, Hellenistic Palaces: Tradition and Renewal (Aarhus, 1994), 124-129; F. Holt, Thundering Zeus: The Making of Hellenistic Bactria (Berkeley, 1998), 43-46.

[71] R. Thapar, Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryars (Oxford, 1961), 125-126; G. Pugliese-Carratelli and G. Garbini, A Bilingual Graeco-Aramaic Edict by Asoka (Rome, 1964); Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, From Samarkhand to Sardis, 101-103.

[72] Gauthier, Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes (1989), II, 13-16.

[73] SEG, 14.980.

[74] John of Antioch, fr. 58; cf. Diodorus, 30.7.2.

[75] A.T. Clay, Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, II (1913), #38. Cf. II Macc. 9.22-25; Eusebius, FGH, II, F32, 13.

[76] OGIS, 252.

[77] Appian, Syriaca, 46.

[78] See E. Bickermann, Der Gott der Makkabäer (Berlin, 1937), 36-48; O. Morkholm, Studies in the Coinage of Antiochus IV of Syria (Copenhagen, 1963), 7-75; idem, Antiochus IV of Syria (Copenhagen, 1966), 130-132.

[79] See the cogent arguments of K.J. Rigsby, TAPA 110 (1980), 233-238.

[80] Morkholm, Antiochus IV, 112-113, 132-133.

[81] See above, n. 29.

[82] The notorious royal edict recorded in I Maccabees, 1.41, requiring all nations to forsake their own traditions and become one people, carries little credibility - - not to mention the immediately subsequent statement that nations everywhere complied with the directive; I Macc. 1.42. See the comments of Bickermann, Gott der Makkabäer, 90-92.

[83] Polybius, 26.1.10, 29.24.13. The material on his honors and benefactions is collected by Morkholm, Antiochus IV, 55-63. See also E.S. Gruen, The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome (Berkeley, 1984), 189-190, 647.

[84] Morkholm, Antiochus IV, 118-122.

[85] Morkholm. Antiochus IV, 125-128.

[86] V. Tscherikower, Die hellenistische Stadtgründungen von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf die Römerzeit (Leipzig, 1927), 176-178.

[87] See the comments of Morkholm, Antiochus IV, 116-118. Cohen, Seleucid Colonies, 13-14, does regard the cities called Epiphania in Syria, Armenia, and Media as probably colonies of Antiochus IV. But the Epiphania in Media is no more than a renaming of Ecbatana, and this may well be the case elsewhere. The one polis which even Morkholm assigned to Epiphanes was Babylon, on the basis of OGIS, 253, an ostrakon naming the king as "founder of the polis." But it is by no means clear that the ostrakon actually came from Babylon, and the term "founder" (ktistes) can be used to designate someone who refurbished or enhanced a city. See Sherwin-White, ZPE, 47

(1982), 51-70. On the six Cilician colonies, see now G. Cohen, The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor (Berkeley, 1995), 358-363, 365-368, 371-372. Despite Tscherikower, there is no good reason to assign any of them to Epiphanes. The suggestion of Rigsby, TAPA, 110 (1980), 238-242, that Antiochus founded Nysa-Scythopolis is pure speculation.

[88] See the valuable survey of cities in E. Schürer, The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (rev. and ed. by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Black, Edinburgh, 1979), III, 97-183.

[89] Cf. A. Kasher, Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel (Tübingen, 1990), 14-54.

[90] Cf. E.S. Gruen, Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition (Berkeley, 1998), 1-40.

The Social Construction of Judea in the Greek Period

Mark R. Kurtz
Harvard University

I. Introduction

Many studies of Judea in the second temple period exhibit a tendency to view the century and a quarter before Antiochus IV as a mere prelude to the truly significant Maccabean revolt, the event that saved Judaism from "the smothering embrace of Hellenism." This is based partly on an acceptance of Maccabean propaganda regarding the nature and significance of their revolt against the Seleucids. The Maccabean literature presents Jason and Menelaus, the two usurpers of the high priesthood, as impious Hellenizers, and Mattathias and his sons as the defenders of the "religious rites of the ancestors" (λατρείαι πατέρων).[1] The conflict is thus cast as one between Hellenistic innovation and Jewish traditionalism. This characterization has been maintained in modern discussions of the revolt despite the facts that the Jerusalemite ruling nobility, itself a Persian innovation, was by this time thoroughly "Hellenized," and that the Maccabeans themselves usurped the Aronide high priesthood, cultivated their status as "Friends" (φίλοι) and "Kinsmen" (συγγενεῖς) of the Seleucid kings,[2] and finally emerged as a new dynasty closely modeled on the Seleucids. Indeed, 2 Macc cannot point to any priestly or popular protest against Jason's reforms; the cause of the revolt would rather seem to have been Menelaus's misuse of temple funds.[3] In short, the categories of "Hellenism" and "Judaism" are ideological constructions of the Maccabean literature that the literature itself cannot sustain in its own descriptions of events. Nevertheless, these categories are adopted by modern historians and applied to the preceding hundred and twenty-five years as

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[1] 1 Macc 2:15–22.

[2] 1 Macc 10:20, 89.

[3] 2 Macc 4:7–15, 39.

an interpretive paradigm[4]—a method much aided by the fact that every structural innovation of the period presented itself as the restoration or maintenance of ancestral tradition. Discussions of Hellenistic administrative practices then center on the extent to which the imperial dynasts accommodated or interfered with "native" or "traditional" social structures, economic patterns, and religious activities; on the interplay between foreign "Hellenistic" and native "Jewish" elements. The inadequacy of such an approach is appreciable when one considers the lack of consensus among scholars concerning the cause(s) of the Maccabean revolt.[5] The terms "Hellenism" and "Judaism" as discrete, oppositional categories have little explanatory power for the period in which they ought best to apply. How much less useful, then, is this paradigm for the preceding period?

The intent of this paper is to reconsider the Greek period in Judea in a way that neither attempts to fit historical developments into the ideological categories of 'tradition' and 'innovation' or 'pure' and corrupt,' nor privileges the following Maccabean period. Specifically, I will consider three critical points of redefinition of the structure of Judean society that will highlight the inadequacies of the categories presented to us in the Maccabean literature. The positive corollary will be, I hope, to reveal the Greek period in Judean history as an intensely difficult, volatile, and creative time in which Judea was continually redefined as competing versions of tradition negotiated with competing imperial powers. Essential to the discussion is the issue of legitimization. The Greco-Macedonian dynasts were foreigners in their own territories, and though, with the exception of Egypt, foreign rule had long been the rule, neither dynasty was so secure that it could forego some attempt to legitimate their role. The right of conquest established a legal basis for governance, but having the bomb (as it were) was not enough. The

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[4]As a recent example, note the striking assertion of Doran Mendals (*Identity, Religion and Historiography: Studies in Hellenistic History* [Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supp. 24; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998]): "From the available evidence and from comparisons within the general Hellenistic world, the population in Palestine can be divided into three groups: (1) Greek colonists, (2) natives and (3) Hellenists."

[5]See Lester Grabbe's review of the main theories in *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian* (2 vols.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 1. 248–58.

Judean elites, too, had to justify themselves as they negotiated their positions relative to the contending imperial powers and competed among themselves for control of Judea. The dynamic, multilateral process resulting from this historical situation provided much of the creative force behind what we call second temple Judaism.

II. Ptolemy I and Hezekiah

In the later Persian period, Judah was one of at least five districts of the satrapy of *Abar Nahara*. It was administered by a Judean governor (*peḥâ*), of whom the names of eight are known,[6] as well as a council of elders.[7] The role of the high priest is difficult to ascertain. It is sometimes said that the high priesthood was a civil as well as a sacral office in the Persian period. Alexander the Great's practice of confirming traditional social structures in the lands he conquered is assumed to have obtained in the case of Judea, and the prominence of the high priest in the Ptolemaic period is retrojected into the Persian period as the ancestral law so confirmed. In fact, there is no undisputed evidence to support the theory that Judea was a hierocracy in the sixth through fourth centuries.[8] It is indeed likely that Alexander affirmed the right of Judeans to live according to ancestral law (κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους), as the tradition recounted by Josephus maintains;[9] such was Alexander's habit.[10] Ancestral traditions, however, are subject to constant adjustment and reformulation. The claim of anteriority was self-justifying in antiquity and was used to legitimate novel socio-political

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[6]H. G. M. Williamson, "The Governors of Judah under the Persians," *TynBul* 29 (1988) 59–82.

[7]Ezra 5:5, 9; 6:7, 14; etc. The makeup and duties of this council are unclear.

[8]The interpretation of a fourth-century coin reading *yhn*[*n*] *hkhn* ("Jonathan the priest") as evidence of the civil authority of the high priest may instead signify a revolt from Persian rule. See D. Barag, "Some Notes on a Silver Coin of Jonathan the High Priest," *BA* 48 (1985) 166–68.

[9]Josephus *Ant.* 11.339.

[10]Cf. Alexander's treatment of the Lydians (Arrian 1.18.2) and Arabs (Strabo 16.741).

configurations time and again. Thus appeals to tradition in sources must be considered critically; the past was (and is) liable to revision.

Our best information on the nature of the high priesthood in the third century comes from three sources, two Jewish and one Greek. The first is Hecataeus of Abdera, a Greek historian and philosopher attached to the court of Ptolemy I who wrote a history of Egypt in which he refers to Judea in some detail.[11] Hecataeus understands Jerusalem to be a temple state (Ἱεροσόλυμα rather than Ἱρουσαλημην), whose laws and customs had been handed down from Moses to the priests, chief among whom was the high priest:

> Therefore, a king has never ruled over the Jews, but authority over the people (τοῦ πλήθους προστασία) is given to that priest who excels over the others in his understanding and lofty qualities. Him they call the High Priest.[12]

For Hecataeus, the high priest is the civil (as well as religious) leader of the Judean people (*ethnos*), whose authority descends in a direct line from Moses, with no intervening monarchic period.

Such a central role for the high priest is reflected in our second source, Pseudo Aristeas, the author of a letter purported to have been written by an official of Ptolemy II concerning the Greek translation of the Torah.[13] The *Epistle of Aristeas* was in fact written by a Jew, probably from Alexandria, in the second half of the second century BCE. His narrative includes an account of his journey to Jerusalem, including a superlative description of the high priest.[14]

The third source is a work entitled "On the Jews," purportedly by Hecataeus

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[11]Stern, *GLAJJ* 1. 26–35 (= *FGrH* 264, F 6). Hecataeus's references are preserved in Diodorus (49.3). For discussions, see Schürer, 3. 670–71; D. Mendels, "Hecataeus of Abdera and a Jewish 'Patrios Politeia' of the Persian Period (Didorus Siculus XL, 3)," *ZAW* 95 (1983) 96–110; F. H. Diamond, "Hecataeus of Abdera and the Mosaic Constitution," *Panhellenica* (1980) 77–95.

[12]Didorus 49.3 (LCL).

[13]See Schürer, 3. 677–87; H. W. Attridge, "Epistle of Aristeas," in Michael E. Stone, ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 75–80.

[14]*Letter of Aristeas*, 96–98.

of Abdera but more probably a Jewish pseudepigraphic work or a Jewish revision of an earlier historical work dating, in the form we know it, to the mid-second century BCE.[15] Josephus quotes Ps.-Hecataeus's account of the competition among the Diadochi for control of Syria:

> Hecataeus goes on to say that after the battle of Gaza Ptolemy became master of Syria, and that many of the inhabitants, hearing of his kindness and humanity, desired to accompany him to Egypt and associate themselves with his reign. Among these was Ezechias, a high priest of the Jews, a man of about sixty-six years of age, highly esteemed by his countrymen, intellectual, and moreover an able speaker and unsurpassed as a man of business. . . .[16]

Though written some decades after the events it describes, Ps.-Hecataeus contains historically useful information. The high priest Ezechias has been associated with silver coins minted in Jerusalem and inscribed *yḥzqyw/h h-pḥh* ("Hezekiah the governor") found at Beth Zur and Tel Gamma, dating to the late fourth or early third century.[17] It is important to note that rather than the Aramaic of the Persian period, these coins are inscribed in a paleo-Hebrew script (יהדה rather than יהד) similar to a that on a silver coin bearing only the ethnic *yhdh*, but whose obverse contains a portrait of Ptolemy I. The coins attest to the considerable autonomy that Judea possessed under Ptolemy I; all other Ptolemaic coins have royal Greek legends.[18] If, as seems likely, the high priest Ezechias from Ps.-Hecataeus and the Hezekiah from the coins are one and the same, then we would have an indication that Judea was administered by a high priest/governor in the early Ptolemaic period. Similar compound offices of high priest and strategos are known for

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[15]See Schürer, 3. 671–77; H. W. Attridge, "Pseudo-Hecataeus," in Stone, *JWSTP*, 169–70.

[16]Josephus *Ap.* 1.22.208–11 (LCL).

[17]A. Kindler, "Silver Coins Bearing the name of Judea from the Early Hellenistic Period," *IEJ* 24 (1974) 73–76; D. Jeselsohn, "A New Coin Type with Hebrew Inscription," *IEJ* 24 (1974) 77–78.

[18]Kindler, "Silver Coins," 75.

Ptolemaic Cyprus and Syria in the late third century. An inscription from Skythopolis in the time of Antiochus III names "Ptolemaios, the strategos and high priest" of Seleucid Syria.[19] Ptolemaios is known to us from Polybius as a general of Ptolemy IV;[20] he seems to have switched his allegiance to Antiochus III during the fifth Syrian War (201–200 BCE). Because the compound title "strategos and high priest" has no parallels in Seleucid government but is attested on Ptolemaic Cyprus,[21] it was likely conferred on Ptolemaios by Ptolemy IV and reaffirmed by Antiochus III.[22]

Taken together, the literary and numismatic evidence speak not merely of a change in regime from Persian to Greek imperial control of Judea, but of a transformation of the Persian-Judean construction of the Judean ruling elite under the Achaemenids to a Greek-Judean construction under the Ptolemies. That the novel political configuration was framed as a return to tradition is implied by the use of Hebrew inscriptions rather than Aramaic, and that it was effected by means of an alliance between the high priest and Ptolemy I is indicated by the remarkable appearance of Ptolemy's portrait on coins minted for use in Judea. Ps.-Hecataeus's account of the high priest's withdrawal to Egypt, which may reflect Ptolemy I's surrender of Syria to Antigonus in 312 BCE,[23] underscores the close relationship between Hezekiah and Ptolemy I and points to the historical process that produced second temple Judaism: in the Ptolemaic period, as in the Persian period before

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[19]Y. H. Landau, "A Greek Inscription Found Near Hefzibah," *IEJ* 16 (1966) l. 18. Cf. ibid., ll. 8–9, 28.

[20]Polybius 5.65.3.

[21]See Ino Nicolaou, *Prosopography of Ptolemaic Cyprus* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 44; Göteborg: Paul Astroms, 1976); Bagnall, *Ptolemaic Possessions*, 45–49, 252–62; T. B. Mitford, "Helenos, Governor of Cyprus," *JHS* 79 (1959) 94–131; and A. E. Millward, "The Ruler Cults of the Seleucids," (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1973) 348–54.

[22]See James Ellis Taylor, "Seleucid Rule in Palestine"(Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1979) 125–27.

[23]Peter Schäfer, *The History of the Jews in Antiquity: Jews of Palestine from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest* (trans. David Chowcat; Luxembourg: Harwood, 1995) 9–10.

it, Judean elites actively participated in negotiating the form and substance of a new socio-political reality. The novel entity so produced was then legitimated by reference to ancestral tradition.[24] Hecataeus's puzzling denial of the Israelite monarchy—certainly not his own invention—may be understood in the context of a priestly claim of anteriority made to legitimize the novel investiture of civil power in the office of the high priesthood. That is to say, as Hecataeus got it from his Judean sources, the priests and high priest had always governed Judea in an unbroken line from the time of Moses. This would, admittedly, have been a fairly extreme claim, but Sirach's promotion of the Aronide priesthood and office of high priest provides a strikingly close analogy and in a very similar historical situation.

III. The Tobiads

How closely paired administrative authority (*prostasia*) and the high priesthood remained in the Ptolemaic period is difficult to determine. Antiochus III's charter for Judea under Seleucid rule (see below) makes no mention of the high priest: it was the Judeans with their council of elders (γερουσία) who assisted Antiochus in expelling the Egyptian garrison.[25] Somewhat earlier, in the latter half of the third century, the office of *prostates* passed from the high priest Onias II to his nephew Joseph, the son of Tobias (the kleruchy commander known to us from the Zenon papyri). Josephus's account of this episode,[26] drawn from a Tobiad family chronicle, begins with Onias II's refusal to pay a tribute (φόρος) due the crown:

> This Onias was small-minded and passionately fond of money and since for this reason he did not render on behalf of the people the tribute of twenty talents of silver which his fathers paid to the kings out of their own revenues (ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων), he roused the anger of

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[24]This was a common pattern in antiquity. An analogy may be found in Augustus's "restoration" of Athens, in which the new imperial reality was construed as a recapturing of the city's classical past by both Augustus and the Athenian eupatridae.

[25]Josephus *Ant.* 12.138.

[26]Ibid., 12.158–86.

> King Ptolemy. And the king sent an envoy to Jerusalem to denounce Onias for not rendering the tribute, and threatened that, if he did not receive it, he would parcel out their land and send his soldiers to settle on it. Accordingly, when the Jews heard the king's message, they were dismayed, but Onias was not put out of countenance by any of these threats, so great was his avarice.[27]

The story relates, from a Tobiad standpoint, a conflict between two aristocratic families at the time of the Third Syrian War (246–41 BCE). The attribution of Onias II's refusal to pay the tribute to personal greed is pure polemic; it is likely that Onias had chosen to support Seleucus II and Syria in his conflict with Ptolemy III.[28] Egypt had already been weakened in the second Syrian war (260–53 BCE), so when Ptolemy III was forced to retreat from Mesopotamia because of an uprising in Egypt, siding with Seleucus II may well have appeared to be a prudent course of action. Several features of the Josephus's narrative deserve special emphasis. First, the amount of the tribute that Onias was to pay from his own assets (ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων) is far too small to have been the *phoros* levied on Judea as a whole. More probably it was the fee charged by the crown for the office of the high priesthood. The Tobiad chronicle implies as much:

> [Joseph] went to the city (of Jerusalem) and upbraided Onias for not regarding the safety of his fellow-citizens and for being willing, instead, to place the nation in danger by withholding the money on account of which, Joseph said, he had received authority over the people (τοῦ λαοῦ τὴν προστασίαν) and had obtained the high priestly office.[29]

Second, the Tobiad chronicle accuses the Onias II of failing to observe the custom of his forefathers, implying that Joseph Tobias's actions were consistent with tradition and taken to save Judea from the consequences of Onias II's failure to

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[27]Josephus *Ant.* 12.158–59 (LCL).

[28]Or perhaps merely refused to support Ptolemy III's invasion of Syria.

[29]Josephus *Ant.* 12.161 (LCL modified).

uphold ancestral practices.[30] It is, in short, a legitimation based on anterior practice. Third, when Joseph traveled to Alexandria to placate (according to the account) Ptolemy III, he won the position of chief tax-collector for the entire province of Syria and Phoenicia and used the wealth he gained from tax-farming to maintain his position of power (δύναμις), presumably the prostasia that Onias II had abdicated.[31] It would appear, then, that the office of prostasia was entirely detachable from the high priesthood. Joseph Tobias assumed a position of civil authority (which he held for twenty-two years, ca. 240–218); the now weakened high priesthood remained with Onias II and, upon his death, passed to his son Simon II.[32] Such, at least, is Josephus's version of the story. However, we may question whether this was in fact the case. In the narrative, when Joseph Tobias confronts Onias II regarding the latter's failure to pay the tribute, Onias replies that he has no wish to rule and is willing to set aside the high priesthood.[33] Administrative authority (ἄρχειν) and the high priesthood (ἀρχιερωσύνη) are inextricably linked.

Tcherikover wonders why Josephus, who generally regarded high priests positively, would portray Onias II as a stupid and greedy man, only to make Joseph Tobias shine by comparison. His answer is that Josephus imported the Tobiad chronicle and its anti-Oniad biases whole, "without alteration or criticism."[34] An alternative explanation would be that Josephus altered the chronicle to omit references to Joseph Tobias's assumption of the duties of prostates and high priest—or rather, the compound office created in the negotiation between Ptolemy I and Hezekiah in the late fourth century. Josephus's narrative, then, could be seen as the edited version of one party's account of the

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[30]Ibid., 12.158: τὸν. . . φόρον ὃν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οἱ πατέρες αὐτου ἐτέλουν.

[31]Ibid., 12.184: εἰς τὸ διαμεῖναι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ δύναμιν τοῖς οὖσι κατεχρήσατο.

[32]Ibid., 12. 224.

[33]Ibid., 12.163: τοῦ δὲ Ονίου μήτε ἄρχειν ἐθέλειν ἀποδριναμένου, καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δ', εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν, ἑτοίμως ἔχειν ἀποθέσθαι λέγοντος.

[34]Tcherikover, "Hellenistic Palestine," 77.

struggle between two aristocratic families over administrative control of Judea, which was vested in the office of the high priest and passed, under Ptolemy III, from the Oniads to the Tobiads. Something of this sort must have happened, for it is impossible to imagine a scenario in which Onias II could have remained in Jerusalem after attempting to form an alliance with the Seleucids against the Ptolemies. Either the constitutional structure of Judea created by Ptolemy I and Hezekiah was abrogated and a new constitutional arrangement was negotiated by Ptolemy III and Joseph Tobias, or the current constitution was maintained, but now with the Tobiads holding the compound office of high priest/governor. In either case, we have in the Tobiad chronicle a rare glimpse of an Israelite description of the Judean administrative structure deriving from a source other than the Judean priestly elite—and which, like its rival, legitimates that arrangement by a claim of anteriority. This suggestion is made more plausible by indications that the Tobiads were a priestly dynasty, and that the fortress at Araq el-Emir built by Joseph's son, Hyrcanus, may have included a temple.[35] It may also account for account for Ben Sira's emphatic praise of the high priestly office as an proleptic encomium on its restoration to the Oniad dynasty under Antiochus III.[36]

IV. The Charter of Antiochos III

Like all Hellenistic dynasts, the Seleucids ruled absolutely by right of conquest. Yet they could not avoid taking note of the variations among the peoples and polities they governed—nor is there any indication that they wished to do so. It is well-known that in their administration of Syria and Phoenicia, the Ptolemies adjusted their policies to accommodate the relative diversity of the province. What was exceptional for the Ptolemies, however, was the rule for the Seleucids, and so to organize their heterogeneous empire, the Seleucids employed

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[35]P. W. Lapp, "Iraq el-Emir," in *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (4 vols.; London: Oxford, 1976) 2. 527–31; but cf. E. Will, "Un monument hellénistique de Jordanie: Le Qasr el 'abd d''Iraq al Amir," in Adnan Hadidi, ed., *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 1 (Amman: Department of Antiquities, 1982) 197–200. The story of Hyrcanus appears in Josephus *Ant.* 12.196–236.

[36]Ben Sira 50:1–21.

a formula used extensively in the Hellenistic period that sorted self-governing polities into four classes: kings (βασιλεῖς), rulers (δυνάσται), cities (πόλεις), and peoples (ἔθνη).[37] The people of Judea were considered to be an *ethnos*, as royal correspondence and historical accounts indicate.[38] Strabo lists four peoples, or *ethne*, in Palestine: Judeans, Idumeans, Gazeans, and Azoteans.[39] When Simon Maccabeus was proclaimed high priest and leader of the Judeans in 140 BCE, the title he received was *ethnarch* ("ruler of the people").[40]

Upon assuming control of autonomous political entities such as cities and ethne, the Seleucids issued charters for them, stipulating such matters as the financial obligations of the locality to the crown and reciprocal imperial benefactions, military obligations and the garrisoning of soldiers, the political status of the locality, and the offices or entities which were to represent the locality to the king.[41] Such charters were issued unilaterally by the emperor, but they were the product of a process of negotiation between the leaders of the semi-autonomous polities and the crown. They often appear to ratify concessions promised by the emperor in return for the polity's support of his conquest. That is, charters reflect the *bilateral* process that generated the reality they sanction. Upon his conquest of Palestine (200 BCE), Antiochus III issued a charter for the ethnos of Judea. It is typical both of Seleucid charters generally,[42] and of charters granted to Jerusalem before and after the time of Antiochus III. Similar charters

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[37]*OGIS* 229; Diodorus 19.57.3 See Rostovtzeff, *Hellenistic World*, 1. 503; 3. 1140 n. 277.

[38]Josephus *Ant.* 12.3.141; 1 Macc 8:23; 10:25; 11:30, 37; 13: 36; 15:2; 2 Macc 11:25.

[39]Strabo 16.2.2.

[40]1 Macc 14:46.

[41]See Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, *Samarkhand to Sardis*, 50–51. Some scholars see the talmudic legend of Simon the Just's (here, Simon I) meeting with Alexander the Great (*Meg. Ta'anit* 339; cf. *Yoma* 69a) as based on a memory of Simon II's meeting with Antiochus III. See Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization,* 46 and 421 n. 21.

[42]Sherwin-White, "Seleucid Babylonia," 25–26.

are recalled in Ezra 1, when the Jerusalem temple-state was created under Cyrus,[43] and in 1 Maccabees 10, when Demetrius I attempted (unsuccessfully) to win Jonathan Maccabeus's support by offering generous concessions.[44] Antiochus III's charter is preserved in Josephus in the form of a letter to the governor of Syria, Ptolemaios.[45] Though lengthy, it merits quotation in full:

> "King Antiochus to Ptolemy, greeting. Inasmuch as the Judeans, from the very moment when we entered their country, showed their eagerness to serve us and, when we came into their city, gave us a splendid reception and met us with their senate (γερουσία) and furnished an abundance of provisions to our soldiers and elephants, and also helped us to expel the Egyptian garrison in the citadel, we have seen fit on our part to requite them for these acts and to restore their city which has been destroyed by the hazards of war, and to repeople it by bringing back those who have been scattered abroad. In the first place we have decided, on account of their piety, to furnish them for their sacrifices an allowance of sacrificial animals, wine, oil and frankincense to the value of twenty thousand pieces of silver, and sacred *artabae* of fine flour in accordance with their native law (κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον νόμον), and one thousand four hundred and sixty *medimni* of wheat and three hundred and seventy-five *medimni* of salt. And it is my will that these things be made over to them as I have ordered, and that the work on the temple be completed, including the porticoes and any other part that it may be necessary to build. The timber, moreover, shall be brought from Judea itself and from other nations (ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν) and Lebanon without the imposition of a toll-charge. The like shall be

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[43]Ezra 1:2–4.

[44]I Macc 10:25b–45. Jonathan had already accepted the high priesthood offered by Demetrius I's rival, Alexandar Balas.

[45]Almost certainly Ptolemaios the son of Thraseas, the high priest and strategos of Syria.

> done with the other materials needed for making the restoration of the temple more splendid. And all the members of the ethnos (πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους) shall have a form of government (πολιτευέσθωσαν) in accordance with their ancestral laws (κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους), and the senate, the priests, the scribes of the temple and the temple singers (ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ οἱ ἱεροψάλται) shall be relieved from the poll-tax and the crown-tax and the salt-tax which they pay. And, in order that the city may the more quickly be inhabited, I grant both to the present inhabitants and to those who may return before the month of Hyperberetaios exemption from taxes for three years. We shall also relieve them in the future from the third part of their tribute, so that their loses may be made good. And as for those who were carried off from the city and are slaves, we herewith set them free, both them and the children born to them, and order their property to be restored to them."[46]

The charter is an exceptionally important document for our understanding of the administration of Judea in the Seleucid period. A complete analysis of it is impossible in the present context, but two aspects deserve mention.

First, Antiochus III's benefactions were based upon the support he had received from Judea in the fifth Syrian War. This underscores the reciprocal nature of Seleucid-Judean relations, whose features were worked out in negotiations, probably before Syrian forces entered the city. 2 Maccabees mentions a certain John, the father of Eupolemus, who secured royal favors (φιλάνθρωπα βασιλικά) for Judea, which were then destroyed by Jason's activities.[47] As John was a contemporary of Antiochus III, it is reasonable to assume that 2 Maccabees

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[46]Josephus *Ant.* 12.138–44 (Loeb [365.71–75] modified). On the authenticity of the charter (which most scholars concede), see E. J. Bickerman, ("La charte séleucide de Jérusalem," *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* [3 vols.; Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 9; Leiden: Brill, 1980] 2. 44–85), who analyzes the charter in great detail and cites parallels for each feature.

[47]2 Macc 4:11.

is referring to his role in a Judean delegation that negotiated the alliance with Antiochus III against the Ptolemies, resulting in the charter quoted above.

Second, the charter does not mention a high priest. The named components of the Judean ethnos which received the authority and material to rebuild the temple, and indeed to reconstitute the city, are the senate, the priests, the scribes of the temple, and the temple singers. The significance of this omission cannot be overstated. Antiochus III (or his agents) had an intimate knowledge of Judean practices, as his decree listing the animals prohibited from the temple precinct demonstrates;[48] it is completely untenable that he was unaware of the district's chief administrative official. Nor would he have simply failed to specify the high priest in an official communique to the governor of the province. The charter is not characterized by a lack of specificity. Nor would Josephus, who was concerned to present a positive account of the high priesthood, have edited out a reference to the high priest from the document he quoted. How, then, is the omission to be understood?

Consider the situation in Judea at the moment of Antiochus's victory: the city is badly damaged or destroyed; many of its inhabitants have fled or have been sold into slavery, presumably by Ptolemaic forces or their Judean supporters; Hyrcanus, the representative of the people to the crown, has been driven from the city by his opponents;[49] and Onias II is in exile (see above) or has died. If, as I suggested earlier, the Tobiads held the high priesthood as well as the prostasia,

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[48]Josephus *Ant.* 12.145–46. The decree prohibits bringing forbidden animals ἐν τὴν πόλιν, but the Tcherikover (*Hellenistic Civilization*, 85–87) argues that the temple is meant.

[49]Not necessarily his "elder brothers." *Ant.* 12.228 reports that a conflict arose in Jerusalem upon Joseph Tobias's death because of his sons. §§228b–229a then reads: "For when the elders (τῶν πρεσβυτέρων) carried out a war against Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph's sons, the people were divided into factions (διέστη). And the majority fought with the elders, as did the high priest Simon on account of his affinity (to their cause) (συγγένεια)." Translating συγγένεια metaphorically is quite possible (LSJ, *s.v.* συγγένεια, I.3; cf. 1 Macc 10:89, where the term is used as the designation of the subordinate party in a political alliance [Jonathan to Alexander Balas]) and resolves the difficulty over why Simon's kinship with the "elder brothers" would have prompted him to side with them when he was equally (or even more closely [cf. *Ant.* 12.187–89]) related to Hyrcanus. Such a rendering then allows τῶν πρεσβυτέρων to be more plausibly understood as the council of elders, the same body called the γερουσία in the charter.

then the high priest is absent because he had been driven from the city. If, on the other hand, the Ptolemaic constitution, which vested full civil and religious authority in the high priest, had been renegotiated by the Tobiads, and a much-diminished high priesthood remained in the hands of the Oniad dynasty, then the current occupant of that office (Onias II or Simon II) must have been in exile when the charter was negotiated by John and Antiochus III. In either case, no high priest is present. Josephus's reference to Simon II is an obvious afterthought.[50]

In short, the charter fails to mention a high priest because none existed. The charter established under the Ptolemies, which created the strong—one might say monarchic—high priesthood, had been abrogated *de facto* when the gerousia (or some part of it) assisted or led by John, the father of Eupolemus, forged an alliance with Antiochus III. Included in the new charter is an explicit recognition of the Judean right to live according to their ancestral laws, but with the temple in ruins and the high priesthood vacant, the content of custom was open to discussion. Ben Sira understands the ancestral customs (*patrioi nomoi*) to center around a monarchical, Aronide high priesthood, which, as we have seen, dates to the time of Ptolemy I and Hezekiah. But other versions of "ancestral law" existed, and we may well ask whether Ben Sira's vision was ever realized.

According to Josephus, Simon II was followed by Onias III as high priest.[51] 2 Maccabees tells the story of how Onias III, the last of his line, had a conflict with a certain Simon (not an Oniad) over the office of *agoranomos*. In Greek cities, the agoranomos was the financial manager of the marketplace. It was his duty to set and collect rents for vendor's stalls, to oversee the use of weights and measures, to enforce currency laws, and control rates of exchange. In some instances, agoranomoi are known to have fixed prices by decree.[52] Because cities derived a significant amount of revenue from the operation of their markets, the *agoranomia* was a powerful position. The author of the Maccabean account names

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[50]The conflict is begun by οἱ πρεσβύτεροι (whatever their identity) and turns on which side can win a majority of the people.

[51]Josephus *Ant.* 12.224; cf. 12.236.

[52]Jones, *Greek City*, 215–16.

Simon, the man who laid claim to the office, as the "captain of the temple" (προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ), a designation that has prompted considerable discussion among scholars. Some, noting the fiscal concerns of Simon, suggest that the office was functionally equivalent to the financial "overseer" (ἐπιστάτης) regularly appointed by the Ptolemies to control the finances of Egyptian temples.[53] Others point to the financial officer of the high priest in 2 Chron 24:11 or Neh 11:11 (*paqid*) and suggest that the office dates to the Persian period.[54] Still others consider the office as it appears in 2 Maccabees to be the equivalent of the προστάτης τοῦ λαοῦ ("leader of the people"), the office held by Josephus Tobias and Hyrcanus under the Ptolemies. This is then taken as evidence that the division of power between civil and sacral authorities existed under the Seleucids as it had (in their view) under the Ptolemies.[55] In point of fact, analogies based on cognate offices are of little help in determining the nature of an office so named in any particular historical situation. Prostasia had a wide variety of uses and connotations. We would do better to look at the Maccabean description of Simon's activities and the authority he seemed to have held relative to other officials.

To resolve his dispute with Onias III, Simon appealed to the provincial governor, Apollonius. This alone suggests that Judea did not possess the same degree of autonomy that it enjoyed under the Ptolemies: the chain of command now leads up the satrapal hierarchy. Onias III, moreover, is presented as a high priest whose power was insufficient to obviate Simon's claim outright or to block his appeal to the governor. It does not, however, imply that Simon was a 'royal appointment' whose presence limited the power of the high priest. Meaningful distinctions between 'imperial' and 'indigenous' offices are impossible to maintain: Simon was a Judean *and* an administrative official in Judea, subordinate

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[53]Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1. 24–25; 2. 20 n. 168. For the Egyptian ἐπιστάτης, see Rostovtzeff, *Hellenistic World*, 1. 282.

[54]Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization* 464–65 n. 10.

[55]Arnaldo Momigliano, "I Tobiadi nella preistoria del moto maccabiaco," *AAST* 67 (1931/32) 188ff.; Shäfer, *History of the Jews*, 34–35.

to the provincial governor; the *agoranomia* was an internal appointment, but one whose occupancy could concern officials in the Seleucid hierarchy (including Simon); and the apparent lack of civil authority adhering to Onias III's high priesthood is consistent with the office's omission in the charter. In short, the most plausible explanation of the data is that the novel social arrangement agreed to by the Jerusalem gerousia and Antiochus III—the new patrios nomos—severely limited the power of the high priesthood and integrated Judea more closely into the Seleucid administrative structure. Ben Sira is witness to another version of the patrios nomos, but one that was not realized. Onias III's heretofore puzzling alliance with Hyrcanus[56] and the Ptolemies[57] can now be understood as an attempt to realize Ben Sira's vision in the way that all such visions had been realized throughout the second temple period: by alliance with a congenial imperial power.

V. Legitimation in a Competitive Environment

The Imperial Level

Tradition maintains that when Alexander the Great invaded Asia, he cast his spear to the east and claimed the land as "spear won."[58] For his successors, the right of conquest remained the essential justification for their rule. Polybius reports that Antiochus III, when questioned by the Romans in 196 BCE about his entry into Thrace, recalled Seleucus I's victory over Lysimachus (in 281 BCE), at which time "the whole of Lysimachus's kingdom came to Seleucus by right of conquest."[59] Such a claim was not simply an assertion of power or a facile equation of force with justice. However uncompelling it may be to the modern mind, the right of conquest carried the force of a legal claim in antiquity. Antiochus IV had no similar case to make to the Romans with regard to Egypt in 168 BCE and was compelled to withdraw. Military success provided a legal basis for rule, even if not an indisputable one. Moreover, empires were expected to

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[56]2 Macc 3:11.

[57]Josephus *BJ* 7.423.

[58]Diodorus 17.17.2; Justin 11.5.10.

[59]Polybius 18.50.3–6.

expand.[60] Just as in our time economies must continuously grow to be considered healthy, stasis was a sign of decay in Hellenistic empires, so it was incumbent upon Hellenistic monarchs to 'grow their empires' through conquest. Unlike modern economic growth, however, imperial expansion was a zero-sum game: one empire's gain was another's loss. The expansionist imperative was widely acknowledged by Greco-Macedonians and non-Greco-Macedonians alike and fell squarely upon the shoulders of king, as is reflected in the praise lavished upon successful monarchs (Alexander the Great, Ptolemy I, Seleucus I, Judas Maccabeus) and the poor appraisal of monarchs who failed (Ptolemy III, Antiochus IV).

Yet this description of the political pressures governing imperial behavior is insufficient. The martial prowess of an emperor also contained an implicit religious aspect. Or rather, the religious and the political were so thoroughly intertwined, particularly as regards the person of the king, that it is exceptionally difficult to frame the situation adequately using modern terms and conceptual categories. The king's valor (ἰδία ἀρετή)[61] was proof of divine assistance and assent, and ultimately a proof of divine descent. We need not review here the well-known story of Alexander's visit to the temple of Zeus-Ammon in Siwah, where he was addressed as the son of the god by the Egyptian priests.[62] Whatever his understanding of his own nature and however practical an aspect it may have had for him in exerting the power he had won through conquest, Alexander's divinity was credible to many of his contemporaries and was widely affirmed after his death. His successors were quick to realize Alexander's post mortem potency in establishing their claims to succession. Diodorus relates how Seleucus I won the support of his troops in recapturing Babylonia by telling them that Alexander had appeared to him in a dream and offered a sign confirming "the leadership that was

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[60]In both Macedonia and the Near East, militarism and the personal participation of kings in battle was a part of royal ideology. See Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand to Sardis*, 129–30.

[61]*OGIS* 219. See also the speech placed in Seleucus I's mouth by Appian (*Syr.* 61).

[62]See A. B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire: The Reign of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 71–74, 282.

destined to fall to him."[63] Ptolemy I shrewdly diverted Alexander's remains to Alexandria as they were being transported from Babylonia to Macedonia and interred them in a shrine; the hero cult that Ptolemy I established there served to legitimate his succession. Ptolemy II imitated his father by instituting a cult for his deceased parents, Ptolemy I and Bernice, in ca. 280 BCE, and just a few years later (in the 270s), Ptolemy II and his wife Arsinoe II were offered cult as the "divine siblings" while they were still living. A series of gold coins shows Ptolemy II and his queen on the obverse with the inscription ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ("of the siblings"), and portraits of Ptolemy I and Bernice on the reverse with the inscription ΘΕΩΝ ("of the gods"). It has been plausibly suggested that the two inscriptions were meant to be taken together to read, "[a coin] of the divine siblings"[64]—a double reference linking the divinity of the ruling monarchs to the cult of the deified ancestors. This is the first instance of a state-sponsored ruler cult under the successors. In the Seleucid empire, state-sponsored worship of the living emperor was not instituted until the reign of Antiochus III,[65] who issued a decree in 193 establishing one cult of himself and his ancestors (πρόγονοι), and another of his wife Laodice.[66] Yet Antiochus I deified his father Seleucus upon the latter's death, as Ptolemy II had done for his father. In the present context it is important to note that Alexander's immediate successors recognized the necessity of establishing their heirship to Alexander, and that this was accomplished initially by manipulation of the deceased Alexander's tremendous charismatic potential. The next generation of

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[63]Diodorus 19.90.3–5. Cf. the similar dream of Eumenes, Diodorus 18.60.

[64]J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 273 and pl. 293a. See also Fraser, *Alexandria*, 1. 213–46.

[65]Voluntary municipal cults were established in many Greek cities by the late fourth century. For a list, see Bickerman, *Institutions*, @@@. For general discussions, see S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 23–40; Duncan Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West: Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire* (Etudes préliminaires aux réligions orientales dans l'Empire romain 108; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1987) 6–20.

[66]*RC* 36–37. Three copies of the decree are extant. See Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand to Sardis*, 202–10.

successors followed suit, and history shows how short a step it was from worship of the newly deceased ruler to worship of the living king. The development of ruler cult in the Hellenistic period was thus driven by the need to establish legitimacy among competing claimants to Alexander's legacy and was based on a popular recognition of the divine inherent in the political.

The cults of the dynastic founders that the Ptolemies and Seleucids established did not only, or even primarily, support their positions with respect to their Greco-Macedonian troops and colonists. Alexander was given access to the inner sanctum of the sanctuary of Zeus-Ammon by Egyptian priests because they recognized him as the legitimate successor to the Pharaohs.[67] Similarly, upon entering Babylon, the formal titles of the Babylonian monarchy were bestowed upon Alexander, and he may have undergone the ancient rite of investiture.[68] To succeed Alexander, then, was to inherit the legitimacy conferred on him by local priests. The successors took this aspect of their inheritance seriously, undertook the building and repair of local sanctuaries in their territories, and advertised themselves as the restorers of ancestral traditions. A famous inscription from Borsippa near Babylon records—in cuneiform Akkadian—the building of the temple of Ezida in 268 by Antiochus I.[69] The text, which is effusive in its praise of Antiochus, is resonant in language and titulature to texts of Nebuchadnezzar II, suggesting a Seleucid policy "of using Babylonian kingship as a vehicle for rule in Babylonia."[70] In Egypt, the Ptolemies assumed the role of licit heirs of the Pharaohs and funded the rebuilding of Egyptian temples. Both dynasties were following the practice of the Achaemenids, who promoted the restoration of local cults and in so doing promoted their own legitimacy.[71]

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[67]Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*, 72–73.

[68]Ibid., 87; Robin Lane Fox, *Alexander the Great* (London: Allen Lane, 1973) 248.

[69]Amélie Kuhrt and Susan Sherwin-White, "Aspects of Seleucid royal ideology: the cylinder of Antiochus I from Borsippa," *JHS* 111 (1991) 71–86.

[70]Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand to Sardis*, 37.

[71]See Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Temple and Society in Achaemenid Judah," in Philip R. Davies, ed., *Second Temple Studies 1: Persian Period* (JSOTSup 117; Sheffield: JSOT Press,

The Local Level

The Ptolemies and Seleucids were not the only dynasts who had to establish the legitimacy of their authority over against competing claims. The Judean elites, too, were made up of factions that struggled among themselves for control of the district. The nature of the competition was defined by two factors: geography and history.

Historians are (or ought to be) skeptical of claims of uniqueness, particularly in this period when they are often made for apologetic purposes.[72] Nevertheless, Coele-Syria, including but not limited to Judea, was in the unique geographical position of occupying territory situated between two Hellenistic superpowers and claimed by both. This not only exposed the area to the repeated trauma of war, but also gave local elites considerable leverage as they played one imperial power off against the other. Obvious and useful analogies may be found in the position of third-world countries with respect to the United States and the Soviet Union during the cold war. Coele-Syria was thus uniquely positioned in its particular historical context, but not in the broader context of human history.

The historical factors governing the competition among the Judean elites are less obvious, extending as they do into the Persian period, of which very little is known. In the last half of the sixth century, Cyrus I granted a small group of Judeans who had been deported to Babylonia by Nebuchadnezzar a charter to return to Judea, build a temple, and assume control of the district. The memory of this charter is preserved in Ezra,[73] and the names of six governors—ethnically Judean Persian royal officials—are known. The returnees portrayed their assumption of control of Jerusalem as the triumphant return to an "empty land" and the reinstitution of traditional cultus, of which the were the sole inheritors and

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1991) 24–26 and notes.

[72]See the comments of Jonathan Z. Smith, *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982) 5–8.

[73]Ezra 1:2–4; 6:2–5. On the authenticity of the Persian documents in Ezra, see Grabbe, *Judaism*, 1. 32–36; and idem, "Reconstructing History from the Book of Ezra," in Davies, JSOTSup 117, 98–106.

guarantors.[74] The topos of "exile and return," which runs throughout the literature of the "people of the exile", and the disparagement of Israelites who had not been deported to Babylonia, the "people of the land,"[75] are elements in the legitimating myth of the Golah party.[76] It is to the great discredit of modern historiography that this myth continues to be underwritten in studies of the period. The Samaritans and Tobiads, both of whom claimed descent from Israelite tribes and opposed the rebuilding of the temple and city walls, are witnesses to an indigenous rejection of the Golah party's claims. We know almost nothing of the reaction of the Judean laoi to the returnees' program, though as the focus of a significant amount of invective in the literature of the period, we might imagine that they did not easily accept the new order. We do not even know, for example, whether the roots of the exclusive worship of Yahweh are to be found in Palestine or Babylonia. But the inability of the Maccabean accounts to point to any resistance to even the most extreme violation of 'tradition,' the reconstitution of Jerusalem as a polis under Jason,[77] and indeed the positive indications of the practice of polytheism by the Israelite people as a persistent concern of the Jerusalem authorities, suggest that the native population of Judea did not readily accept the definition of their ancestral traditions imported from Babylonia. Nevertheless, it was the returnees's claim of legitimacy by virtue of anteriority that was to characterize the inter-ethnic competition for control of Jerusalem and Judea.

This is the context in which the various formulations of the Judean patroi nomoi must be understood. The monarchic high priesthood created by Hezekiah and Ptolemy I, the Tobiad intervention under Ptolemy III, and the charter formulated by John and Antiochus III were all justified by reference to ancestral custom, implicitly or explicitly. The Hasmoneans would similarly justify their

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[74]See R. P. Carroll, "The Myth of the Empty Land," *Semeia* 59 (1992) 79–93.

[75]E.g., Jer 24:8–9; cf. Ezra 4:1–3 where the indigenous population is not allowed to participate in the rebuilding of the temple.

[76]On the Golah party, see Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Temple and Society in Achaemenid Judah," in Davies, JSOTSup 117, 44–50.

[77]1 Macc 1:11–15; 2 Macc 4:7–17.

assumption of the high priesthood. To point to the variability of these claims is not to suggest that any of them was particularly hollow or cynically pressed. The principle of anteriority exerted considerable appeal in antiquity; its legitimating power was something of a self-evident truth, and so it was frequently invoked. The "restoration" of the republic and the *mos maiorum* under Augustus is only the most famous of many analogies that might be cited. The point for the present purpose is not to attempt to determine which of the various competing claims were more or less "true"—all such claims are highly selective, interpretive, and subject to revision—but simply to suggest that the historiographic enterprise must separate ancient legitimating constructions from modern historical reconstructions. An obvious point, perhaps, but historical studies continue to discuss the period as a conflict between "Hellenism" and "Judaism" and so to accept the Gola party's version of ancestral custom as an historical reality rather than as one of several competing formulations.

One final point needs to be made to complete this portion of this inquiry. The claims of anteriority made by the Jerusalem authorities were the same as those made by the imperial rulers of Coele-Syria. Recall that the administration of Judea was repeatedly defined in a bilateral process of negotiation between one of several factions in the Judean nobility and one of the contending imperial powers. The resulting arrangements were presented as the maintenance or restoration of the ancestral customs of the Judeans, thus conferring legitimacy at both local and imperial organizational levels. Again, it matters very little whether such claims were accurate from a strictly historical point of view: they were made to present a given imperial power as licit over against competitors based upon its affirmation of ancestral law as defined by a local elite whose legitimacy over against its competitors depended upon the same definition. Put more simply, the same claim of anteriority, developed in a process of negotiation and in an environment characterized by competition at various organizational levels, served to legitimate both local and imperial power structures.

"Put the Nations in Fear of You:" Ben Sira and the Problem of Foreign Rule*

Benjamin G. Wright III
Lehigh University

Ben Sira must have lived in exciting times—exciting being a relative term. He was active as a scribe/sage in Jerusalem during a *very* turbulent time in the political history of the ancient Near East. He probably grew up during the period of Ptolemaic rule in Palestine and watched as his native land was taken from the Ptolemies by the Seleucid king Antiochus III. Although he most likely did not live to see the reign of Antiochus IV and its attendant turmoil, his own times must have been difficult enough.

As one who lived in Jerusalem, he was, like other residents of the city, able to feel the effects of the constant tension between the Ptolemies and Seleucids on his everyday world. But as a scribe/sage, ben Sira also worked for the political elite of Jerusalem while at the same time he trained young sages. He was part of a retainer class who served the rich and powerful, and he had entrée into circles of influence in Jerusalem, doubtlessly witnessing first hand a great many of the political maneuverings happening in the Jewish capital.[1]

This kind of access to the political world of Jerusalem undoubtedly made an impression on ben Sira, and one would expect to find some traces in

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*At the outset let me say that this paper is very much a work in progress. My intent at this stage is simply to lay out the appropriate texts and issues as I understand them and to raise questions for discussion.

[1]On the scribe/sage as part of a retainer class that was employed by the wealthy and aristocratic classes, see Patrick Tiller, "Politics and the High Priesthood in Pre-Maccabean Judea" (unpublished paper; Dec. 1997 draft; my thanks to the author for making available a copy of the paper). The term "scribe/sage" is used by Richard Horsley and Patrick Tiller as a description of ben Sira's office. For an explanation, see their jointly authored paper, "Ben Sira and the Sociology of the Second Temple," presented in The Sociology of the Second Temple Group, Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meetings (San Francisco, 1992).

his book of his assessment of the position that Judah and Jerusalem occupied vis-à-vis the two great foreign powers of his time. Indeed his book contains a number of passages that mention the Gentiles/nations; these may reveal both his attitude toward the rule of foreigners over Israel and his explanation of why God allows them this sovereignty. Several of these texts mention "the nations" in passages of general admonitions. It is difficult to determine the extent to which in these places ben Sira is presenting his students with generic life lessons, or if he is commenting on some specific contemporary problem without coming right out and saying so, or both. Ben Sira does, in fact, appear in some cases to disguise warnings about specific contemporary people or situations in the more universal language of admonitions and proverbs.[2] But concerning the nations, there is at least one passage, the prayer in 36:1–22, where ben Sira seems to allow his genuine feelings about the matter of foreign rule to surface. When one examines the regional politics of ben Sira's time and then reads his comments about foreign nations, kings and Israel's enemies in the light of those events, ben Sira's attitude about foreign rule over Israel begins to emerge.

Ptolemaic and Seleucid Competition for Palestine

For most of the third century BCE, Palestine was under the control of the Ptolemies who reigned in Egypt. A number of sources, such as the Zenon papyri and Josephus's report of the Tobiad family, give a reasonably good picture of the conditions in Palestine under Egyptian domination.[3] Most of this century was essentially peaceful, and the Ptolemies administered Palestine as an imperial province, farming the tax burden to local strong men like the Tobiads and keeping troops there to guard against Seleucid incursions. A protracted period of political and military turmoil ensued during the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopater (221–203 BCE), when the Seleucid king, Antiochus III,

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[2]For two examples of how he does this, see Benjamin G. Wright, "'Fear the Lord and Honor the Priest': Ben Sira as Defender of the Jerusalem Priesthood," *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research* (ed. P. C. Beentjes; BZAW 255; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997) 189-222 and *idem*, "The Discourse of Riches and Poverty in the Book of Ben Sira," *Seminar Papers: Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting 1998* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1998) 559-578.

[3]For more detailed description of the relations between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids than is posible here, see Dov Gera, *Judaea and Mediterranean Politics, 219 to 161 B.C.E.* (Brill's Series in Jewish Studies, Vol. 8; Leiden/New York: E. J. Brill, 1998); Victor Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1959; reprinted New York: Atheneum, 1982); Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974); Samuel K. Eddy, *The King is Dead: Studies in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism 334–31 B.C.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961).

resolved to take Palestine and the surrounding areas, known together as Coele-Syria, from the Lagid king. Antiochus launched a military campaign that had encouraging initial success, and he actually was successful in wresting control of the area from Ptolemy IV for a brief time. But in 217 BCE, Antiochus was defeated in battle at Raphia in the south of Palestine and had to abandon all that he had won from Ptolemy.

The Seleucid king bided his time, however, and after the death of Ptolemy IV, his son, Ptolemy V Epiphanes, who was still a young boy, succeeded him. Egypt was clearly in a weakened state, and Antiochus saw his chance once again to take control of Coele-Syria. In 201 BCE Antiochus III reinvaded Ptolemaic Palestine; again he succeeded in gaining control of it. But again, just as in his earlier campaign, he suffered a military setback, this time at the hand of Ptolemy V's general, Scopas. Antiochus had no choice but to retreat. Only a year later, however, in 200 BCE Antiochus's forces soundly defeated Scopas at Paneas, and by 198 Palestine had passed into Antiochus's hands yet another time—on this occasion for good.

During this period of reversals of fortune for the Seleucid ruler, there was an important pro-Seleucid faction among the upper classes of the Judean state, most likely led by the high priest Simon II.[4] When Antiochus ultimately gained final control of Judah and Jerusalem, he rewarded the Jews who had supported him, according to Josephus (*Ant.* 12.142), with, among other things, permission for the Jews to live "according to their ancestral laws."[5] It appears that Antiochus was prepared to allow the Jews to live relatively unhindered by Seleucid rule as long as the taxes were paid and there was no trouble. But in 190 BCE Antiochus battled the Romans at Magnesia where he suffered a decisive defeat. In the treaty of Apamea concluded in 188 BCE the Romans left Coele-Syria in Antiochus's hands, but they placed a heavy financial indemnity upon him, one which would play an important role in the subsequent relationship between the Seleucids and the Jews.

A year later in 187 BCE Antiochus died and was succeeded by his son Seleucus IV Philopater. Even though Seleucus seems to have continued the general policies of his father toward the Jews, the Roman financial burden fell squarely on his shoulders. The pro-Seleucid high priest Simon II had died in about 196 BCE, and his son Onias III became high priest in Jerusalem. Onias did not share his father's support of the Seleucids but favored the Ptolemies, perhaps because of the higher tax debt imposed on the Jews by Antiochus III

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[4]On the pro-Seleucid faction led by Simon II, see Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 79–82.

[5]On the meaning of this phrase, see Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 82–84.

and continued by Seleucus IV as a means of acquiring the necessary funds to pay the Romans. Onias's political leanings eventually would contribute to his undoing, but that almost certainly occurred after ben Sira's death. The years leading up to Onias's eventual assassination during the reign of Antiochus IV, however, must have been filled with political intrigue in Jerusalem, and they probably created anxiety in Jerusalem during the last years of ben Sira's life. It is this unsettled military and political atmosphere that ben Sira breathed for most of his professional life and that any reader of his book must keep in mind when looking at what ben Sira has to say about foreign nations and their relationship to Israel.

Ben Sira and the Nations: The Texts

Ben Sira's comments about the Gentiles/nations appear at several points in his book. As I noted above, some of them appear in the middle of larger sections that contain general admonitions, and one wonders whether any mention of the nations in those contexts is any more than a generic example of how the world works. But there are several places where ben Sira may be talking about specific political events of which he is aware, and there are still others that I find hard to read as anything but ben Sira's references to contemporary political realities. The following list contains those passages in which ben Sira talks about the nations or which need to be considered in any discussion of his attitude toward foreign rule.

4:15: This verse falls in the middle of a short section on the rewards of following Wisdom and illustrates well ben Sira's references to nations in contexts of general instructions. Wisdom is the subject of v. 11, and vv. 11–14 tell of the benefit of holding to her teaching. V. 15 in Hebrew Ms A from the Cairo Geniza shifts to Wisdom as speaker who says, "Whoever obeys me will judge nations; whoever will listen to me will dwell in my innermost chambers."[6] There is no particular element of this passage, when it is considered in isolation from others that mention the nations, to indicate that ben Sira was doing anything other than articulating the kinds of things that the scribe will do if he follows the path of Wisdom. Yet, if one were to interpret this verse and those like it in conjunction with the other passages

[6]The translation is that of Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987) 169. The Greek has, "Those who obey her will judge nations, and all who listen to her will live secure" (NRSV). The major textual issue with this verse is that the Hebrew ends colon a with the consonants אמת, which some scholars read as *'emet* in agreement with the Syriac translation (see especially, M. Segal, ספר בן־סירא השלם [2nd ed; Jerusalem: Bialik Foundation, 1958], 24 [כר]). Skehan and Di Lella (*Ben Sira*, 170) argue that the consonants should be read as the defectively spelled *'ummōt*, which is apparently how the Greek understood the word.

and ideas in the book that concern "the nations," these verses begin to look more like valid indicators of ben Sira's dissatisfaction with foreign rule.

8:2: As part of a series of "Do not's," ben Sira warns his students about the problems of the rich and riches.[7] He remarks that gold "has perverted the minds of kings." Like the previous passage, this verse, by itself, could be understood to be part of ben Sira's assessment of life generally, rather than any allusion to some specific situation. Dealing with the rich and powerful is important for his students since it is from them that they will find work. In a number of places ben Sira notes his own service to kings, and he reminds his students that they will appear before and serve the rich and powerful (e.g. 7:5; 8:8; 34:12–13).

Chaps. 10–11: These two chapters reveal quite a bit about ben Sira's ideology of rule, whether it be Jewish or foreign. Just as we saw with the previous two texts, his comments in these chapters do not bear the undeniable stamp of reaction to contemporary events, although some have read a couple of verses as disguised commentary on commonly known occurrences.

In 10:1–5 ben Sira contrasts the wise ruler with the poor one, making no distinction between Israel and the nations. He notes that all human government is "in the hand of the Lord," who will establish the ruler at the proper time (v. 4). In the end, "Human success is in the hands of the Lord, and it is he who confers honor on the lawgiver" (v. 5).[8] Even though this passage contains no historical specifics, Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella suggest that ben Sira is referring here to the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, especially to their claim to be gods, but they suggest that his criticisms "are sufficiently veiled so as not to get him into trouble."[9] The notion is one to which ben Sira will return in several places—governments and rulers exist only by the permission of God.

In the next section of chap. 10 ben Sira turns his attention to arrogance and pride. Here too he finds examples from politics. "Because of injustice and insolence and wealth" rule has passed from one nation to another (v. 8). This verse may well be a reference to the loss of Palestine by the Egyptians to the

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[7]For ben Sira's thoughts on poverty and riches, see Wright, "Discourse of Riches and Poverty."

[8]Following the text of Ms A here. 10:1–5 treats government and rule. The Hebrew מחוקק at the end of v. 3 was read as "scribe" by the Greek translator, but because of the context should probably be understood with the NRSV to be the ruler or lawgiver.

[9]Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 224. I will speak below about the problem of this interpretation in light of chap. 36. Suffice it to say at this juncture that if there were trouble awaiting those who criticize the rulers, chap. 36 would have potentially gotten ben Sira into a lot of hot water.

Seleucids. With such a momentous event in the not-too-distant past, I find it hard to think that ben Sira did not intend this as a reference to that time; I imagine that anyone reading his book would have understood it that way also. This verse almost seems to introduce a second short section on pride that has rulers, perhaps specifically Gentile kings, as its focus. In vv. 9–11 ben Sira reminds his audience that death comes even to kings. Skehan and Di Lella take the specific note in v. 10 about illness and the king as a reference to the sudden death of Ptolemy IV in 203 BCE.[10]

The verses that follow (14–18) lay the groundwork for what will come in chaps. 35 and 36. In these later chapters, ben Sira anticipates that God will destroy the nations, that is, the foreign powers who were bedeviling the Jews during ben Sira's lifetime. In 10:14–18 he seems to be saying that this is the way God has always worked. God, because of the pride of the nations, overthrows their thrones (v. 14), uproots them (v. 15), lays them waste (v. 16a), destroys them (v. 16b), erases their memory from the earth (v. 17). Whereas one could interpret these verses in the same way as I interpret chaps. 35 and 36 below, as ben Sira's indictment of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, I think they probably function here as a sort of veiled historical review. When oppressive rulers have arisen in Israel's past, God has destroyed them. One thinks immediately of the Babylonians and the stories of God's humbling of king Nebuchadnezzar. Ben Sira's non-specific language here allows the reader to call to mind his/her own examples.

The theme of humbling the powerful returns in 11:5–6, this time in a section on boasting. Ben Sira remarks that the one who boasts never knows when he will come to naught. "Many kings have had to sit on the ground, but one who was never thought of has worn a crown. Many rulers have been utterly disgraced, and the honored have been handed over to others" (v. 6).

17:17: This verse is part of a long section on the creation of humans and their relationship with God. God is in control of human life. He made humans out of earth, and he makes them return to it (17:1). God made humans aware of him; he put fear of him into their hearts; he revealed his laws to them. He knows their ways and will repay their deeds (17:19–24; cf. also 16:5–14). 17:17 comes in the middle of this discussion and says simply, "He appointed a ruler for every nation, but Israel is the Lord's own portion." Although not a direct statement about foreign rule, the ideology found in this one verse reveals the basis for ben Sira's thoughts on the matter. The nations have their individual rulers, but Israel belongs to God alone. He rules over his people. In making such a claim, ben Sira reflects an old Israelite tradition that Israel is set

[10]Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 224.

apart for God (cf. Deut 32:9) and that he himself is Israel's king (cf. for example, 1 Sam 8:4–9). Anyone who would rule over God's people is usurping God's rightful place. The difficulty raised by this theology, of course, is that the historical reality was that foreigners *did* rule over Israel, and ben Sira has to account for it. I will consider below how he does that.

35:22–26: These four verses are really the transition from the long poem that begins in 34:21 to the prayer in 36:1–22. 34:21–35:21 focuses on proper worship of God and treatment of the oppressed. Ben Sira connects responsibility to care for the poor, widows and orphans with proper fulfillment of God's covenant with Israel as in the Hebrew scriptures (cf. Exod 22:21–24). The claim in 35:21 that the prayer of the humble reaches God and that he responds with justice and judgment may well have prompted ben Sira's shift in v. 22 from the oppressed of Israel to Israel the oppressed. 35:22–26 expresses ben Sira's confidence that God will not delay, that he will "repay vengeance on the nations" (v. 23b). The "scepters of the unrighteous" he will break (v. 23c). God will "judge the case of his people" and "make them rejoice in his mercy" (v. 25b). Here it seems that ben Sira's expectation that God will stand on the side of the oppressed has brought to his mind his own nation that is under the "scepters of the unrighteous." In this case God not only shows mercy to the poor, widows and orphans but to "his people." How else would God show his mercy but by crushing the nations who oppress Israel?

36:1–22: Ben Sira's claim in 35:22-26 that God will show mercy to his people is followed by his passionate prayer that the Deliverer of Israel do just that. The emotional and nationalistic tone of the prayer has caused some like Th. Middendorp to argue that 36:1-22 was not part of the original book of ben Sira. Johannes Marböck, however, has argued persuasively that the prayer does, in fact, fit in the book. While it is true that ben Sira's emotion in these verses might seem somewhat out of character with the rest of the book, most elements of the passage are consistent with ben Sira's thought elsewhere, and there is really no good reason to excise it.[11] The challenge is to find the motivation for ben Sira's passion in this instance.

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[11]Th. Middendorp, *Die Stellung Jesu ben Siras zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973) 125–132. For the arguments that the prayer belongs in the book, see Johannes Marböck, "Das Gebet um die Rettung Zions Sir 36,1–22 (G: 33, 1–13a; 36, 16b–22) im Zusammenhang der Geschichtsschau ben Siras," *Memoria Jerusalem. Freundesgabe Franz Sauer* (ed. J. B. Bauer and Johannes Marböck; Graz, Austria: Akademisches Druck-u. Verlaganstalt, 1977) 93–115, esp. 103–104 and the literature cited there.

The prayer consists of a series of petitions addressed to God that have a decidedly prophetic ring to them. Indeed, other places in ben Sira's book suggest that he sees himself in a prophetic role (cf. 24:33; 39:1).[12] Many of the themes and much of the language of this prayer are paralleled in the Hebrew scriptures.[13] The main theme of the prayer, however, is clear and is expressed already in v. 1—"Have mercy on us, O God of all, and put all the nations in fear of you." The plea for God to "give new signs and wonders" (v. 6a) is a direct reference by ben Sira to the wonders performed against Egypt in the Exodus story. Ben Sira thus explicitly makes his own situation equivalent to the Hebrews' enslavement in Egypt that became so fundamental to Israel's understanding of itself.

Several places in the prayer have an eschatological ring about them and probably represent ben Sira's hope, not that God will bring time as he knows it to an end, but that he will reestablish a revitalized nation of Israel, free from foreign oppression, with Israel's God as its sovereign. V. 10 requests that God "hasten the end (קץ) and remember the appointed time (מועד)." This language of time combined with the petitions to "gather the tribes of Jacob and give them their inheritance" (v. 13), to "fill Zion with your majesty" (v. 19), to "fulfill the prophecies spoken in your name" (v. 20) and to "let your prophets be found trustworthy" (v. 21) all reinforce the impression that the prayer contains a nationalistic eschatology.

In the revelation of God's wrath against the nations, they will all see the glory of God. But two verses suggest that perhaps part of what ben Sira hopes for God to do is intended for Israel's benefit as well. Vv. 3–4 read, "As you have used us to show your holiness to them so use them to show your glory to us. Then they will know as we knew that there is no God but you." God's glory will become as apparent to Israel as it will be to the nations.

The form of a prayer of lament[14] and the intensity of the language both leave the distinct impression that here we have ben Sira's true feelings about the domination of Israel by foreign powers. Petitions such as "Crush

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[12]On the prophetic role of ben Sira, see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 134–135 and Michael E. Stone, "Ideal Figures and Social Context: Priest and Sage in the Early Second Temple Age," *Ancient Israelite Religions: F. M. Cross Festschrift* (ed. Patrick D. Miller, Jr., Paul D. Hanson and S. Dean McBride; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 577–578.

[13]On the several phrases that appear in this prayer that are parallel to biblical phrases, see Marböck, "Das Gebet" and John G. Snaith, "Biblical Quotations in the Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus," *JTS* 18 (1967) 8–9. I am not as convinced as Snaith is that these phrases are necessarily "quotations." On ben Sira's use of the Hebrew Bible, see Benjamin G. Wright, *No Small Difference: Sirach's Relationship to Its Hebrew Parent Text* (SBLSCS 26; Atlanta: Scholars, 1989) chap. 3.

[14]See Marböck, "Das Gebet," 102 and Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 420.

the heads of hostile rulers who say, 'There is no one but ourselves'" (v. 12) or "Let survivors be consumed in fiery wrath and may those who harm your people meet destruction" (v. 11) reveal an intensity of feeling that goes beyond the general admonitions about kings and rulers that we saw elsewhere in the book. The major question about this chapter, however, is not necessarily its message; that is pretty clear.[15] What is the reason for the emotional and passionate outburst of prayer here? In other places ben Sira may be alluding to contemporary events (see above on 10:8, 10), but he apparently disguises the allusions for reasons that, in the light of this passage, are now not so evident. Although below I will try to make some suggestions about the possible solutions to this problem, I do not yet have a definitive one.

39:23: This passage is in a sense a reprise of several others that we have seen. In a poem that treats matters of the blessings of God, ben Sira remarks, "His blessing overflows like the Nile, like the Euphrates it enriches the surface of the earth. Again, his wrath expels the nations and turns fertile land into a salt marsh."[16] The reference to land turning to salt marsh is most likely an allusion to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, but the nations that are the intended target of the expulsion are not immediately identifiable. Skehan and Di Lella think this verse refers to the expulsion of the Canaanites from the land, since the combination of Sodom and Gomorrah and the Canaanites probably occurs earlier in the book at 16:8–9 which says that God "did not spare the neighbors of Lot" and "showed no pity on the doomed nation."[17] All I can say is that in this place the combination is not so transparent and that if one reads this passage with others like it in the light of 36:1–22 it potentially takes on a different hue.

Chaps. 44–50: In the so-called "Praise of the Ancestors" section, ben Sira does not come right out and criticize foreign rule, but the way in which he talks about the different figures in this section helps to illuminate the reason that he thinks Israel has fallen under foreign domination. One sub-theme that runs through ben Sira's discussion of a number of the figures in this section is what happens when enemies oppress or when foreign ways intrude on Israel, usually in the form of idolatry.[18] The following Israelites are said by ben Sira either to triumph over enemies or to remain faithful in the face of idolatry.

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[15]Marböck, "Das Gebet," gives a detailed discussion of the various themes in the prayer.

[16]The translation is that of Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 454.

[17]Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 459

[18]The form of this section is still something of a question mark. For detailed discussions of the form of chaps. 44–50, see Thomas R. Lee, *Studies in the Form of Sirach 44–50* (SBLDS 75; Atlanta: Scholars, 1986) and Burton Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew*

Moses (45:1–5): 45:2 is a difficult verse primarily because of its textual problems. Skehan and Di Lella adopt the reading of Ms B(mg) and translate, "God made him like the angels in honor and strengthened him with fearful powers."[19] The Greek has for colon b, "And he (God) magnified him (Moses) in the fear of his enemies." 45:3, though, makes a clear reference to the "signs" that Moses did in Egypt and the fact that God "glorified" Moses before Pharaoh. The clear context of the two verses together, however one chooses to read 45:2, is the contest between God (through Moses) and the Egyptian pharaoh, which God wins. It is Moses' faithfulness that prompts God "to choose him out of all flesh," and it is presumably that faithfulness that enables Moses to triumph over the Egyptians. Thus, ben Sira establishes an early connection in this section of the book between faithfulness to God and defeat of enemies

Aaron (45:6–22): It is something of a commonplace to observe that ben Sira spends more time on Aaron than on any other ancient Israelite. Ben Sira is a staunch supporter of the priesthood in Jerusalem, and it was the brother of Moses who was given the eternal covenant of the priesthood.[20] God chose him "out of all the living" to be his minister, and this responsibility has continued through all his descendents. When Dathan, Abiram and the Korahites, called "outsiders" (זרים) by ben Sira (v. 18), conspired against Aaron, God became angry and destroyed them with "wonders" (אות).[21] Although ben Sira does not single out Aaron for his "faithfulness," he does call Moses' brother "exalted" and "holy" making clear in several places his special status with God.

Phinehas (45:23–25): Although no specific enemies are mentioned in the section on Phinehas, the covenant that God made with him is attributed to his "zeal for the Lord" (v. 23). This verse is a clear reference to the story found in Numbers 25 where God makes a covenant specifically with Phinehas because he killed an Israelite man and a Midianite woman during a purge of all Israelites who had begun to worship Ba'al Peor. Because he helped to turn the people from idolatry, Phinehas was rewarded.

Epic: Ben Sira's Hymn in Praise of the Fathers (Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

[19]Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 506, 509.

[20]On ben Sira's support of priests, see Wright, "'Fear the Lord and Honor the Priest'" and the literature cited there.

[21]An interesting side note is that in v. 13 ben Sira notes that no "outsider" ever put on the priestly vestments, only the sons of Aaron. Ben Sira is presumably dead by the time the priestly clothes are more or less put up for sale under Antiochus IV. In this verse, ben Sira is most likely asserting the theological legitimacy of the high priestly line and not necessarily responding to any contemporary problem with the priestly vestments.

Joshua (46:1–10): Although it is not surprising, when one considers the biblical stories about Joshua, over half of the space devoted to him by ben Sira concerns his success in war. V. 1 says that he took vengeance on Israel's enemies. "He called upon the Most High, the Mighty One, when enemies pressed him on every side, and the great Lord answered him with hailstones of mighty power" (v. 5). The result was that Joshua defeated his enemy, "and on the slope he destroyed his opponents" (v. 6). In 46:6e ben Sira explicitly calls Joshua God's "devoted follower" (כי מלא אחרי אל).

The Judges (46:11–12): Like Phinehas, the judges did not turn to idolatry nor did they turn away from God. "May their memory be blessed!"

Samuel (46:13–20): Samuel, like those Israelite heroes before him, was faithful to God, his faithfulness proving his prophethood (v. 15). When describing their predicaments, ben Sira uses identical wording for both Joshua and Samuel.[22] When he was "pressed about by enemies on every side" (v. 16), Samuel called out to God who answered him and destroyed "the leaders of the enemy and all the rulers of the Philistines" (cf. 1 Sam 7:7–11).[23]

David (47:1–11): When David was faced with the giant, Goliath, he called on God who gave him strength to defeat his enemy (v. 5). Ben Sira notes that as king, David defeated his enemies "on every side," and he wiped out "his adversaries, the Philistines" (v. 7). It is interesting to note that ben Sira does not emphasize David's faithfulness. To a degree he cannot in light of the king's infamous liaison with Bathsheba and his plot to kill her husband (cf. 2 Samuel 11). He does, however, make special note of God's forgiveness of David's sin, which permits him to list David in 49:4 as one of three kings who were not sinners. Forgiveness thus serves as the functional equivalent of the faithfulness that ben Sira has noted for other ancestors.

Elijah (48:1–11): Although enemies are not specifically mentioned in the section on this prophet, ben Sira does remark that he "sent kings down to destruction" (v. 6) and that he "anointed kings to inflict retribution" (v. 8). The latter statement is a reference to the anointing of Jehu, who would ultimately end the Omrid dynasty in the Northern Kingdom (cf. 1 Kgs 19:15–18; 2 Kgs 9:4–26). It was this family that produced the hated king Ahab, who brought the worship of foreign gods into Israel by his marriage to the infamous Jezebel.

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[22]Ms B is damaged in both 46:5 and 46:16. The Greek, however, has the same wording in these verses as the Hebrew most likely did as well.

[23]Reading "enemy" with Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 516. Greek has "the leaders of the Tyrians."

Elisha (48:12–14): The brief notice of Elisha does not contain any reference to enemies, although ben Sira does say that Elisha never "trembled before any ruler" (v. 12).

Hezekiah and Isaiah (48:17–23): These two figures are treated together by ben Sira because in the most important event he recounts about them, the two of them were the primary actors. He notes that in addition to fortifying Jerusalem and bringing water into the city (v. 17), Hezekiah pleased God and was faithful to him. He held to the ways of his father David, and he did as the prophet Isaiah advised him (v. 22). Isaiah, for his part, is called "great" and "trustworthy" (v. 22). The result was that when the Assyrians besieged Jerusalem the people "called upon the Lord...The Holy One quickly heard them from heaven and delivered them through the prophet Isaiah" (v. 20). God struck down the Assyrians by sending an angel to wipe them out (cf. 1 Kgs 19:14–37).

Josiah (49:1–3): Ben Sira shares the deuteronomic historian's unreserved praise for both Hezekiah and Josiah. Whereas Hezekiah fortified Jerusalem, Josiah restored proper worship of God and eliminated idolatry by removing "the wicked abominations" (v. 2; cf. 2 Kgs 23:4–25). According to ben Sira, "He kept his heart fixed on the Lord; in lawless times he made godliness prevail" (v. 3).

Simon II (50:1–21): After reviewing the history of Israel, ben Sira focuses on one contemporary figure, the High Priest Simon II. Simon is clearly a hero for ben Sira. He praises him not only for his service in the Temple, but for his repair of God's house and its enclosure and the fortification of the walls of the city, all of which must have been damaged in the struggles between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids for control of Palestine. Of the twenty-one verses that Ben Sira devotes to Simon II, he lavishes sixteen of them on a description of Simon's temple service.

Others of the ancestors do not fare as well at the hands of ben Sira as those listed above. The consequences that ben Sira gives for the faithlessness of some of the ancestors provides insight into how ben Sira can reconcile his belief that Israel is God's portion and that the nations have no right to rule over Israel with the fact that the Jewish people as he knows it is firmly under the control of foreigners. The consequences of faithlessness come into even bolder relief when they are compared with the results of the faithfulness of Moses, Aaron, David and the rest. In this context three kings are mentioned specifically. Solomon (47:12–22) was wise in his youth, and he built the Temple in Jerusalem. Ben Sira recounts Solomon's fame due to his songs, proverbs and parables (v. 17). It was "in the name of the Lord God" that Solomon amassed great fortune (v. 18). But Solomon became foolish because

he married foreign women who "stained" his honor. He subjected his body to his wives, and whether intentional or not, this probably represents for ben Sira the subjection of Israel to foreign powers. Solomon's legacy was "a rebel kingdom in Ephraim" (v. 21) and a son "broad in folly and lacking in sense"—the opposite of the young Solomon. This son, Rehoboam, "drove the people to revolt" (47:23), a reference to the division of Solomon's kingdom into two. In the north, Jeroboam (47:24–25), who established the cult shrines in the north at Dan and Bethel, "caused Israel to sin." Because of Jeroboam's actions, according to ben Sira, the people's sins increased and culminated in exile from the land and vengeance coming upon them (v. 25). Here ben Sira recalls the Assyrian destruction of the Northern Kingdom in the eighth century BCE.

Several additional comments by ben Sira emphasize the point that faithlessness to God results in sin and foreign domination. In a transitional passage between the section on Elisha and that on Hezekiah (48:15–16), ben Sira observes that the people did not repent or cease from sinning. The result was that "they were carried off as plunder from their land and were scattered over all the earth" (v. 15). This passage, placed where it is between Elijah and Hezekiah is most likely a second reference to the Assyrian destruction of the north. V. 16 claims that a remnant remained faithful, but ben Sira is quick to note that the majority continued to sin.

The end of the Praise of the Ancestors in chap. 49 is an interesting hodge-podge of a sort. Vv. 4–7 strengthen the interpretation that ben Sira connects faithlessness to God, primarily through transgression of the Law, and foreign rule. All of the kings except for David, Hezekiah and Josiah were great sinners because they "abandoned the Law of the Most High" (v. 4). Consequently, "they gave their power to others and their glory to a foreign nation who set fire to the chosen city of the sanctuary and made its streets desolate..." (vv. 5–6). This notice refers to the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem and the Southern Kingdom. Ben Sira, then, accounts for both Israel's and Judah's loss of land and sovereignty by connecting the Assyrian destruction of the north and the Babylonian exile of the south to the people's sin. These twin destructions thus function as the primary paradigm for how ben Sira understands the reality of foreign rule—Israel sins and the result is that God gives the nation over to foreigners (cf. above on 10:14–18).[24]

[24]After this ben Sira mentions in rapid succession Ezekiel, Job, the Twelve, Zerubbabel, the high priest Joshua, Nehemiah, Enoch, Joseph, Shem, Seth, Enosh and Adam. None of ben Sira's remarks about these biblical personages bears on the theme of this paper.

The theology that faithfulness is the condition necessary for God's deliverance is for ben Sira both national and individual. A very personal expression of this theology, with similar vocabulary to the national example in 36:1–22, is found in the prayer of thanksgiving in 51:1–12.[25] In this chapter ben Sira thanks and praises God for delivering him from his adversaries. His enemies surrounded him on every side, and he was near death (v. 6–7). "Then I remembered your mercy," he says, "...and I sent up my prayer from the earth...My prayer was heard for you saved me from destruction and rescued me in time of trouble" (vv. 6–12).

Ben Sira and Foreign Rule: Ptolemies and Seleucids

Ben Sira's basic understanding of foreign rule is essentially consisent with the theological outlook found in the deuteronomic history. That is, faithfulness results in success; faithlessness brings punishment. For ben Sira that translates into faithfulness results in defeat of enemies; faithlessness brings foreign domination. When foreigners succeed against Israel, it is because the rulers and the people have abandoned the Law. But how does ben Sira apply this thinking to his own contemporary situation and how can this theology help to make sense of it? The answer to this question presents something of a problem.

It seems clear that ben Sira has a fundamental difficulty with foreigners ruling over God's people at any time; such a situation is simply not the natural order of things. Israel is God's own possession that he created at the beginning (17:17; 36:20). God sent Wisdom to dwell in Jerusalem in the Temple (24:10). Yet, ben Sira himself has known no other reality than foreigners having political and military domination over Israel, and the various comments about the nations in his book, I think, reveal his dissatisfaction with that contemporary situation.

Several facets of that historical situation and ben Sira's response to it require some further examination, however. The first is ben Sira's unmitigated praise of Simon II. It is likely that ben Sira is writing after the time of Simon's priesthood, since his descriptions of Simon seem to presume that his activity is in the past.[26] Simon, however, would appear to present something of an enigma to ben Sira. He was intimately involved in the events that led to the changeover of Palestine from Ptolemaic to Seleucid control, perhaps even the leader of the party supporting the Seleucids.[27] From a political perspective, he undoubtedly saw the increasing strength of the

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[25]Without the long addition found in Ms B from the Cairo Geniza.

[26]Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 9, 550; Segal, ספר בן־סירא, 248 (שמח).

[27]Tcherikover, for instance, says that Simon "stood at the head" of the pro-Seleucid faction in Jerusalem. *Hellenistic Civilization*, 80.

Seleucids and the corresponding weakness of the Ptolemies. In addition, I imagine that Simon might also have seen the Seleucids as a way out from under the tax burden of the Ptolemaic bureaucracy. Indeed, that seems to have been precisely the result of his support of Antiochus III, at least initially. After Antiochus's victory at Paneas, not only did he allow the Jews to live "according to their ancestral laws," a policy the Ptolemies probably followed as well, he gave his supporters among the Jews tax relief as a reward for their support. He also, according to Josephus (*Ant.* 12.139–141), intended to help rebuild Jerusalem and the Temple, both of which had apparently been severely damaged in the wars between Egypt and Syria. It is this rebuilding to which ben Sira refers in his praise of Simon in 50:1–4.[28]

As far as we know, however, Simon never attempted to shake off foreign rule as much as he probably tried to get the best deal he could. Yet although there is plenty of evidence that he is unhappy with Israel's subjection to foreigners, ben Sira never even implies any criticism of Simon for acceding to Seleucid domination. Why? Perhaps ben Sira thought that Simon's success with Antiochus III would enable Israel eventually to reestablish its independence or, at least, would allow for a kind of *de facto* independence under a passive Seleucid rule.

This brings me to the second issue that requires some discussion, the tone of the prayer in 36:1–22. The emotion of ben Sira's prayer for God to crush the nations seems very out of character with the rest of his book. Ben Sira's method of operation in other matters is often to disguise his criticisms as parts of general admonitions. I have argued elsewhere that he does exactly this against groups of marginalized priests who are criticizing the Jerusalem priesthood and against the rich and powerful.[29] As I noted above, Skehan and Di Lella suggest that he is doing exactly this in chap. 10 in order to stay out of trouble. The trouble is, however, that anyone reading 36:1–22 can hardly fail to sense the emotion and passion of that passage. If ben Sira had been trying to stay out of trouble, this would not seem the best way to do it.

The one context I can imagine for this uncharacteristic outburst is the series of events following the death of Simon II (d. 196 BCE). Simon was followed by his son Onias III, who, unlike his father, was almost certainly part of a pro-Ptolemaic faction in Jerusalem. It is easy to picture the internal political maneuverings that must have gone on daily between those who supported the Seleucids and those who favored the Ptolemies, some of which

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[28] See Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 80–81.

[29] See my, "Fear the Lord and Honor the Priest" and "Discourse of Riches and Poverty."

ben Sira most likely observed himself. The situation could only have gotten worse during and after 190–188 BCE when the Romans defeated Antiochus at Magnesia and forced him into the treaty of Apamea that placed a very heavy burden of financial reparations on him, one that was undoubtedly passed along to his subjects.[30] The honeymoon was certainly over. If it is in this period or slightly later that ben Sira is writing, as many think, then the years of Simon II *must* have seemed like a golden age to him—the city and Temple repaired, taxes lightened, Jews able to live according to their law. The political crises of the years after Simon's death may all have been too much for ben Sira, who must have seen a lot in his life already. The tone of the prayer may be the outcome of his disappointment at the way things had developed.[31]

The prayer in 36:1–22, as I understand it then, is ben Sira's own cry to God. He is doing exactly what those ancient heroes of Israel did; he is calling to God in a time of national trouble and beseeching him to rescue his people. God answered those ancestors who were faithful by delivering them from their enemies. Ben Sira hoped he would do the same now.

There is one element missing here, however, that I find hard to understand. Ben Sira's theology constructs foreigners ruling over Israel to be the result of faithlessness and sin. The prayer, though, does not contain any mention of either. Ben Sira petitions for God's mercy and pity, but not his forgiveness. Despite the machinations of the politically powerful, ben Sira nowhere in the book intimates that the high priest specifically or priests in general, those who were in control of state and cult, had been faithless and thus had brought Israel to its present condition. In fact, the opposite is the case. Ben Sira expresses nothing but admiration and support for the priests. Does he blame the current conditions on the rich (many of whom must have been priests)? He certainly criticizes wealth and finds it difficult to think that there are very many righteous wealthy people, but there is no clear connection in the book that I can see between wealth and the contemporary political fortunes of Israel. Does he understand the sins of the ancestors to be the cause of this foreign rule? It was certainly true that Judah had been under foreign domination since the time of the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem, despite the brief respite under Zerubbabel, Joshua and Nehemiah to which ben Sira alludes (49:11–13). What bearing does the claim he makes in 48:16

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[30]After writing an initial draft of this paper, I discovered that Marböck, "Das Gebet," 105, also connects 36:1–22 with these same events. He also brings in the events described in 2 Maccabees 3 when Heliodorus attempts to rob the Temple treasury.

[31]Marböck, "Das Gebet," 106 remarks that ben Sira's prayer may be understood as a reaction to "newly growing pressure from the foreign masters."

that the majority continued to sin have on this issue? At this juncture I am not confident about any particular resolution to this quandry.

Yet, when one examines the Praise of the Ancestors section, the opposite side of that coin might provide a clue to ben Sira's thinking here. Faithless rulers and people may forfeit Israel's political sovereignty, but righteous rulers who call to God bring rescue for the people. Is ben Sira's paeon of Simon II an attempt on his part to equate him with the righteous rulers of the past? Not only did Simon rebuild the Temple and city and bring water in (in these tasks he is like Nehemiah and Hezekiah), but the greater part of ben Sira's description concerns the magnificence of his worship in the Temple (in which he resembles his ancestor Aaron). Although Simon is probably dead by the time ben Sira writes, he does not make any apparent reference in the book to Onias III who would have been the current high priest. Did Simon's accomplishments put him on a par with the righteous ancestors of Israel's past? Should God rescue Israel because of Simon's faithfulness? Admittedly, the prayer of chap. 36 and the praise of Simon are not connected in the book. Yet Marböck has shown some similar themes in the prayer and the Praise of the Ancestors, and given ben Sira's theological understanding of why foreigners rule over Israel and how God ends that domination, connecting the two passages is an attractive option.[32] Such a connection helps to make sense of the prayer, the emphasis on the faithfulness of those righteous ancestors whom God delivered from their enemies and the attention ben Sira pays to the glories of Simon II.

What is not at issue, however, is that ben Sira hoped for a time when foreign rule would end, when God would restore sovereignty to his people under his own kingship. Unfortunately, ben Sira's plea would not be answered in the way that he hoped, and his people would remain subject to foreigners long after the Ptolemies and Seleucids had disappeared from the scene.

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[32]Marböck, "Das Gebet," 104–108. Chap. 50 ends with a benediction in vv. 23–24 that differs between the Hebrew and the Greek. The Hebrew reads, "May he grant to you wisdom of heart and may he abide with you as peace; may his kindness to Simon be lasting; may he fulfill for him the covenant with Phinehas so that it may not be abrogated for him or for his descendents while the heavens last." The Greek, however, has, "May he grant us joy of heart and may there be peace in our days in Israel, as in the days of old. May his kindness remain constantly with us and may he save us in our days" (translations are those of Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 548). Skehan and Di Lella see the Greek as reflecting the later situation of ben Sira's grandson who translated the book. He was undoubtedly aware that Onias III had been assassinated, and thus Simon's high priestly line had come to an end. The original benediction was no longer appropriate (Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 554).

Independence or Co-Existence: The Responses
of 1 and 2 Maccabees to Seleucid Hegemony

The happy happenstance that we have two different accounts of the Maccabean revolt has led to much scholarly discussion. George Nickelsburg[1] provided an excellent comparison of the two works; the source-critical approach of K.D. Schunk[2] sought a source common to both; Johnathan Goldstein saw 2 Maccabees as a response to 1 Maccabees[3] In this paper, I focus on how the tow works talk about the Seleucid authorities.

A. The Beginnings.

A crucial decision any author has to make is how and where to begin his/her tale. The Author of 1 Maccabees reveals right from the start how he feels about Alexander the Great and his successors: Alexander's heart was lifted up (1:3), and his followers multiplied evils on the earth (1:9). Here the first phrase depicts Alexander's arrogance and impending downfall, as the phrase is used to describe King Jehoash of Judah (2 Kgs 14:10; 2 Chr 25:19), Edom (Obadiah 3), and the king of the south (Dan 11:12). Alexander's rule and that of the Ptolemies and Seleucids is characterized as war-like, rapacious, and depriving nations of independence. Rightly, then, from them springs Antiochus Epiphanes who is the root cause of sinful events, as he placed in Jerusalem a sinful group (1:34: ethnos harmartōlon).

Quite to the contrary, the epitomist, i.e. the writer of the epitome found within the complex called 2 Maccabees, begins his narrative with open praise of the behavior of the kings, i.e. both Ptolemies and Seleucids, towards the Jerusalem temple and singles out the benefactions of Seleucus IV Philopator. "...the kings themselves honored the place and glorified the temple with the finest presents, even to the extent that King Seleucus of Asia defrayed from his own revenues all the expenses connected with the service of the sacrifices." (2 Macc 3:2-3)

These two beginnings evidence two different attitudes towards the Seleucids. In 1 Maccabees, Antiochus IV follows in the rapacious, plundering footsteps of Alexander and his followers. In 2 Maccabees,

relations with the Seleucids, and before them the Ptolemies, had been friendly, and the events to be related anomalous.

B. The Figure of Antiochus IV.

a) 1 Maccabees

The first characterization of Antiochus Epiphanes in 1 Maccabees is as a "sinful root" (1:10), not a very encouraging beginning. He is consistently portrayed in 1 Maccabees as rapacious: without provocation but to become king of Egypt, he invades that country (1:16-19); without warning, he arrogantly despoils the Jerusalem temple (1:20-23). In this light, the reading at 1:29 "chief collector of tribute" (archonta phorologias) is consistent with Alexander's subjecting peoples to tribute (1:4: eis phoron) and so is his sudden attack on the Judeans after deceitful, peaceable words (1:30). Antiochus' megalomania is further underlined by the author's depicting him as wanting to homogenize all the peoples (1:41-50). Antiochus' plundering tendencies are to the fore in the motives attributed in his trip to Persia (3:29-31), and his attack on Elymais (6:1-3). His deep depression over the events in Judea helps bring on his death and he remembers the evils he wrought on Jerusalem and recognizes that he dies away from his homeland because of these actions (6:12-13). This highlights God's power and what the author considers right and just requital as even Antiochus comes to see the truth of his villainy. But does he repent? There is no hint of a request for deliverance, simply a recognition of the cause of his distress.

b) 2 Maccabees

In contrast, Antiochus IV graciously visits Jerusalem (4:22), and when he learns of the murder of Onias III weeps on account of Onias' sterling character and has the murderer pay just desserts for his action (4:37-38). That Antiochus acquits Menelaus and has his accusers killed (4:43-50) evidences less Antiochus' antipathy towards the Judeans than his tendency

to be swayed by friends and also the wickedness of Menelaus in winning his case by bribery. Only when Antiochus thinks that Jerusalem is in revolt does he attack the city in a rage (5:11), and begin the extirpation of the ancestral laws and traditions in Judea. Even in this, however, he is depicted as the rod of God's anger (5:17-18). Throughout this section, Antiochus is shown to be out of control of his emotions as he rages (5:11; 7:3,39). This emotional changeability of Antiochus is particularly evident in the description of his death. First he is in a rage at the news of Judas' success (9:4,7) but, afflicted by God, he comes to his senses (eis epignōsin erchesthai) and loses his arrogance (9:11-12). He repents with a vow to god (9:13-17) When the vow does not change his condition, he addresses the Judeans as his worthy Jewish citizens (9:19).

In 2 Maccabees, then, Antiochus is a much more complex character than the purely villainous depiction of 1 Maccabees. Part of the reason for this is no doubt the epitomist's propensity for emotional narrative, but this very bias focuses the reader's attention on the actions of the individual Antiochus rather than on the Seleucids en masse.

C) Nicanor.

a) 1 Maccabees.

Right from the start Nicanor is characterized as one who hated and detested Israel (7:26). Nicanor is treacherous (7:27-29) as had been the collector of tribute (1:30) and Bacchides (7:15). Just as Judas had rightly mistrusted Bacchides (7:10-11), so he is on his guard with Nicanor. Nicanor is thus shown to be one more in a line of untrustworthy Seleucid officers. One really cannot deal with them except from a position of strength.

b) 2 Maccabees.

Judas is also suspicious of Nicanor in 2 Maccabees (14:22), but Nicanor deals honorably with Judas as a valorous and courageous leader. The epitomist has Judas and Nicanor as fast friends (14:24). In one of the most remarkable passages in the epitome, Judas on the advice of Nicanor married, settled and took part in life (14:25: egamēsen, eustathēsen,

ekoinōnēsen biou). Such an asyndetic grouping of verbs is found also at 13:19 as the epitomist attempts to draw all related material together quickly. Such a rapid overview of what happened by grouping verbs together can also be found, e.g in Xenophon HG 4.3.19 (sumbalontes tas aspidas eōthounto, emaxonto, apekteinon, apethēiskon "setting shields against shields they shoved, fought, killed and were killed."). The grouping of verbs may thus be a stylistic character, but I myself suspect that it evidences the epitomist's shortening of his material, as at 13:21-26. Whatever the stylistic case, Judas is shown as giving the lie to Alcimus who had claimed Judas was rebelling and would not allow the kingdom to attain settlement (eustatheias tuchein), and as fulfilling what the Judeans had attempted to do under Antiochus V Eupator but were prevented by the Seleucid governors (12:2). The Judeans and Judas are shown as quite content to live under Seleucid rule as long as they are allowed to follow their ancestral traditions. The epitomist in no way sees the movement led by Judas as a movement for independence. Judas easily becomes a family man, taking part in normal community life and accepting the position of Nicanor's "deputy" or "substitute" (diadochos). He is integrated into the Seleucid chain of command.

Nothing could be further from the movement as portrayed in 1 Maccabees. From the start Mattathias had lamented that Judea and Jerusalem were no longer free (2:11), and the author insisted on the banner of leadership against the Gentiles passing from brother to brother to pay back the Gentiles in full. The mission of Eupolemus and Jason to Rome is to free themselves from the yoke of the Greeks (8:18,31). Even though Jonathan becomes a Friend of the Seleucid king (10:20, 62-65) and Simon is a Seleucid governor (11:59). The aim was still independence as shown by the attempt to expel those in the citadel (11:20,41; 12:36-37). The aim is achieved at 13:41 when "the yoke of the Gentiles was removed from Israel." For the author of 1 Maccabees, this truly was the family "through whom deliverance was given to Israel" (5:62), i.e. independence.

Are we to choose one scenario over the other? Frequently 1 Maccabees is claimed to be more reliable than the "pathetic" historiography of 2 Maccabees. Specifically, a scholar such as Bezalel Bar-Kochva claimed

that the change in attitude towards the Judeans attributed by 2 Maccabees to Antiochus IV and Nicanor are merely the results of the author's sensational style, and Bar-Kochva dismissed 2 Macc 14:25 as made up[4]. One might counter that the piling up of verbs in 14:24 suggests less a tug at emotions than the shortening of a longer text, but that would only place the problem one remove back to Jason of Cyrene. Again, one could suggest that the monochromatic portrayal of the Hasmoneans as always desiring independence might be a picture colored by later developments and that the complex attitude of Judas towards the Seleucids as found in 2 Maccabees might be nearer the mark. What is important to note is that both works exhibit very different perspectives towards the Seleucids.

D. The Endings.

Often surprise is expressed at the way the epitome ends at the victory over Nicanor "and from that time the city is controlled by the Hebrews" (ap'ekeinōn tōn kairōn kratētheisēs tēs poleōs hupo tōn Hebraiōn). Did the author not know that only six months after Nicanor's defeat Judas would be killed and the city re-taken by Bacchides? Of course, one could argue the same about the choice of ending in 1 Maccabees with the succession of Jonathan - did the author not know that Jonathan would soon be subject to Antiochus VII Sidetes?

What these questions alert us to is the recognition that an author gets to choose how and when to end his story. Why did the respective authors choose to finish their tales at the particular point they did?

a) 2 Maccabees.

The phrase kratētheisēs tēs poleōs hupo tōn Hebraiōn expresses why the epitomist ended where he did, but the first phrase of 15:37, tōn oun kata Nikanora chōrēsantōn houtōs, is also helpful as it leads back to the similar phrase at 13:26: houtōs ta tou basileōs tēs ephodou kai tēs anazugēs echōrēsen, which ends events under Antiochus V Eupator. Even after the death of Antiochus IV, the epitomist insists on major danger to the city and

temple under Antiochus V and under Demetrius I. Lysias comes to make the city a home for Greeks and to levy tribute on the temple as he had done on the sacred places of the other nations (11:2-3). When repulsed, Lysias realized that the Hebrews were invincible because the mighty God was their ally (11:13), and he settles with the Judeans so that they can enjoy their ancestral laws (11:24-31). (Of course, the letters are set in the wrong time context, but the epitomist has built them into his narrative this way.) Antiochus V came with barbarous arrogance "to show the Judeans things far worse than those done in his father's time" (13:9). Judas has the people pray to the Lord so that the recently revived people should not fall into the hands of the blasphemous Gentiles (13:11), and goes out to do battle so that the Gentiles would not possess the city (13:13: genesthai tēs poleōs egkrateis). When Antiochus V has to negotiate with Judas, he "honored the temple (etimēse ton neō) and was generous to the place (ton topon ephilanthrōpēsen)" (13:23). The language recalls how earlier kings had acted (3:2; 4:11), and so goes towards a restoration of the status quo ante. Nicanor too threatens to level "the shrine of God, tear down the altar and build a temple to Dionysos." (14:33) With God's help the place is undefiled (15:34), a third reprieve from attempts to destroy the ancestral religion. Within this narrative scheme, the statement at 15:34 announces the end of attempts to despoil the temple and the city in some way returns to the idealized world of 3:1. The author is thus not claiming independence for the Judeans at 15:34, but the cessation of attempts to dismantle the ancestral laws of the Judeans. For the epitomist, the aim was never the independence of Judea, but the ability to follow one's ancestral traditions. Since the object of Bacchides was to re-establish Alcimus as high-priest (2 Macc 14:3) and not to abrogate these ancestral laws, the epitomist leaves out Bacchides' first expedition to Judea (1 Macc 7:8-20) and ends of this highly satisfactory rhetorical note.

b) 1 Maccabees.

I have argued elsewhere that the ending of 1 Maccabees is not quite so straight-forward as often thought. Yes, 1 Macc 16:23-24 does end with

the mention of John Hyrcanus' rule as high-priest, but questions remain unanswered with this ending. How will Antiochus VII react to the death of his general Cendebeus? What will happen to the treacherous son-in-law? Does the author pre-suppose that the reader knows what happened?

In fact, the description of Simon's death is fascinating, as he is killed by his own son-in-law. Ptolemy commits one of the cardinal sins in the Greco-Roman world by breaking the law of hospitality. Once one had eaten or drunk with a guest, one was bound to treat the guest properly.Here Ptolemy prepares an ambushand kills the drunken Simon and his sons, repaying good with evil. According to Josephus, Ptolemy did not immediately kill Simon's sons and wife but waited till later when besieged by John (Jos AJ 13:228-235). We cannot be sure which version is true, although Josephus' account is highly emotional and sensational. This discrepancy, however, alerts us to the fact that ancient historians differed in their accounts of how leaders died - Alexander the Great was variously depicted as killed by poisoning, by carousing, or by a fever. Given this tendency of ancient historians to create a death that they thought was appropriate, it is interesting that the author of 1 Maccabees reports that Simon and his sons get drunk at a great carousal and then get killed. Josephus, more discreetly, writes that Simon dies at a banquet, which a discerning reader would know included heavy drinking. Did the author of 1 Maccabees feel obliged to tell the truth no matter what? He did not feel so obliged in telling that the death of Antiochus IV was because of what he had done in Judea. How would the author of 1 Maccabees have come by his knowledge of Simon's death?

The motif of being killed by one's enemies while drunk is found elsewhere in the Hebrew Scriptures: Elah, king of Israel, is dispatched this way (1 Kgs 16:8-10), and so is Holofernes (Judith 12:10-13:10)The wisdom tradition in Judaism is against drunkenness:

"It is not for kings, O Lemuel,
    it is not for kings to drink wine,
    or for rulers to desire strong drink;
or else they will drink and forget
    what has been decreed,

and will pervert the rights of all the afflicted." (Prov 31:4-5) Why would the author of 1 Maccabees, then, insist that Simon was drunk? Does he feel that this is the only way that Simon could be overcome? But even this answer gives the picture of an old man taking part in the all-male ritual of drinking to excess, possibly with courtesans present. Such a picture of excess reinforces the image of magnificent extravagance conveyed in the "splendour of Simon" (15:32). The family of Mattathias is shown as indulging in the luxuries and extravagances of the wealthy. Simon had previously been shown to be unwise in his ostentatious display of wealth to Antiochus VII's envoy (1 Macc 15:32), just as King Hezekiah's display of wealth to the Babylonian envoys would prove costly to Judea (2 Kgs 20:12-19). Finally, at Simon's death no mention is made, as had been for Mattathias (2:70), Judas (9:20-21), and Jonathan (12:52; 13:26), that all Israel bewailed his death. Rather the author ends with formula so different from that at Judas' death (9:22) but so similar to that found throughout the books of Kings (e.g. 1 Kgs 14:29; 16;27; 2 Kgs 14:15, 18, 28; 20:20) and used of all rulers, both good and bad. Is the author hinting that the Hasmoneans have become a ruling family with all that that entails - wealth, a bureaucracy (responsible for writing the high priest's annals) and family intrigue? Have the heady days of the opening revolt been replaced by institutionalism?

Within this context, the two references to a longed-for prophet may become more understandable (4:46; 14:41). The phrases used in these two passages echo that at Deut 18:15, and are similar to the phrase found at Ezra 2:63 (=Neh 7:65), "until there should be a priest to consult Urim and Thummim." The author of 1 Maccabees expects the proper restoration of a normal functioning community, and such communities have a prophet. He envisions that when God sends a prophet as He had promised for every generation (Deut 18:15-19), the prophet will solve all the knotty problems. The author is aware that the events recounted occurred after prophets ceased to appear (9:27), and looks forward to their restoration when the full functioning community of Judah will have priests, kings and prophets, with the prophet functioning both to appoint a ruler as had the trustworthy prophet Samuel (1 Sam 3:20) had anointed Saul and David (1 Sam 10:1;

16:13). It is interesting that the author of 1 Maccabees speaks of a prophetic figure rather than a priest or teacher - does it hint at the author's view of his own role? The author may thus be suggesting that gaining independence from the Seleucid power is not enough, but one also has to set up a fully functioning community. The Qumran community sought the solution in talking of a Messiah of Judah and a Messiah of Aaron and so separated the ruler from the high-priest[5]. Our author may be proposing another solution.

Conclusions

The attitude of the author of 1 Maccabees to Seleucid hegemony is clearly negative. All of Alexander's followers are suspect and treacherous, ever seeking plunder. From them the author wishes Judea to be independent. In this light, the glowing description of the Romans as leaving alone those who choose friendship with them is the paradigm for how the author wishes to interact with a larger power. Yet for this author also, independence does not mean free rein to the Hasmoneans. Their power should be restrained, again looking perhaps to the idyllic description of Roman concern for the common good (1 Macc 8:16).

The epitomist's attitude to Seleucid hegemony is much more complex. Not only are Seleucid kings praised for their attitude towards Jerusalem, but even Antiochus IV is at first favorable and eventually speaks of his high estimation for the Judeans (9:18-27), Antiochus V honors the temple, and Nicanor held Judas in high repute. The epitomist stresses the sympathy shown the Judeans by other groups (at the murder of Onias III 4:35-36; at the execution of the Judean emissaries 4:49; Scythopolis 12:29-31), and charges that the Judeans are disturbers of the peace are shown to be false (14:6,20-25). The Judeans are good and trustworthy citizens. It is their neighbors who first harass the Judeans (6:8; 10:14-15; 12:2-4; 13:25), all that the Judeans desire is to be allowed to follow their ancestral laws. Judas Maccabeus is quite content to live under the governorship of Nicanor. The outlook here is one of the maintenance of ethnic identity within the framework of an imperial power which can restrain, not unleash, anti-Judean sentiment in various cities. Of course, to phrase the outlook of

the epitome this way plunks me into difficulty. For in what set of circumstances would this be appropriate? The last quarter of the second century BCE saw the waning of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic empires until one ended ingloriously under Pompey in 64 BCE, and the other more spectacularly with Cleopatra VII. Why would a Judean writing between 125-30 BCE envision the Judeans as loyal citizens of an imperial power? Slowly, hesitatingly, but surely, the imperial power was Rome. And Rome, in the person of Julius Caesar, safeguarded Judeans (Jos AJ 14:213-216, 241-246, 256-264; 16:162-165) and this continued to be Roman policy.[6] It is also precisely at this time that Judeans begin to appear on inscriptions as ephebes. As I have mentioned elsewhere[7], an important goal of the epitomist is to highlight how participation in the activities of the gymnasium goes against the ancestral tradition of the Judeans. Should the confluence of these two elements suggest that one date the epitome to the late first century BCE or the early first century CE? Is the theme of coexistence with an imperial power a much later spin on the Maccabean revolt?

Whatever the merit of that scenario, I would still maintain that 2 Macc 13:24-25, whose staccato of verbs suggests an abbreviation of Jason of Cyrene's work, evidences a view whereby the change from a protest movement to a full-scale desire for independence was slower than as envisioned by 1 Maccabees.

1.George W. E. Nickelsburg "1 and 2 Maccabees - Same Story, Different Meaning" CTM 42 (1971) 515-526.

2.K. D. Schunk Die Quellen des I. Und II. Makkabäerbuches. Halle: Niemeyer, 1954.

3.Jonathan A. Goldstein I Maccabees (AB 41; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976)72-89; II Maccabees (AB 41A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983) 82-83.

4.Bezalel Bar-Kochva Judas Maccabaeus (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1989) 355-356.

5.See John J. Collins "'He Shall Not Judge By What His Eyes See': Messianic Authority in the Dead Sea Scrolls" Dead Sea Discoveries 2 (1995) 149-152.

6.E. Mary Smallwood The Jews under Roman Rule (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 135-143.

7.Robert Doran "Jason's Gymnasium" in Of Scribes and Scrolls (eds Harold W. Attridge et alii; Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1990) 99-109.

"But concerning *that* day..." (Mark 13:32).

'Prophetic' and 'apocalyptic' eschatology in Mark 13.

Keith D. Dyer

Whitley College, Melbourne

Did the earliest hearers of the Gospel of Mark understand Mark 13 to refer to recent 'historical' events or to future 'apocalyptic' events, or to some combination of both? This question returns to haunt each new reading of the Gospel, for even those that profess no interest in the earliest audience must still choose between some mixture of 'history' and 'apocalypse' as the most appropriate framework for responding to the text.[1] Adela Yarbro Collins has argued that a "modern interpretation of Mark ought to aim at achieving the broad scope of the vision of the gospel which is expressed in the choice of the historical genre in its apocalyptic mode."[2] But in recent times it seems that most *post*-modern interpretations have preferred to read Mark as apocalypse through and through, and Mark 13 as the 'black hole' at the heart of the

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[1]Robert M. Fowler's bold claim about Mark that "this narrative does not claim to be history. It is not even referentially oriented", has to be modified once his reading encounters Mark 13: "Modern scholarship has long taken Mark 13 to be a murky reflection of what was happening historically at the time of the composition of the Gospel, perhaps around 70C.E. I see no reason to dispute this supposition about the referential meaning of the cryptic allusions in Mark 13." *Let the Reader Understand. Reader-Response Criticism and the Gospel of Mark*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991, 80 and 87. The attempt by Peter G. Bolt to solve the dilemma by interpreting Mark 13 entirely within the narrative framework of the Gospel is a brave one, but rather forced. Where are the details of Mark 13:15-23 to be found within the Markan passion narrative? "Mark 13: An Apocalyptic Precursor to the Passion Narrative", *Reformed Theological Review* 54 (1995), 10-32.

[2]Adela Yarbro Collins, "Narrative, History, and Gospel", *Semeia* 43 (1988), 149. I agree wholeheartedly with Collins' conviction that Mark writes 'history'—"not history in the rational, empirical Greek sense or in the modern critical sense, it seems to have been such in an eschatological or apocalyptic sense and in the intention of the author" (148). But I cannot agree with her dating of the Gospel *before* the fall of Jerusalem, because this means that at least the second half of Mark 13 refers to events still in the future at the time of writing, rendering their location in 'history', and that of the whole Gospel, extremely uncertain.

Markan narrative.[3] Once the "A" word has been applied—and especially the adjectival form 'apocalyptic', *standing where it ought not* as a noun—the whole Gospel is read in a darker light, with the full range of apocalyptic horrors lurking somewhere not far beneath the surface of the text. I shall offer here a reading of Mark 13 which pulls back from the edge of this abyss and attempts to understand the bulk of the discourse (13:5-30) as the recent and continuing experience of the Markan community as they welcome Judean refugees from the Jewish War. Such an interpretation relocates the transition to future events and to 'transcendent' eschatology in 13:31-37, rather than at 13:14 or 13:24 as usually suggested. I shall argue that the corresponding shift from 'apocalyptic' to 'prophetic' categories is more consistent with the processes behind the birth of a written gospel in an oral culture.[4]

The distinction between 'prophetic' and 'apocalyptic' eschatology is not easy to make or maintain.[5] The usual definitions contrast changes expected within history with transcendent interventions into history—or to end history. But the apparent clarity of such contrasts rests on a modern distinction between 'history' and the 'transcendent' which ancient texts don't seem to make in quite the same way, and which the post-modern experience has long since left behind. The

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[3] See the engaging autobiographical approach of Tina Pippin, "A Good Apocalypse is Hard to Find: Crossing the Apocalyptic Borders of Mark 13", *Semeia* 72 (1995), 153-171, and especially 161: "Apocalypse permeates every narrative in Mark, leaking out of the mouths of narrators, characters, and deities." Also: Bernard Brandon Scott, "After the Future: From Mad Max to the Destruction of the Temple", *Foundations and Facets Forum* 8 (1992), 313-336: "An apocalyptic perspective unites the modern movies and ancient texts." (315).

[4] Werner Kelber has convincingly demonstrated the oral legacy evident in the Markan text (parataxis, use of the 'historic' present, duality, parenthetical clauses, direct speech, and so on). See Werner H. Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel. The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983, 65-68. The fact that some of these features may well be redactional (as pointed out by Barry W. Henaut, *Oral Traditions and the Gospels. The Problem of Mark 4*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, 68), and therefore "part of Mark's literary style", does not mean that they can't also be illustrative of a pervasive oral culture around and within the text. Indeed, that is Kelber's point. Mark's "style is that of the speaker rather than that of the writer" (*The Oral and the Written Gospel*, 68, quoting Pryke and Pesch with approval).

[5] Nor will I attempt to define either here, though I will return to circle this 'gap' in my paper below.

Gospel of Mark, and chapter 13 in particular, provides many examples to confound such neat divisions between prophecy and apocalypse, history and eschatology, past, present and future. The 'angels' in Mark appear when we don't expect them (Mark 1:2,13) and fail to appear when we do (Mark 16:5); they are in heaven (Mark 13:32), on earth (Mark 1:2,13), and in both places at once (Mark 13:27). The cosmic events of Mark 13:24-27 seem to many interpreters today to speak plainly of a transcendent End, but it is just as plain to others that they are prophetic motifs used to portray the demise of rulers within human history.[6] The 'abomination of desolation' itself (Mark 13:14) has been identified with almost every Roman leader from Pilate (c 26-36CE) to Hadrian (c 120CE), with revolutionary figures of the Jewish War (66-70CE), and with apocalyptic motifs like 'the man of lawlessness', the 'antichrist' or the 'parousia of the Evil One'.[7] Ironically, perhaps the most clearly transcendent language of

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[6] Joseph Verheyden has recently restated the case (in conversation with the earlier work of Pesch, Hahn and Brandenburger) for interpreting Mark 13:24-25 as recycled theophany/Day of the Lord language used to describe the parousia of the Son of Man at the end of time. See "Describing the Parousia: The Cosmic Phenomena in Mk 13,24-25", in C. M. Tuckett (ed), *The Scriptures in the Gospels*, (BETL CXXXI), Leuven: University Press, 1997. His detailed analysis of the theophanic motifs from the prophetic literature is very helpful—and correct in identifying the Markan focus on the gathering of the elect rather than judgment themes—but the assumption that these motifs must be interpreted as the parousia in Mark remains largely unexamined. He dismisses alternative interpretations without engaging the issues: "I think one also misses the point when arguing that 13,24-25 merely announces an important turning point in history" (footnote 3, 526). Recent commentators who have taken a more 'historical' interpretation of these verses include: Thomas R. Hatina, "The Focus of Mark 13:24-27: The Parousia, or the Destruction of the Temple?" *BullBibRes* 6 (1996), 43-66; N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, London: SPCK, 1996, 339-368; and Keith D. Dyer, *The Prophecy on the Mount. Mark 13 and the Gathering of the New Community*, Bern: Peter Lang, 1998, 230-1 (all of whom refer to the earlier work of R. T. France). Support for similar interpretations of these texts also comes from the socio-literary readings of Ched Myers, *Binding the Strong Man. A Political Reading of Mark's Story of Jesus*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1988, 343; and Herman C. Waetjen, *A Reordering of Power: A Socio-Political Reading of Mark's Gospel*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989, 200 (both of whom cite Walter Wink, *Naming the Powers: The Language of Power in the New Testament*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984, 162).

[7] See the general history of interpretation in G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Jesus and the Last Days. The Interpretation of the Olivet Discourse*, Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1993; and more specifically in G. R. Beasley-Murray,

the whole discourse: "Heaven and earth *will* pass away..." (v 31), is almost invariably understood to be just a figure of speech underlining the permanence of Jesus' words. Just as ironically, perhaps the clearest allusions to historical events in Mark 13 that are attested outside the Gospel tradition—namely 13:14-22 and the flight from, and fall of, Jerusalem—do not seem to fit our historical understanding of those events.

Clearly it is easier to explain these ambiguities and historical 'inaccuracies' in the text if it is held to be referring to future events at the time of writing; that is, that the Gospel of Mark was written before the fall of Jerusalem. But there are major problems with this widespread conclusion:

(a) If Mark is dated pre-70CE because Mark 13 doesn't match events post-70CE, why do Matthew and Luke both follow Mark 13 so closely? Are they also to be dated pre-70CE?[8]

(b) How are we to understand the process of the production of the Gospel and Mark 13 in particular? If Mark 13 was *written* before the events it describes, how did it continue to be regarded as a 'word of the Lord' if the events did not occur as expected? What of the long established processes for evaluating the spoken words of

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A Commentary on Mark Thirteen, London: Macmillan,1957, 59-72, and Desmond Ford, *The Abomination of Desolation in Biblical Eschatology*, Washington: University Press of America, 1979, 158-175. The threat by Caligula to erect his statue in the Jerusalem Temple (c 38-40CE) has received considerable support lately as the occasion behind Mark 13:14. See Gerd Theissen, *The Gospels in Context. Social and Political History in the Synoptic Tradition*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991, 137 onwards; N. H. Taylor, "Palestinian Christianity and the Caligula Crisis. Part 1. Social and Historical Reconstruction", *JSNT* 61 (1996), 101-24; and "Part II. The Markan Eschatological Discourse", *JSNT* 62 (1996), 13-41. Lars Hartman, *Prophecy Interpreted: The Formation of Some Jewish Apocalyptic Texts and of the Eschatological Discourse Mark 13 Par*, Lund: Gleerup, 1966, 235, is one who has assumed connections with the Johannine 'antichrist' traditions, and the "epiphany *ad malam partem*" when "Satan has taken possession of the holy temple", is from Werner H. Kelber, *The Kingdom in Mark. A New Place and a New Time*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974, 120.

[8] Here I am assuming Markan priority, "not so much because I see it, but because by it I see everything else" (to borrow a line from C. S. Lewis about the sun and Christianity). Proponents of other theories of Synoptic relationships have yet to rewrite Christian origins and the history of the formation of the canon in a way that would convince me to change my view.

the prophets retrospectively (Deut 18:22) before they were written down?[9]

(c) If Mark 13 is understood as an apocalyptic vision of events soon to come, why is the abomination (13:14) left "standing where he ought not" rather than torn down, and why is there a time on earth imagined (unique in all apocalyptic literature, so far as I can tell), *after* the great tribulation (13:24)? Don't these details, together with the "until now, and never will be" (13:19) and the "shortening of the days" (13:20) clearly indicate a later historicizing perspective?

(d) If 13:24-27 represents the 'parousia' (as most apocalyptic interpretations seem to assume), why do the faithful have to flee beforehand (13:14)? Why this awkward gap (blank?) between tribulation and consummation (13:24a)? Surely the faithful should wait for the triumphant return of their Lord by enduring to the end (13:13)?

Of course, there are also many problems associated with interpreting Mark 13 'historically', especially since this requires satisfying the 'historical' criteria of first century *and* twenty-first century readers. Yet it must be admitted that the process of literary production that posits an oral prophecy spread about during the Jewish War, vindicated by subsequent events and then incorporated into a written Gospel is in itself a more plausible sequence, and one more consistent with the prophetic processes of the Hebrew tradition and of early Jewish Christianity (Acts 11:27-8; 21:11). If the prophecies are to be put into the mouth of Jesus and a solemn assurance given that they will be fulfilled "within a generation" (13:30)—which means even as Mark is being written about forty years after the death of Jesus—then the integrity of Jesus and of the Gospel of Mark depend on everything happening just as written. We who have the luxury of written texts can indulge in a complex exegesis that makes the "all these things" of 13:30 refer only to 13:5-23, but not to the immediately

[9] Again it must be pointed out that written texts with abstract meanings ("the veiled, figurative language of apocalyptic", Fowler, *Let the Reader Understand,* 85) are not the product of oral cultures, yet the Gospel of Mark as a whole shows every sign that it *is* the product of an oral culture. See Kelber, *The Oral and Written Gospel,* "Mark's Oral Legacy", 44-89. Whilst I agree with Kelber's thesis that 'Mark' opposed the Judean (false)prophets with their realized Christology and Jerusalem-centered eschatology, I do not think Mark opposed all oral prophecy as such, but even incorporated 'verified' prophecy into the words of Jesus in Mark 13.

preceding verses 13:24-29. We can look back at preceding words and 'cut and paste' text to defend all kinds of doctrine. But the hearer of the Gospel in an oral culture must take the words as they come and digest them on the spot in the order given. Priority must therefore be given to exegesis which affirms the natural order of the text.

The alternative to focusing on a historical reading is to return to apocalyptic categories, which seem to rely more on written traditions than on oral culture, and on an unlimited imagination. Apocalypses are 'safer' when heard or viewed than read. An aural or visual apocalypse is comprehended instantly and remembered partly, which is terrifying enough, but a written apocalypse (or now a videoed apocalypse!) can be returned to often, and a multiplier effect works on the imagination. As Tina Pippin writes: "The apocalypse in Mark 13 slips in between Jesus' ministry and passion, into the cracks of history and the abyss of imagination."[10] Of course this is part of the fascination of apocalyptic thought and writing as we approach the next millennium. Because it knows no limit to the imagination it seems to wield more power than history. Whilst I find these apocalyptic interpretations of Mark 13 challenging and sometimes riveting reading—there is no question that they speak to our post-modern world and our deepest fears—I recoil from their implications for the Gospel of Mark as a whole. Does the author of Mark really see "this present evil, oppressive, and suffering-filled existence" as but "a passing interlude before the coming of the Son of man on the clouds and eternal life for the faithful"?[11] Is it really fair to conclude from a narrative filled with the immediate and joyful response of the marginalized to Jesus' message that "the world in which Jesus and his followers live is a bleak, ugly, and painful place filled with wars, persecutions, trials, betrayals, death, and a yet to be experienced last blood bath of cosmic dimensions"?[12] Much of this descriptive detail comes from Mark 13, yet if it is taken as a review of recent history rather than a catalogue of horrors still to come, the sentence "I have told you all things beforehand" (13:23) then becomes a word of

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[10] Pippin, "A Good Apocalypse", 157.

[11] Mary Ann Tolbert, *Sowing the Gospel. Mark's World in Literary-Historical Perspective*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989, 265. The Johannine thunderbolt of 'eternal life' only appears twice in the whole of the Markan sky, both times in chapter 10, where the issue of reversal of power is paramount.

[12] Tolbert, *Sowing the Gospel*, 264.

reassurance to those who survive the trials, and a very different picture of past, present and future emerges. The awful horrors remain, but as something God has delivered the elect from, rather than something still to be encountered. The focus then shifts to reconstruction and the positive image of the gathering of the new community itself (13:26-7).

The possibilities of such a 'historical' perspective on Mark 13 deserve further exploration. Accordingly, the second half of the chapter (13:14-37) will be interpreted within the Gospel of Mark from the perspective of a community within a primary oral culture gathering with Judean refugees from the Jewish War somewhere in southern Syria. As such, the language of Mark 13 will be interpreted in a way consistent with Walter Ong's description of oral cultures, which "tend to use concepts in situational, operational frames of reference that are minimally abstract in the sense that they remain close to the living human lifeworld."[13] We do not seek *the* specific solution to these riddles of Mark 13, but *a* specific solution—one that permits the reading of the Gospel within a plausible 'historical' context, both in terms of what it refers to and the way in which it was produced.

Mark 13:14-23—is there a reader in this text?

The aside to 'the reader' in Mark 13:14b has attracted almost as much literature as the abomination itself.[14] The likelihood that Jesus

[13] Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word*, London/New York: Routledge, 1988, 49.

[14] A good starting point would be M. Eugene Boring, *The Continuing Voice of Jesus. Christian Prophecy and the Gospel Tradition*, Westminster: John Knox, 1991, 239, "the only parallel in early Christian literature to the absolute 'the reader' is found in Christian prophecy, Revelation 1.3, which refers to the lector who reads aloud in public worship a prophetic document written for that purpose." Whether this prophetic document read by the lector should be understood as the written source behind Mark 13 or the whole Gospel of Mark itself is another question. See Ernest Best, "The Gospel of Mark: Who was the Reader?" *IBS* 11 (1989), 124-132, who argues the latter case. I regard Fowler's work (*Let the Reader Understand*) as the most thorough reader oriented analysis of Mark yet undertaken, but the results of his approach on encountering the 'reader' of Mark 13:14b, whilst honest, are disappointing: "Complications here suggest that we shall never fully understand who 'the reader' of 13:14 is, or for that matter exactly what the reader is to understand" (83). It is ironic that reader-oriented analysis should

would address the phrase to four illiterate(?) fisherman on a Judean mountain top has struck even some of the editors of red-letter Bibles as remote.[15] Most interpreters either attribute the phrase to Markan redaction, or see it as evidence of a written pre-Markan source, such as the (in)famous apocalyptic flysheet proposed by Rudolph Pesch.[16] If it is interpreted as a deliberate authorial aside, it can be understood as an instruction to the lector (who reads the Gospel aloud to the communities of the faithful), or as advice to those hearers of the Gospel who understand the literary allusion behind 13:14a to read Daniel carefully. Matthew (24:15) acknowledges this Danielic allusion more specifically, and locates the abomination in the 'holy place', whilst Luke historicizes Mark 13:14 in a more general fashion with: "But when you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies..." (Lk 21:20). Both these early interpretations confirm some of the implications of the Markan text (Matthew the Temple location, Luke the occasion of the Roman armies), yet at the cost of losing the very specific detail of Mark's 'situational, operational frame of reference'.

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fail to deliver (after succeeding so well elsewhere in the Gospel) precisely at that one point in the narrative where the 'reader' is directly addressed!

[15] Only some! Most print the whole chapter in red. At the opposite end of the spectrum, Robert W. Funk, Roy W. Hoover and the Jesus Seminar, *The Five Gospels. The Search for the Authentic Words of Jesus*, New York: Macmillan/Polebridge Press, 1993, 108-115, use no red or pink text for authentic words of Jesus in Mark 13, only gray text in verses 2,21,28-9,32 and 34-6.

[16] Rudolph Pesch, *Naherwartungen. Tradition und Redaktion in Mk 13*, Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1968, 203-215. The opinions of Hartman on this theory are interesting. Writing before Pesch (in *Prophecy Interpreted*, 207), he comments: "This broadsheet theory seems a strange one to me. If we assume that it is a matter of manifold copies of a pamphlet or a brochure, is there a single example of such a phenomenon in antiquity? Has a copy been preserved or mentioned in literature?" And reviewing Pesch's book (*Bib* 50, 1969, 576-580), he adds: "Now Dr. Pesch will have us believe that vv.6, 7b f., 12, 13b-20a, 22, 24-27, filling satisfactorily a papyrus sheet, were written in the year 40 in Jerusalem—in Greek!—and spread *"flugblattartig"* to summon people to flight . . . Does not an hypothesis like this one presuppose the conditions of considerably later times? We know of different ways of propagandizing in Antiquity, but this one?—almost certainly no." Of course, Pesch later changed his views to argue for a Christian prophetic oracle behind Mark 13, connected with the flight to Pella of the Jerusalem church. See Rudolf Pesch, "Markus 13", in *l'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament*, Jan Lambrecht (ed), Leuven: University Press, 1980, 355-368.

In the context of an oral culture and a Gospel more closely related to such, there are problems with all of the suggested interpretations of 'the reader' above. The exhortation to read texts and understand them carefully (whether Daniel or a pamphlet) means nothing to a community largely without texts or the skills to read them. If the aside or marginal note is seen as directed at the public 'reader/lector' of the Gospel as an instruction to explain the riddle, the use of νοείτω (know well, understand, note well) is awkward. More appropriate would have been ἑρμηνεύω (or its compounds, Lk 24:27), δείκνυμι (1 Cor 12:31), or ψηφίζω (Rev 13:18), to give the sense: "Let the reader interpret". Even then, such an address over the heads of 'the illiterate' to the privileged few would have lost Mark most of his audience on the spot! A Gospel that affirms the inclusion of the marginalized in so many ways could surely not let them down at such a critical point in the narrative on a matter of life and death. Is there then, any way we can understand the exhortation as applying more generally to everyone present in the earliest audiences of the Gospel?

The question "What do people in oral cultures 'read'?" produces a wealth of answers if asked in the right places. From animal tracks three days old in the desert sands to signs in the sky of changes in the weather, there are many things to read apart from texts. If the question is directed more specifically to a Mediterranean village culture of the first century, some of the answers will be found in the scenes of everyday life and the artifacts mentioned in the Gospel of Mark: crops, fields, storms on the sea, animals, indications of prestige and wealth, symbols of the Empire, and even some rudimentary texts—the inscriptions on coins (12:16) and on the cross (15:26). Of course these latter 'readings' were learned by word of mouth as news and coins circulated—but 'read' them they did, for they provided the precise, concrete evidence that oral cultures and their rulers depended on to differentiate news from rumour. Richard Oster's seminal article on the value of coinage for understanding the social world of early Christianity points out that in an age when news could not be disseminated by radio or newspaper, it was the coinage which announced to the public the aspirations and recent achievements of the ruling classes and gave 'currency' to their symbols of self-aggrandizement.[17]

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[17] Richard Oster, "Numismatic Windows into the Social World of Early Christianity: A Methodological Inquiry", *JBL* 101 (1982), 195-223. See also the

We have arrived from a different direction at a point I have reached and argued for before.[18] Namely, that the particular form of the phrase in Mark 13:14 'When you *see* the abomination which causes devastation standing where *he* ought not be...', can be understood as a reference to the image (the *graven* image) of Vespasian appearing on coins in the East from mid 69CE onwards, and later that year in Rome itself. The coins appeared *before* he was declared emperor, and may have even helped him to decide to leave the campaign in Judea for Egypt and then Rome to claim the honor late in 69CE. This enabled a pause in the Jewish War of some six months, and provided the last chance for Judeans to flee before Titus was sent back overland from Egypt to complete the siege of Jerusalem by mid 70CE. Anyone who could see and 'read' the coins would know that the fate of the Jewish Revolt was sealed once Vespasian secured the primacy in Rome. It would involve no great gift of prophecy to see the writing on the wall and send word (and a coin for evidence, since the Judeans minted their own shekels at the beginning of the revolt) to the Judean followers of The Way warning them to flee whilst they could.

Improbable though this thesis might seem at first glance, it meets the requirements for an audience in an oral culture that they be able to see and 'read' the evidence of the need to flee in a 'minimally abstract' and 'operational frame of reference'. The exact order of the Markan text (13:14) also makes 'historical' sense in this scenario: "When *you* see", 'you' meaning the wider community in the East (13:37); "the abomination of desolation standing where *he* ought not" meaning the conquering general Vespasian standing as emperor elect on the graven image of a coin (and remaining as emperor until long after); "let the reader understand", that is, all who 'read' the abominable coins; "let the Judeans flee", which in late 69CE and very early 70CE would still have been possible, though difficult in winter (13:18). This phrasing is consistent with a prophetic oracle originating

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articles illustrating different aspects of the same theme by Larry J. Kreitzer, "A Numismatic Clue to Acts 19.23-41: The Ephesian Cistophori of Claudius and Agrippina", *JSNT* 30 (1987), 59-70; "Hadrian and the Nero Redivivus Myth", *ZNW* 79 (1988), 92-115; "The Personification of Judaea: Illustrations of the Hadrian Travel Sestertii", *ZNW* 80 (1989), 278-279; "Nero's Rome: Images of the City on Imperial Coinage", *EvQ* 61 (1989), 301-309; and "Apotheosis of the Roman Emperor", *BibArch* 53 (1990), 211-217.

[18] Dyer, *The Prophecy on the Mount*, 221-232.

outside Judea, but directed at those followers still in Judea urging them to flee rather than retreat to the city. There followed a siege of Jerusalem noted for its savagery both inside and outside the walls (13:19), as well as for its Messianic pretenders and saviors (13:21-2). It may be that some Jewish Christians with an alternative eschatology remained in Jerusalem to await the return of the Messiah Jesus to rule in the Temple, and *then* to welcome in the Gentiles. But the Temple has already been judged in Mark's Gospel (11:12-25), and the Divine presence is about to depart forever (15:38), so that the Temple's eventual demise (13:1-2) is a shock only to those (like the disciples) who don't undertstand. Mark's community, in Kelber's words, is to look to 'a new place and a new time' for the breaking in of God's rule with power (9:1).

Mark 13:24-30—Is there a parousia in this text?

No! The word never occurs in Mark and should not be imported from other traditions. Matthew adds it to the Markan text in his reworking of the discourse (Matt 24:3,27,37,39), together with a strong theme of judgment on certain groups within Judaism and the Temple hierarchy. This theme of judgment lurks in the background of the Jewish texts Mark recycles in 13:24-25, but it is *not* brought to the surface,[19] and is specifically countered by the concluding texts about the gathering of the new community (13:26-7), which come from a context of universal salvation (Dan 7:13-14). The cosmic events of 13:24-5 are often interpreted as signs accompanying The End, but their usage in the prophetic traditions of 'Days of the Lord' and Theophanies when God acted decisively against the enemy suggests otherwise.[20] When rulers fall, their corresponding stars fall, just as a new star announces the birth of a new King (Matt 2:2). The eyewitness account of the fall of Jerusalem by Josephus contains similar cosmic signs—comets and strange lights at midnight.[21] So it seems eminently reasonable to interpret the events of 13:24-5 as news of the realignment of temporal powers in the East after the fall of Jerusalem

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[19] Contra Pippin, "A Good Apocalypse", 157; "Apocalypse creates an uncertainty, like living in the South; what is under the surface always rises."

[20] See the literature (cited above in footnote 6) by Hatina, "The Focus of Mark 13:24-27"; Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 339-368; and Dyer, *The Prophecy on the Mount*, 230-1.

[21] *Jewish War*, VI, § 288-300.

and the establishment of the House of Flavian in Rome. These are the powers (the 'they' of 13:26) who will witness the vindication of the Human One before God in heaven, just as the High Priest will also (14:62). This is no Messianic return, earthly parousia or second coming, but rather, as in Daniel 7, the exaltation of One like a Human before the Ancient of Days in heaven. This vindication will also be evidenced on earth in the form of the gathering of the elect from Judea and from the four corners of the earth in the new community of faith (13:27). The eschatology and missiology of the Judean remnant is thus redefined in one inclusive moment.

13:29 is often translated as "He is near, at the gates" to accord with the view that 13:26-7 speaks of some kind of parousia. But the comparison with the fig tree and summer (here in Mark 13 and in chapter 11) requires that the impersonal 'it is near' refers instead to the time of harvest that summer brings. Certainly this is how Luke, one of Mark's earliest interpreters, reads it, when the early summer harvest festival of Pentecost becomes the occasion for the gathering of the multi-ethnic community, and the coming of the kingdom with power (Mark 9:1; Luke 21:31).

The affirmation that all these things will happen within a generation of Jesus speaking these words (13:30), is the assurance to Mark's community that they are *already occurring as they hear the Gospel.* Yet this time reference in Mark 13:30 has caused the most debate of all, although it is undoubtedly the most unambiguous reference of all. Despite many ingenious attempts to find alternative meanings,[22] it is clear from its usage elsewhere in the Gospel of Mark

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[22] See, for example, E. Lövestam, "The ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη Eschatology in Mk 13,30 parr", in *l'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament,* Jan Lambrecht (ed), Leuven: University Press, 1980, 403-413; and David Wenham, "'This Generation Will Not Pass...' A Study of Jesus' Future Expectation in Mark 13", in *Christ the Lord. Studies in Christology presented to Donald Guthrie,* ed H. H. Rowdon, Leicester: IVP, 1982, 127-150. Lövestam reviews the possibilities: ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη = Jesus' contemporaries/the Jewish people/humanity in general/the faithful/the unbelievers; and rejects them all. After examining the OT usage, he then argues that in contrast to the survival of Noah and Joshua after the demise of their respective generations, 13:30 means simply that the disciples should *not* expect to live on after the death of the evil generation around them. The parousia is thus an 'end' qualitatively different to the flood and the wilderness, and 'this generation' is a 'type' expressing the evil nature of humanity at the time of the end, rather than an indication of the time within which the end will occur. Yet in the end Lövestam fails to convince. The generation of Noah and of Joshua, though

and in Hebrew literature that its primary meaning is a literal 40 year generation.[23] It is equally apparent that its location in the discourse implies that 'all these things' must include everything up to 13:30, as argued already above. This is the most obvious sense of the statement and there are no compelling reasons to interpret it in any other way.[24]

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evil, were still their contemporaries and were literal generations, which is just what 'generation' seems to mean in the rest of the Gospel of Mark (8:12,38; 9:19). It is doubtful, given the disciples' request for a sign (v.4), whether the author of Mark would distinguish between them and the generation of 8:11-12 who also seek a sign anyway. Wenham presents the more common argument that the saying in v.30 refers to the fall of Jerusalem rather than The End or the parousia. Such arguments rely on making ταῦτα πάντα in v.30 refer to anything but its immediate context, and are ultimately unsustainable given the context of an oral culture—even if it is argued that v.30 has been 'misplaced' by the evangelist.

[23] This is made explicit in the parallel reference to Mark 13:24-30 occurring in Mark 8:38-9:1. Both refer to seeing the vindication of the Son of Man in power (9:1; 13:26) and glory (8:38; 13:26), and both are followed by a redactional insertion emphasising that not all will die before this event occurs (9:1; 13:30). On *this* point we certainly do have the agreement of Paul in 1 Thess 4:15, and later, after more of the first generation have died, he re-affirms it in 1 Cor 15:51-52. Given the Kingdom language of 9:1, it could be argued that this is the earliest tradition—an expectation by Jesus that God would act powerfully amongst his contemporaries—which is then interpreted in various ways by Paul, the Jerusalem community, the Markan community and the other NT traditions. This interpretation sees 9:1 as redactionally linked primarily to 8:38, whilst conceding that the transfiguration (9:2f) may be seen as a foretaste of the later vindication of the Son of Man. See Enrique Nardoni, "A Redactional Interpretation of Mark 9:1", *CBQ* 43 (1981), 365-384, for a review of the literature.

[24] Of course for some there may be compelling *theological* reasons if the text is approached with a certain theological agenda already in mind. Timothy J. Geddert, *Watchwords. Mark 13 in Markan Eschatology*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989, 242, is one of the more lucid supporters of the argument that the text in Mark 13 "'doubles back' temporally", citing as examples of this phenomenon at least vv.28,33 and 37, and therefore suggests that it might also 'double back' at v.30, so that "13.29 brings the End into view and then 13.30 reverts back to the events preceding the End." But such an approach randomises the whole structure of the discourse into a collection of eschatological symbols that may be re-arranged at will. One might as well go even further with this 're-arranging', as does Ched Myers, *Binding the Strong Man. A Political Reading of Mark's Story of Jesus*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1988, 343f, who sees 13:24-27 as referring to the crucifixion (*after* the fall of Jerusalem, 13:14-22?), thus making v.30 true. Non-sequential exegesis makes non-sense in an oral community.

Mark 13:31-37—Back to the future

Despite the gap in the text and the heading usually placed between 13:31 and 32 in most translations, a better sense is maintained if the discourse is allowed to continue unabated. The assurance that Jesus' words will not pass away (v.31) then acts as a transition between recent and current events (which v.30 makes very clear), and future cosmic events (v.31), about which no-one apart from God can know anything (v.32). There is a clear contrast made between the historical process, indicated by the phrase "in those days" (vv.17,19,24), and the eschatological event alluded to by "in that day or hour" (v.32). This is the "fulfillment of all things" (v.4) alluded to in the second half of the disciples' question. This is the point at which ultimate and transcendent questions are addressed—the collapse of the cosmos (v.31) and the returning Lord (vv.34-6)—and that is why the exhortation to watch out (βλέπετε through to v.33) is strengthened by the call to be on the alert (ἀγρυπνεῖτε from v.33). The need for this heightened alertness is emphasized by the events of Jesus' passion which follow, events which again prevent a rigid distinction between 'history' and 'eschatology'.

The unknown hour of 13:32 foreshadows 'the hour' of Jesus (14:41) and recalls 'the hour' of those handed over for trial (13:11). The four watches of the eschatological night in 13:35 are re-enacted in the four watches of the betrayal night (ὀψία—last supper, 14:17; μεσονύκτιον—Gethsemane, 14:37; ἀλεκτοροφωνία—Peter's denial, 14:72; πρωΐ—trial before Pilate, 15:1).[25] Such parallels in language—utilising repeated words and phrases for the benefit of *listeners* to the Gospel—underscore the existential dimension of the final 'day and hour', in that the hour of discipleship testing and martyrdom is described in exactly the same terms as the eschaton (13:32f). It is therefore not possible to conclude that any one of these references is unequivocally one-dimensional, referring *only* to 'historical events' or *only* to 'eschatological events'.

Equally significant is the use of καιρός in Mark to indicate:

(a) the time for the rule of God to break into 'history' (1:15)

(b) the present time for the life of the new community (10:30)

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[25] Here we follow Geddert, *Watchwords*, 94-105 (building on the earlier work of Lightfoot). 'Midnight' is the only watch not specifically mentioned, though as Geddert (*Watchwords*, 100) points out, the three hours of that watch are represented by the three one-hour prayers of Jesus (14:37,41).

(c) *not the time* for the 'fig tree' to bear fruit (11:13)
(d) the time of assessment for 'the vineyard' (12:2)
(e) the unknown time of The End (13:33)[26]

Again it can be seen in these references that there is no easy distinction possible between future and present, nor between 'normal time' and 'eschatological time'. Rather the use of καιρός seems to indicate that 'significant time'—be it of new beginnings (1:15; 10:30; 13:33?) or of implied endings (11:13; 12:2f; 13:33?)—impinges on, and is inseparable from, present reality.

The distinction between 'in those days' and 'in that day' also seems to be made deliberately. The former phrase is used of a significant period or process, as in:

(a) the baptism and testing of Jesus (1:9);
(b) the feeding of the Gentiles (8:1);
(c) the great tribulation (13:17, and with a different word order, 13:19); and
(d) the vindication of the Son of Man and the gathering of the elect (13:24-27).

The singular equivalent, 'in that day', is used of a specific event:

(a) the day the bridegroom is taken away (2:20);
(b) the day/evening of discipleship testing (4:35);
(c) that day of The End/discipleship testing (13:32); and
(d) the day of the eschatological banquet (14:25).

Whilst the obvious overlap between 'historical' and 'eschatological' events has been preserved in the use of these phrases, it is apparent that a distinction ought to be made between 'those days' and 'that day'—between 'process' and 'event'. This is of particular significance for the interpretation of the relationship between vv.24-27 and 32, where the former clearly refers to a process (ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις . . . καὶ τότε . . . καὶ τότε), and the latter to an event—the only possible one in the immediate context being ὁ τέλος of v.31. This also points to the likelihood that ὁ τέλος (vv.7c,13b) includes 'The End' alluded to in the final stages of the discourse as well as 'the ends' faced by those faithful followers who endure through the persecutions of vv.9-13, even to their martyrdom.

So here we return to where we started and the difficulty of distinguishing between 'prophetic' and 'apocalyptic' eschatology, between 'history' and 'transcendence'. The verses that seemed most focussed on a transcendent eschatology (13:31-37) are shown by the continuing story of Jesus' passion to be capable of an existential

[26] So also Myers, *Strong Man*, 339-340.

interpretation. The eschatological moment becomes the moment of discipleship testing, and suddenly the exhortation to stay alert takes on a new relevance and urgency. Cosmic end there may well be (13:31) at some unknown distant date (13:32), but the need for alertness in times of testing will certainly be part of the immediate life of discipleship (14:32-42). And this is no esoteric discourse for a chosen few on a mountainside, for the Gospel of Mark presents itself as "an ardent demythologizer of the myth of esoteric secrecy".[27] "What I say to you I say to all: Be on the alert!" (13:37).

Mark 13—as historical apocalypse

A structuring and outlining of Mark 13 as read from the 'historical' perspective briefly described above is offered here below.[28] The immediate context of this discourse is the nascent new Temple ecclesiology generated by the faithful acts of the two women who give all they have—the poor widow, unfortunately, to the Jerusalem Temple and the authorities who 'devour her living' (12:41-44), and the comparatively wealthy woman who gives her all to anoint the condemned body of Jesus, the new Temple (14:1-9). Within this framework, Mark 13:1-2 provides the closing scene of the anti-Temple stories (Mark 11-13) and the setting over and against which the scene commencing in v.3 is written. The disciples' question indicates that they have not yet understood the irrelevance of the Temple for the formation of the new community of the faithful.

vv.3-4: The Temple and The End—the inevitable (but inappropriate) eschatological question: 'When and what sign?'

vv.5b-13: *The future which is past (and still present for the Markan community)—The faithful planting of the seed.*
Despite false alarms (13:5b-8) the seed of the kingdom has been planted in all nations (13:10) and at great cost to those sowing it

[27] Werner Kelber, "Narrative and Disclosure: Mechanisms of Concealing, Revealing, and Reveiling", *Semeia* 43 (1988), 11; against Collins' assertion, "Narrative, History, and Gospel", 150, that the "theme of secret revelation to a few is taken up again and presented positively in chapter 13." 13:37 makes it all a very open secret.

[28] Slightly modified from Dyer, *Prophecy on the Mount,* 272-3.

(13:9-13). Yet the Spirit has been with them in their trials (13:11) and the salvation of the faithful ones is assured (13:13).

vv.14-23: *The future which is recent (and still present for the Judean refugees)—The awful tribulation.*
The elect in Judea are exhorted to flee both restoration Judaism centered in Jerusalem and its Roman destroyers (13:14-20) and to ignore messianic pretenders (13:21-22 cf 13:5b-6). They are encouraged to be watchful and reassured that all these events have been within the scope of Jesus' prophecy (13:23).

vv.24-30: *The future which is present (and still coming)—The harvest is imminent!*
The opposing powers shall witness the vindication of the Son of Man (13:24-26), and his elect from all directions including Judea will be gathered together into a new community by the messengers (13:27). These events are the sign that the summer harvest is breaking in (13:28)—and the kingdom coming with power (9:1)—even whilst the evangelist writes (13:29-30).

vv.31-37: *The future which is to come (and may occur at any time)*
There *is* an ultimate End when heaven and earth will pass away (13:31) but it remains the prerogative of the Father alone (13:32). Yet it may be encountered existentially at any time (13:33-37; cf 13:11; 14:34,37,38,41) and therefore alertness ('readiness on-the-job') is essential (13:33,35-37).

This interpretation offers a very specific context for understanding the occasion when the Gospel of Mark became a written text; an occasion which involved a reconstruction of 'Christian' identity out of diverse and sometimes conflicting oral memories. As such, the written Gospel was an attempt to absorb the apocalyptic experiences of the Judean refugees within the wider narrative of the gathering of the new community (13:26-7). The magnitude of their suffering (13:19) and their self-understanding as the elect of God (13:20,27) was in no way diminished by this re-telling; indeed, the assurance is given that they too have walked the way of Jesus (13:23,29-30), together with those who suffered earlier in the Gentile mission of the church (13:9-13). Thus the discourse which acts as the last will and testament of Jesus in Mark can be read as a testament should: as words of verified

prophecy giving reassurance and exhortation to the authorial audience. Whilst these words historicize the recent apocalyptic events experienced by some in the community, they do not tame or nullify the threat of the apocalypse altogether. There is still an End to be faced in the cosmos (13:31) and existentially (13:34-36; 14:32-42) about which even Jesus knows nothing (13:32).

The end

What is the function of such hypothetical historical reconstructions as this? Wouldn't an apocalyptic reading of the Markan text have more to say to our present situation? Adela Yarbro Collins speaks of the acute problems that arise for Markan interpreters "who are conscious about the fact that they do not share the world-view presupposed by Mark."[29] Am I guilty of trying to shape the Markan world-view to make it more palatable to my own? Should I do my 'autobiographical exegesis' more openly, like Tina Pippin, rather than hide it under the guise of historical inquiry, so that others may judge my motives?[30] Mary Ann Tolbert wrestles openly with the implications of her own apocalyptic interpretation of Mark:

> The difficulty Mark furnishes for modern appropriation is not its negative assessment of the human situation but its solution to the problem. Mark argues that only direct divine intervention can preserve the elect from the mess this generation is making of the cosmos. While some even now may wish to continue affirming Mark's view, such acquiescence has unfortunately permitted this generation to keep increasing the mess for almost two thousand years.[31]

I can empathize fully with her angst over the mess this world is in and the inadequate theologies that have contributed to it, but I don't *hear* the Gospel of Mark as contributing to these problems or these theologies. I hear the overriding theme of the gathering of the new, multi-ethnic community from the four corners of heaven and earth (13:26-7), who gather despite the trauma of their recent past in order

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[29] A. Y. Collins, "Narrative, History, and Gospel", 148-9.

[30] Pippin, "A Good Apocalypse", 164. "When I read O'Connor's fiction or the fiction of Mark 13, I am on a precarious edge between my 'safe' world and the imagination of ultimate horror. The edge of apocalypse is the edge of the ethical, a possible journey into a destructive future."

[31] Tolbert, *Sowing the Gospel*, 310.

to enact the rule of God in power (9:1), the power of the powerless. But then it might be appropriate in conclusion to recall the sobering words of Walter Ong: "we can never forget enough of our familiar present to reconstitute in our minds any past in its full integrity."[32] Or maybe it is a matter of remembering enough of our familiar past to reconstitute in our lives a present with full integrity?

[32] Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 15.

Creation Archetypes and Mythogems in Ezekiel: Significance and Theological Ramifications

Stephen L. Cook
Virginia Theological Seminary

Among the most striking mythological images in the Book of Ezekiel, which is unique in the Bible for its free appropriation of metaphor and myth from the ancient world, are Ezekiel's protological images and mythogems of creation. Ezekiel's use of these cosmogonic, or creation mythogems within his theological tradition, in which linear, historical time and Israel's radical particularity are taken with the utmost seriousness, presents an exciting hermeneutical challenge and opportunity for insight. The prophet's use of metaphor and myth intensifies in the book's middle section concerning the foreign nations, and this intensification has fascinating ramifications even beyond what we normally find in Ezekiel.

Two creation-oriented mythogems form central images of the Book of Ezekiel's middle section, and their use here is extremely suggestive theologically. These particular images of the cosmic tree and the anarchic cherub provide test cases for an investigation of creation and theology in Ezekiel. The mythogem of the cosmic tree occurs in Ezekiel's comparison of Egypt to Assyria in Ezekiel 31. The mythogem of the anarchic cherub occurs in Ezekiel's lamentation over the king of Tyre in Ezek 28:11-19.

1. The Cosmic Tree

In chapter 31, Ezekiel pronounces judgment on Egypt through a double comparison. He first compares Egypt to Assyria (cf. Nah 3:8-10). By describing Assyria's prior downfall, the prophet gives Egypt an object lesson that supports the credibility of his oracle of judgment against so mighty a nation. Ezekiel describes Assyria, in turn, as a "cedar in Lebanon" that tyrants cut down. Following the generic pattern of a dirge, the text first describes the former glory of the "tree" (vv. 3b-9). Verses 10-18 then bewail the tree's downfall, as if disaster had already overcome it. The depictions of each of the dirge's sections make clear that we are dealing with no ordinary tree. The tree reaches into heaven (v. 3) and its splendor is incomparable. Its majesty even surpasses that of the trees of Eden (vv. 7-9, 18). The description of the tree's disaster depicts the felled

tree landing not only down on the ground but also down in the underworld, the land of the dead. I want to argue that these mythological features of Ezekiel 31 can best be explained in terms of a widely occurring mythological image known as the "cosmic tree."

The image of a "cosmic tree" (*Weltbaum*) occurs across many cultures, and its features show remarkable similarity to Ezekiel's "cedar in Lebanon." A study of this mythic image, or archetype,[1] as we find it cross-culturally, proves incredibly illuminating of the mythological dimensions of the tree in Ezekiel 31. In what follows, I intend to take methodological care in using this cross-cultural evidence. My procedure will be first briefly to construct a model of the cosmic tree based on the comparative anthropological, psychological, and ancient Near Eastern evidence. I will then allow exegesis of Ezekiel 31 to confirm or negate the model's applicability in elucidating Ezekiel.

The notion of a cosmic tree at the center of the landscape of the earth occurs cross-culturally. Even prehistoric monuments depict the tree as a "center" of the world. These depictions group the tree with related symbols such as the cosmic mountain or the four major rivers of the earth. Images from later times elaborate on the tree's nature. The cosmic tree branches out from earth's center point to encompass creation. Limbs and branches spread out from the tree, opening out toward the Four Corners of the cosmos. The limbs and branches of the cosmic tree provide a habitat for earth's life. This theme is part of the image of *Yggdrasil,* the cosmic tree of early German and Scandinavian mythology.[2] This world-tree, whose roots extend to the very heart of the earth, shelters a goat, an eagle, a stag, and a squirrel in its branches. I take these animals to represent earth's diversity of life forms.

Not only comparative religion but also psychological disciplines dealing with the unconscious mind have been fascinated with the cosmic tree. In particular, C. G. Jung has argued that the cosmic tree frequently appears among the archetypal configurations of the human unconscious.

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[1] "Archetypes" are fundamental structures in human religious life and in the human psyche. They are images or patterns that determine experience, and which make themselves felt as vital and holy. See Beverly Moon, "Archetypes," *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (ed. M. Eliade; 16 vols.; New York, N.Y.: Macmillan, 1987) 1.379-382. Mircea Eliade and C. G. Jung, in particular, have been major theorists of archetypes. The present study draws heavily on their work.

[2] Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (tr. R. Sheed; New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958) 276.

Some fascinating "dream pictures" drawn by Jung's patients illustrate various aspects of the cosmic tree, including its symbolism of the world's center. Jung was convinced that these images represent archetypes, constitutive of the collective, unconscious human mind.[3] He insists that the images originated in his clients' minds autochthonously, that they did not come to their awareness based on myths or poetry that they had read.[4]

One patient's drawing highlights the tree as a cosmic center by depicting it bursting up amidst seven snow-capped mountains, which are dwarfed by its size. That there are seven mountains surrounding the tree must symbolize its location at the center of the totality of creation. Another patient's drawing depicts four different-colored rivers flowing down from four mountains to feed the tree. This puts the tree squarely at the center of creation's Four Corners.[5]

Other pictures in Jung's dream-collection attest to the cosmic tree as a habitat for earth's birds and animals.[6] In Jung's Fig. 16, in particular, many birds perch on the branches of the tree. Flying birds surround the tree's foliage in Fig. 28. In Fig. 24 and Fig. 25, creatures such as a tortoise, a lion, a grasshopper, an elephant, and an alligator flank the tree.

The cosmic tree not only forms the center of the horizontal plane of reality, but it also forms the central vertical axis of the cosmos. This *axis mundi* connects the earthly plane with the heavenly plane of reality. Thus, in Chinese royal mythology a tree called *Kien-mou* ("Shaped Wood") stands at the intersection of heaven and earth.[7] The cosmic tree of Central and North Asiatic mythologies has either seven or nine branches, each branch symbolizing a celestial plane.[8] The Abakhan Tartars also have a cosmic tree with seven branches; it is a birch tree that grows on a mountain made of iron. Its seven branches seem to symbolize a seven-storied heaven.

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[3] Jung understood archetypes to be present in humanity's "collective unconscious" as "preconscious primordial ideas" (*Psychology and Religion: West and East* [tr. R. Hull; Bollingen Series XX; New York: Pantheon, 1958] 50).

[4] C. G. Jung, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (20 vols.; ed. H. Read, et al.; Bollingen Series XX; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967) vol. 13 "Alchemical Studies," 273. Students in my Ezekiel course at Union Theological Seminary in New York City first excited me about the relevance of Jungian archetypes to a study of Ezekiel. I wish here to acknowledge and thank them for this stimulus.

[5] Jung, "Alchemical Studies," Fig. 7 and Fig. 24.

[6] Jung, "Alchemical Studies," Fig. 13, Fig. 16, Fig. 22, Fig. 24, Fig. 25, and Fig. 32.

[7] Mircea Eliade, *Images and Symbols: Studies in Religious Symbolism* (tr. P. Mairet; New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961) 42.

[8] Eliade, *Images and Symbols,* 44.

In many other descriptions, the cosmic tree not only connects the cosmos's levels but also upholds its basic, tiered structure. Thus, the Saxons called the cosmic-tree *Irminsul,* the universal column that sustains all. The Altai peoples of central Asia also describe the cosmic tree as the pillar of the cosmos. This giant fir is so high that the constellations revolve around it and its top reaches to the home of Bai-Ulgen in heaven.[9]

Several figures in Jung's collection of dream pictures represent the tree as a cosmic pillar. At least three of the figures depict the earth as a sphere or globe, atop which the cosmic tree stands as its axis.[10] In the last of these paintings, Fig. 30, the tree is clearly stylized as a shaft rising from the center of the earth. A multicolored band extends up from earth's center to become the tree's phallic-like trunk. In other of Jung's pictures, the cosmic tree clearly extends into the heavens. Sometimes it bears celestial objects. In Fig. 4, the tree appears amidst golden globes symbolizing heavenly bodies. In Fig. 13 and in Fig. 23, the tree carries the sun.

Other images of the cosmic tree highlight its association with cosmogony, the creation of the cosmos. For example, the mythopoetic notion that creation took place out of watery chaos is bound up with the image of the cosmic tree. Fig. 5 of Jung's collection illustrates this by showing the tree emerging from a swirling, aqueous whirlpool. The tree leaps up from the water like the jet of a fountain. Images of the Garden of Paradise as the planting ground of the cosmic tree also signal the tree's association with primordial, creation time.[11] *Yggdrasil,* the Scandinavian cosmic-tree noted above, was located in a paradisiacal setting where the gods held daily council. The tree stood near the miraculous fountain of Mimir, associated with meditation and memory, and by the fountain of Urd, a fountain of youth. Several of the paintings in Jung's series of dream pictures are paradisiacal scenes. The best example is Fig. 22, in which a hand reaches out from the tree to pet a lion, which has a lamb to its right.

The cosmic tree also appears in the ancient Near Eastern milieu of Ezekiel, assuring that the prophet had ready knowledge of and access to this image. A tenth-century Assyrian cylinder seal, for example, depicts a large tree standing on the peak of the cosmic mountain. It rises toward a winged

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[9] The above examples are all taken from Eliade, *Patterns,* 299.

[10] Jung, "Alchemical Studies," Fig. 2, Fig. 26, and Fig. 30.

[11] The cosmic tree's Edenic locale has, in both ancient and modern times, sometimes caused its confusion or conflation with the Tree of Life, which also grows in Paradise.

disc, which symbolizes the heavens.[12] An earlier cylinder seal from 18th-17th-century Syria also pictures the tree mythogem.[13] The seal depicts the tree supporting the constellations, so its identity as the cosmic tree is assured.[14]

Exegesis of Ezekiel 31 confirms that the prophet has certainly made use of the cosmic-tree mythogem. Verse 3's description of the tree's sky-high tallness first signals its identity as a cosmic pillar. The tree is so tall that when it is cut down, its branches fall on the earth's mountains and in all the valleys (v. 12). According to v. 4, it is a primeval power that has produced the tree's great growth. The term תהום ("deep") here denotes the world's sweet-waters (Gen 7:11), which were a cosmic force of chaos before their subjugation (Isa 51:10). This conforms to what I noted above about the cosmic tree's establishment above the waters of creation.[15] Moreover, the tree that Ezekiel depicts shelters all the birds of the heavens and all the beasts of the field (v. 6). This is the role of the cosmic tree both in Scandinavian mythology and in the "dream pictures" of Jung's patients. Like the cosmic tree Ezekiel's tree subsumes the world's landscape, sheltering the nations as well as earth's animals under its shade (vv. 6, 12, 17). The tree's fall shakes these same nations (v. 16). Finally, according to vv. 8-9, 18, the tree is connected at a fundamental level with God's garden, Eden.[16] As shown above, the Garden of Paradise is precisely the locale of cosmic-trees, such as *Yggdrasil*. Taken together, these features attest that Ezekiel's tree is best explained in terms of the model of the cosmic-tree archetype outlined above.

2. The Anarchic Cherub

A second mythogem related to creation, the "anarchic cherub," occurs in Ezek 28:11-19. The passage describes Tyre's king in terms of a story about a cherub, a supernatural, winged, composite being.[17] The

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[12] Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms* (tr. T. Hallett; New York: Seabury, 1978) 29 (Fig. 23).

[13] Keel, *Symbolism,* 51 (Fig. 46).

[14] For other ancient Near Eastern attestations, see Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) 146.

[15] Compare Eliade, *Patterns,* 281; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 149.

[16] On the tension between Lebanon and Eden as the tree's locale in Ezekiel, see Ronald M. Hals, *Ezekiel* (FOTL 19; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989) 220-221.

[17] The anti-hero is a cherub, rather than Adam, in the KJV, NIV, JPSV, NJB, NASB, and the NLT. This interpretation is followed, e.g., by D. N. Freedman and M. P. O'Connor,

NRSV and perhaps a majority of scholars have, contrariwise, seen the passage to be about a prototypical human, such as Adam, but this cannot be correct. The central figure of the text is not "with" a cherub, but is a cherub himself. This is the clearly the sense of the MT.[18] It is also the sense demanded by the cherubic imagery of the text. Cherubim are companions of the divine presence; they are nowhere described as companions to humans (as the consensus reconstruction of the passage would have it).[19] Moreover, an interpretation of the antihero of the pericope as a cherub is necessitated by the features of the mythogem of creation that appears here, as I intend to demonstrate in this section. Ezekiel's discussion of the primordial exploits of an animate, cherubic being presupposes that he is drawing on a pre-scriptural mythogem. Furthermore, the whole backdrop of the passage in God's paradisiacal garden atop the cosmic mountain confirms that we have a mythogem here.

An archetype of an anarchic cherub occurs cross-culturally and bears significant resemblance to the cherub in Ezekiel's prophecy against the king of Tyre. Fascinatingly, this mythogem turns out to be intimately related to our first archetype, the cosmic tree. The anarchic cherub is in fact one of the four guardians that are generally associated with the cosmic tree and with other symbolic centers of creation.

At base level, the archetype of the anarchic cherub is a common version of modalities that are associated with the cosmic tree.[20] Some of Jung's clients illustrate how the cosmic tree may possess a zoomorphic or anthropomorphic modality by painting a numen or genius within the tree. The painter of Fig. 12 drew a snake with a halo in the midst of the tree's

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"כרוב," *TDOT* 7.311; Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 22A; New York: Doubleday, 1997) 579-593.

[18] In the Hebrew of the MT, v. 14 reads, "You were an anointed cherub, the guardian." The pronoun "you" here appears strangely in the MT in the feminine form את. Greenberg argues, however, that את can have a masculine antecedent here, as it does, e.g., in Num 11:15 and Deut 5:24 (*Ezekiel 21–37,* 583). Also see James E. Miller, "The Mælæk of Tyre (Ezekiel 28,11-19)" *ZAW* 105 (1993) 498. Alternatively, the pronoun may be emended to אתה (Freedman and O'Connor, "כרוב," 311). The Hebrew of v. 16 reads, "I drove you out, O guardian cherub."

[19] Miller, "Mælæk," 497-498. Miller argues that only a supernatural, primeval being, not a prototypical human, is appropriate as the antihero of the myth. Support for this position can be found in texts such as Ezek 32:1-16, which, like our passage, speak of a human king as a mythical being (cf. Miller, "Mælæk," 499).

[20] For the cosmic tree as an anthropomorphic being, see Eliade, *Patterns,* 300-303; Jung, "Alchemical Studies," 200, 304, 305, 337. In saying that such beings are "modalities" of the cosmic tree, I mean that they are extensions or projections of the energy of the tree.

base. The tree's roots are clearly snakelike, indicating that the tree and the snake are one. In a related manner, in Fig. 21 the cosmic tree envelops a mysterious, dormant human form. In other paintings, this tree figure awakens, undergoes fission, and begins to branch off from the tree. Thus, four human heads extend anatomically from the base, or calyx, of the cosmic tree in Fig. 27 of Jung's series. The heads circle the tree's stem, looking out towards the four points of the compass. Similarly, Fig. 32 shows four human-headed, winged creatures incorporated within the top of a cosmic tree. These cherubim face outward from its center, just below its flowery top.

The cosmic tree most often projects its modalities completely out from its midst, so that they take the form of an external array that is symmetrically positioned around the tree. Cherubim are one possible manifestation of the array. Ancient Near Eastern iconography often depicts the array clearly. There, anthropomorphic figures or symbolic images flank the cosmic tree, and other images of the cosmic center, in heraldic fashion.[21] Of particular interest is a third-millennium cylinder seal from Mari. It shows two tree-like goddesses flanking the cosmic mountain.[22] Also surrounding the enthroned god at the mountains' peak are two large stars. I shall say more about the astral traits of the anarchic-cherub archetype below (cf. Isa 14:12).

In many cultures, the modalities that have projected out from the cosmic tree develop into one or more guardians of the tree. In Greek mythology, a sleepless dragon named Ladon guards the golden apples of the cosmic tree that grows in the garden of the Hesperides.[23] The Buriats believe that a serpent named "Abyrga" guards the cosmic tree in a lake of milk.[24] Ancient Near-Eastern images depict such guardians as well. The cylinder seal from 18th-17th-century Syria mentioned above shows a female deity flanking the cosmic tree with her hand extended protectively over it.[25] An eight-pointed star above her hand identifies her as an astral figure. A griffin at the outer edge of the scene may also be a guardian of the tree.

The tree's guardians cannot always be safely trusted. Once the cosmic tree spins off modalities as beings separate from it, these modalities

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[21] See, e.g., Keel, *Symbolism,* 29 (Fig. 23 and Fig. 24).
[22] Keel, *Symbolism,* 47-48 (Fig. 42).
[23] Eliade, *Patterns,* 287, 291; Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis* (tr. M. Biddle; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997) 24.
[24] Eliade, *Patterns,* 291.
[25] Keel, *Symbolism,* 51 (Fig. 46).

may take on an ambiguous relation to the tree. Differentiated from the tree and parceled out into an array, they remain oriented to the tree but diminished in relation to it. Though they are attracted to the tree, no one of the modalities is able any longer, alone and by itself, to represent or embody the tree. Nevertheless, they may covet this ability. Thus Fig. 10 of Jung's collection depicts two crocodiles as separated opposites that mirror each another across the cosmic tree's trunk. Thus separated and doubled, they are dangerous according to Jung. They certainly appear both powerful and hungry, as they rear their jaws toward the copious fruit with which the tree is loaded. In the myths of various cultures the "guardians" of the cosmic tree similarly covet the tree's sacred power. In the mythology of the Kalmuks, a Mongolian people of Russia, the guardian of the cosmic tree has become a dragon who lusts after the tree. The tree, which the Kalmuks call *Zambu,* is located in an ocean, and this monster lives in the waters that surround the tree. The dragon lurks there waiting to devour any leaves that might happen to fall from *Zambu.*[26]

The lack of mention of the cosmic tree in Ezek 28:11-19 in no way weakens the thesis that this text uses the archetype of the guardian cherub. The cherub archetype is quite commonly associated with other ancient Near Eastern images of the "center," or of access to divinity, besides the image of the tree. Most interestingly, winged composite-beasts, which may sometimes have been called *kurību,* guarded Assyrian temples.[27] Jung's description of the image of the "quaternity" helps us conceptualize cherubim figures, and their heraldic arrays, as innately associated with a guarded cosmic center, whether or not a cosmic tree or other symbol of a center is depicted as present with them. Jung found the image of the quaternity in clients' dreams, in alchemy,[28] and in Greek thought. This archetype consists of a four-point or four-fold arrangement of objects or symbols associated with the numinous or the sacred.[29] According to Jung, the image of the quaternity in and of itself symbolizes the notion of a

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[26] Eliade, *Patterns,* 291.

[27] See Keel, *Symbolism,* 123; Gunkel, *Genesis,* 24; Carol Meyers, "Cherubim," *ABD* 1.899-900; Freedman and O'Connor, "כרוב," 308-310, 314-319. Freedman and O'Connor caution that the evidence connecting the Akkadian term *kurību* with the biblical "cherubim" is rather weak.

[28] Jung made the discovery that the images of alchemy correspond to the archetypes of psychology and religion. Cf. Janet O. Dallett, *The Not-Yet-Transformed God: Depth Psychology and the Individual Religious Experience* (York Beach, Maine: Nicolas-Hays, 1998) 38; Jung, "Alchemical Studies," 274.

[29] Jung, *Psychology and Religion,* 52, 56-58; "Alchemical Studies," 282-283.

cosmic center and the creation of the world that emanated from it.[30] If the quaternity archetype is fully present in its four-fold nature, symbolized by images such as the four cherubim, then cosmic-tree or cosmic-mountain images are superfluous for conveying the idea of a cosmic center. Ezekiel was clearly familiar with the link between cherubim and the quaternity image, as his description of the four cherubim under Yahweh's throne-chariot in Ezekiel 1 shows.

The thesis that the anarchic cherub is associated with the image of a quaternity suggests that we should also connect him with a final well-known Jungian image, "Mercurius." Mercurius, an important symbolic being in Jung's writings, is identified by Jung as a "fourfold being."[31]

One dream-picture by a client of Jung powerfully supports the guardian cherub's identification as a Mercurius figure.[32] In this painting the cherub modality of the cosmic tree is still a spirit within the tree. He is a masculine figure, forming the trunk of the tree, and there is an ambiguity and numinousness about him. A bird descends upon him, but a phallic arrow rises below him. His posture and garb exude an occult-like aura, but they could also be that of a Christian monk. Jung concludes that he is a "daemon" composed of basic elements in tenuous equilibrium and hence is to be equated with Mercurius.[33]

Besides moral ambiguity and numinousness, several additional primary features accrue to the anarchic cherub as a Mercurius figure. The most important of these is that Mercurius is unsocialized, even unstable. Mercurius is an ingenious but unpredictable god, who is very difficult to contain once he is roused or activated.[34] In Jung's "fairytale" story of Mercurius, only extreme cleverness saves his discoverer from destruction. To release Mercurius from his glass bottle was to come into contact with god-energy, as much evil as good.[35]

Mercurius is well known as energetic and powerful and as intelligent and crafty—hard to outwit. As a secondary trait, he sometimes also reveals himself as a being of fiery brightness, that is, as an astral figure. Thus, Jung compares the alchemical Mercurius with the primal being of

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[30] The quaternity is cosmogonic image, a representation of the cosmos as divinely created. See Jung, *Psychology and Religion,* 57.

[31] Jung, "Alchemical Studies," 279.

[32] Jung, "Alchemical Studies," Fig. 30.

[33] Jung, "Alchemical Studies," 268-269.

[34] Dallett, *Depth Psychology,* 48.

[35] Jung, "Alchemical Studies," 193-194.

Persia, Gayomart, a youth of dazzling whiteness.[36] Another secondary trait is that Mercurius is a provider of water. Jung discovered this idea particularly in alchemy. He quotes the description of Nicolas Flamel (1330-1418) that the god Hermes (=Mercurius) "watered his tree with that water."[37] On the basis of the alchemical evidence, Jung identifies Mercurius with the fiery water that feeds the cosmic tree in some of his dream paintings (especially Fig. 5).

The cuneiform texts from Ugarit provide perhaps the most relevant ancient Near Eastern evidence about the mythogem behind the cherub mythology that Ezekiel has used in chapter 28. Since we find the anarchic cherub in most all of his characteristic features at Ugarit, we know that Ezekiel's ancient Near Eastern milieu gave him access to this mythogem. The anarchic-cherub archetype has its Ugaritic reflex in the Ugaritic figure of Athtar.

Athtar's story at Ugarit centers on his connection to the cosmic center. In one of the few substantial texts about him, KTU 1.6 I, Athtar goes up to the far reaches of Ṣapon, to the center of the cosmos, and sits on Baal's throne. He is introduced as "the powerful," or "the terrible."[38] Despite his power, Athtar discovers that his feet cannot reach Baal's footstool and his head cannot reach the top of the throne. He thus ends up descending from atop Ṣapon. Admittedly, this episode is laconic and capable of more than one interpretation. A few central points seem clear, however. The text portrays Athtar as a powerful, awe-inspiring supernatural being associated with and interested in the cosmic center. Despite this clear orientation, Athtar is not presently constituted to meet the demands of occupying this center. The parallel with Jung's crocodiles and with the dragon of the Kalmuks seems clear. Like these cherub figures, Athtar covets the cosmic center but cannot himself lay claim to it.[39] His

[36] Jung, "Alchemical Studies," 131-132; see also pp. 225-229.

[37] Jung, "Alchemical Studies," 309; see also pp. 207-208.

[38] On Athtar's epithet, see Mark S. Smith, "The God Athtar in the Ancient Near East and His Place in KTU 1.6 I," *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (ed. Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, M. Sokoloff; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995) 630; Hugh Rowland Page, Jr., *The Myth of Cosmic Rebellion: A Study of Its Reflexes in Ugaritic and Biblical Literature* (VTSup 65; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 90.

[39] Thus, I would argue that Athtar's shortcomings in Ugaritic myth are bound up with the substance of the archetype behind him. They are not an historical reflection of his cult's demise at Ugarit in relation to the cult of Baal, as is sometimes suggested (e.g., Smith, "Athtar," 640). This argument is buttressed in that Athtar's watering function (see n. 42

demeanor, like theirs, is not so much evil as it is energetically powerful and ambitious. At Ugarit, Athtar's ambition is not an evil conspiracy against Baal. Athtar simply attempts to fill the power vacuum at the cosmic center left in the wake of Baal's death.

If Athtar were the Ugaritic reflex of the anarchic-cherub archetype, we would expect him to bear characteristic traits of Mercurius. In fact, this is what we find. Indeed, in my view, several aspects of Athtar's nature that have puzzled interpreters can be explained by seeing him as Mercurius. Like Mercurius, Athtar is an astral god. A text at Emar calls him "Astar of the stars"; a ninth-century Aramaic seal contains the name "Athtar of heaven."[40] In one Ugaritic text, KTU 1.2 III 13, Athtar possesses "torches" and "fire," which may signify his astral status.[41] Moreover, Athtar shares Mercurius's role as an occasional provider of water. In the South Arabic inscriptions in particular, and probably at Ugarit as well, Athtar appears to be some sort of watering god.[42] Furthermore, Athtar is intelligent. Assuming that he is the same figure as *Yadiʿ Yilḥan* in KTU 1.6 I 47-54, Athtar is referred to as one who "knows" and "understands." Most significant in understanding Athtar, however, is his nature as an unsocialized and unstable figure, which he shares with Mercurius.

Athtar's unsettled and unstabilized nature is reflected in his quick assumption and immediate, voluntary abdication of Baal's throne. These traits are mirrored in KTU 1.2 III 1-24. Athtar appears in this text as lacking both a house and a court, though he expresses interest in acquiring them. He is also unmarried in this text, as he is in KTU 1.24, where the suggestion is made that he would be easily aroused and made jealous at a proposed marriage of two other deities. H. R. Page sums the situation up well: "Athtar serves as the cosmic archetype of divine powers whose *numinous* force has yet to be comprehended fully (and *socialized*)."[43]

Exegesis of Ezekiel 28 confirms the prophet's use of the mythogem of the guardian cherub. Ezekiel's cherub dwells in a sacred

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below) may differ significantly from that of Baal. If Athtar's water is the fiery, animating water of Mercurius, mentioned above, then he would be in less direct competition with Baal than it at first might appear.

[40] Smith, "Athtar," 629, 633. For similar South Arabian evidence, see also p. 635.

[41] Athtar's "sinking" and "arousal" in KTU 1.24 may also reflect astralized behavior.

[42] Smith cites two South Arabic inscriptions that call Athtar a god of watering. Lines 66-67 of the Athtar section of the Ugaritic Baal Cycle (KTU 1.6 I) associate Athtar with the drawing of water in flagons and jars. See Smith, "Athtar," 635, 638. Cf. Page, *Rebellion,* 58, 92.

[43] Page, *Rebellion,* 78, cf. p. 86.

center, Eden, the garden of God (v. 13) on the cosmic mountain (v. 14). The cherub was clearly supposed to be a "guardian" of this center and the deity who dwells there. The Hebrew term סכך ("shield," "protect"; vv. 14, 16) has this meaning here (see Exod 25:20; 37:9; 1 Kgs 8:7). At the same time, the figure has a numinous, potentially volatile nature. Verse 16 even associates the cherub with חמס ("violence"). His eventual expulsion from God's mountain makes clear his ambiguous and unstable relationship to the cosmic center. Like Athtar, the cherub ends up descending from this cosmic height (v. 17). I shall return to this aspect of the cherub below.

Other, secondary, traits are shared between the cherub and Athtar and Mercurius. Like them, he is intelligent, "full of wisdom" (vv. 12, 17).[44] There are also signs that like Athtar, Mercurius, and other cherub figures, Ezekiel's figure was an astral being. The אבני־אש ("fiery stones") among which the cherub walked according to vv. 14, 16 are probably the stars of heaven.[45] This may be true as well of the precious stones set in the cherub's covering (v. 13).[46] In my view, the cumulative weight of this evidence proves the explanatory value of the cherub-archetype model for elucidating Ezek 28:11-19.

3. Canonical Appropriation of Mythogems I

Beyond mere artistry,[47] Ezekiel has at least two goals in his use of mythogems. First, he wants to expose the foreign nations' own self-conceptions and internal motivations. Ellen F. Davis has correctly intuited this central concern of the prophet. Davis writes that Ezekiel is concerned to expose the תוך ("inmost self"; 28:16) of a foreign nation, its "motivating force."[48] By getting at the sort of archetypes and myths at the core of the nations' identity, Ezekiel deftly exposes what the nations perceive as being of absolute significance about them. Second, beyond getting at the heart of the nations' self-definitions, Ezekiel wants even more to subvert these mythological self-conceptions. He intends to subvert them because he

[44] This correlation is strong evidence against arguments that the references to wisdom in the pericope are secondary accretions. For this view, see, e.g., Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 87, 94; John W. Wevers, *Ezekiel* (NCB; London: Thomas Nelson, 1969) 215-216.

[45] Gunkel, *Genesis,* 34; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 91, 93.

[46] Page interprets these stones as the astral coterie of the cherub (*Rebellion,* 149 n. 264).

[47] Ezekiel's artistic skill was clear even to his contemporary audience (Ezek 21:5 [Eng.: 20:49]; 33:30-33).

[48] "'And Pharaoh Will Change His Mind...,' (Ezekiel 32:31): Dismantling Mythical Discourse," *Theological Exegesis: Essays in Honor of Brevard S. Childs* (ed. C. Seitz and K. Greene-McCreight; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999) 231.

knows them to be delusional and sinful. As such, they have led the nations to become an affront to God and a threat to Israel.

Davis has argued that Ezekiel proceeded to subvert the nations' self-understandings by demythologizing them, exposing them as mere images rather than eternal truths. In other words, Ezekiel's tack in judging the nations was to expose the stories that they told about themselves "as mere cultural productions." He did this by showing how susceptible the stories were to his creative manipulation and inversion of their thrust and meaning.[49] I take issue here with Davis' otherwise superb treatment of Ezekiel's mythical discourse. The preceding sections of this essay have shown that Ezekiel made use of archetypes that must be characterized as "cross-cultural," or even "transcultural," rather than as "cultural productions." The fact that these archetypes are found so broadly across cultures lends support to Eliade's and Jung's claims that archetypes are not cultural inventions. Rather, archetypes are independent and prior to any one culture's expression of them.[50]

But if Ezekiel has not subverted the nations' mythologies through exposing them as mere images susceptible to creative inversion, how has he been able to undermine them? Fascinatingly, archetypes turn out to be multifaceted, sometimes having negative as well as positive forms and applications. From his vantage point privy to the divine assessment of Egypt and Tyre in concrete time and space, Ezekiel bears witness that the archetypes' negative sides were applicable in their particular cases. Basing himself on the divine, revelatory word (Ezek 31:10, 15; 28:12), Ezekiel brings out liabilities inherent to the archetypes associated with Egypt and Tyre.[51] To see how this works, look more closely at some further manifestations of the (1) cosmic-tree and (2) anarchic-cherub archetypes.

(1) Further study of the archetype of the cosmic tree reveals potential liabilities even in some of its basically positive manifestations. In some descriptions, the cosmic tree has the potential to grow out of control, to transgress ordained boundaries. As the Vedic Indian priest fells a tree in order to make a *yūpa*, a sacrificial stake, he adjures the tree as follows.

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[49] "Mythical Discourse," 232-233; cf. Page, *Rebellion,* 158, 204.

[50] Eliade, *Images and Symbols,* 25, 53. See section 5 below for further discussion.

[51] Bringing out the dark side to an image is a common way that Ezekiel deals with metaphors for nations as well as with their myths. Pharaoh may well be a crocodile, but crocodiles can be caught with fishhooks (Ezek 29:4). Crocodiles are also no good at ranging on land (Ezek 32:2; cf. Greenberg's astute interpretation [Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37,* 657]). Ships, such as Tyre, may be grand, but they can also sink! (Ezek 27:26).

"With thy summit, do not rend the Heavens; with thy trunk, wound not the atmosphere."[52] The cosmic tree similarly appears unstable and potentially volatile in some of the pictures drawn by Jung's patients. In one drawing, the tree is partially watered by flames of fire, which lick up from the pool in which it grows. The tree seems to subsist partially on the fire, since its branches are tipped with flames.[53] These flames of fire represent the tree-archetype's unstable numinousness, which has as much potential to be destructive as it has potential to be animating.

This fire of the tree is one of its real downsides. It presents a danger to any person or nation for which this archetype is activated (or "constellated," as Jungians say). To embody the cosmic-tree archetype is to be driven by a numinous image and energy that is both seductive and potentially uncontainable and destructive. Turned destructive, this energy may put the self in danger (as with the tree of Hermes, which burned itself to ashes).[54] Alternatively, the energy may threat others. In Fig. 15 of Jung's collection, the cosmic tree pits its energy against a hero with a sword who comes to conquer it. As the hero reaches to touch a leaf of the tree, a flame springs out to burn him.

In other manifestations of the tree archetype, possible liabilities of the archetype actually come to expression in images of regression and guilt. In Fig. 18 and in Fig. 19 of Jung's collection, two different painters depict astonishingly similar states of regression of the cosmic tree. In both paintings the tree is bent over, its branches caught by the earth so that it cannot grow upwards. In the latter picture the tree has the head of a witch. This shows both that the tree can become conscious of its own regression and that it can be seen as a sinister figure.

Finally, in some manifestations of the tree archetype, the cosmic tree has actually been physically truncated or felled just as in the second half of Ezekiel 31. The image of the tree's demise represents the fall from grace of the created order or the punishment of the hubris of humanity. Thus, although a cosmic tree formerly reached toward the sky according to the Semang pygmies of the Malay Peninsula, they describe it now as being cut down.[55] The felled tree originally stretched heavenward from a huge

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[52] Eliade, *Images and Symbols,* 44.

[53] Jung, "Alchemical Studies," Fig. 5. Flames also tip the branches of the tree in Fig. 8.

[54] Dallett, *Depth Psychology,* 5, 8. On the tree of Hermes, see Jung, *Alchemical Studies,* 309.

[55] See Eliade, *Images and Symbols,* 40, 167; *Patterns,* 393.

rock ("Batu-Ribn") at the world's center. That the tree is now felled symbolizes a rupture between earth and divinity due to human fault.

Legends about a journey of Seth to Paradise also depict a demise of the cosmic tree.[56] These legends circulated in the Middle Ages in Christian countries in Europe. According to the legends, Seth is granted several vistas into the midst of the Garden of Eden. His first view is an image of languishment. Seth sees the center of the cosmos, from which the four rivers of the world flow, but above the water stands only a dried-up tree with no bark and no leaves. A Rumanian version of this piece of folklore holds simply that the cosmic tree stood on a hill in Galilee in paradisiacal time; however, now, in profane time, it has been cut down.[57]

Indian Hindu tradition as represented in the *Bhagavad Gita* also pictures a felling of the cosmic tree.[58] This felling of the giant tree, known as the *aśvattha*, represents the loss of the cosmos and of human experience within it. (In contrast to Western assumptions, however, Hinduism does not evaluate this cosmic loss negatively.)

Some of the dream pictures done by Jung's patients also represent the cosmic tree not just as suffering regression or fault but as actually in a "fallen" state. Fig. 13 in particular depicts a rupture in the tree's ability to shelter life and to provide access and connection to divinity. In this figure, the tree has a hollow inside, which forms a habitat; however, its door has been locked shut and the key has been lost. Jung also found the motif of the fallen tree in alchemy. He notes in particular the image of a truncated tree in the frontispiece to the French edition (1600) of Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice, 1499). He also cites a reference to the "trunk of the tree of death," which sends out a death ray, in the work of Blaise de Vigenère (1523-1569).[59]

The preceding survey shows that the archetype of the cosmic tree contains both positive and negative aspects. This understanding provides much clarity about Ezekiel's use of the image in chapter 31. If Assyria, and Egypt in turn, understood themselves in terms of the cosmic tree, they would have been drawing on the positive aspects of the archetype. Ezekiel knew or intuited, however, that the tree archetype may represent not only the glory of creation but also creation's rebellion and fall. Ezekiel's

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[56] See Eliade, *Patterns,* 292-293; Jung, "Alchemical Studies," 304.

[57] Eliade, *Patterns,* 393.

[58] Eliade, *Patterns,* 273-274. A text from the *Mahābhārata* contains the same motif.

[59] Jung, "Alchemical Studies," 304.

description of the ruin of the tree Assyria in Ezek 31:10-18 draws on these latter, negative aspects of the archetype, which may pertain to any glorious element within God's good creation that has corrupted itself.

Verse 10 makes clear that the negative potential of the tree archetype has in fact "constellated" in the cases of Assyria and Egypt. The numinous energy inherent to the archetype has burst all bounds here. Put more concretely, the tree has violated the normal boundaries of nature and history. Verse 14 assures this interpretation, with its indictment of all those who יעמדו בגבהם ("stand high"), who breach human limits. Such hubris will lead to disaster.

Ezekiel depicts the tree's disaster as two-phased. First, God will have the tree felled to the ground (vv. 10-14). This is in keeping with the felled tree of the Semang, of the *Bhagavad Gita,* and of alchemy. As a result of the felling of Ezekiel's tree, the peoples of the earth that it sheltered will be dispersed (v. 12). Likewise deprived of the tree's shelter, earth's birds and beasts will now scavenge about its remains (v. 13). Again, this correlates with the archetype. The fact that the fallen tree can no longer house earth's creatures is particularly reminiscent of one of Jung's dream pictures. In Jung's Fig. 13, cited above, a large bird stands weeping to the right of the cosmic tree because it has been locked out of its home in the tree.

Second, once felled, the tree will go down still farther, to Sheol (vv. 15-18). There it will lie with those who have died violent or dishonorable deaths. Though assessed skeptically by critics,[60] this descent to Sheol is not out of keeping with the tree archetype. In the Upanishads of Indian tradition, and in some of Jung's dream-paintings, the tree is inverted. This inversion suggests that it is capable of, and even predisposed toward, a cosmic-scale descent.

(2) Like the cosmic tree, the archetype of the anarchic cherub also contains within itself some major downsides and even some clearly evil sides. As argued above, cross-cultural study confirms that once differentiated from the tree, the cosmic tree's modalities may take on an ambiguous and even hostile relation to it. The dragon that is associated with the cosmic tree is clearly a hostile figure in the cylinder seal from 18th-17th-century Syria referenced above.[61] A god thrusts a spear down the dragon's mouth just as the creature is about to attack the cosmic tree. The

[60] E.g., Wevers, *Ezekiel,* 234-235; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 147.

[61] Keel, *Symbolism,* 51 (Fig. 46).

mirrored, anthropomorphic figures in the third-millennium cylinder seal from Mari, also referenced above, similarly threat the cosmic center.[62] They are not only tree-like but also aqueous deities, and as such they can destroy as well as support all life. A god at the outer left of the image subdues these waters of Chaos with his spear.

A drawing by an eleven-year-old boy in Jung's collection illustrates particularly well how the guardians of the cosmic tree can transmute into negative and destructive beings.[63] In this drawing the cosmic tree is flanked by zoomorphic creatures, but they are enormous dragons with bared teeth. The dragons are eyeing the figure of a small boy in the tree, threatening to devour him. Jung interprets the dragons as unconscious forces of turmoil. They represent the type of instinctual, archetypal energy that can negatively possess and enthrall a weak or unstable individual.[64] An unexamined and uncontrolled influx of such numinous power in a person has enormous potential for evil consequences.

The alchemical quaternity, even absent any tree imagery, can itself "become demonic in the worst sense," according to Jung.[65] Often, this overdevelopment of the negative and destructive aspects of the quaternity occurs specifically at one of its four points. According to Jung, one of these quaternity-points can succumb to desire, lose its angelic character, and demonize itself. In other words, a fault may occur at one of the image's four points; the other three remain morally positive. The quaternity thus becomes, as a baroque development, the Trinity plus the devil![66]

The spirit Mercurius, the other Jungian image associated with the anarchic-cherub, has a real dark side as well. Jungians warn that unleashing the volatile numinosity that Mercurius represents involves real danger. A person or nation that bears the spirit of Mercurius in an unreflective or arrogant manner can easily become deluded, losing contact with the natural boundaries of nature, morality, history, and sanity.[67] Adolf Hitler and other cult leaders of the world have acted in the grip of this dark power of Mercurius when they have lead their followers in conducting violence and terror. Dark, archetypal forces such as this are traditionally assigned to the devil, Satan.

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[62] Keel, *Symbolism,* 47-48 (Fig. 42).
[63] Jung, "Alchemical Studies," Fig. 9.
[64] Compare Dallett, *Depth Psychology,* 69, 79-80.
[65] Jung, "Alchemical Studies," 282.
[66] Jung, *Psychology and Religion,* 59, 170.
[67] Compare Dallett, *Depth Psychology,* 7-8.

Some cross-cultural, mythological evidence depicts the anarchic cherub not only as a negative figure but also as judged for its hubris and as fallen. The Ugaritic texts do not explicitly report a condemnation and fall of Athtar, although he does descend from Baal's throne to rule over the Underworld. The closest we come to an actual judgment of Athtar at Ugarit is in KTU 1.23. In this text a divine figure called "Death-and-Shining-One," who is possibly a hypostasis of Athtar, is "bound" and "pruned."[68] The negative alloform of the anarchic-cherub archetype is fully developed in the Greek myth of Phaethon, however.[69] Phaethon (from φαέθω, "to shine"), like the anarchic cherub, is an astral figure. Young and bold, he is still relatively unsocialized. As with the archetype, he covets a central, divine position—here, the driver's seat of Helios's sun-chariot—for which he is not constituted. Unfortunately, the results of his hubristic attempt to take up this position are not as benign as in the case of Athtar. Phaethon is unable to control the chariot carrying the sun. His careening chariot plunges toward the earth, setting it on fire. In order to save the world from destruction, Zeus has to fell him with a thunderbolt. He falls on fire from the air and lands dead on the earth.

In his thorough 1996 monograph, H. R. Page, Jr. has reconstructed a Semitic version of the negative alloform.[70] He reconstructs this "myth of cosmic rebellion" based on evidence from biblical texts such as Isaiah 14; Job 38; and Psalm 82. The myth may be a more developed form of the Ugaritic presentation about "Death-and-Shining-One," which is found in KTU 1.23 and was mentioned above.[71] It relates the revolt of an astral anti-hero, who was originally part of El's coterie but was corrupted by his wisdom and beauty. El, or one of his commanders, puts down the figure's

[68] This figure's very name suggests that, like Athtar, he is both astral and chthonic. For a fascinating discussion of this text, see Page, *Rebellion,* 94-103.

[69] Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* Book II, especially lines 1-343; Homer, *Odyssey* 23:246; Hesiod, *Theogony* 986ff. For an accessible translation of the myth, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (tr. F. J. Miller; LCL; 2 vols.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1916) 1.60-85. P. Grelot is usually credited with identifying the Phaethon story as the myth behind Isa 14:12-15 and related biblical texts. See his "Isaïe XIV 12-15 et son arrière-plan mythologique," *RHR* 149 (1956) 18-48. For discussion, see Page, *Rebellion,* 30; Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39 with an Introduction to Prophetic Literature* (FOTL 16; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996) 237.

[70] He outlines his preliminary reconstruction at the end of his study; see Page, *Rebellion,* 206-208.

[71] Page, *Rebellion,* 204.

hubristic attempt to wrest control of the cosmos and casts him to the underworld.

The above outline of the anarchic-cherub archetype has shown that it, like the cosmic-tree archetype, has both positive and negative aspects. If Tyre's self-interpretation based itself in part on the cherub archetype, it would have been on the archetype's positive alloform. The people of Tyre would have viewed the cherub as a positive figure, such as Athtar at Ugarit. We have seen that Athtar was not an enemy of Baal or El at Ugarit, and he did not become a fallen being there. Rather, his name appears in lists of deities and offerings, so he appears to have been actively worshipped.[72] Ezekiel knew of or intuited serious negative aspects of the anarchic-cherub archetype, however. Although they are largely absent at Ugarit, these dark aspects appear in several of the archetype's other reflexes. The prophet's description of the fall of the rebel cherub in Ezekiel 28 trades in these downsides, which I have outlined.

It is noteworthy that Ezekiel 28 depicts only a single cherub as corrupting itself and being felled. Biblical cherubim usually come in pairs, or in a four-fold array.[73] The fact that it is only one cherub that becomes corrupt immediately reminds us of Jung's image of a negative quaternity point. This is the scenario described by Jung in which only one point of the archetypal quaternity corrupts itself and becomes alienated from its counterparts. Ezekiel must be referring to this archetypal pattern of the demonizing of one quarter of the cosmic array. Verses 15-16 describe the being's demonization as a fall into "wickedness" and "sin."

As in chapter 31, Ezek 28:11-19 exhibits the form-critical structure of a dirge. In vv. 16-19, the dirge moves from the cherub's past glory to an account of his downfall through hubris. Several features of vv. 16-19 pick up significant aspects of the negative alloform of the cherub archetype. Verse 17 makes reference to the ambition and pride of the archetype, which can lead the cherub, in hubris, to assail the cosmic center. An explicit claim on the divine center is absent here. The oracle's complementarity to Ezek 28:1-10, however, allows us to infer safely that the cherub is arrogating to

[72] Page, *Rebellion,* 77, 107; also see the discussion at n. 39 above.

[73] For discussion, see Miller, "Mælæk," 498-499. Ezekiel does use the singular form, כרוב, to designate the inanimate pair of statues in the temple (in contradistinction to the four living creatures that they represent) (e.g., Ezek 9:3; 10:4; see Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 22; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1983] 198-199). In Ezekiel 28, however, the reference is clearly not to inanimate statues.

himself the "seat of the gods, in the heart of the seas" (v. 2). As the mutiny is launched in v. 16, the volatile aspects of the cherub archetype, described above, erupt into violence.

God easily puts down the cherub's violent revolt. He is cast down from the heavens, from the midst of the stars (v. 16). Igniting on fire, he falls ablaze to the ground (v. 18). The image is particularly reminiscent of Ovid's description of Phaethon's long trail of fire as he falls from heaven. Phaeton descends "as a star sometimes seems to fall" (*Metamorphoses* II.319-323). But also note that in Ezekiel the fire emanates from the midst of the cherub (מתוכך, v. 18). The fire here thus correlates as well with the numinous fire of Mercurius (as in Fig. 5 of Jung's collection). Though this numinous energy emanates from within, it can destroy the self. It clearly does so here, in v. 18. According to Ezekiel, the uncontained numinousness of the being causes its own destruction. Finally, the fall of Ezekiel's cherub to the ארץ ("earth"/"underworld," vv. 17, 18) also parallels the language of Athtar's story. Athtar's (more voluntary) descent is also said be to the *ʾarṣi* ("earth"/"underworld," KTU 1.6 I 65).

4. Canonical Appropriation of Mythogems II

I would like now to explore Ezekiel's canonical appropriation of mythogems from a somewhat different angle, that of possible misunderstandings of this appropriation. At least two major misunderstandings may tempt the reader and interpreter of Ezekiel's mythological discourses. Both of these possible misunderstandings stem from a lack of clarity about the mythogems' status within Ezekiel's canonical context. The interpreter will immediately misconstrue the theology of Ezekiel if he or she values the archetypes of the text primarily in their "pre-scriptural" context, that is, in terms of understandings about what human beings are generally thought to be up to in their use of religious mythology and symbolic language.

(1) The first possible misreading of Ezekiel would be to interpret his mythological discourse in terms of human religious creativity. In this reading, Ezekiel's mythological discourse becomes a mode of language that creatively fashions religious reality. Ellen Davis rightly argues that the biblical writers would not have approved of this understanding of their language. "The Bible as a whole may be construed as a massive refutation

of the idea that human beings create reality or fundamentally alter the design of the truth," she writes.[74]

I argued in the section immediately above that what Ezekiel was up to in his use of mythogems was *not* fundamentally creative. He did not invent the mythogems that he presents but made use of universally occurring archetypes. Further, he did not need to alter or expand these archetypes, because he found that they bore within themselves the seeds of their own inversion and critique. Note that by using archetypes in this way, Ezekiel stands against any postmodern view, such as that of Deconstruction, that language has no real referential value beyond itself—that humans are locked within a linguistic universe of their own making. As "unthematic" (non-linguistic, unarticulated) human knowledge, archetypes by their very nature reveal an extra-linguistic reality.

(2) There is a second, traditional-modern understanding of mythological language that, if applied to Ezekiel's discourse, would also misconstrue his meaning. This is the view that archetypes are a means for people to transcend the limits of their existence and participate in deeper realities of life and of the inner self. Eliade has argued, for example, that humans use and relive archetypes in order to oppose themselves to historical limitations and to realize themselves as "universal" beings. Archetypes assist people in breaking out of their profane human condition and in approaching absolute reality.[75]

Ezekiel, as we have seen, does not endorse such a use of archetypes by the foreign nations. Rather, he uses archetypes in order to convey the limitations and relativity of human cultural and religious effort. Ezekiel's earnestness about history and about salvation-history means that he takes Egypt and Tyre seriously as historical entities sharply distinct from the transcendental archetypes associated with them. The result is a fairly radical differentiation between the nations and their archetypes, a differentiation that allows Ezekiel to reduce the nations to mere shadows of their archetypes. Worse yet, they are shadows that are trapped in their archetypes' downsides. In both Ezekiel 31 and Ezek 28:11-19, Ezekiel exposes the hubristic deceits of human beings as mere reflections, mere historical reflexes, of transhistorical archetypes.[76]

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[74] Davis, "Mythical Discourse," 236.

[75] *Images and Symbols,* 36, 51.

[76] In general, Ezekiel's theology of God's sovereignty leans toward determinism. Thus, behind the free will of the tree, Assyria, in Ezek 31:10 stands God's predestination in v. 9. Determinism becomes more apparent as Ezekiel moves farther in apocalyptic

Ezekiel's *own* use of archetypes, therefore, *does* relativize history, as in Eliade's view. It relativizes history *and* human activity along with it. But this type of relativizing is theological rather than religious. By describing human activity as relative to transcendental structures, archetypes allow Ezekiel to theologize about this activity. They give him a vantage point external to observable history, and they provide him with patterns and exemplars by which to schematize and interpret it. Ezekiel's archetypal images are revelatory of "spiritual realities" behind history, such as how folly is structurally inherent in hubris. Archetypes thus furnish him powerful, though unthematic images for expressing a Word about the nations' hubris that he has already received as a thematic, special revelation from God.

5. Theological Ramifications

The investigations of the modern Roman Catholic theologian, Karl Rahner, help to show how the sort of archetypes that Ezekiel uses are revelatory of spiritual reality. Although Rahner affirms the special revelation and historical religion that I would associate with Ezekiel's *canonical appropriation* of mythogems, he is better known for the extensive work that he has done on the sort of transcendental experience and knowledge of which mythogems and archetypes *themselves* form a part. This latter work is in the area of theology that concerns what has traditionally been called "general revelation" or "natural religion."[77]

Rahner situates transcendental experience and knowledge at the lower structural level of human awareness, beneath the level of reflection and consciousness. This is the same level of human awareness from which archetypes derive, according to scholars such as Eliade and Jung. Rahner holds that some of the constituent elements in this lower level of human knowledge are supernatural, that they are openings out into the transcendent. In other words, Rahner believes that God is present to all humans at the level of their awareness that is usually associated with archetypal forms.

Rahner is not alone in linking archetypal ideas to the supernatural realm. He rehabilitates this tradition from its roots in all forms of Christian

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directions. Behind Gog's freely devised end-time plans (Ezek 38:10) stands God's controlling will (Ezek 38:4).

[77] Karl Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith: An Introduction to the Idea of Christianity* (tr. W. Dych; New York: Crossroads, 1978) 81, 85.

Platonism through Augustine.[78] According to the tradition's form in Augustine, archetypes in the human mind derive from the light of divine illumination. Archetypes are thus a form of general revelation of God, since they bear witness to God's constant inward presence to the human mind.[79]

Philosophers and theologians working with archetypes nowadays usually replace Augustine's platonic framework for understanding archetypes with either a Kantian or an existential one. They understand transcendental knowledge not as eternal ideas that God beams to the mind but as "knowledge" that is part of the human mind itself or of the human ontological constitution. That is, they hold that transcendental knowledge is knowledge that is innate to the necessary and inalienable structures of human knowers themselves.[80]

Rahner holds that human mythologies reflect pieces of transcendental knowledge such as archetypes. He writes that the kind of work in comparative religion that I have done in this essay can bring out the extent to which myths demonstrate (in an a posteriori way) a transcendental knowledge of God.[81] As pieces of transcendental knowledge, archetypes may represent a natural revelation of God and Jesus Christ in non-Christian religions.

Ezekiel was probably not fully conscious of how epistemologically appropriate his use of archetypes was in addressing the foreign nations. Because the nations were entities outside of Yahweh's historical relationship with Israel, the prophet could not accuse them directly of infractions against Yahweh's covenant and Yahweh's law. He needed to indict them based on general, collective principles. Even if Egypt and Tyre were never to receive his messages, this would still be true. His oracles would still have to be understandable and convincing to his Israelite audience as ostensible prophecies against foreign nations. Archetypes provided Ezekiel with the universal principles that he needed.

Ezekiel draws on and exploits the dark sides and negative forms of the nations' archetypes, even though these features were not consciously

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[78] For a summary of Plato's doctrine of "recollection," see Gilbert Ryle, "Plato," *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (ed. P. Edwards; 8 vols.; New York: Macmillan and The Free Press, 1967) 6.325.

[79] R. A. Markus, "Augustine, St.," *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (ed. P. Edwards; 8 vols.; New York: Macmillan and The Free Press, 1967) 1.201-202.

[80] Rahner, *Foundations,* 20.

[81] Rahner, *Foundations,* 321.

articulated or acknowledged by the nations. In so doing, Ezekiel, knowingly or not, addresses the nations based on a common ground with them rooted in transcendental experience. As pieces of transcendental knowledge, the archetypes contained an unthematic and anonymous knowledge of divine reality on the basis of which Ezekiel could legitimately make his announcements of divine judgment against the nations.[82] The nations were culpable based on their anonymous, archetypal knowledge of Yahweh's principles. Taking our cue from one of Rahner's well-known phrases, we can thus say that, in effect, Ezekiel addresses the foreign nations of Egypt and Tyre as "anonymous Yahwists."

[82] Cf. Rahner, *Foundations,* 21.

CASTLES IN THE AIR: CREATION AS PROPERTY IN EZEKIEL

Julie Galambush
The College of William and Mary

It is widely recognized that ancient Near Eastern cultures saw in creation stories the struggle of the god or gods to assert order over chaos, and that this "order" included not only the natural order, but also a divinely appointed social order, which latter tended to be defined as the social order of the society in which the creation story emerged.[1] Divine control was embodied within established political, religious, and social structures, including their rituals, personnel, and monuments. A certain circularity obtains here: ancient cosmogonies were written in part to re-enforce existing power structures, with the storyteller's preferred power structure articulated through the story as the embodiment of divine order.

The book of Ezekiel does not contain a cosmogony as such. Within the text's narrative world the created realm exists already and the divinely appointed social order, while embattled, has long been articulated. Certainly the plot of Ezekiel includes a certain *Chaoskampf*; YHWH struggles to reassert his authority and impose the order of his lordship over creation. Indeed, the vision of YHWH's victory and his enthronement in chaps. 40-48 includes elements drawn from the creation stories of Israel and its neighbors.[2] Ezekiel, however, is not concerned with how the world itself came into existence (though traces of cosmogonies can be found), but rather with re-forming a world gone awry.

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[1]See discussions in B. W. Anderson, "Introduction," in *Creation in the Old Testament* (ed. B. W. Anderson; IRT 6; Philadelphia/London: Fortress/SPCK, 1984) 1-24; R. J. Clifford and J. J. Collins, "Introduction," in *Creation in the Biblical Traditions* (ed. R. J. Clifford and J. J. Collins; CBQMS 24; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1992) 1-15.

[2]See, e.g., J. D. Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40-48* (HSM 10; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 29; R. J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (HSM 4; Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1972) 158-160.

What is created over the course of Ezekiel is precisely not the world in any natural or original state. The desired and created world of Ezekiel is the world mended and emended. In this paper I shall focus, not on the divine work of re-creation as the *Chaoskampf* of Ezekiel, but on the arena whereon this divine struggle takes place: the already-created world. Specifically, I propose to examine the status of what modern people would call the natural world–that stuff upon and over which the divine struggle takes place. This essay concerns the nature of nature in Ezekiel.

In *The Land is Mine: Six Biblical Land Ideologies*, Norman Habel explores the ideological significance of the land as a social construct in the Hebrew Bible.[3] This study will include "natural" categories such as, plants, animals, and even weather, since all are to a certain extent such constructs, symbolic categories that fulfil specific functions within a social system.[4] After surveying representations of the natural world in Ezekiel, I shall address the question of how such symbols function as social symbols, that is, how they express the needs, desires, and assumptions of the people for whom the writing attributed to Ezekiel (and perhaps the person of the prophet himself) carried authority in its earliest settings. I shall assume that some form or substantial precursor of the current book was written in sixth century Babylon by a representative of the Jerusalem priesthood, though as Stephen Cook has demonstrated, the concerns reflected by the book's narrator are consistent with those of both a sixth century prophet-priest and a later priestly hierarchy.[5]

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[3]N. Habel, *The Land is Mine: Six Biblical Land Ideologies* (OBT; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995).

[4]For discussion of nature as a system symbolizing social norms and tensions, see M. Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (New York: Pantheon, 1970), and F. Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, (Ithaca: Cornell, 1981) 111-112.

[5]S. L. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism: The Postexilic Social Setting* (Minneapolis, Fortress, 1995) 85-121. Two recent studies, I. Duguid, *Ezekiel and the Leaders of Israel* (VTSupp 56; Leiden: Brill, 1994) and K. R. Stevenson, *The Vision of Transformation: The Territorial Rhetoric of Ezekiel 40-48* (SBLDiss 154; Atlanta: Scholars, 1996) demonstrate from different perspectives a plausible congruence between the narrator's social agenda and an exilic setting.

I. Animals

Animals function as surprisingly complex signifiers within the text of Ezekiel. "Wild" animals (either specific species such as jackals or חיות understood as a "beasts") play a variety of roles, both positive and negative. Interestingly, the term חייה is used both of wild animals and of the "living beings" identified with cherubim in Ezekiel 10. That is, the category may represent either something from the supernatural realm and understood as a divine agent or something from the natural world as distinct from either the divine or the human realms. Both "wild animals" as a group and also specific examples of wild animal a threat to settled human life. Thus, the war-ravaged land is given over to "evil" animals (חייה רעה) as a sign of its uninhabitable condition (14:15), and human enemies are likewise metaphorically depicted as wild animals (35:12). The category "wild animal" thus signifies a presence inimical to settled human habitation, that is, to the socially ordered world. The wild animal, like the wilderness with which it is associated, is the polar opposite of both the people and the livestock of the settled realm. As a force of (hostile) nature, wild animals may be "sent" by YHWH as punishment (5:16-17), along with pestilence, famine, fire, and the sword. This mix of human and animal agents and of natural and "technological" means of punishment (wild animals and plague paired with swords and soldiers) is at once literal and symbolic language. Literally, famine and disease are frequent effects of war (as well as being weapons of warfare), and ruined houses and towns may well become home to scavenger animals. Symbolically, however, the stock images of military destruction–fire, pestilence, wild animals, famine, the sword (5:16-17; cf. Lev 26:14-23; 2 Chron 20:9)–evoke a picture, not of a specific kind of military destruction, but of the destruction of order and the takeover of chaos. If wild animals inhabit houses then the "natural" order, in which people inhabit the houses and wild beasts the wilderness, has been inverted.

The image of the wild animal serves an additional metaphorical function as a figure for hostile humans. Predatory and unscrupulous humans–both foreign and Israelite–are represented by the figure of the wild animal. The soldier who invades the land is every bit as much a wild animal as the jackal who comes afterward to scavenge the ruined countryside. Pharaoh is a sea monster (32:1-

16) and the Edomites make plans to devour Israel (35:12), images that play on the connection between the suspect otherness of the foreigner and the perception of wild beasts as outside of and hostile to the settled world. Not only foreigners, but even Israel's own leaders, when corrupt, may be depicted as man-eating lions, as jackals (13:4), and as wolves (22:27). Conversely, the leaders are designated "corrupt" by the application of the animal metaphors. These political and religious authorities prey on the people (cf. images of sheep in chap. 34) and are accordingly identified through the metaphor as hostile to the social order, elements working from within the social order that nonetheless function as agents for the "outside," the world of forces inimical to settled life. Destructive Israelite officials are "wild beasts" because their actions mimic those of marauding outsiders in their effect on the social order. Indeed, the damage done by the wild beasts within renders the community vulnerable to attack, first by hostile foreign armies and finally by roaming scavengers of the field. This identification between "wild beast" and "hostile force" is so strong that at times, as in 34:28 where "animals of the land" are paralleled by marauding nations, the distinction between human and animal invader becomes ambiguous.

The topos of the wild animal functions as a wide-ranging symbol applicable to any force perceived as a hostile and predatory other. Wild animals, variously referred to as חיה, חיה הארץ, חיה השדה, and חיה רעה, are defined almost exclusively as predators and scavengers (only in 31:6, 13, and 38:20 do they carry a neutral connotation). Perhaps most telling aspect of the signifier "wild animal" is the opposition created between the categories "wild animal" (חיה) and בהמה, which in Ezekiel refers exclusively to livestock. The term, which can designate wild or even all animals (cf. Prov 30:30, in which the lion is the mightiest of בהמה), is limited in Ezekiel to animals domesticated for human use. Livestock are paired with humans as a unit (אדם ובהמה), and as such are opposed by the wild beasts (14:17). Wild and domestic animals represent chaos and order respectively, animals of the wilderness versus animals of the arable land.

Like other embodiments of chaos in the Hebrew Bible, wild animals are perceived as hostile to YHWH's purposes only when they are outside his

control.[6] Like foreign armies, wild animals are an embodiment of chaos that may be coopted to perform YHWH's (avenging) will. Wild animals are depicted as tools wielded by YHWH to punish Israel; they are "sent" against the inhabited land, which is then "given" over to them as their domain (e.g., 5:17; 14:21). The wild animals are even dignified to play a ritual role as they feast upon the sacrificed bodies of YHWH's enemies (39:17). Still representing forces outside the ordered or settled domain, the wild animals are assigned a place within an inverted ritual system in which they play a role analogous to Israel's priests. Like priests, whose special sanctity allows them to consume food offerings in the Jerusalem temple, so here wild animals appear as un-priests, agents whose diametrical opposition to the realm of purity and order qualifies them to partake of the unclean sacrifice. Like the foreign nations, however, so also the wild beasts, as embodiments of chaos, serve only temporarily as divine agents of destruction. YHWH may command the forces of chaos but cannot become their permanent ally. Ultimately, even as the invading foreigners are "punished" for their zeal in the role YHWH has assigned them, so also the wild beasts must be cleared away in favor of domestic animals and settled land. Thus, when YHWH establishes the covenant of peace with Israel in 34:25-29 he first banishes wild beasts from the land, thereby both protecting the order of the settled world and also extending it, allowing the Israelites to live "in the wild and sleep in the woods" (34:25). Israel for its part is now YHWH's "flock," animals that are good by virtue of being owned and thus incorporated into the ordered world. It is striking that no wild animals at all remain in the land under YHWH's new covenant. Rather than assigning wild things to the wild places and orderly things to the ordered, the covenant is made solely with and for Israel. It makes peace with the animals only by eliminating them; the wild places are appropriated by Israel as God's metaphorical flock and by Israel's own, literal livestock.

Ezekiel's strong identification of wild beasts with hostile and chaotic forces is not reflected in the Hebrew Bible as a whole. Only Leviticus 26:6 shares the trope of "evil beasts" as something to be either banished from or sent

[6]Cf. Leviathan in Job 41, who is depicted as virtually a pet to YHWH.

into the land according to Israel's obedience or disobedience respectively (cf. Gen 37:20, 33). In Genesis 2 the term חיית השדה covers all land animals, as members of creation and even as potential "partners" for the lonely human. Ps 148 calls on the wild animals (חיה) together with the cattle to praise YHWH and in Hosea 2:20 [18], a verse that probably underlies Ezekiel's covenant of chap. 34, YHWH creates peace, not by cutting off wild animals, but by cutting a covenant *with* them. Hosea's new covenant does not abolish the wild animals, but assigns them their proper place within YHWH's ordered world. While images of wild beasts as agents of destruction or as signs of devastation do occur outside Ezekiel (e.g., Jer 12:9; Exod 23:11), only in Ezekiel does the wild beast persistently signify a hostile and threatening other (whether human or animal) to be excluded from the realm of Israel, a land to be settled only with domesticated animals and obedient citizens. Ezekiel is unique in expanding the "otherness" of non-domesticated animals into a signifier of otherness itself. Wild animals may be human or beast, Israelite or foreign, but they invariably threaten the integrity of the social order and the settled land.

II. Plants

If wild beasts signify a threatening otherness in Ezekiel, what can be said of plants as an aspect of wild nature? The representation of plants follows a trajectory related but not identical to the representation of animals in Ezekiel: domesticated plants represent order and moral good; weeds represent forces hostile to Israel or to the prophet himself; domesticated plants that have "gone wild" represent rebellion against YHWH. At first glance this schema seems analogous to that underlying the representation of animals: domesticated equals good, wild equals bad. On closer examination, however, one can see that plants play a different role in the book's symbolic world. In the first place, in contrast to the representations of animals, relatively few references are made to "bad" or wild plants (weeds) in Ezekiel and these seldom appear in metaphoric contexts. Twice Ezekiel refers to enemies as "briars and thorns" (2:6; 28:24), an image straightforwardly depicting hostile humans in terms of noisome plants. Far more prominent in Ezekiel is the image of the unnatural plant, desirable in itself, but whose luxurious growth symbolizes overarching ambition or pride. Israel is a

straying vine (chap. 17) or a towering one (19:10-14), a plant properly domesticated that has run wild. Here wildness represents, not the inherent and threatening otherness embodied by the wild animals, but rebellion by something or someone properly set under authority. Interestingly, while both Isa 5:1-2 and Jer 2:21 employ the conceit of Israel as a vineyard (rather than as a vine per se) whose produce is disappointing to YHWH, Ezekiel focuses on the vine as fabulously successful, but rebellious (cf. the rebellious woman of chap. 16). While the plant is not threatening in and of itself, its choice of self-assertion is perceived as threatening, and the plant must therefore be destroyed. Similar to Israel the unruly vine, powerful foreign nations are depicted as mighty trees. As such they give shelter to many but are subject to the moral vice of pride.[7] Both Egypt and Assyria, which presume in their power to rival YHWH, are threatening not in themselves but in their attitude–a refusal to know their place, a refusal that parallels the overweening pride of the vine, Israel. YHWH, of course, will not tolerate such affronts to his sovereignty and destroys the haughty trees.

The offending vines and trees differ from the wild animals considered above in that they are not properly wild but have merely "run wild." This distinction yields interesting differences. First, the overly abundant vines and trees do not, as did the wild animals, threaten the order of the settled realm. Unlike the presence of man-eating lions, wolves, or scorpions, no devastation of land or people is implied in the unbridled growth of the trees. The trees and vines do not choke out crops or invade homes. On the contrary, the tree of Assyria is beneficial to wild birds and animals, and "beautiful in its greatness" (31:8). YHWH himself claims to have created Assyria's beauty, a beauty unrivaled even by "the cedars in the garden of God" (31:8-9). Trees and vines thus have an implicitly positive rather than a negative connotation. YHWH created Assyria's beauty but Assyria grew proud and YHWH accordingly had the unruly tree cut down. Israel grew recklessly toward one monarch after another, ignoring YHWH's claims, and it will therefore be destroyed. The trees

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[7]Ironically, Israel is ridiculed in chap. 15 as a vine that fancies itself a tree. Not so, says YHWH. If you were a tree, I could at the least get some use out of your wood after cutting you down!

and vines of these metaphors represent the rulers of the nations and as such are depicted as the proper objects of divine sponsorship. Foreign kings are not YHWH's rivals in these passages, but servants. The disobedience of favored servants represents a very different kind of threat than that posed to the countryside by invading armies or wild beasts. YHWH's concern is still with order, but now disorder directly challenges his honor. YHWH will therefore destroy the offending vines and trees, but he will also plant. After the vine, Israel, has been uprooted it will be replanted as a great tree. "I myself," emphasizes YHWH (twice in 17:2) "will plant it on a high mountain." The resulting tree will be "noble" and fruitful. YHWH will not be denied the traditional "garden of God," but neither will he allow its trees to compete with him in glory. When his own tree has been planted, says YHWH, "All the trees of the field will know that I am YHWH. I bring low the high tree, I make high the low tree; I dry up the green tree and make the dry tree flourish" (17:24). The vines and trees exist specifically as markers valorizing YHWH's potency. Trees, if they are to be high, must by their very height serve as markers indicating YHWH as source and owner of their glory. Other trees, "all the trees of the field," supply a validating gaze, admiring the trees that belong to a higher authority. Trees and vines are thus status markers. They may be defective (or "disobedient") in this role and require correction or elimination, but they are properly signifiers revealing the control of YHWH.

The role of trees and vines as markers of YHWH's potency and sovereignty, implicit in the chapters describing the punishment of the unruly plants, becomes fully articulated in the image of the miraculous trees of chap. 47. After YHWH has established his temple and throne on the high mountain of Ezekiel's vision, a stream begins to flow from beneath the threshold of the temple. The background of the stream in both Mesopotamian and Ugaritic traditions has been well documented, and serves as a symbol of renewed fertility under the rule of the divine monarch.[8] The stream of Ezek 47 recalls that of Gen 2 as it supports the growth of fruitful trees. Together trees and stream

[8]See, e.g., Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain*, 100-102, 158-160; S. S. Tuell, *The Law of the in Ezekiel Temple 40-48* (HSM 49; Atlanta: Scholars, 1992) 69-71.

form a garden. The garden appears as the special holding of monarchs and divine beings in various ancient Near Eastern cultures.[9] The god is the ensurer of earth's fertility and the king is the god's regent. The growth of trees in Ezek 47 forms a recognizable trope indicating YHWH's power to restore fertility to the land. The trees' supernatural abilities of producing fruit in all seasons while also bearing medicinal leaves underscores the power of YHWH, whose presence in the temple suffices to produce such abundance. And, just as in chap. 17 "all the trees of the field" are recruited as witnesses to the divine power represented by the newly replanted Israel, so here both the figure of Ezekiel and the astonished reader validate YHWH's power by witnessing these unrivaled trees. The status of trees and vines as elements of wild nature would seem to be irrelevant to if not actually excluded from Ezekiel's symbolic matrix.

Ezekiel's emphasis on trees as signifiers indicating acceptance of or rebellion against divine authority stands in striking contrast with the symbolism of trees elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. While it is outside the scope of this paper to undertake a thorough discussion of the symbolic function of trees in the Bible, it will be sufficient to observe that nowhere else is the image of the tree invested with overtones suggesting a tendency toward pride and rebellion against divine authority.[10] On the contrary, trees frequently evoke images of human rootedness in divine law; just as deep waters sustain a great tree, so the way of YHWH nurtures the righteous person. Just as the well-nourished tree produces abundant fruit, so the disciplined and obedient person is both prosperous and productive (Ps 1; Jer 17:7-8). Alternately, the Torah is itself depicted as a tree, as an object that is strong and sustaining (Prov 3:18). While the literal use of trees for idolatrous worship (either as Asherah poles or as lumber for image-making) might seem to open the way for personification of trees as moral agents implicated in Israel's infidelity, no such negative personification takes place. The role of trees and wood in non-Yahwistic rituals is frequently cited–either

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[9]See H. N. Wallace, "Garden of God," in *ABD* II.906-907.

[10]The closest equivalent would seem to be the boasting bush of 2 Kgs 14, and cf. Jotham's fable in Judg 9:8-15 in which virtuous trees refuse to let pride sway them from their appointed stations.

mocked or condemned–but the trees themselves seem not to be tainted by their association with practices seen as disobedient to YHWH (e.g., Jer 2:20; 3:13; and the depictions of the idolatrous woodcarver in Isa 44 and Jer 10). Rather, trees form, as in Jer 7:20, part of the land that may be either blessed or blighted, depending on the conduct of its inhabitants.

Curiously, Ezekiel seems to share the perspective of other prophets and of the Deuteronomistic editors in regard to the role of actual trees in non-Yahwistic ritual: the worship of "wood and stone" is a temptation to which Israel was ever vulnerable, but the trees themselves are objects devoid of moral value or culpability (Ezek 20:32; cf. Deut 12:2; 16:21). It is in personification of trees that Ezekiel seemingly departs from literary tradition, creating a unique trope of the tree as a properly domesticated plant that willfully grows out of control and that must be subdued. Compare this perspective with, for example, images from Ps 96:12 and Isa 44:23; 55:12, in which personified trees sing for joy and clap their hands in celebration of YHWH's sovereignty. In Ps 148:9 the trees are called on to praise YHWH. What is more, the trees are grouped together with heavens, earth, sea, and field, or with mountains and hills as examples of nature resounding with YHWH's praise. When the trees join with hills and fields to sing, clap, and give praise to YHWH, they do so specifically to exemplify the response of the natural world to its divine sovereign. The natural world stands apart from the human, but its equal testimony to YHWH's power and authority serves to expand and emphasize the extent of YHWH's sovereignty. The trees that clap their hands function metonymically for the realm of nature, all of which is understood, in a sort of natural theology, to reflect the glory of YHWH. Here, of course, nature reflects the divine presence in an active rather than passive way; personified hills and trees are depicted as sentient beings whose recognition of YHWH's power is manifested as joy. This personification of the trees as unambiguously united with YHWH's purposes and perspective forms a stark contrast to Ezekiel's image of the rebellious tree. Moreover, the personification of the trees as liturgical celebrants depends for its effectiveness on an unspoken recognition that the trees are *not* moral agents; they are not sentient servants of YHWH. They are, on the contrary, like the sea and the hills, a part of wild nature. The image of "the very trees and hills"

praising YHWH rests entirely on an expectation that such objects are both inanimate and "other," outside the circle of the humanly ordered world; they are, in a word, natural. The natural world's participation in praising YHWH is depicted as a wonder; the personified trees reinforce the difference between themselves and the human realm even as they enact their sympathy with the divine. [11]

This personification of trees is clearly shaped to a different end than is Ezekiel's. In Ezekiel the trees (and also vines) are personified specifically as servants, indeed, as metaphoric representations of human beings (e.g., Assyria or the king of Judah). The personification of trees as representations of specific individuals or communities precludes their consideration as "natural" objects. Trees serve as object lessons exhibiting qualities either of obedience or, more frequently, of disobedience. Ezekiel's representation of trees and vines draws directly on human agricultural experience: the cultivation of plants may yield either satisfaction or frustration. Appearing only as metaphorical objects of YHWH's satisfaction or frustration with the human community, and not as objects in their own right, trees and vines lose the potential to represent any aspect of wild nature, except to reinforce the preference for domesticated nature over wild nature.

The prophecy of 20:45-48 against the forest of the south forms an interesting problem. YHWH announces to the forest that he will light a fire to consume it, both the green trees and the dry. No explanation is given for this action; no trespass is charged to the forest, nor does the text provide any hint as to who the forest might represent. That the forest is a metaphorical vehicle is clear, and is emphasized by Ezekiel's complaint at the oracle's conclusion (20:49): people think all I do is make metaphors! The picture is of indiscriminate destruction. The specific anger against the forest expressed in

[11]The prohibition against cutting down fruit trees during siege warfare (Deut 20:19-20) provides an interesting mix of perspectives, first countermanding the destruction of fruit trees on the grounds that trees are not humans, to be laid siege to, but then giving permission to use as timber any trees that do not yield fruit. What at first seems to assert the independent right of a tree to its life turns out to reflect a concern that extends only to those trees needed to sustain human life.

20:45-48 remains inexplicable, though the trees seem to represent people, all of whom are to be destroyed regardless of their status.

III. The Land

Elements of weather, wind and storm, light and darkness, are seen in Ezekiel as thoroughly under YHWH's control and appear as tools of punishment to be used against either Israel or its enemies, depending on the direction of the divine wrath (e.g., 19:12; 38:22). The dichotomies between wild and domesticated that obtained in the depiction of animals or between obedient and rebellious that typified depictions of plant life, do not appear here. The weather is not, like plants and animals, personified, nor is it ever depicted as outside YHWH's control. This unambiguous view of the weather as a tool of YHWH may reflect ancient traditions of YHWH as a storm god, but may equally well derive from (and the two possibilities are not mutually exclusive) the ongoing human experience that while both plants and animals have ambiguous status in terms of their susceptibility to human control, the weather is entirely and unambiguously beyond any human coercion. Ironically, such a deep cultural certainty about the "otherness" of weather may serve to anchor it firmly in the human imagination as belonging to the divine realm, while the tantalizing partiality of human control over the plant and animal realms renders these more susceptible to personification and to depiction within moral categories. Wild animals are unlike "our" animals, and their otherness is projected as hostility to the settled realm. This projection of human fear onto the wild animal (which is then fantasized as evil and threatening) is sympathized with, if not shared outright, by the deity, who promises to "banish wild beasts" from the land. The human struggle to cultivate (good) crop plants while limiting the growth of (bad) weeds is likewise projected onto YHWH. YHWH the farmer tends his crops, which in turn either fulfil or frustrate his intent. The human community's struggle to control plants and animals is projected into the divine realm through metaphors in which YHWH too struggles for control. The elements themselves, however, as objects outside of human control, are seen as *uniquely* under divine direction and thus excluded from the realm of ongoing struggle. Thunder and lightning, wind and rain function exclusively as tools by means of which YHWH

may bless or curse the people as he sees fit.

The role played by the earth itself–the realm of nature as a whole–receives little notice in Ezekiel. Instead, concern is focused on the land of Israel. Ezekiel makes constant reference to the condition of the land (ארץ), a term that has a semantic range in Ezekiel encompassing the both the political and the geographical territory of Israel. In addition to references to the land, Ezekiel frequently employs the phrase אדמת ישראל, an elocution unique to Ezekiel that seems to designate Israel as "homeland."[12] In Ezekiel the term אדמה, which elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible covers everything from soil to dry land, refers exclusively to the land of Israel. This extraordinary usage focuses the text on land as "the land belonging to Israel," an emphasis that has political overtones, given both Babylonian domination of the land and Ezekiel's tendency to define "the house of Israel" exclusively in terms of the exilic community (see e.g., 3:4-11; 36:8,16).

For the most part the land of Israel figures in Ezekiel as a site of destruction (e.g., Ezek 7:2; 21:7-8 [2-3]); as such, the land symbolically represents its inhabitants as it undergoes the devastation resulting from Israel's sin. As Elaine Scarry has pointed out, injury in warfare is both the means of establishing military victory and a literal display of power–evidence of harm inflicted by the victor.[13] The condition of the human body during and after war represents the condition–physical, political, and perhaps most importantly, ideological–of the body politic.[14] In Ezekiel's representation of the conflict between YHWH and the people, the site of injury is not so much the individual body as the land itself. Destruction is visited upon the land through the depletion of its inhabitants, the burning of its towns, and the harm done to its ecology. Damage wrought through both military activity and ecological disaster serves in the text as a kind of war wound, a visible injury testifying to the power of the victor–in this case, YHWH–and to the consequent extension of his power over

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[12]See discussion in J. G. Plöger, "אדמה," in *TDOT* I.88-98.

[13]E. Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1985) 116.

[14]See Scarry, *Body*, 114.

the lives of the conquered people. The desolation of the mountains depicted in chap. 6 and of the land in chap. 7 are calculated to serve notice to the sinful people ("then they will know" [6:14; 7:9]) of YHWH's authority over them. Drought likewise becomes an anthropocentric phenomenon that exists to display YHWH's anger over human wrongs.

Images of the land as the site of destruction predominate in Ezek 1-24, that section of the book reflecting the build-up of tension prior to the destruction of Jerusalem reported in chap. 33. The land is repeatedly depicted as "sinful" or "bloody" and therefore deserving of divine punishment. The "sinful" land metonymously represents it sinful inhabitants, as is clearly shown in passages such as chap. 7, an oracle purportedly directed against the land of Israel (ישראל עדמות). After an opening in which the personified land (ארץ) is informed that its doom is coming as YHWH judges its ways, the oracle continues urging upon the addressee that the punishment has arrived in force. By v. 7, however, the feminine figure who functions as the implied audience of the oracle is identified as the "inhabitant of the land" (יושב הארץ). The personified land gives way to the persona of the land's "inhabitant," possibly the frequently personified city of Jerusalem, which in turn stands for the people as a whole. The personified land turns out to be an evanescent vehicle representing the land's human inhabitants. The personification of the mountains in chap. 6 is similarly ephemeral. What begins as an oracle announcing to the mountains the end of their idolatrous altars quickly transmutes into an oracle against the idolaters themselves ("I will scatter your bones around your altars"; v. 5). As in chap. 6, here also the land is metonymous for its inhabitants. The oracle of 14:12-23 describing the fate of a land that "acts faithlessly" is particularly telling in this regard. Here, as in 7:3, the land itself is said to have sinned, and punishments are accordingly visited against it: famine rages while humans and domestic animals are "cut off" (v. 13). Moreover, wild animals are sent to ravage the land "so that it is made desolate, and no one may pass through because of the animals" (vv. 15, 21). Here both sin and punishment are depicted in terms specific to the land; it is the land that has sinned and the land that will undergo devastation.

This view, in which the land is culpable for the sins of its inhabitants and

then suffers the consequences of their actions, superficially shares a perspective similar to that expressed in Lev 18:25, 28, in which the land, unable to bear the pollution caused by its inhabitants, reacts by vomiting them out. A related dynamic is at work in Jeremiah, where the land undergoes torment as it is ravaged by divinely sent drought and depopulation. As Habel has demonstrated, the images of Leviticus and Jeremiah reflect ideologies in which the land is understood to have rights that are defended by YHWH.[15] The innocent land demands or receives restitution because of injury inflicted by its inhabitants. In Ezekiel the tables are turned. The land is not a victim, but party to its inhabitants' actions; it is guilty and therefore suffers for its own actions at YHWH's hands. The personae of land and people are fused at every level, and the land's welfare is defined exclusively in terms of human needs and desires. The land is struck, not by "drought," but by "famine"; that is, the disaster is not environmental but social. Humans and domestic animals are cut off from the land and, as punishment, *wild* animals are allowed to roam there (14:12-15). Rather than the perspective seen in Leviticus and Jeremiah, in which the land stands apart from or even opposed to the human project, here the land is conceived as essentially human space, space-for-me, which is violated to the degree that it is rendered unfit for human habitation.

Ezekiel's depiction of the land's reversion to nature as horrific obscures the alternative perspective, namely that a land where "no one may pass through because of the animals" (14:15, 21) need not be seen as ruined. Nor is the consideration that the land might actually benefit from such "devastation" a retrojection of modern biophilia. In Lev 26 the land is made "desolate," with people removed and cities destroyed, but the same land whose condition "appalls" the neighbors as unfit for human settlement is in fact enjoying (רצה) a well-deserved rest (cf. 2 Chron 36:21). The "destroyed" land is not ruined but rather unencumbered, liberated from the burden of human habitation. The land is devastated only from the most narrowly pragmatic human perspective. Ezekiel's land is not granted the same subject status that it has in both Leviticus and Jeremiah. Rather than existing as an independent entity that reacts (as it

[15]Habel, *Land*, 75-114.

turns out, in protest) to the actions of its inhabitants, here the land as the sinful object of devastation is metonymous for its inhabitants; their actions are its actions and its punishment is their punishment. It is this identification between the moral status of land and people in Ezekiel that allows the land to serve as the "site of injury" in the conflict between YHWH and his people. In Jeremiah the land is a victim whose injury YHWH will avenge. In Ezekiel the land, representing the body politic, is the body whose injury displays YHWH's power.

In the second half of Ezekiel, chaps. 25-48, the land appears primarily as an object of restoration. As the object of divine restoration the land is "rehabilitated" following its punishment, and so reintegrated into the ordered cosmos as the settled realm. Like the domestic animals and plants, the land is sutured back into the cultural landscape of human and divine control. The once-devastated land blooms with new fertility, waste places are planted, ruined towns rebuilt (see e.g., 36:8-12, 22-38). As indicated by the pairing of waste land and ruined town, both of which will be "restored" by YHWH, "land" is understood to be coterminous with sown and settled land. This privileging of the settled over the wild is extended to the point that the land is "promised" not only fertility but urban development! The personified land finds itself equally blessed by trees and by towns. The growth of fruit and the growth of cities are all but indistinguishable as indications of the land's welfare. Whereas earlier the land was personified as the embodiment of its inhabitants and punished for its sinfulness, now land, cities, flocks, and people serve equally as objects of restoration and markers of divine possession and control. YHWH simultaneously restores the land's fertility, its security from invasion, and its human population. In the "covenant of peace" of 34:25 the wild animals are removed and domestic animals multiplied. The fact that the metaphor blurs the distinction between Israel as flock and Israel as flock-owner or between wild beasts as human or as animal predators, is fully appropriate. YHWH's "showers of blessings" on the land serve to benefit Israel as a settled territory and to eliminate all threats to its welfare. YHWH himself is depicted through the traditional image of the shepherd of his people, but also as a returned exile who both rebuilds the towns and replants the fields of Israel (36:36).

The restored land's goodness is certified by its desirability. The narrator

posits the valorizing gaze of an anonymous onlooker. In 36:34-36 "those who pass by" are reported to say, "This land that was desolate has become like the garden of Eden; and the waste and desolate and ruined towns are now inhabited and fortified." Desolate land is replaced by its perceived opposite: tilled land as fertile as the very garden of God. Desolate cities are similarly replaced by their opposite: populous, walled cities. It is striking that this miraculous renewal is not imagined as an unprecedented paradise, but rather as restoration per se; that is, the re-establishment of life in Israel before the exile. The land, while abundantly fertile, is still "worked" land requiring human effort for the yield of its produce. The towns are fortified towns, their safety established by the divine removal of enemies but maintained by the more conventional means of strong walls. The restoration of the desolate land is thus equated with restoration of the entire matrix of a mixed urban-agrarian economy. The land will be "blessed" by a return to the status quo ante.

IV. Castles in the Air: Creation as Property in the Book of Ezekiel

The nature of nature in Ezekiel is a subject fraught with ambiguity, from Ezekiel's opening vision by the נחל Chebar–the river that is in fact a canal–to his concluding vision in which the Dead Sea is turned from a natural disaster into a supernatural venue for the fishing industry. The ideology outlined above, in which the established culture forms the goal and apex of "creation" is, of course, not original to Ezekiel. Creation, in the ancient Near East, meant the creation of the socially ordered world and so by definition entailed the privileging of inhabited over barren land and of domestic over wild animals. In a world where the founding of a great city could be represented as the goal of creation, the relative value of walled cities over open countryside would have been obvious.[16] To the extent that Ezekiel's theology of creation is merely consistent with a widespread cultural preference for the realm of human activity over wild nature, the book, while providing an excellent example of this ideological stance, has

[16]For a helpful discussion and bibliography regarding the valorization of wild nature in the Hebrew Bible see G. M. Tucker, "Rain on a Land Where No One Lives," *JBL* 116 (1997) 3-17.

little interest as a theology of creation. Ezekiel's lack of any mode by which to apprehend wild nature in anything like its own right may be read as simply an extension of a symbolic system according to which perceived order is good and perceived disorder, bad. But Ezekiel's extension is neither an inevitable nor an insignificant extension; the role played (or rather, not played) by wild nature in Ezekiel is distinctive, perhaps even diagnostic as an expression of the author's social location. A brief sampling of depictions of nature in Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah, two rough contemporaries of the historical Ezekiel, will serve to set Ezekiel's perspective in relief.

The usage of nature imagery in Jeremiah shows considerable overlap with that in Ezekiel. Faithless people are punished by attacking wolves and lions (5:6) or are themselves depicted as such (12:8-9). Israel is planted as YHWH's vineyard but defies him by growing wild (literally "foreign," נכר; 2:21). Drought is sent as divine punishment against the people (14:1-6). Jeremiah exhibits the same practical preference for fruitful land over desert and for tame animals over wild as does Ezekiel, but with important differences: While Jeremiah freely employs images drawn from nature to embody forces that threaten human welfare, this anthropocentrism is balanced by a sense of wild animals and of the land itself as having value apart from their utility in the settled realm. The snows of Lebanon and the mountain streams, for example, are cited as models of constancy (18:4). The earth, languishing under conditions of drought and warfare, is not, as in Ezekiel, bearing a well-deserved punishment, but an innocent victim of human crimes. The land mourns (4:28; cf. 14:2-6) and the prophet is instructed to mourn on its behalf (9:10). The land is a precious possession of YHWH, injured by human abuse, rather than an object of divine wrath in its own right.

Similarly, Deutero-Isaiah shares Ezekiel's utilitarian sensibility according to which nature is good when it is useful for human welfare. Thus, YHWH's gift of water flowing from the bare heights to the valleys and on into the wilderness (41:18-20) is wonderful because it serves the needs of the poor. But in Deutero-Isaiah the divine gift of water is a blessing, not only to humans or their livestock, but to the wild animals as well. "Wild animals," says YHWH, "will honor me, the jackals and ostriches, for I give water in the wilderness" (43:20). This

acknowledgment of an independent and positive relationship between YHWH and wild nature is not so fully developed as that reflected in Job with its reminder that rain is sent on the land where no one lives (38:26), nor yet as that of Ps 104 with its catalogue of creatures who look to YHWH for their sustenance. Still, both Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah, writing in the context of the Babylonian exile, include positive images of wild nature as such. Nor does either Jeremiah or Deutero-Isaiah project a sinful land made to suffer for its wicked excesses. Ezekiel is not distinctive among biblical texts in its utilitarian and anthropocentric strains; Ezekiel is distinctive in admitting no other view.

The strongest potential exception to the rule of Ezekiel's exclusion of wild nature would seem to be the miraculous stream of chap. 47. This apparent exception, however, will serve to prove the rule. The miraculous stream, as discussed above, derives from the restored temple. On its banks it sustains equally miraculous trees, and the combination of abundant water with abundant fertility marks the renewed landscape (as was predicted in 36:35) as Eden, the garden of God.[17] The trees, as noted above, are remarkable both for their growth and for their exceptional utility, deriving from their ability to bear their fruit in all seasons while simultaneously producing medicinal leaves. The stream, in addition to sustaining the life of the trees, extends across the land to flow into the Dead Sea. Here the supernaturally fresh water demonstrates its own medicinal properties; it "heals" (רפא; cf. 2 Kgs 2:22) the Dead Sea waters, rendering them fresh. The newly healed waters promptly exhibit their fertility: "Wherever the river goes, every living thing that swarms will live and there will be very many fish" (v. 9). Indeed, the Dead Sea coastline will become a series of fishing ports, with variety like that of the "Great Sea," the Mediterranean. The enlivening water will transform the barren landscape into one of superabundant fertility. The line between wonder and utility is indeed thin here, perhaps even nonexistent. Although no words denoting delight or wonder are expressed, even by the on-looking prophet, the image is so remarkable it is fair to assume that wonder and delight are intended as the response of an implied

[17]On Eden imagery in Ezekiel 47, see Clifford, *Mountain*, 100-102, and Levenson, *Theology*, 25-36.

reader.

This passage may come as close as one gets to a validation of wild nature in Ezekiel; nonetheless, the implied wonder is tied quite explicitly to the stream's extraordinary utility. The stream does the impossible; not only does it make salt water fresh, it creates a thriving fishing industry on the Dead Sea. The supernatural trees likewise respond directly to human need, eliminating with their monthly crops the ancient, natural cycles of plenty and want. Most telling in this vision of utopian fulfillment is the fate of the marshes bordering the Dead Sea. Following description of the newly "healed" waters and their variety of freshwater fish the author adds an aside: "But its swamps and marshes will not become fresh; they are to be left for salt" (v. 11). The miracle is firmly bounded by social and economic considerations–or perhaps it is extended by them. That is, the re-creation of water and fisheries stops miraculously short of interfering with already established routines of human commerce. By divine providence the renewal of nature preserves just those bits of the old and salty world that suit human purposes. The transformation accomplished by YHWH's powerful indwelling in the world yields a land of roses without thorns. Ultimately, the renewing stream of 47:1-12 performs the same function as the boundary lists that immediately follow. Both serve to map out a new and perfected Israel. The path cut across the land by the healing river is neither more nor less "natural," neither more nor less an aspect of creation, than are the boundary lines laid out in the remainder of the book. Streambed and property lines equally manifest the divine will. Ordered nature and ordered society are equally inscribed onto a landscape whose contours signify possession.

The land as the object of restoration in Ezekiel is preeminently an object of possession. Together with its plants and animals the land must either reflect divine control and possession or defy them. Within such a scheme wild plants and wild animals are defined as hostile or rebellious. Existing outside the realm of possession–and here divine and human possession are coterminous–means existing in opposition to the divine will; finally, it means not existing at all. This plot whereby the land is successively inscribed as an object of divine possession is of course an ironic one. The invisible backdrop to the plot of Ezekiel is the text's historical context, the intolerable fact that the land is not an object of

possession, but of desire. Ezekiel is written in Babylon, its narrator, the exiled priest of a ruined temple, a leader of a disenfranchised elite and representative of a dispossessed god. The inability of Ezekiel or his social group to assert control over the land of Israel may be said to constitute the *non-dit,* the suppressed contradiction underlying the plot of Ezekiel. The land placed so assiduously under divine control is a cipher for its diametric opposite–the land as the unobtainable object of human desire. It is as an object of frustrated desire that the land is labeled "other," untamed and (from the exiles' perspective) unowned. The creation that should, through its walled cities and set boundaries, stand as a visible monument to the divine will has broken loose. The battery of negative personifications–wild animals aggressively threatening the settled realm, cultivated trees growing wildly out of control, the land itself rebelling against divine authority–expresses outrage and anxiety over loss of control. The conflict between the narrative demarcation of the land as divine and human property and the reality of the land as an embodiment of the exiles' lack creates an unresolvable tension within the ideological structure of Ezekiel. The continually expressed tension between domesticated and wild, obedient and rebellious, owned and estranged mirrors the tension between the exiles' self-perception and their reality, and the conflict between themselves and the current residents of the land.

The community in exile, which Ezekiel identifies as "the house of Israel," consisted of the privileged classes of his society, those who would ordinarily have secure claim to social and political control, in a word, hegemony. Given this contradiction between assumed and actual power, the book's distinctive concern with control over the land comes into clearer focus. The exiles' own desire to repossess the land finds expression through constant reference to the divine perspective, according to which the exiles are the rightful human owners of the land. The persona of YHWH guarantees that the exiles' claim to the land is always already secure. At the same time that the desire for land tenure is projected as the goal of divine order, a corresponding anxiety is projected onto those still in Jerusalem as a predatory desire to gain title to the exiles' land. The fantasized inhabitants say of the exiles, "They have gone far from the Lord; to us this land is given for a possession" (11:15). This projection of the exiles'

anxiety as the homelanders' opportunism is quickly answered by divine reassurance: "I will gather you from the peoples, and assemble you out of the countries where you have been scattered, and I will give you the land of Israel" (11:17). The inhabitants of Jerusalem, on the other hand, are designated "those whose heart goes after their detestable things," and who will suffer divine judgment (11:21). Following Jerusalem's destruction the narrator again projects the survivors' thoughts: "Abraham was only one man, yet he got possession of the land; but we are many; the land is surely given us to possess" (33:24). This apparently reasonable argument (divine judgment did, after all, leave the remnant holding the land) is again met with a withering response from YHWH: "As I live, surely those who are in the waste places shall fall by the sword; and those who are in the open field I will give to the wild animals" (33:27). The projected voice of YHWH intervenes to provide a judgment consistent with the exiles' interests. The exiles' anxiety over their dispossessed status is removed even before it is voiced. The land as the object of frustrated desire exists below the surface of the text as a kind of phantom topic, continually driving the plot and continually denied.

The exiles' desire to possess "their" land (36:17), negatively projected onto the current inhabitants, finds narrative resolution through the character of YHWH. YHWH, defending his own inalienable right to the land, simultaneously secures the land for the dispossessed community of the exiles. The exiles' separation from the land is depicted as YHWH's own, and YHWH's struggle to conform nature to his will and assert his universal overlordship validates and symbolically fulfils the community's desires.

Ezekiel's exceptionally strong preference for the ordered world over wild nature–extending even to the point of wild nature's exclusion–seems, in context, to reflect socio-political tensions. In Ezekiel's socio-historical context those with traditional claim to the land, including those who like himself represent the deity and whom he identifies as "the whole house of Israel" (11:15), are dispossessed, while the "inhabitants of the waste places" (33:27) have taken control. Divine outrage over unruly vines and wild animals mirrors the exiles' sense of violated ownership and authority. From the narrative perspective the land has reverted to "wildness"; that is, to the control of those defined as outsiders. The hostile

"other" has turned the land to "wildness": it is no longer controlled by those traditionally considered embodiments of divine order. From this ideological stance it is immaterial whether or not the actual land could best be described as "devastated." Although widespread destruction, particularly of urban centers, had clearly occurred, the reduced and relatively impoverished population might well have been enjoying the new opportunities for land ownership and social reorganization. Ezekiel's "myth of the devastated land" parallels what Robert Carroll has called the "myth of the empty land," a narrative program that presents the land as "empty" and therefore ripe for the exiles' return.[18] To posit a land that is "devastated," "empty," or both is to posit both need and warrant for the return of the ruling classes and the displacement of those whose control is defined as chaos.

Walter Benn Michaels's work on Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The House of the Seven Gables* gives a provocative analysis of the role played by literary texts in expressing and resolving anxiety over land tenure.[19] According to Michaels disputed real estate often appears in romance literature[20] as an expression of social conflict. In particular, Michaels points to a conflict between "legitimation of property by labor" and the claim of the aristocracy, a "claim to land that is unimpaired by the inability to enforce that claim."[21] This unresolvable conflict–the paradox of a dispossessed aristocracy–is resolved through romance literature as "the text of clear and unobstructed title."[22] The book of Ezekiel seems to fall easily into this category, as the disputed status of the land is resolved by a visionary assertion of divine right, and by a subsequent reallocation of land to its inalienable owners. Commenting on his use of the

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[18]R. P. Carroll, "The Myth of the Empty Land," *Semeia* 59 (1992) 79-93.

[19]W. B. Michaels, *The Gold Standard and the Logic of Naturalism: American Literature at the Turn of the Century* (Berkeley: University of California, 1987).

[20]"Romance" is used here in the sense of wish-fulfillment literature, in which good triumphs over evil. For definitions and discussion of the genre, see N. Frye, *The Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton, 1957) 37, 186-205; Jameson, *Unconscious*, 110-112.

[21]Michaels, *Gold Standard*, 92-93.

[22]Ibid., 89.

romance genre for *The House of the Seven Gables*, Hawthorne quipped that although the book concerns the accumulation of real estate, he constructed it "by laying out a street that infringes upon nobody's rights, and appropriating a lot of land which had no visible owner." He built the House of the Seven Gables, in short, "of materials long in use for constructing castles in the air."[23] In Ezekiel, of course, the disputed land is real, not fictive, and it is only the land's return to its divine-rightful owner that is fictional.

The political and theological tensions underlying the program of restoration in chaps. 40-48 have long been recognized,[24] and Ezekiel as a whole may be understood to articulate the historical "plot" desired by a specific social group. Fredric Jameson describes the aesthetic act as "an ideological act in its own right, with the function of inventing imaginary or formal 'solutions' to unresolvable social contradictions."[25] That the composition of the book of Ezekiel was "an ideological act in its own right" seems clear. In Ezekiel's case the "unresolvable social contradictions" are those engendered by the circumstances of exile, contradictions centering on the alienated status of the land. The land, in Ezekiel, is properly that realm whose ownership should display the authority and control of YHWH, an authority most tangibly expressed through the hegemonic presence of YHWH's designated representatives. In reality, Ezekiel faces the awkward situation of having authority without agency. Ezekiel possesses detailed knowledge of which land is properly owned by which historical group within Israel, but it turns out that the land is quite perversely occupied by . . . well, by *others*.

The exiles' frustrated claims to the land are projected onto YHWH as a frustration of his own power. So YHWH also, despite a quite indisputable claim to the land, finds himself in a situation of embarrassing land poverty. In light of this fundamental contradiction within Ezekiel's social and theological worlds,

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[23]Preface to *The House of the Seven Gables*, quoted in Michaels, *Gold Standard*, 88-89.

[24]Duguid, *Leaders*, and Stevenson, *Vision of Transformation*, provide helpful readings of the ideological agenda represented by Ezekiel's vision.

[25]Jameson, *Unconscious*, 79.

the category of the created world, the world as it is related to its divine master, becomes problematic indeed. The unspoken reality underlying any "theology of creation" in Ezekiel must be that the supreme creator God has no toehold in the land–indeed in *any* land. Like Abraham bargaining with the Hittites, YHWH must maneuver from a position of weakness (however well disguised) in order to possess the land. In YHWH's case the problem is not so much to establish legitimate claim (God's claim is nothing if not legitimate) but a claim that is credible under the historical circumstances of exile. As an ideological act, the book of Ezekiel enacts the hegemonic return of YHWH and, by extension, of a status quo ante in which the exiles exert social and political control.[26] The exiles' need for return is, as Carroll has argued, specifically a need for hegemonic return,[27] a return to control that becomes projected in Ezekiel as a need for the re-enthronement of divine authority.

Within the narrator's socio-political horizon, the land of Israel has become "wild," outside control and given over to elements whose presence is perceived as threatening to the ordered world. YHWH's dilemma of possessing unlimited rights but uncertain power over creation fuels a dynamic in which the natural world is constantly dichotomized according to whether it is perceived as within or without the control of YHWH. The "idolatrous" mountains are cursed; the faithful mountains are blessed; animals are either "wild beasts" or they are domestic flocks. When YHWH is in control the trees bear miraculous fruit and eminently useful leaves; when the trees renounce YHWH's authority they are fit to be destroyed. The natural world is friend or foe, blessed or cursed, supportive or hostile, depending on the perceived extent of YHWH's control over it, and this control is, in turn, seen to correspond with the natural world's absorption into the settled realm. In the exiles' political context, where power and place have been disrupted, the created world emerges as above all contested property. The land anxiety of the narrator and his fellow exiles is expressed through its

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[26]This conclusion is not intended to contradict that drawn by Duguid, who elucidates reforms anticipated in the new social order (140). These reforms, while real, represent a re-shuffling of power *within* the ruling classes that serves to re-legitimate their control over temple and land.

[27]Carroll, "Myth," 81, 89.

opposite: an assertion of unassailable divine right coupled with unshakable control.

Peter, Paul, and Mary:

Canonical vs. Non-Canonical Portrayals of Apostolic Witnesses

Ann Graham Brock

Harvard University

The primary way in which many early Christian texts indicate an elevated status for Jesus' companions is to portray them receiving a post-resurrectional appearance from Christ. Because such an appearance is so crucial in matters of authority, it has often troubled biblical scholars that such a range of diversity exists between the appearance accounts in the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and Peter, as well as one of the epistles of Paul. An investigation of these accounts shows that in the six most well-known early Christian references to an appearance from Christ, Mary Magdalene and Peter never both receive an individual post-resurrection appearance from the risen Christ in the same text—a significant observation because such an appearance has profound implications for the possibility of a disciple obtaining apostolic status. This paper demonstrates that when one considers apostolic authority and the *Gattungen* of post-resurrection narratives, the Gospel of Luke actually has more in common with an apocryphal text, the *Gospel of Peter,* than it does with its three canonical gospel counterparts.

This paper begins with an examination of the close relationship between apostolic authority and post-resurrection appearances especially with respect to Paul, Peter, and Mary Magdalene. It goes on to show the special status of Peter in Luke that sets this gospel apart from the other three in the canon. Finally, it will demonstrate that the Gospel of Luke and the *Gospel of Peter* have a number of elements in common: 1) neither has an actual

Christophany to the female witnesses as do Matthew, John, and the appendix to Mark; 2) both record an angelophany to the women, but neither include a commissioning of Mary Magdalene to tell the other disciples the good news as do Matthew, Mark, and John, and 3) both texts portray Peter as authoritative for their texts and both attribute resurrection appearances made by Jesus to Peter instead of Mary.

The texts scholars call "apocryphal literature" do not easily lend themselves to general statements about their nature as a group, especially with respect to genre. This literature varies so much from text to text that one finds one genre embedded within another, as well as hybridizations between genres. To make comprehensive statements concerning early Christian apocryphal literature is to risk overgeneralizing and perhaps overlooking some of the significant differences these texts demonstrate. Even when one narrows the field from apocryphal literature to examine only apocryphal gospels or acts, one can still discern some drastic differences among these texts with respect to content.[1] When one compares, for instance, two texts as seemingly related as the *Acts of Peter* and the *Acts of Paul*, one finds that both contain the well-known *quo vadis* scene with Jesus, as well as numerous common elements such as voyages, conversations with sea captains, and martyrdoms. Yet when one looks beyond the surface similarities, one perceives that these two texts differ drastically in terms of what they advocate, especially with respect to political alignments, ecclesiastical hierarchy, differentiated gender roles, and social conformity.[2]

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[1] "L'impression qui se dégage des différentes études examinées est que nos textes ne correspondent exactement à aucun genre de la littérature antique." Jean-Daniel Kaestli, "Les principales orientations de la recherche sur les Actes apocryphes des apôtres," in *Les Actes apocryphes des apôtres: christianisme et monde païen* (ed. François Bovon et al; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1981), 49-67; quote 67.

[2] Ann Graham Brock, "Political Authority and Cultural Accommodation: Social Diversity in the *Acts of Paul* and the *Acts of Peter*," *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: Harvard Divinity School Studies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 145-69.

Given the difficulties, therefore, of making comprehensive statements about this literature as a whole, this paper will compare and contrast apocryphal literature with Luke-Acts, by examining this one particular aspect: the portrayal of apostolic authority both within the Gospel of Luke and within specific apocryphal texts. It will examine which figures are named in post-resurrection appearance accounts, which figures receive either a Christophany or angelophany, which receive a commissioning, and which figures do not.

These differences in appearance accounts are related to the way in which various early Christian communities selected individual figures from the group of Jesus' companions to serve as the apostolic guarantors of their message—one of the most intriguing characteristics of many early Christian documents. As such, changes in the choice of primary figures in a text provide insight into the diversity within the early Christian communities, especially when one considers that certain names like Thomas and James played almost no role in the canon of the New Testament but became prominent in apocryphal literature.

Sometimes these post-resurrection appearance narratives closely resemble one another but vary only with respect to the names of the recipients, such as certain Syriac and Coptic texts that portray not Mary Magdalene but Mary the Mother conversing with Jesus in the Garden in his first post-resurrectional appearance.[3] When the details remain similar and only the names vary from one resurrection narrative to another, one could presume the differences to be merely insignificant alterations in popular folk narratives. However, just the opposite appears to be the case—the variations

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[3] See, for instance, the way in which certain Syriac texts such as Ephrem's commentary on the Diatessaron portray the same conversation in which Christ states that he is not to be touched for he has not yet ascended to the Father, but this conversation is clearly with his mother and not Mary Magdalene. For the contexts in which a number of these substitutions of names occur see, Ann Graham Brock, "What's in a Name: The Competition for Authority in Early Christian Texts," *Society of Biblical Literature: 1998 Seminar Papers* (2 vols.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 1.106-24.

of names to whom Jesus makes a resurrection appearance carry a great deal of weight.[4]

I. Definition of Apostolic Authority in the Pauline Epistles

Because witnessing the resurrection is so intimately connected to achieving the status of an apostle, it is troubling that the criteria for becoming an apostle varies even within the New Testament itself. In the early stages of Christianity, including Paul, the title of "apostle" apparently became an acutely important claim to authority and was based in large part on a post-resurrection encounter. Paul provides the earliest written collection of names of post-resurrection witnesses in 1 Cor 15:3-8. Apparently this list functioned as a "legitimation formula" in which the names are "kept embodied in the tradition because they are seen as demonstrating that the leaders of primitive Christianity received their legitimation, their mandate, their vocation and calling, and their position of full power and authority, from Heaven."[5] The apostle Paul appears to have recognized the significance of the presence of one's name in a list of appearance recipients because of the context in which he claims such an appearance for himself in the apostolic list in First Corinthians:

> *παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν πρώτοις, ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον, ὅτι Χριστὸς ... ὤφθη Κηφᾷ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα· ἔπειτα ὤφθη ἐπάνω πεντακοσίοις ἀδελφοῖς ἐφάπαξ, ἐξ ὧν οἱ πλείονες μένουσιν ἕως ἄρτι, τινὲς δὲ ἐκοιμήθησαν·*

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[4]Early Christian groups in competition with one another "rallied around individuals who had a claim to this distinction." John E. Alsup, *Post-Resurrection Appearance Stories* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1975), 63. See also, Joachim Jeremias, *Neutestamentliche Theologie* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1971), 291.

[5]Ulrich Wilckens, *Resurrection. Biblical Testimony to the Resurrection: An Historical Examination and Explanation* (trans. A. M. Stewart; Atlanta: John Knox, 1978), 13. See

> ἔπειτα ὤφθη Ἰακώβῳ, εἶτα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν· ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων ὡσπερεὶ τῷ ἐκτρώματι ὤφθη κἀμοί (1 Cor 15:3,6-8).
>
> "For what I received I passed on to you as of first importance: that Christ ... appeared to Cephas, and then to the Twelve. After that, he appeared to more than five hundred of the brothers at the same time, most of whom are still living, though some have fallen asleep. Then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles, and last of all he appeared to me also, as to one born out of time" (1 Cor 15:3, 6-8).

The context of this passage is not a conversion story of how Paul became a Christian but a claim to his apostolicity. Scholars have suggested that this text presents two parallel lists of witnesses: Cephas and the Twelve, and James and all the apostles, reflecting two rival groups centered around either Peter or James.[6] Jeremias discerns traces of this rival tradition concerning James in the *Gospel of the Hebrews* and the Syriac Didaskalia.[7]

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also, Gregory J. Riley, *Resurrection Reconsidered: Thomas and John in Controversy* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 89 n. 65.

[6] Wilckens, *Resurrection*, 13; Alsup, *Post-Resurrection Appearances*, 63-64. Paul's including both lists may indicate that he refuses to choose between them. Another possibility is that he prefers the Peter group over the James group because he lists Peter first. See Riley, *Resurrection Reconsidered*, 89, for a good summary of the various arguments and the importance of the form of the tradition: "Murphy-O'Connor and Perkins see the reference to James et alii as Pauline redaction with the purpose of expanding the circle of apostles beyond the Twelve, thus allowing room for Paul's own apostleship." Cf. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "Tradition and Redaction in 1 Cor 15:3-7," in *CBQ* 43 (1981): 582-89; Pheme Perkins, *Resurrection: New Testament Witness and Contemporary Reflection* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984), 200.

[7] Jeremias, *Theologie*, 291; quoted in Alsup, *Post-Resurrection Appearance Stories*, 63. Jeremias concludes, "keine Frage, es sind die radikalen Kreise des palästinischen

In his claim to apostolicity, Paul basically defines an apostle as someone who fulfills two requirements: 1) having seen the risen Christ and 2) having been called or sent with the commission to proclaim Christ's message. Paul's apologetic stance for his apostleship rests foundationally upon the argument that indeed the resurrected Lord appeared to him. He makes this point clearly in the Corinthian epistle: "Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?" (1 Cor 9:1-2). Paul's letters, including such passages as Gal 1:11-16 and 1 Cor 15:8-11, show his own sense of a calling or commissioning, and inarguably indicate that a post-resurrection appearance from Christ was critical in the battle for status and theological authority.[8]

II. Conflicting Definition of Apostolic Authority in Luke-Acts

One of the most important differences between Paul and the author of Luke is the way in which they differ in their requirements for apostleship. The author of Luke-Acts, for example, provides a narrower, stricter definition than Paul does.[9] The first chapter of Acts states that to be an apostle: *δεῖ οὖν τῶν συνελθόντων ἡμῖν ἀνδρῶν ἐν παντὶ χρόνῳ ᾧ εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐφ ' ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάννου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἀνελήμφθη ἀφ ' ἡμῶν, μάρτυρα τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ σὺν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι ἕνα τούτων* (Acts 1:21-22)]. In other words, to be an apostle someone had to be there "from the beginning"—one of the men who accompanied Jesus from the baptism of John until the day when he was taken up to heaven (Acts 1:22).

Judenschristentums,...die ihn [Petrus] darum aus der Rolle des Empfängers der Ersterscheinung verdrängt haben."

[8] See also, 1 Cor 1:1, 17, 19; 2 Cor 12:11-12.

[9] Jacques Dupont, "Le nom d'apôtres: a-t-il été donné aux Douze par Jésus?" *OrSyr* 1 (1956) 267-90; reprint, Études sur les Évangiles Synoptiques (Leuven: University Press, 1985), 976-1018. On Luke's stricter definition, see also Ernst Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1959), 126.

Luke specifies that "only those who witnessed Jesus' earthly life 'from his baptism' can serve as authoritative witnesses of the resurrection as 'apostles.'"[10] The author of Luke makes an exclusionary move in two ways: not only with the phrase, "from the beginning," but also limiting the length of time of an appearance of Christ to forty days.[11] According to this definition even Paul himself does not technically qualify for apostleship. Indeed, of the twenty-eight occurrences of the word "apostle(s)" in Acts, only in one section is this term applied to Barnabas and Paul (14:4,14) and in this case, it is used in the broader sense to refer to persons sent on a mission, not in the sense of the Twelve used elsewhere in Acts (see 13:2-3).

III. Discrepancies in Witness Lists: Appearances to Mary Magdalene or Peter

The number of discrepancies in the accounts portraying post-resurrection witnesses and apostolic authority become even greater when one examines apocryphal literature. The study of apocryphal literature has already proven useful to the field of New Testament studies by adding to the knowledge that exists concerning the diversity of early Christian groups. Scholars have noticed, for instance, a certain competition or tension between Peter and Mary Magdalene in portrayals preserved in certain early Christian

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[10] Elaine Pagels, "Visions, Appearances, and Apostolic Authority: Gnostic and Orthodox Traditions," *Gnosis: Festschrift für Hans Jonas* (ed. Barbara Aland; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1978), 416.

[11] According to Philippe H. Menoud, the limitation to the symbolic "forty days" appears to be introduced by Luke to undergird the institution of a special small group of witnesses with the task of preaching to the world. See his article, "Pendant Quarante Jours," *Jésus-Christ et la Foi: Recherches néotestamentaires,* Bibliothèque théologique (Neuchâtel/ Paris: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1975), 110-18; see also, Haenchen, *Apostelgeschichte*, 126.

apocryphal texts.[12] These texts (the *Gospel of Thomas*,[13] the *Gospel of Mary*,[14] and *Pistis Sophia*[15]) always specifically name the figure of Peter as the one who attempts to challenge or to diminish Mary Magdalene's position.

In response to the suggestion of a certain competition between Peter and Mary Magdalene, Lüdemann argues that the sources cited above are relatively late and "cannot directly be projected back into the time of Luke."[16] His statement needs reconsideration for several reasons. These writings are not equally or indisputably late.[17] Secondly, even when the texts are late, they may represent historical kernels of an earlier conflict. This paper

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[12] Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her* (New York: Crossroad, 1983), 51; Karen King, "Introduction" [to the *Gospel of Mary* (BG 8502, 1)], in *Nag Hammadi Library in English*, ed. James M. Robinson (New York: HarperCollins, 1978), 523-24.

[13] In *Gospel of Thomas* 114, the figure of Peter states, "women are not worthy of life."

[14] In the *Gospel of Mary*, Peter states, "Did he [Jesus] really speak with a woman without our knowledge (and) not openly?" This controversy is preserved in the Greek fragment of the *Gospel of Mary* in P. Rylands III 463, a single, fragmentary leaf written in Greek, dated to the early third century, as well as in *Coptic Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*.

[15] In *Pistis Sophia* I, chapter 36, Peter complains, "we are not able to suffer this woman." In another example from *Pistis Sophia* (IV, chapter 146), Peter said: "My Lord, let the women cease to question, that we also may question." *Pistis Sophia* I-III is frequently dated to the second half of the third-century and *Pistis Sophia* IV dated slightly earlier according to Adolf Harnack (*Untersuchungen über das gnostische Buch* Pistis Sophia. *TU* 7/2 [Leipzig, 1891], 106-12) to the first half of the third century. Both Carl Schmidt [*Pistis Sophia* (Leipzig, 1925), p. XL-LXXXI] and Walter Till [GCS, vol. 45 (3rd ed.; 1959)], agree with his dating. For more information, see Michel Tardieu, *Introduction à la littérature gnostique* I (Paris: Cerf and CNRS, 1986), 80.

[16] Gerd Lüdemann, *The Resurrection of Jesus: History, Experience, Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), 143.

[17] The writing of the *Gospel of Thomas* may even be close to the time of Luke. The *Gospel of Thomas* is dated to the first century by scholars such as Helmut Koester, "Introduction [to *The Gospel according to Thomas*]," in *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2-7*, ed. Bentley Layton, 38-49 (Leiden: Brill, 1989); the text is dated to the second century or the latter part of the first century CE by Marvin Meyer, trans. with introduction, *The Gospel of Thomas: the Hidden Sayings of Jesus* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1992), 10.

suggests that the portrayal of tensions so evident between these two figures in apocryphal literature may also exist already in the conflicting resurrection traditions of the first century. I contend that this tension is especially evident in the discrepancies regarding to whom Jesus is reported to have made the first post-resurrection appearances.

A comparison of Luke-Acts with apocryphal literature shows that these discrepancies concerning recipients of resurrection appearances do not fall neatly into canonical and non-canonical categories. With respect to resurrection witness, Mary Magdalene's status is secure in a number of traditions apparently independent from one another, as is clear in the sepulchre scenes of Matthew, John, and the appendix of Mark. The Gospel of Luke presents a significantly different portrayal of the authority of Peter and Mary Magdalene from that represented in these other three canonical gospels, particularly the Gospel of John. With respect to apostolic status, the Gospel of Luke approximates the apocryphal *Gospel of Peter* in a number of ways, especially in the way it features Peter, and not Mary, as the primary recipient of a post-resurrection appearance.

IV. Lukan Preference for the Apostle Peter

This section highlights the way in which some of the significant parallels between the Gospel of Luke and the *Gospel of Peter* indicate that they are both Petrine texts. There is, of course, no question that the *Gospel of Peter* privileges the disciple Peter by making him the central figure of the text and the recipient of a post-resurrection appearance. The following comparison of Luke with the other canonical gospels will show that Luke likewise privileges Peter over the rest of the followers of Jesus significantly more than the other gospels do. The author of Luke does so by shaping the sections concerning Peter in three discernible ways: through supplementation of Petrine tradition not presented earlier, through omission of certain source material, and through the modification of narratives.

First, the Lukan author supplements Markan tradition with special

material not found in the other canonical gospels. An analysis of the special material added to the Gospel of Luke shows that in no case does this material diminish the status of Peter; in fact, just the opposite is true. Wherever special material concerning Peter appears in Luke, one can discern a certain uplifting of Peter when compared to the other disciples. The following section shows numerous examples of new narratives or traditions not presented in the other gospels in which the evangelist increases Peter's prominence.[18] The subsequent two sections demonstrate that whenever some potentially negative material concerning Peter exists in the Markan source material, the author either recasts it in a better light or omits it altogether. Finally, the most significant variation that occurs in the Gospel of Luke—and only in this canonical gospel—is a reference to the risen Lord appearing exclusively to Peter. This is the most cogent argument for the primacy of Peter in this text.

The Lukan tradition of Jesus appearing to Simon Peter helps to establish the climactic emphasis occurring in the Gospel of Luke as a whole. Therefore, when one carefully examines the way in which the author supplements tradition, reshapes existing sources, and omits potentially disparaging material, one will find that Luke's solitary presentation of Peter in the gospel as the singular and primary resurrection witness parallels what appears to be the evangelist's overall program to enhance Peter's leadership position.

A. Lukan Supplementation of Petrine Traditions

From the initial introduction of Peter into discipleship—one can see

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[18] For texts on the Sondergut in Luke, see Karl Bornhäuser, *Studien zum Sondergut des Lukas* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1934); Gerd Petzke, *Das Sondergut des Evangeliums nach Lukas* (Zürcher Werkkommentare zur Bibel; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1990); and Kim Paffenroth, *The Story of Jesus according to L*, JSNT, Supplement Series 147 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

how this author presents Peter with more prominence than the other three gospels in the canon. First, this author provides a significantly more developed account of Peter's call than either Matthew or Mark. Mark's version requires only two verses to depict Jesus calling both Simon Peter and his brother Andrew to discipleship (Mk 1:16-18). Matthew's version requires only three verses and likewise depicts the calling of both characters, Simon Peter and Andrew (Mt 4: 18-21). Luke's version, on the other hand, requires a full eleven verses to depict the incident (Lk 5:1-11). Moreover, it focuses specifically on Simon Peter while not even once mentioning Andrew, as the other gospels do, despite the significant increase of details.

When Jesus addresses Simon Peter in this chapter, proclaiming that "from now on you [Simon] will catch people," the "you" is in a singular form (Lk 5:10) whereas the "you" of "you will be fishers of people" is in the plural in both Matthew (4:19) and Mark (1:17). Moreover, in Luke Jesus asks only Simon "to put out to sea." This Lukan passage essentially describes Simon Peter's recognition of the divinity of Jesus. "When Peter responds to the miraculous catch with the confession of his own sinfulness (Luke 5:8), he acknowledges the holiness of God present in Jesus (cf. Isa. 6:5)."[19] Luke's description portrays Peter's confession in chapter five as an exhibition of Peter's astuteness in response to the teaching and miracles; in other words his recognition is not merely a gift of the Spirit as Matthew portrays.[20]

Further examples of supplementary material emphasizing Peter's position occur in the subsequent chapters of Luke. At the prediction of the denial, for instance, the Lukan author portrays Peter receiving a special commissioning from Jesus that is not bestowed upon the other disciples (Lk 22:31-32). In this text, while all three synoptic gospels record Jesus' prediction that Peter will deny him, only Luke provides the additional

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[19]Pheme Perkins, *Peter: Apostle for the Whole Church* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 84. Some scholars believe Lk 5:1-11 to be a misplaced appearance story.

[20] Perkins, *Peter*, 84.

wording that functions to mitigate the situation.[21] The supplemental Lukan passage immediately following the prediction portrays Jesus announcing to Peter: *ἐγὼ δὲ ἐδεήθην περὶ σοῦ ἵνα μὴ ἐκλίπῃ ἡ πίστις σου· καὶ σύ ποτε ἐπιστρέψας στήρισον τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου* ("But I have prayed for you [Simon] that your faith may not fail. And when you have turned back, strengthen your brothers" [Lk 22:32]). In this additional material that only Luke offers, Jesus proclaims his on-going support for Peter rather than his condemnation of Peter's behavior. The resultant rhetorical effect of Jesus' words singles out Peter to show that, despite his weakness, Peter is the one chosen to strengthen the others. The portrayal of Jesus making such a pronouncement could well have assisted in redeeming Peter and lending additional authority to his position despite his apparent failures. By placing these words in the narrative, the author provides a redemption for Peter's actions even before the denial takes place. The incident of the denial, therefore, that could have served to diminish Peter's status as a leader among the disciples, is reframed with these words to comprise a type of commissioning to indicate Jesus' knowledge and support of Peter's role following the crisis of Jesus' crucifixion.

The Lukan gospel provides a few other minor additions to the traditions concerning Peter, such as in the incident of the woman with a flow of blood. In Mark when this woman touches Jesus and he asks who touched him, the reply comes from "his disciples" (Mk 5:31). Luke, however, narrows the group of disciples down to one person—Peter—who is singled out as the spokesperson to reply to the question (Lk 8:45).[22] Likewise, in a passage concerning the Son of Man, the passages in Matthew and Luke are

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[21] Luke adds sentences into the narrative such as this one that promises leadership to Peter. See, Martin Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1959), 201.

[22] For more on Peter as spokesperson, see Jacques Dupont, "Les discours de Pierre," in *Nouvelles Études sur les Actes des apôtres*, Lectio Divina 118 (Paris: Cerf, 1984), 58-111, esp. 108-09.

very similar in wording, except that in the Lukan passage the author again gives Peter a speaking part: *εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος, κύριε, πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην λέγεις ἢ καὶ πρὸς πάντας* ("Peter asks, 'Lord, are you telling this parable to us, or to everyone?'" [Lk 12:41]). According to scholars, this text with Peter's question concerning parables is almost certainly a Lukan redaction,[23] providing Peter with additional dialogue and thus slightly more prominence in the text. Lastly, in Matthew and Mark, Jesus sends either "his disciples" or "two of his disciples" to prepare the Passover meal, but Luke's gospel supplements the known tradition by specifically naming Peter as one of the two (Lk 22:8).

B. Lukan Omission of Disconcerting Petrine Traditions

Not only does the Lukan evangelist supplement the gospel tradition with pro-Petrine material, but it appears that the author frequently removes or mitigates any synoptic tradition concerning Peter that could be interpreted critically of him. For instance, one of the most relevant synoptic descriptions of Peter's role follows Jesus' prediction of the crucifixion. Here again one can see a definite contrast between the description of events by Mark and Matthew as opposed to that of Luke. The Gospel of Mark states: *καὶ προσλαβόμενος ὁ Πέτρος αὐτὸν ἤρξατο ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ* ("Peter took him [Jesus] aside and began to rebuke him" [Mk 8:32b]). Likewise, Matthew states in almost the exact words that Peter took him aside and began to rebuke him (Mt 16:23). The Lukan gospel immediately preceding this section quite closely parallels the Markan source material in its description of how the Son of Man must suffer many things, but then inexplicably stops, eliminating Peter's objectionable behavior and omitting altogether the Greek word *ἐπιτιμᾶν* which means "to rebuke." The Lukan text immediately

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[23] François Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (2 vols.; Zürich: Benziger/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1989-96), 2.324; Raymond E. Brown, Karl P. Donfried, and John Reumann, eds., *Peter in the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1973), 114.

following the rebuke, however, once again closely parallels the wording of the Markan source material.

Perhaps even more significant than Peter's rebuke of Jesus is the content of the next section of narrative in which the Markan source material portrays Jesus in turn rebuking Peter. In Mark, the text reads: *ὁ δὲ ἐπιστραφεὶς καὶ ἰδὼν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ἐπετίμησεν Πέτρῳ καὶ λέγει, ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου, Σατανᾶ, ὅτι οὐ φρονεῖς τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* ("But when Jesus turned and looked at his disciples, he rebuked Peter. 'Get behind me, Satan!' he said. 'You do not have in mind the things of God, but the things of men'" [Mk 8:33]). Matthew's version reads similarly: *ὁ δὲ στραφεὶς εἶπεν τῷ Πέτρῳ, ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου, Σατανᾶ· σκάνδαλον εἶ ἐμοῦ, ὅτι οὐ φρονεῖς τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* ("Jesus turned and said to Peter, 'Get behind me, Satan! You are a stumbling block to me; you do not have in mind the things of God, but the things of men'" [Mt 16:23]). Interestingly, these words also do not appear in Luke. Although Luke portrays the same incident as Matthew and Mark, gone from the Lukan account is Jesus' reference to any demonic force operating behind Peter (cf. Lk 9:22).

In Peter's response to Jesus' prediction of the denial, the three synoptic versions again differ significantly with respect to Peter. Mark portrays Peter's insistence: *ὁ δὲ ἐκπερισσῶς ἐλάλει, ἐὰν δέῃ με συναποθανεῖν σοι, οὐ μή σε ἀπαρνήσομαι* ("But he [Peter] insisted emphatically, 'Even if I have to die with you, I will never disown you'" [Mk 14:31]). Matthews gospel portrays Peter's insistence in almost the same words: *λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος, κἂν δέῃ με σὺν σοὶ ἀποθανεῖν, οὐ μή σε ἀπαρνήσομαι* ("Even if I have to die with you, I will never disown you" [Mt 26:35]). Interestingly, in Luke this statement is absent as well. Perhaps the omission represents another avoidance of having Peter emphatically state what proves to be wrong.

Although Jesus regularly rebukes Peter in Mark and Matthew, nowhere in Luke does Jesus ever actually rebuke Peter. For instance, although both

Matthew and Mark portray Jesus as specifically chiding Peter for sleeping in the Garden, Luke apparently either receives a different tradition or alters the source material. In Mark, Jesus states: *καὶ ἔρχεται καὶ εὑρίσκει αὐτοὺς καθεύδοντας, καὶ λέγει τῷ Πέτρῳ, Σίμων, καθεύδεις; οὐκ ἴσχυσας μίαν ὥραν γρηγορῆσαι;* ("Then he returned to his disciples and found them sleeping. 'Simon, ' he said to Peter, 'are you asleep? Could you not keep watch for one hour?'" [Mk 14:37]). Matthew portrays a similar rebuke aimed at Peter: *καὶ ἔρχεται πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς καὶ εὑρίσκει αὐτοὺς καθεύδοντας, καὶ λέγει τῷ Πέτρῳ, οὕτως οὐκ ἰσχύσατε μίαν ὥραν γρηγορῆσαι μετ' ἐμοὺ* ("Then he returned to his disciples and found them sleeping. 'Could you men not keep watch with me for one hour?' he asked Peter" [Mt 26:40]). While Jesus specifically singles out Peter by name in both Mark and Matthew, the Lukan text reads that Jesus merely addresses "them" and speaks to the disciples as a group[24]: *καὶ ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τῆς προσευχῆς ἐλθὼν πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς εὗρεν κοιμωμένους αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, τί καθεύδετε; ἀναστάντες προσεύχεσθε, ἵνα μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς πειρασμόν* ("When he rose from prayer and went back to the disciples, he found them asleep, exhausted from sorrow. 'Why are you sleeping?' he asked them. 'Get up and pray so that you will not fall into temptation'" [Lk 22:45-46]). This omission of Peter's name in Luke displays a consistent pattern of alteration of material thus providing a strong impression of the author's agenda. Other omissions occur but these are some of the most significant.[25]

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[24] The way in which the author of Luke improves the portrayal of the disciples, especially Peter, also becomes apparent in this Garden of Gethsemane scene. In Mark, Jesus finds them "sleeping" (14:37); in Matthew Jesus also finds them "sleeping" (26:40); only in Luke does the author add the small explanatory note that Jesus finds them "sleeping for sorrow" (22:45).

[25] Luke also omits Jesus' cursing of the fig tree and Peter's calling attention to it. One might argue that the efforts of the author of Luke to present the character of Peter more

C. Lukan Modification of Petrine Traditions

The author of Luke employs a third redactional method in an apparent modification of the source material dealing with Peter. One such modification of Petrine material in Luke occurs in the account of the Transfiguration. Although the Markan account that states that Peter "did not know what to say" (Mk 9:6) indicates that he "reacted out of ignorance and fear, Luke shifts the feat to a theophanic appearance, the cloud from which the voice of God speaks (vv. 34-35)."[26] The Lukan account softens the text to say that Peter "did not know what he said" (Lk 9:33).[27] "Peter is not rebuked for misunderstanding in speaking these words."[28]

The author of Luke modifies source material from Mark in numerous other instances including the portrayal of Peter in the words of denial attributed to him. In both Matthew and Mark, Peter vehemently denies that

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positively are merely part of an overall effort to improve the impression of the group of disciples around Peter. Luke, for example, omits the mention of the disciples running away at the crucifixion as recorded in Mark and Matthew. However, the author's alterations do not always improve the status of the disciples as a whole. The author of Luke still has the disciples ask a question that could be portrayed as a misunderstanding, but removes the mention of Peter by name. When the disciples are less than perfect in Mark, such as when Peter, James, John, and Andrew ask "when the Temple will be destroyed" (Mk 13:3—a question that could be interpreted as a misunderstanding on the part of these disciples), Lk 21:7 has the question asked by an anonymous "they." In the Garden of Gethsemane, Jesus still rebukes the disciples for sleeping, but Luke's Jesus does not specifically mention Peter's name. Nor do the other individual disciples receive the kind of increase in positive emphasis that Peter does in Luke. Andrew, Peter's brother, is actually less significant in the Gospel of Luke; he does not appear in the healing of Peter's mother-in-law as he does in Mark's version (Mk 1:29, Lk 4:38) and is altogether missing from Luke's call narrative (Lk 5:1-11). See Brown, Donfried, and Reumann, *Peter in the New Testament*, 112.

[26] Perkins, *Peter*, 85.

[27] Bovon, *Evangelium nach Lukas*, 1.497-8. This passage in Luke uses a Greek verb with the prefix (διᾰ-) indicating that the disciples did not sleep or lose consciousness.

[28] Perkins, *Peter*, 85.

he will betray Jesus. In Mark: *ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἔφη αὐτῷ, εἰ καὶ πάντες σκανδαλισθήσονται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγώ* ("Peter declared, 'Even if all fall away on account of you, I never will'" [Mk14:29]). In Matthew: *ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ, εἰ πάντες σκανδαλισθήσονται ἐν σοί, ἐγὼ οὐδέποτε σκανδαλισθήσομαι* ("Peter replied, 'Even if all fall away on account of you, I never will fall away'" [Mt 26:33]). In both of these cases Peter is ultimately proven wrong. In Luke, however, Peter does not mistakenly state that he will not make such a betrayal. He says instead: *ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, κύριε, μετὰ σοῦ ἕτοιμός εἰμι καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν καὶ εἰς θάνατον πορεύεσθαι* ("But he replied, 'Lord I am ready to go with you to prison and to death'" [Lk 22:33]), a statement that according to tradition ultimately does appear to be true.[29]

One begins to see a pattern in which the alterations or omissions that the author of Luke makes to the source material serve to place Peter in a better light. It is, therefore, not surprising that the pattern continues when the source material records that Peter cursed or swore during the denial in both Mark and Matthew. In Mark, Peter says: *ὁ δὲ ἤρξατο ἀναθεματίζειν καὶ ὀμνύναι ὅτι οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ὃν λέγετε* ("He began to call down curses on himself, and he swore to them, 'I don't know this man you're talking about'" [Mk 14:71a]). Matthew also includes Peter's cursing: *τότε ἤρξατο καταθεματίζειν καὶ ὀμνύειν ὅτι οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον* ("Then he began to call down curses on himself, and he swore to them, 'I don't know the man'" [Mt 26:74a]). The author of Luke predictably does not portray Peter with either of these actions of cursing or swearing during the denial scene in the Gospel of Luke. Although the author does have the equivalent of the second half of each of the statements in Mark and Matthew: *εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος, ἄνθρωπε, οὐκ οἶδα ὃ λέγεις* (Peter replied, "Man, I don't know what you're talking about!" [Lk 22:60a]), the

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[29] This recasting of his response shows that Peter understands the implication of Jesus' words. See, Perkins, *Peter*, 85.

words with which he brings down a curse upon himself are missing. The result in Luke is a softening of the intensity of Peter's misguided denials that are so strongly portrayed in the other two gospels. This singling out is consistent in Luke and is nowhere more significant than in the portrayal of an exclusive resurrection appearance to Peter in Luke 24:33-34.

D. The Most Significant Supplementary Tradition in Luke: 24:33-34

The culmination of all these Lukan changes concerning the disciple Peter occurs in the most significant Lukan supplementation of all—the reference to a singular post-resurrection appearance to Simon in Luke 24:34. The reference to Jesus making a resurrection appearance exclusively to Peter is peculiar to Luke among the canonical gospels and is perhaps the most outstanding example of the prominence of Peter in this gospel. This reference, imbedded in the well-known passage of the travelers on the road to Emmaus, includes these words: *καὶ ἀναστάντες αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ, καὶ εὗρον ἠθροισμένους τοὺς ἕνδεκα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς,* [34] *λέγοντας ὅτι ὄντως ἠγέρθη ὁ κύριος καὶ ὤφθη Σίμωνι* ("They got up and returned at once to Jerusalem. There they found the Eleven and those with them, assembled together and saying, 'It is true! The Lord has risen and has appeared to Simon'" [Lk 24:33-34]).

A source-critical analysis shows that by the time this section occurs in the Gospel of Luke, the use of Mark as a source has discontinued. [30] The material in this passage, then, is either a Lukan composition or a tradition that

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[30] Wolfgang Dietrich, *Das Petrusbild der lukanischen Schriften,* BWANT, 5.F.14 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1972). This monograph presents an in-depth study of Peter in Luke-Acts, but describes more of a psychological development of the portrayal of Peter in Luke.

comes from "L."[31] The language of the text bears significant redactional evidence,[32] with the vocabulary of verses 33 and 35 appearing thoroughly Lukan.[33] Guillaume indicates that the passage is Lukan in narrative, vocabulary, style, structure, and topics.[34] Not only is the language Lukan, but the text is filled with Lukan theological motifs.[35] V. Taylor has analyzed the

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[31] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (2 vols.; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1985), 2.1554. "L" is not necessarily a single source: "The diversity of the special materials included in Luke's Gospel warns against the assumption of just one major special source for Luke." Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press, 1992), 337.

[32] Joachim Jeremias, *Die Sprache des Lukasevangeliums. Redaktion und Tradition im Nicht-Markusstoff des dritten Evangeliums* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 319-20.

[33] Christopher Evans, *Luke*, TPI New Testament Commentaries (London: SCM, 1990), 914.

[34] Jean-Marie Guillaume, *Luc interprète des anciennes traditions sur la résurrection de Jésus* (Paris: Gabalda, 1979), 69-81.

[35] Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, 2.1557-9. Among the vocabulary words that are Lukan is the use of the label: "the Eleven." Not counting the Marcan appendix (16:14), "The Eleven" appears in five places in the New Testament, with only one Matthean exception (Mt 28:16), the remainder of the references are in Lukan material: Lk 24:9,33, and Acts 1:26, 2:14. See, J. Plevnik, "'The Eleven and Those with Them' according to Luke," *CBQ* 40 (1978): 205-11. Another indication of Lukan vocabulary is the use of the word κύριος. Although the title of "Lord" as a designation of Jesus is almost entirely absent from Matthew and Mark (except in the vocative case, which is non-technical), it is one of the most common designations of Jesus in Luke. "It occurs in the narrative for the first time in Luke 7:13, and thereafter some sixteen times, always in non-Marcan sections." I. Howard Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1970), 166. It is uncertain whether Luke has taken over the use of the title from his sources (so F. Rehkopf, *Die lukanische Sonderquelle* [Tübingen, 1959], 95; F. Hahn, *Christologische Hoheitstitel* [Göttingen, 1964], 88-91) or has introduced it himself (P. Vielhauer, *Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament* [München, 1965], 154-56); "The fact that the title is not introduced by Luke into Marcan material strongly suggests that his usage rests to some extent upon his sources," Marshall, *Luke*, 166.

episode in detail, noting the characteristic Lukan vocabulary and constructions, and concluded that "Luke has embellished an existing tradition with unusual freedom."[36]

The text of the Emmaus encounter contains numerous puzzling aspects. For instance, the passage portrays the two disciples running all the way back to Jerusalem to share their experience, and yet they are not the first ones to speak in their meeting with the Eleven. Instead, the Eleven preempt the Emmaus pair with news of their own. When the two Emmaus disciples arrive, they find the Eleven and others assembled and saying to them that "the Lord has been raised and he has appeared to Simon."[37] So, only secondly do the two Emmaus disciples share their experience on the road, thus giving the primacy of the resurrection report to Peter's group.[38] The text indicates with the form of the word λέγοντας ("saying") that it is the gathered group that first makes this report to the travelers. The alternate reading λέγοντες used by codex D switches the subject, thus making the report about Peter come from the Emmaus travelers to the gathered group as one might expect when reading the narrative. This textual variation highlights the awkwardness of the text.

The only other canonical reference to a solitary appearance to Peter is 1 Cor 15:5. It is uncertain whether Luke knew the formula in First Corinthians (which Paul says he received from tradition) and excerpted from it the appearance to Peter at the head of the list, or received it as an isolated tradition.[39] Whatever the case may be, what is interesting about Luke 24: 34 is that Luke asserts here with this awkward syntax the priority of the

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[36] V. Taylor, *The Passion Narrative of St. Luke: A Critical and Historical Investigation* (SNTSMS 19; ed. O. E. Evans; Cambridge: University Press), 109-12, quoted in Fitzmyer, *Gospel According to Luke*, 2.1555.

[37] Fitzmyer, *Gospel According to Luke*, 2.1559.

[38] Roland Meynet, *L'Évangile selon Saint Luc: Analyse rhétorique* (2 vols.; Paris: Cerf, 1988), 2.237.

[39] Evans, *Luke*, 915.

appearance to Peter—"despite the apparent priority of the appearance on the way to, and at, Emmaus."[40] It appears that the theological agenda of the author takes precedence over the narrative flow of the story. The section above shows that the status of Peter is portrayed with such prominence that the Gospel of Luke can legitimately be called a pro-Petrine text.[41] "It is probably no accident that Peter is the last of the Twelve to be mentioned by name in the Gospel and the first of the Twelve to be mentioned by name in the Book of Acts."[42]

V. Post-Resurrection Appearances to Peter—the *Gospel of Peter*

This first- or second-century text called the *Gospel of Peter*[43] is undoubtedly a Petrine text, even if the title referring to Peter is no longer extant.[44] Significant is the way in which the *Gospel of Peter* presents Peter

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[40] Evans, *Luke*, 915.

[41] The book of Acts has often been called a Pauline text. If one judges this text with respect to apostolic authority, however, this book clearly gives the primacy to Peter, over Philip, over John, and significantly over Paul. The two claims that Paul makes for himself, his status as an apostle and his priority as a missionary to the Gentiles, are both diminished in Acts.

[42] Brown, *Peter in the New Testament*, 128.

[43] M. G. Mara, trans., *Évangile de Pierre* (Sources Chrétiennes 201; Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1973); Jünger Denker, *Die theologiegeschichtliche Stellung des Petrusevangeliums: Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des Doketismus* (EHS.T 36; Bern and Frankfurt: Lang, 1975); Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 216-40; John Dominic Crossan, *The Cross that Spoke: The Origins of the Passion Narrative* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1973). Éric Junod ["Évangile de Pierre," in *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), 242] dates the text to the first half of the second century.

[44] "Un évangéliste qui écrit sous le nom de Pierre ne pouvait manquer de mettre en plein jour la prééminence du chef des apôtres....Pierre reçoit du Christ ressuscité l'autorité suprême. De cette façon le prince des apôtres éclipsait tous les témoins intimes de la

not only as a recipient of a post-resurrection appearance, but, in fact, places the entire description of the events on the lips of Peter. Peter speaks in the first person, narrating both the resurrection and appearance first-hand (14.60).[45]

Despite the relatively early date of the *Gospel of Peter*, the post-resurrection appearances show signs of manipulation. Helmut Koester points out the redactional elements in this gospel "reveal the hand of the original author of the *Gospel of Peter*, who tries to connect several originally independent resurrection accounts."[46] Three epiphany accounts appear in the text: 1) the guards [and the elders] at the tomb who witness Jesus' resurrection, 2) Mary Magdalene and the other women who witness the open tomb, and 3) Peter and Andrew and some other disciples who witness Jesus' appearance at the lake[47]—however, the fragment ends at the beginning of this last epiphany. All three of these epiphanies work together to produce a subtle but crucial twist. The first epiphany account in which Jesus and two figures resurrect in front of the guards and elders at the tomb is a new element in the tradition, appearing in none of the other early resurrection accounts.[48] The introduction of this first epiphany into the sequence of events significantly changes the role of the women from what is recorded in Matthew, Mark, and John. It effectively functions to remove the women from their role as the first recipients of the resurrection news. This difference is a

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résurrection." Léon Vaganay, *L'Évangile de Pierre*. Études Bibliques (Paris: Gabalda, 1930), 93-94.

[45] A new fragment attributed to the Gospel of Peter is POxy 4009 which also uses the first person pronoun (μοι) for the recipient of Jesus' saying. See Dieter Lührmann, "POx 4009: Ein neues Fragment des Petrusevangelium?" *Novum Testamentum* 35 (1993): 390-410.

[46] Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press, 1992), 231 n. 3.

[47] Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 217.

[48] Another parallel between these texts occurs in an actual resurrection scene mentioned both in Luke (24:51) and the *Gospel of Peter* (10.39-40).

crucial one because this change moves the women into a secondary role in the *Gospel of Peter*—they are no longer the primary mediators of the kerygma—the men are.[49]

The second epiphany involves Mary Magdalene and the other women who have had no role in the text up to this point. They come to the tomb primarily, it seems, to overcome an earlier failing—because they had not done "what women are accustomed to do for their dead loved ones" (12.50). Instead of seeing Jesus, the women arrive to find a young man in a luminous robe in the middle of the sepulchre who invites them to "stoop this way and see the place where he lay for he is not there."[50] Without indicating whether the women did or did not comply with his invitation, the text explains that "the women then fled frightened" (13.57). The significance and subtle difference of this second epiphany is that it contains no commissioning, whether from the resurrected Christ or even from the angelic young man, mandating the women to spread the resurrection news.

Although the ending of the *Gospel of Peter* is lost, the third epiphany account points toward an appearance of the Lord Christ to Peter and other disciples. It states that they returned to their homes and took their nets out to sea, a narrative that echoes the secondary conclusion of John in 21:1-23. This third epiphany in the sequence functions to portray Peter and Andrew, not the women, as the intended recipients of Christ's post-resurrection appearance.

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[49] Mentioned in the presentation of Caroline Vander Stichele from the Universiteit van Amsterdam in "A Disciple of the Lord and Her Friends: Women in the Gospel of Peter," SBL Meeting 1997.

[50] Stichele, "A Disciple of the Lord and Her Friends," SBL Meeting 1997. She pointed out that the words of the messenger "if you do not believe" suggest the possible unbelief of the women.

VI. Diminishment of Mary Magdalene's Status in Petrine Texts

Post-resurrection appearances proved significant for Paul in establishing his apostolic authority as is evidenced in his own writings. Such appearances no doubt functioned substantially for the status of Peter or Mary in the early Christian churches as well. Scholars such as Raymond Brown have pointed out that a "key to Peter's importance in the apostolate was the tradition that he was the first to see the risen Jesus" (Luke 24:34; 1 Cor 15:5).[51] The significance of such an appearance, therefore, cannot be underestimated.

If it is the case that some competition existed even in the first century between Peter and Mary Magdalene concerning their status as apostolic witnesses, then it may be useful to examine the Gospel of Luke and the *Gospel of Peter* with respect to the corresponding status of Mary. Such a competition in apostolic authority would lead one to expect that these two texts that so highly value Peter would need to deal with Mary Magdalene's position. My research shows that with respect to apostolic authority, it appears that the greater the prominence of Peter in a text, the more diminished is the role of Mary Magdalene and most other female leadership.

At first glance, Mary Magdalene's role in the *Gospel of Peter* seems fairly similar to her role in most of the other sepulchre scenes. The author specifically mentions Mary Magdalene by name, designates her as a *μαθήτρια τοῦ κυρίου* ("a disciple of the Lord"), and states that she and "friends" came to the tomb. However, when one does an in-depth analysis of the *Gospel of Peter*, a critical difference between this story and most of the others becomes apparent—Mary and the other women never receive the commissioning to deliver the good news as they do in three of the four canonical gospel narratives.

Four commissionings for Mary occur in the canonical gospels: one in

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[51] Raymond E. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* (New York: Paulist, 1979), 189.

Mark, two in Matthew, and one in John. In Mark, the words of commissioning are: *ἀλλὰ ὑπάγετε εἴπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ ὅτι προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν· ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε, καθὼς εἶπεν ὑμῖν* ("But go, tell his disciples and Peter that he is going before you to Galilee; there you will see him, as he told you"; 16:7). The Gospel of Matthew portrays the delivery of two directives, the first by the messenger at the tomb: *καὶ ταχὺ πορευθεῖσαι εἴπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἰδοὺ προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε· ἰδοὺ εἶπον ὑμῖν* ("Then go quickly and tell his disciples: 'He has risen from the dead and is going ahead of you into Galilee. There you will see him.' Now I have told you"; 28:7). The second commissioning is from the risen Lord himself: *τότε λέγει αὐταῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, μὴ φοβεῖσθε· ὑπάγετε ἀπαγγείλατε τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου ἵνα ἀπέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, κἀκεῖ με ὄψονται* ("Go and tell my brothers to go to Galilee; there they will see me"; 28:10). In the Gospel of John the words of Mary's commissioning are: *πορεύου δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου καὶ εἰπὲ αὐτοῖς, ἀναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν καὶ θεόν μου καὶ θεὸν ὑμῶν* ("Go to my brothers and say to them, 'I am returning to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God'" [Jn 20:17b]). This crucial element of a commissioning through either the angelophany or Christophany to the women is absent in the *Gospel of Peter* as it is in the Gospel of Luke.

An examination of Mary Magdalene's role in the Gospel of Luke reveals that Mary's role is similarly diminished and is, therefore, the least helpful canonical gospel in justifying apostolic status for her or other women.[52] In Luke, Mary Magdalene is portrayed as witnessing two messengers at the sepulchre scene instead of witnessing the resurrected Jesus

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[52] Luke has one non-passion reference to Mary Magdalene that the other canonical gospels do not (Lk 8:1-3). Modeling appropriate roles for women in Luke, she is mentioned as someone who has been healed and contributes financial support.

himself. Furthermore, in contrast to the other three canonical gospels, only in Luke does she not receive the commission, and only in Luke does the author depict the resurrected Lord appearing to Peter alone. Instead, Mary Magdalene and the other women merely see "two men in clothes that gleamed like lightning" (Lk 24:4).

Secondly, the words of Mary Magdalene in Luke are not recorded in a kerygmatic statement. The text states only that "they told this to the apostles" (Lk 24:9). The kerygmatic statement comes instead on the lips of the two messengers: "He is not here; he has risen! Remember how he told you, while he was still with you in Galilee: 'The Son of Man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, be crucified and on the third day be raised again'" (Lk 24:6-7).

The disciples' response to the women's report of what happened is harsher in Luke than in the other gospels. In fact, Luke uses a *hapax legomenon* to describe the disciples' opinion of the women's words as λῆρος which means "nonsense" or "idle talk." Basically, the reaction is one of unbelief among the disciples, with the exception of Peter, whom the Lukan author portrays as making the first step toward faith by running to the tomb and wondering what had happened (Lk 24:11).[53]

The most important aspect of the differences among these accounts is that there is in Luke no commissioning of the women to go and tell anyone. In the other three gospels either Jesus or the messenger(s) send Mary Magdalene alone or with the other women to proclaim the news. This commissioning is noticeably absent in Luke—a factor, that likewise significantly influences Mary's status as a resurrection witness. Luke never provides divine justification for women to preach or teach.

Although the appearance to Peter alone in Luke is not recorded in the other canonical gospels, it does appear in the tradition that Paul quotes in

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[53] Michael D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement Series 20 (2 vols.; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 2.777.

1 Cor 15:5. Because the Pauline reference must be early, some scholars have claimed a priority for this Petrine resurrection tradition. The inclusion of the names of Peter and James in Paul's list of epiphany recipients, however, may simply be the result of the particular tradition that Paul received. The priority of Peter is specifically that tradition that had prominence in Jerusalem, where Peter and James were "pillars" and where Paul received his initial indoctrination into the early Christian church. It could well be that Mary Magdalene was not a part of this tradition.

Those scholars who employ the Emmaus account to argue for the priority of the appearance to Peter in Luke, claim it as the most archaic resurrection tradition. However, even the Emmaus story has embedded within it traces of the tradition of the women's visit to the tomb (Lk 24:22) as well as an angelophany to them (Lk 24:23). Likewise, when comparing the appearance accounts, one also cannot employ an early date for the *Gospel of Peter* to defend the priority of Peter's resurrection appearance. Exhibited in this text are "numerous features in these accounts which are obviously secondary"[54]: 1) Jesus is condemned and crucified by Herod, while Pilate is completely exonerated; 2) the anti-Jewish polemic seems intensified; and 3) the story of Jesus' resurrection from the tomb is told elaborately, introducing also the cross that follows Jesus out of the tomb and speaks. I add to this list of secondary features the demotion of Mary Magdalene as a primary resurrection witness.[55] The rhetorical result of the subtle changes in the sequence of events removes from the *Gospel of Peter* any probability that women could use this version of the resurrection account as proof that they, too, have a mandate to preach and teach. Given the redactional elements evidenced in both the *Gospel of Peter* and the Gospel of Luke, one may agree

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[54] Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 217.

[55] Koester points out that the appearance of the young man from heaven at the tomb (11.44) is a redactional insertion: "this angelic person is needed in the tomb for the following story of the discovery of the empty tomb" (12.50-13.57). Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 233.

that the biases of New Testament scholars earlier in this century of associating the female disciples merely with the empty tomb while associating Peter and the male disciples with the earliest resurrection appearances continues to need revision.[56]

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, apocryphal texts tend to highlight one or more followers of Jesus and provide them with a privileged position with respect to the rest of the group.[57] The way in which these texts tend to valorize a particular apostle can be seen throughout such documents as the *Acts of Paul*, the *Acts of Peter*, and the *Gospel of Mary*. This valorization is a common element in these texts. Within the New Testament, the Gospel of Luke most closely approximates this characteristic of apocryphal literature, especially in the way it privileges the position of Peter.

More than the elevation of Peter in Matthew (16:17-19) or the Beloved Disciple in John (13:23-25; 19:26-27),[58] the Gospel of Luke exhibits a

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[56] Form-critical research tends to divide the post-resurrection accounts into two early forms: the empty tomb associated with the female disciples and the epiphanies associated with the male disciples. This dichotomization, however, does not adequately account for the number of epiphanies to the women as well as the number of times the male disciples encounter the empty tomb (Lk 24:12 and 24 and Jn 20:3-10). See the dissertation of Richard Atwood, *Mary Magdalene in the New Testament Gospels and Early Tradition;* European University Studies, Vol. 457 (Bern: Peter Lang, 1993).

[57] The earliest apocryphal acts tend to highlight only one apostle or disciple. With time these texts even featured two or three, but this phenomenon tends to be a later development in the genre. François Bovon, "Jesus' Missionary Speech as Interpreted in the Patristic Commentaries and the Apocryphal Narratives," *Texts and Contexts: Biblical Texts in Their Textual and Situational Contexts* (ed. Tord Fornberg and David Hellhom; Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995), 875-76.

[58] A reference to this disciple is also added to the appendix, 21:20-24. A forthcoming paper will explain why the disciple in Jn 20:2-10 is intentionally not included in these references.

programmatic portrayal of Peter in which the author lifts this figure to an even greater prominence than the rest. The author brings special material about Peter and presents modifications of Markan material that almost without fail benefit the portrayal of Peter. This preferential treatment of Peter in the third gospel is most clear in Luke's supplementation of other canonical Petrine tradition with a resurrection appearance made exclusively to Peter. All these elements work together in the Lukan presentation of Peter that raises his status higher that any other canonical gospel.[59] With the words: "and then he appeared to Peter," in Luke 24:34, Günter Klein maintains that what we have in Luke is a lost resurrection narrative that was suppressed from the Gospel tradition.[60] Judging, however, from the way in which the Lukan author clearly highlights the role of Peter, I maintain that in the Gospel of Luke no such suppression can be attributed to the author. Had this evangelist possessed any such resurrection narrative, this gospel would surely have included it.

The Gospel of Luke is the only canonical Gospel in which Jesus appears solely to Peter and is simultaneously the only canonical gospel in which no words of commissioning are given to Mary Magdalene. It is my contention that a direct and perceptible relationship exists between the way in which the Gospel of Luke is the most Petrine of all the canonical gospels and also the one in which the witness of Mary Magdalene is most diminished.

The Gospel of Luke, in fact, indicates a greater affinity with the apocryphal text, the *Gospel of Peter*, than with the other three canonical gospels, especially with its heroization of the figure of Peter. A comparison of the *Gospel of Peter* with the Gospel of Luke demonstrates that both texts contain some significant pro-Petrine elements in common. In both, their

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[59] The significance of the figure of Peter for the author of Luke-Acts is further confirmed in Acts where he acts as the spokesperson for the group, the chief apostle, and the first to convert a Gentile.

[60] Günter Klein, "Die Verleugnung des Petrus. Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung," *Zeitschrift für die Theologie und Kirche* 58 (1961): 285-328.

stance with respect to Peter may well be linked to what appears to be a non-apostolic role for Mary. This investigation shows, therefore, that with respect to resurrection appearances and apostolic authority, the selection of primary apostolic witnesses does not fall along canonical lines.

"ENOCH" AS SCIENTIST, SAGE, AND PROPHET
CONTENT, FUNCTION, AND AUTHORSHIP IN 1 ENOCH

George W. E. Nickelsburg
The University of Iowa

Some years ago, Matthew Black sent me a copy of the commentary on the "Astronomical Book" (AB) in 1 Enoch (chaps. 72-82) which had been written by Otto Neugebauer and himself and which now appears as part of Black's larger commentary.[1] I wrote Neugebauer to see if he might have some offprints and bibliography that would be helpful to me as I worked on my own commentary. In his response, after a few suggestions, he added the following:[2]

> In principle, however, I do not see why theologians are concerned with this primitive "astronomical" (id est, calendaric) treatise that by accident went under the name of "Enoch" but has nothing to do with theological problems. For the history of astronomy we can ignore theology and I would suggest also the inverse position for theologians.

Being a professor, I took this elegant rebuff as a challenge, and today's session offers me the opportunity to take up the challenge. What, in fact, do theology and scientific knowledge have to do with one another in this strange collection of texts that we know as 1 Enoch? They have *very much* to do with one another, I would claim--with all due respect to Professor Neugebauer.

In explicating this claim, I shall deal with four topics: 1) aspects of the content of 1 Enoch 72-82; 2) the function of the "scientific" material in AB within 1 Enoch as a whole; 3) the notion of "knowledge" in 1 Enoch as a whole and its function; 4) some social aspects of the authors of 1 Enoch .

1. Some Observations about 1 Enoch 72-82

I begin my discussion by identifying some important features in AB, which will serve as "fixed stars" by which to plot our course through the Enochic corpus. Fundamental is the *caveat* that we have real problems in determining what precisely constituted AB, and at what time. Internal analysis of the Ethiopic text of chapters 72-82, as well as comparison of that text with the Qumran Aramaic fragments, reveal differences in the content and order of

the texts and partial duplication of sections, and they indicate a history of ongoing compositional and editorial activity.[3] Of necessity, this perplexing situation qualifies many of the statements and claims one makes about AB.

1.1 The Superscription (72:1)

The superscription of AB is symptomatic of the problem just stated. According to the Ethiopic text, that superscription identified the work as

> The Book of the Motion of the Luminaries of the Heaven: how each one of them stands in relation to their number, to their powers and their times, to their names and their origins and their months, as the holy angel Uriel, who is their leader, showed to me when he was with me (Transl. Neugebauer).

The subject matter of the book is said to be the motion of the luminaries and certain related factors. I call attention to two of these factors.

The first is "their number." Emphasis on the issue of number is noteworthy; a large part of AB is concerned with the sun and the moon, but a concern about the *number* of the luminaries implies an interest in the planets or *the stars*. This is supported by 1 Enoch 33:2-3, which alludes to the title of this work but, among the luminaries, refers only to the stars, their number, and the number of their portals. Moreover, in AB reference is made to the *number* of the luminaries only in connection with the thousands of stars (75:1; 82:12).

Several factors suggest that at some point in the tradition the stars were more important than they are in the present form of the Ethiopic text. 1) The parallelism in the summary statement in 79:1 assumes previous extensive reference to the stars:

> And now, my son, I have shown you *everything*,
> and *the law of all the stars of heaven* is completed.

In its present context in the Ethiopic text, this statement follows a section on the sun and the moon. Either something dropped from the present context, or this verse has been transposed from a context that is no longer preserved. 2) In the Ethiopic text AB ends at 82:10-20 with an extensive treatment of the stars and their relationship to the seasons, and the Aramaic indicates that part of this section has been dropped.[4] 3) Both 82:10ff. and its parallel in 75:1-4 connect the thousands and their leaders with the seasons and the epagomenal days, and both texts refer to human error with respect to these days. 4) Another item in

the superscription, "their names," is important in chapters 72-82 only with reference to the stars (82:10ff., but cf. briefly 78:1-2). Again "names" is mentioned in 33:2 with reference to the stars.

Thus, both the superscription and some occasional references in the body of AB indicate that the astronomical lore gathered in these chapters is drawn from a larger body of tradition in which the stars played a more important role than may be suggested by the emphasis and focus on the sun and moon in the present form of the Ethiopic text.

A second feature in the superscription is the claim that the contents of this book have been revealed by the angel Uriel. Whatever the real life origins of the data, this author claims that he got his information *by revelation.* This revelation, moreover, is visual and not simply conceptual. Throughout AB, the author uses the verb "saw / showed" (*re'ya / 'are'i*). While the latter, causative form of the verb can be used metaphorically, Enoch often sees physical phenomenon, e.g., the gates on the perimeter of earth's disc, or in the canopy above it (72:3; 74:9; 75:4; 76:1).[5] Thus, although chapters 72-82 do not contain a single verb of motion, the reader must suppose that Enoch traveled to these uttermost reaches of the cosmos, where he saw the phenomena. As we shall see in the next sections, the author's claim to revelation is remarkable, but its function is less than clear. One might suppose that the appeal to angelic authority as the guarantee of the validity of this cosmic lore implies a polemical setting for the treatise as a whole. That is, the author is setting forth his version of cosmology and celestial mechanics in opposition to another version. Two passages suggest a polemical function for the book (75:2; 82:5);[6] however, comparison with an explicitly polemical text like Jub. 6:32-35 underscores the paucity and mildness of the AB's polemics. Indeed the repetitive cataloging of cosmological details and the rarity of the aforementioned polemics lends credibility to Neugebauer's claim that this is a scientific treatise. Yet the fact remains that the cosmological and celestial knowledge contained in the text is said to be of divine origin, i.e., obtained through the mediation of an angel and not by empirical observation.

1.2 The Contents of Chapters 72-82

The superscription of AB suggests that this section is devoted to the movements of the heavenly luminaries. While this is the major subject matter of these chapters, two chapters preserved both in the Ethiopic and in the Aramaic fragments broaden the scope of AB to include other cosmic phenomena. Chapter 76 describes, at the ends of the earth, the twelve gates of the winds and the characteristics of the winds that blow from each of them. Chapter 77, picking up on the catchword *ruaḥ*, describes the four quarters (*nafas* = *ruaḥ*) of the earth, the meaning of their names, and their contents.[7] Thus, while this section devotes most of its space to the heavenly luminaries and the superscription emphasizes this, its contents are described more properly as *cosmology* than as astronomy. The object of Enoch's visitation and scrutiny has been the whole cosmos: the heaven and the earth, the sea, the dry land, and the abyss. Chapter 76 provides another connection with the strictly *astronomical* material. The heat and cold and the various kinds of precipitation that attend the seasons described in section about the stars in 82:10-20 + 4QEnastr^{d} 1 i-iii originate with the winds that issue from the gates that are named and described in chapter 76.

1.3 Order in the Cosmos: a Constituent Feature

A major feature in chapters 72-82 is the emphasis on cosmic order. The cosmos and its component parts are governed by immutable, divinely ordained laws that are in force from the time of creation until the new creation (72:1). The times and places in which the luminaries rise and set and their trajectories across the heavens are ever the same. The seasons on earth can be calculated with respect to the heavenly bodies; their characteristics are fixed and so are the functions of the regularly placed winds. All of this is described in specific detail and often with the regularity of monotonous arithmetic calculation.

One striking fact underscores the importance of the author's claims about the regularity of the functioning of the cosmos. More often than not, Enoch's allegedly revealed cosmology does not agree with empirical reality, but conforms to a priori schemes. One exception appears in some of the Qumranic material about the movement of the moon, not included in the Ethiopic text,

which corresponds roughly to what one might empirically observe over a period of time (4QEnastr^b 7).[8]

Elsewhere the situation is different. For example, in chapter 72 the regularity of the sun's movements from gate to gate and the respectively increasing and decreasing lengths of day and night follow an arithmetic formula that does not take into account the increasing and decreasing "speed" of the sun which we now know to be a function of the earth's elliptical orbit. Similarly, the description of the phases of the moon (chap. 73) is inaccurate.[9]

Also intriguing is chapter 76. As Neugebauer has noted, the characteristics of the winds that issue from the respective gates follow a ideal scheme that does not correspond with fact.[10] The four beneficial winds issue from gates at the cardinal points of the compass, while the destructive winds come from the other eight gates. Moreover, in six of these eight cases, winds in successively numbered gates have identical qualities: 6=7; 9=10; 12=1. According to Neugebauer, this duplication indicates that an original scheme of eight winds has been augmented to twelve.

Finally we should note the order in the description of the earth in chapter 77. There are explicable reasons for the names of the quarters; as is often the case in Semitic thought, the name reveals the reality. Moreover, there is symmetry on the face of the earth: seven high mountains, seven large rivers, seven great islands. Whatever ancient world views or mythic geographies may be reflected here, the numbers are symmetrical.[11]

1.4 This Order is Structured Into the Cosmos

The order which Enoch attributes to the cosmos is not limited to the way that things happen. Fixed, created places in the cosmos make these happenings possible. Gates have been built into the perimeter of the earth, through which the winds blow. Doors and windows have been placed in the canopy of the sky, through which the luminaries rise and set. Thus, the order of cosmic happenings is a function of the created structure of the cosmos, as well as the result of the laws that God has issued to the moving elements in the cosmos. These laws are the dynamic ongoing factors according to which order continues, but they are facilitated by the physical structure that God put in

place at the beginning. That physical structure also includes, as we have seen, the symmetry of the sea and the dry land.

1.5 The Problem of Revealed Nonsense

As the superscription of this work indicates, and as we are reminded throughout the book, this picture of cosmic order is presented as revelation. Although this claim to revelation may be, in part, a result of some polemical considerations, the claim creates an interesting problem. What the author claims to be revelation contradicts what a careful observer would eventually discover? The author, or an editor according to Neugebauer, has composed a "revealed" table of the winds that is, in part, meteorological nonsense, as any Palestinian farmer would know?[12]

2. The Function of the Book of the Luminaries in 1 Enoch

The Book of the Luminaries is only one part of the larger Enochic corpus preserved in Ethiopic. Leaving aside Neugebauer's claim that the Enochic attribution of these chapters is accidental, I wish to ask how this material, now Enochic in its attribution, is used in other strata of 1 Enoch. I shall argue that it is, in fact, integrated into the corpus. Its location can be explained by design, and its contents are referred to in other sections of the collection, where this *"scientific"* material serves a *theological* function.

2.1 The Placement of Chapters 72-82 in the Corpus

Codicological evidence from Qumran allows us, I believe, to explain why the Book of the Luminaries stands in its present location in the corpus, although I emphasize again that we are dealing with fragments.[13] Milik makes two points about the content of the Qumran fragments.[14] 1) The material corresponding to chapters 72-82 was copied on manuscripts that did not include the other parts of what we now call 1 Enoch, and conversely, chapters 1-36 and 83-107 were copied on MSS. that did not include the astronomical material. 2) Evidently, none of the Qumran MSS. contained the Book of Parables (chaps. 37-71). Taking this as a starting point and comparing the Aramaic and the Ethiopic, I note the following. 1) If we take the present order of the Ethiopic Enoch and remove the Book of Parables, the Book of Luminaries follows immediately after chapter 36. 2) Chapters 32-36 describe

the end of Enoch's journey to the eastmost edge of the earth, where Uriel shows him the windows of the stars, and where Enoch begins a circular journey around the earth's perimeter in order to inspect the portals of the winds. Thus, these chapters present a very brief summary of some of the contents of the astronomical chapters, and even a paraphrase of the Book's superscription (33:3-4). 3) I suggest the following scribal scenario. a) An earlier form of the Enochic corpus alluded here to the Book of Luminaries, which existed on separate MSS., as it did at Qumran. b) Subsequently, a scribe copied such a MS. of chapters 1-36 + 83ff. and interpolated the Book of Luminaries right after its summary and the allusion to it in chapters 33-36. c) A subsequent scribe interpolated the Book of Parables, between chapters 36 and 72. There was a reason for the placement. The Book of Parables is partly modeled on chapters 1-36, but also has astronomical material.[15] Thus, as it stands, it reiterates what precedes it (though with massive differences), and it prepares for what follows it.

2.2 Cosmology in 1 Enoch 17-36

The primary use of the cosmological material found in chapters 72-82 occurs in the accounts of Enoch's two journeys in chapters 17-19 and 20-36.

2.2.1 Enoch 17-19

Chapters 17-19 recount Enoch's journey from (in the context of chaps. 12-16) the heavenly throne room to the northwestern edge of the earth. The account parallels chapters 12-16. There Enoch ascended to the *heavenly* throne room, where he heard the divine *prediction* that the fallen watchers will be punished. In chapters 17-19, he travels to the *mountain* throne of God, where he sees the *places* where punishment will be exacted against the watchers and certain transgressing stars.

The journey account has three parts, and certain stylistic features indicate its form and purpose. In the first part (chap. 17), Enoch recounts his journey across the earth in the company of angels. Typical is the formula, "They *took* me (or *led*) me" or "I *departed* from *x* and *arrived* at *y* and I saw *z*." The stations of this journey include: a mountain that reaches to heaven, where he sees the place of the luminaries and the storehouses of the stars and the

thunders and lightnings–i.e., astronomical and meteorological phenomena; the living waters, the river of fire (Pyrophlegethon), the great river (Oceanus), and the source of all rivers at the mouth of the abyss–i.e., cosmological features.

In the second part of chapters 17-19 (18:1-5), the formula and subject matter change. As in chapters 72-82, there are no verbs of motion; Enoch only *sees* (the verb occurs nine times). What he sees are the treasuries of the winds and the many ways in which the winds sustain the universe. They are the foundations of earth, the pillars of the firmament, and the driving force of the sun, the stars, and the clouds.

The third part of chapters 17-19 (18:6-19:2) describes *the goal* of Enoch's journey. He arrives at the seven mountains in the Northwest, the chief of which is the gem-studded paradise which is God's throne. Beyond these he sees another place, at the ends of the earth. Again the formula changes. *He sees* burning pillars of fire, and the angel *Uriel explains* that they are the fallen Watchers. In another place *he sees* burning stars, and *the angel explains* that they are stars that transgressed God's command to rise at their appointed times, evidently at beginning of creation.

This formal analysis indicates the following. Enoch recounts how he has seen certain cosmic and meteorological phenomena, which are mentioned in chapters 72-82: the luminaries, the waters, the winds, the seven mountains. Different from chapters 72-82, here the verbs of motion track his journey to the places where he sees these phenomena (in the case of the winds he only "sees" them). The vision-interpretation form of part three of the section indicates that the purpose of this account is to track Enoch's progress to places of eschatological significance. Although in 17:1-18:1-6 Enoch sees cosmological phenomena, they are mentioned as way-stations; they provide evidence that he got to where he was going. *Cosmology is in the service of eschatology*, and the verbs of motion function to track a journey, which parallels the heavenly ascent in chapters 12-16, describing it, rather, like a Greek Nekyia.

The cosmology in these chapters has certain parallels with AB. As in chapter 76 and AB in general, there are no verbs to indicate Enoch's journey in the section on the winds (18:1-5). The section also agrees with chapter 76

and 72-82 in general in its emphasis on order, although here the winds are sustainers of the cosmic structure and not the regular bringers of the seasons and their meteorological characteristics, which function as blessing and curse.

The cosmology in these chapters also differs from AB in that the author uses cosmology to undergird eschatology. The judgment *predicted* in chapters 12-16 is sure to happen, because *the places where* it will happen are built into the very structure of the cosmos. Thus, the temporal dimension of traditional eschatology is supplemented by a spacial dimension, that is a physical component of the created world. If chapters 72-82 describe the created structure to affirm order in the heavens, chapters 17-19 refer to this structure in order to affirm the order of divine justice.

2.2.2 Chapters 20-36

Chapters 20-36 duplicate and supplement chapters 17-19. More than 17-19, the account emphasizes eschatology, and it adds new stations to Enoch's journey.[16] At each of these stations, an angel explains what Enoch sees. Thus the formulas at the end of 17-19 run throughout this section.[17] After an onomasticon of the interpreting angels who will accompany Enoch (chapter 20), Enoch's journey, in context, begins in the far Northwest, where 17-19 left off, and moves to the eastmost reaches of the earth and beyond. In the table below, eschatological additions in the second journey are indicated in italics.[18]

First Journey (17-19)		**Second Journey (20-36)**	
Heaven to the Northwest		**Northwest to Northeast**	
		Visits the winds	24-36
		Ends of the Earth	33
		Paradise	*32:3-6*
Travels to Northwest	17:1-7	Travels to Northeast	28:1-32:2
		Center of Earth	*26:1-27:5*
Visits the winds	18:1-5		
Seven mountains	18:6-9	*God's mountain*	*24:2-25:7*
		Fire of the West	*23:1-24:1*
		Place of the Dead	*22*
Fiery pillars	18:10-19:2	Fiery pillars	21:7-10
Fiery mountains	18:12-16	Fiery mountains	21:1-5
		Onomasticon	20

In chapter 21 he sees in reverse order the two places of punishment previously mentioned. In chapter 22, he views the gathering place of the souls or spirits of the dead, a high mountain that is the functional equivalent of Sheol. Raphael explains about retribution immediately after death and at the end-time. The meaning of 23:1-24:1 is obscure, but the motif of judgment appears in verse 4. At chapters 24-25, he arrives at the seven mountains of the Northwest, mentioned in 18:6-9. The jeweled mountain with God's throne is described also as a paradise of fragrant trees. Chief among these is the tree of life. Most of Michael's interpretation describes how this tree will be transplanted to the holy place, where the righteous will enjoy the fabulous life described in Isaiah 65-66, and also in 1 Enoch 10-11. Now Enoch moves on to the center of the earth, Jerusalem (chaps. 26-27). The scene complements chapters 24-25. Although the fertile holy mountain is mentioned, the vision and interpretation emphasize the dry valley of Hinnom, where the wicked will be punished in the end-time, in the presence of the righteous.

Chapters 28-32 constitute the next leg of Enoch's journey, from the center of the earth to the Paradise of Righteousness in the far Northeast (cf. chap. 77). Chapters 28-32:1 track his progress through the lush spice fields and woods, using the formula, "I went... I saw." Different from the parallel account in chapter 17, he sees life and fertility rather than abandonment and desertion. The detailed references to the spice plants and trees prepare us for the object of the journey, which Enoch sees and has interpreted for him. It is the primordial Paradise, dominated by the greatest and most fragrant of trees---the tree of wisdom.[19] Combining motifs from Genesis 3 and Ezekiel 28, he describes a tree whose fruit gives wisdom. The idea appears to be reflected in Sir 24:8-29 and Vit. Ad. 29.[20] This interest in revealed wisdom is not surprising in this apocalyptic work. Not only does the account of Enoch's itinerary parallel chapter 17, but the vision of Paradise and its tree balances the earlier account in *this* journey of God's Paradise in the Northwest and *its* dominating tree, the tree of life that will be transplanted to Jerusalem.

From Paradise Enoch moves to the edge of the earth, where he sees strange birds and beasts. Then Uriel takes him on a tour of the stars and their

gates. Enoch records his visions and here summarizes them in a paraphrase of the title of the Book of Luminaries (chap. 33). Chapters 34-36 parallel chapter 76. Strikingly, however, Enoch's journey to the gates of the winds proceeds in a counterclockwise circular direction from the Northeast, to the North and around to the East. The strange and intricate scheme of chapter 76 is lost.

Thus, Enoch's second journey is filled with references to mythic cosmology. As in chapters 17-19 these references serve his eschatology. Supplementing chapters 17-19, in this journey, Enoch sees the places of retribution for *human beings*, as well as for angels and stars. In his reference to the tree of life (25:7), he emphasizes that these things are "prepared" and "created" for the righteous. The created structure of the universe and its components guarantee and will facilitate the future judgment that he predicts. Finally, he refers not only to astronomical and geographical matters, but to the living world of plants and trees. This does not indicate that he was a spice trader, as Milik suggests.[21] Rather, he refers to an aspect of the spacial, created world whose products are familiar to him and his audience.[22]

Our comparative study of 1 Enoch 72-82 and 17-36 allows us to make some observations about the development of a literary form that claims to transmit revelation. In chapters 72-82, the author presented an account of a revealed vision of the hidden reaches of the cosmos and its order. Chapters 17-36 allude to these matters but concentrate on mythic geography. "Enoch" tours the places of eschatological reward and punishment, as well as the primordial Paradise. The hidden world that is revealed to him is not simply or primarily the heavens, but especially the normally inaccessible reaches of earth's disk. Moreover, the unadorned revelations of chapters 72-82 have evolved into what is explicitly a journey. Moreover, the Nekyia in chapters 17-19 is expanded in 20-33 into a journey to a succession of revealed places.

The form of chapters 20-36 as a revelatory journey account is especially important for our understanding of the development of Israelite eschatology. Chapters 24-27 parallel material about the new Jerusalem in Isaiah 65-66 and Dan 12:1-2. They differ from Third Isaiah in one important respect. What the prophet predicted in oracular form this author asserts through the fiction of an

ancient cosmic, revelatory journey. Here is one of the problems of describing Third Isaiah as "apocalyptic eschatology."[23] What Third Isaiah's eschatology lacks is precisely the apocalypse, the revealed and interpreted vision that is the literary essence of Enoch's account. This vision, in turn, is simply presupposed in Daniel's sketchy scenario of judgment and eternal life and punishment.[24]

2.3 Cosmology and Wisdom in 1 Enoch 1-5

Chapters 1-5 are an oracle that was composed as an introduction either to chapters 6-36 or to a larger part of the corpus.[25] Chapters 1-5 are triadic in structure. The introductory, poetic, prophetic-like oracle, announces the great judgment that will be followed by blessing for the righteous and condemnation for the sinners (1:1-9). A second, prose section in the idiom of the wisdom tradition affirms the constancy of nature (2:1-5:3). The introduction then concludes with a poetic section that contrasts nature's constancy with the disobedience and perversion of sinners and then describes the blessings and curses, often in the idiom of Third Isaiah (5:4-9).

I focus my attention on the cosmic imagery in 2:1-5:3. Parallels can be found in Sir 43; Pss. Sol. 18:10-12.[26] The author discusses "the works of heaven" and the earth and "its works," which here include primarily the two seasons and their characteristic signs in moisture and dryness and in the trees and plants. God has created all these things and commanded them to function in certain inalterable ways. Moreover, these natural works or phenomena have obeyed God's commands and do not transgress their paths or alter their deeds. Especially noteworthy is the paradoxical order on earth.[27] In the winter, when the earth is drenched with water, the trees appear to be withered and are stripped of their leaves. In the summer, when earth is scorched, the trees blossom and bear fruit. The pattern appears to be dependent on elements at the end of the Book of the Luminaries (82:10ff.). However, in a detail not found in AB, there is even an element of providence in this paradoxical order. When the sun scorches the earth and people seek shelter and shade from its presence, the trees blossom with the leaves the provide that shelter.[28]

Against the background of this constant, obedient order of nature, the author returns at 5:4 to the motif in 1:9 and launches his oracle of

condemnation against the wicked who disobey and pervert God's commands. To my knowledge, with the exception of the Testament of Napthtali 3, which is dependent on 1 Enoch,[29] this juxtaposing of wisdom observations on the constancy of nature and prophetic indictment for human inconstancy is not paralleled in the wisdom literature. There is, however, a parallel to this usage in Jer 5:20-29, to which I shall return below.

First I summarize the use of the cosmological material in chapters 1-5. The author contrasts human disobedience and fickleness with the obedience and constancy of the non-human creation and he uses the latter as a paradigm for his prophetic rebuke. Although he obviously refers to human deeds done in history, the text lacks historical references, and it appeals to "deeds" of the created order. This created order is described through the use of traditional material that is drawn from the small portion of biblical literature that we define as "wisdom," the Psalms, Sirach, the concluding hymn in the Psalms of Solomon.[30] The realm of nature, which was the subject matter of the Book of the Luminaries and which undergirded the eschatology of the journey accounts in chapters 17-19 and 20-32 appears here as rhetorical support for this author's eschatological oracle. We shall hear more of this in the Epistle of Enoch.

2.4 Cosmology and Judgment in 1 Enoch 92-105

In my discussion of chapters 92-105, Enoch's "Epistle," I shall focus first on chapters 100-102, which closely parallel parts of chapters 1-5. Then I shall comment on the apocalyptic character of the Epistle.

2.4.1 In 100:10-13, with a reference to the hidden heavenly realm, the author warns these sinners that the angels will seek testimony against them from the sun, moon, and stars which witness their evil deeds. With an eye toward Deuteronomy 28-31, he states that the heavenly testimony will take a physical form. The clouds, mists, dew, and rains will be withheld from watering the earth. In a curious turn, testimony will take the form of punishment---the curses of the covenant. Throughout the Epistle, the author has indicted the sinners for their oppression of the poor, abuse of wealth, and perversion of justice.[31] Ironically, now, he urges them to use their ill-gotten riches to bribe the heavenly elements to provide the moisture that they need. But the opposite

will happen. The sinners will be scourged by the bitter cold forms of moisture that issue from the eight inimical gates of the winds: snow, frost cold (cf. chapter 76). So, in 101:1-3, he appeals to sinners, in language similar to chapters 2-5, to contemplate the heaven and its works and to fear God, lest God close heaven's windows and withhold the dew and rain and send forth God's wrath against them for the hard and proud words they have spoken against the divine majesty (cf. 5:4).[32]

To underscore his point, he cites the sea and the ship captains as a parable. When storm and wave arise, they fear and throw their cargoes into the sea to save their lives. They do so, because the sea and its waters are the "works" of the Most High, who made the waters and bound them in by the shore. At God's rebuke the waters fear and dry up. But sinners do not fear God. God has made heaven and earth and sin and dry land and everything in them and given them wisdom. The captains are wise enough to fear the sea and rid themselves of their goods, but sinners do not fear and, it is implied, rid themselves of their ill-gotten riches. Having cited the heavens and the rains and the seas as created instruments of divine justice, the author moves on in 102:1-3 to the final judgment, when destruction by water will be replaced by the heavenly fire that will destroy sinners who do not fear God.

This remarkable combination of prophetic denouncement and wisdom observation is paralleled in Jer 5:20-29. The prophet addresses people who do not fear the God who hemmed in the sea with the sands, so that it cannot transgress (*`br*) its bounds. Nor do they fear the God who gives the rains in their seasons and keeps the seasons in order. By contrast they transgress (*`br*) God's commands by oppressing the fatherless and widows. Eckhard Rau rightly discerns a parallel between Jeremiah 5 and 1 Enoch 2-5 in their contrast of order and disorder;[33] however, the language of Jeremiah is more closely paralleled in 1 Enoch 101, which is itself, a parallel to chapters 2-5.

So, in the Epistle, as in chapter 2, "Enoch" appeals to cosmic phenomena mentioned in the Book of the Luminaries both because these phenomena fear God as sinners do not and because they will be the instruments of God's

judgment against the sinners. In a new way, cosmology is in the service of eschatologically oriented admonition.

2.4.2 The second use of the cosmological material is in an appeal to revelation. With the exception of the Apocalypse of Weeks, the Epistle is not formally an apocalypse. However, it includes a series of admonitions whose authority is based on revelations of things hidden in the cosmos. In chapters 102:4-104:8, Enoch addresses the righteous and sinners about the certainty of the coming judgment. His address to the righteous and sinful spirits in Sheol (102:4-103:8) echoes the language of chapter 22 and presumes that part of his journey. His promises to the righteous in 103:1-4 and 104:1 presuppose his travels to heaven. There he has viewed the tablets that promise the good things that "have been prepared" for them, he has seen their names written in the book of life, and he has observed the angels constantly inscribing deeds and interceding before God.[34] Thus, the eschatology of the Epistle as a whole is guaranteed by the revelations that Enoch has received during his cosmic journeys.

At the end of the Apocalypse of Weeks is a long section that refers to the objects of Enoch's cosmic journeys (93:11-14). In the Ethiopic version, the section is abbreviated and placed after the description of the seventh week. The earlier form of Aramaic preserves fragments of a longer version of the section and places them after the end of the Apocalypse.[35] Here, with some uncertainty about details, is a reconstructed text:

> For who is there of all the sons of men who is able to hear the words of the Holy One and not be terrified?
> and who is able to think his thoughts?
> And who is there of all men who is able to look at all the works of heaven?
> or to see a soul or a spirit and is able to tell?
> Or ascend and see all their ends,
> and consider them or make something like them?
> Or who is there of all men who is able to know what is the width and length of the earth;
> and to whom has the size of all of them been shown?
> And who is there of all men who is able to know the length of the heavens,
> and what is their height and upon what they are founded?
> And what is the number of the stars,
> and where all the luminaries rest?

The answer to all of these rhetorical questions is simple, because they query about the very cosmic realia that Enoch has seen according to the Book of the Luminaries and the journey accounts.

The text-critical problems make it difficult to ascertain the original function of this section in its context. R. H. Charles claimed it was a misplaced fragment.[36] However, comparison with 2 Enoch 33-40 is suggestive.[37] Enoch has returned from heaven to instruct his children before he leaves again (cf. 1 Enoch 81-82).[38] Chapters 33-40 provide a basis for the instruction in chapters 43-55 through an appeal to all the things that Enoch has seen. If in the journeys in 1 Enoch, cosmic phenomena were revealed to him which support his eschatology, in 93:11-14 he appeals the revelations received in these journeys in order to guarantee the judgment that he announces in the Epistle.

There is another aspect to this section. Who among all humanity is able to hear the words of the Holy One and not be terrified? This line echoes Deut 4:33: Did any people ever hear the voice of a god speaking and still live? Enoch's vision of the God's throne room is likened to the event at Sinai, and his cosmological teaching supplements, or supersedes the Mosaic Torah.

2.5 The Cosmological Detemporalizing of Eschatology in 1 Enoch

If it is true that 1 Enoch's cosmology stands in the service of its eschatology, it is also true that the cosmological realia, presented in such detail, tend to qualify the temporary character of the book's eschatology. In a real sense, time stands still, or collapses. The places and instruments of judgment have already been "prepared," established, and institutionalized in the cosmos that has already been created. In some instances, judgment is already being effected. In heaven, the names are the righteous are inscribed in the divine throne room, and the angels are pleading for vindication and the punishment of the wicked. The reality of these facts is mediated through the *apokalysis* of the primordial seer now made present on the written page. Thus, in the midst of suffering, one can take courage *now*, because God's will is already being done in heaven and in the far reaches of the cosmos.

Thus, cosmology and eschatology stand in a dialectical relationship to one another, each transforming the "normal" shape and function of the other.

Time is, indeed, important for these apocalyptic authors, but the cosmological framing of the temporal dimension makes the counting of time less critical and obvious that we have been led to expect by traditional, scholarly expositions of apocalyptic literature.

3. Relationship Between Theology and Scientific Knowledge in 1 Enoch

This state of affairs should not surprise us. "Cosmology" and "eschatology" are our own abstractions. For the authors of these texts, natural science and divine science constitute a unity. Thus, I return to a critical assessment of Neugebauer's suggestion that historians of science and students of the history of "theology" can profitably go their own ways, specifically with reference to the Enochic corpus. I shall argue that for the authors of 1 Enoch: 1) the receipt and transmission of hidden knowledge (*i.e.*, a revelation) is a major framing issue for their literary products; 2) the content of this knowledge is extraordinarily broad and encompasses the physical world as well as the realm of the divine and the demonic and its relationship to humanity; 3) this knowledge is understood as a unity; and 4) this unity serves a specific religious, exhortative purpose.

3.1 1 Enoch: a Revelation of Hidden Things

I have argued elsewhere that one can properly refer to 1 Enoch as an apocalypse because its construction of reality emphasizes the authors' claim to *reveal* information about otherwise inaccessible events, places, and things that are hidden in the future or in outer reaches of the cosmos.[39] Here I wish to emphasize the explicit, repeated emphasis on the reception and transmission of information. As a whole and in its parts, 1 Enoch is a book of knowledge. Already in the introduction to the corpus, "Enoch" focuses on the sources of his knowledge and on his intention to transmit it:

> Enoch, a righteous man *whose eyes were opened* by God,
> *who had a vision* of the Holy One and of heaven, which *he showed me*,
> And from *the words* of the watchers and holy ones, *I heard* everything.
> It is not for this generation do *I expound*,
> but concerning one that is distant *I speak*.
> Concerning the chosen ones *I speak* now,
> and concerning them *I take up my parable*. (1:2-3)

One strand in the story of the rebellion of the watchers depicts their sin as the revelation of forbidden secrets about: metallurgy and mining, magic and herbs, and astronomical and meteorological prognostication (chaps. 6-11). Enoch, on the other hand, is taken to heaven to be commissioned as a prophet of a message of doom which he hears from the mouth of the Deity (chaps. 12-16). The section leading up to that theophany is filled with references to his experience of the heavenly elements, and the heart of the section describes repeatedly what he "saw" in the heavenly palace. As we have already noted, the accounts of his first and second cosmic journeys are punctuated with the verb "see" (chaps. 17-19; 20-36), and the end of the first journey and much of the second journey focuses on what Enoch sees and how, upon his request for information, the visions are interpreted to him.

The Book of Parables (chaps. 37-71), which as a whole recasts some of the traditions in chapters 1-36),[40] also begins with repeated emphasis on Enoch's receipt of wisdom and his present, transmission of what he has learned through the words and parables that he speaks. The major part of this section recounts the many things that he "saw" in heaven and in his journeys through the cosmos, his questions, and the answers provided his angelic companions.

The Book of the Luminaries (chaps. 72-82), as we have noted, provides detailed astronomical, calendaric, and cosmological information derived from what Enoch "saw," and the book as a whole is said to transmit what Enoch "showed" to his son, Methuselah. Enoch's two dream visions about future events describe what he "saw" and what he now "shows" to Methuselah (chaps. 83-84, 85-90). An emphasis on the process of transmitting hidden wisdom is focal in the testamentary sections in 81:1-82:3 and 91:1-19.

The Epistle of Enoch (chaps. 92-105) also deals with revelation. The superscription focuses, again, on the transmission of Enoch's "wisdom." The Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1-10; 91:11-17) is introduced by a section that imitates the introduction of the corpus (93:2; cf. 1:2-3). Throughout the Epistle the author speaks in the idiom of a prophet, through woes, exhortations, and descriptions of the future.[41] The concluding exhortations, as noted, are based on Enoch's earlier journeys, and various revelatory verbs of introduction

are sprinkled throughout these chapters.[42] The Epistle ends by reiterating the earlier emphasis in chapters 81-82, 91 on the transmission of Enoch wisdom to future generations (104:10-105:2).

Thus, through the use of verbs like "see, hear, know" and "say, speak, tell, make known, show" the Enochic authors focus on the receipt, possession, and transmission of knowledge. This emphasis is underscored through the use of certain literary forms, especially that of vision / question / angelic interpretation, but also others that are common in the prophetic literature.

Although the noun and verb *apokalypsis* and *apokalyptein* never occur in extant Greek texts of 1 Enoch and their counterparts (*gl'* and *kašata*) appear rarely in the Aramaic fragments or the Ethiopic text, the term "apocalyptic" seems appropriate for this text.[43] Certain of the verbs mentioned in the previous paragraph connote the presenting of knowledge hitherto unknown. Moreover, the content of what is actually revealed is what is otherwise hidden, either because it derives the inaccessible parts of the cosmos or heaven, or because it lies in the future. Thus, on all counts, 1 Enoch presents information, identifies it as a revealing or unveiling of secrets, and emphasizes the process of revelation. Although there are many parallels between this process and the biblical prophetic corpus, I believe that the pervasive emphasis on not simply making known, but on the previous hiddenness of what is now uncovered warrants the use of the term "apocalyptic" or revelatory as a means of distinguishing it from earlier prophecy.

3.2 The Breadth of Enoch's Knowledge

It is now widely recognized among scholars of Jewish apocalypticism that a historical study of this revelatory material must not begin with the book of Daniel or confine itself mainly to Daniel and Revelation, with their emphasis on history and historical events.[44] A large part of the Enochic corpus antedates Daniel and therefore should not be considered as deviant from a norm exemplified in Daniel and Revelation.

What is striking about the Enochic corpus is the encyclopedic scope of the knowledge that it presents, alludes to, or reflects. In the process of describing what Enoch sees, visits, or otherwise learns about, these authors

touch on the following: cosmology, meteorology, astronomy, calendar, the structure of the heavenly palace and the events that take place there and the names of the personnel who inhabit it, botany, gemology, metallurgy, magic, medicine, prognostication by means of the elements, events of the primordial past and of the future up to the end-time, the structure of human history, the time of the end, and the scenario that will unfold at that time.

The knowledge claimed by the Enochic authors extends to the religious realm, strictly speaking, and to ethical issues. The Animal Vision and the Apocalypse of Weeks pass judgment on the character of human actions, and the Epistle presumes that there are right and wrong ways to interpret and follow the Torah. The author(s) of this texts and the author(s) of the Parables know what is the true community of the chosen, and on the basis of this knowledge, they can predict that certain people will pass muster at the final judgment while others will fall under divine condemnation.

3.3 The Unity of Enochic Knowledge

The breadth and diversity of this knowledge notwithstanding, the authors, collectors, and editors of the Enochic corpus perceive a unity in this knowledge with respect to its divine origin. While one might gather astronomical, calendaric, and meteorological information through empirical information and present it as such, "Enoch" claims to have traveled through the heavens in the company of angels, who "showed" him the phenomena and the "laws" of their operation. One might travel to foreign lands, see places and sights, and report on them; "Enoch's" travels to these places are, again, in the company of an interpreting angel. Moreover, the source of his mythic geography is not said to be lore or tradition, but journeys to the outer reaches of earth's disc and interpretations provided by angels. The long recitation of Israelite history in chapters 85-90--though it follows the order of events in the Pentateuch, former prophets, and writings and reflects events current to its Hellenistic author--is said to derive from revelation received in a "Dream Vision." Taking another tack, the author of the Apocalypse of Weeks cites Enoch's reading of the heavenly tablets and the angelic interpretation as the source of the periodized history from creation to eschaton (cf. 81:1-3).

These data indicate that while the Enochic authors could have presented their information in a variety of forms and indicated a variety of sources, they chose to identify it as revelation and to present it through stereotyped literary forms that certified its revelatory character. There was no distinction between "scientific" or secular knowledge and religious knowledge, between science and theology. All knowledge derived from God or God's agents.

3.4 The Function of Revealed Knowledge in 1 Enoch

The claim that all knowledge presented in 1 Enoch is revealed cannot be separated from the purpose of the collection--to exhort its audience to right conduct in the face of the coming judgment. As the superscriptions of various of its parts indicate (1:1:1-3; 37:1-5; 92:1-5), 1 Enoch claims to be the (testamentary) deposit of revealed wisdom intended for the enlightenment and salvation of the righteous and chosen who live in the end time and await the imminent great judgment (cf. also 81:5-82:3; 91; 104:12-105:2). The division between righteous and wicked to be enacted in that judgment will be based on actions related positively or negatively to Enoch's Torah, both the calendaric lore explicated in chapters 72-82 and other commandments alluded to in the Epistle.[45] The Animal Vision and the Apocalypse of Weeks presume specific ideas about when that judgment will take place. As we have noted in section 2, the journey accounts in chapters 20-36 affirm that creation itself is structured to implement the judgment. Specific passages in the corpus appeal to the righteous to stand fast as they await the judgment, while others, at least rhetorically call on the wicked to consider their ways or suggest that the righteous will issue such an appeal (100:6; 101; 105).[46] Thus, the message of 1 Enoch as a whole is related to the final judgment, and the revelatory form in which its knowledge is cast serves the purpose of underscoring the certainty of the judgment, so that its readers will take it seriously and act accordingly. Whatever the actual source of the spectrum of knowledge in 1 Enoch and however one might distinguish between knowledge of the physical world, the heavenly realm, and the details of God's will spelled out in the Torah, the corpus as a whole and its various components serve a singular theological and exhortative purpose.

4.0 Social Aspects of the Knowledge Compiled in 1 Enoch

In this concluding section I touch on some elements in 1 Enoch that may reveal something about the society that created these texts and to which they are directed. In particular I shall focus on "identity" of the authors, that is, "the hats they wore." In doing so, I take up the ever-debated topic of the relationship of "prophecy" and "the wisdom tradition" to apocalypticism.

4.1 Science and Wisdom in 1 Enoch

In an important article published in 1978, Michael Stone cited the Qumran Scrolls as evidence for an early date of 1 Enoch and argued that it was necessary to revise our understanding of apocalyptic literature and develop a new and more complex picture of Judaism in the late Persian and early Hellenistic periods.[47] A definition of apocalyptic literature should not begin with the Book of Daniel and focus solely on eschatology. The astronomical and cosmological material in 1 Enoch indicates considerable interest in what we might call scientific matters and strongly suggests that the wisdom tradition was much more important at this time than has been suggested by traditional theologies of "the Old Testament," governed by the notion of *Heilsgeschichte*. In short, 1 Enoch was the tip of an iceberg whose shape was yet to be seen.

Randal Argall has compared the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira and 1 Enoch with a particular focus on three themes: revealed wisdom, creation, and judgment.[48] He has found that the authors of both (collections of) texts employed similar literary forms and traditions, often making the same points about the same themes, but putting their own spin on these themes, and he has suggested that ben Sira was competing with and criticizing the sages responsible for writing major parts of 1 Enoch.

4.2 Social Roles: "Enoch" as Scientist, Sage, and Prophet

I would like to press Stone's and Argall's emphasis on traditions and intellectual content farther and attempt to flesh out a picture of the kind of people who composed and transmitted the Enochic material. Stone is certainly correct in identifying "the `scientific' or speculative interests that play a predominant role in these oldest parts of *1 Enoch*,"[49] and I have spent a large part of this paper laying out these emphases. Nonetheless, I have also argued

that the interests and emphases, important as they were in the third century, are controlled in 1 Enoch by an eschatological agenda that sees the coming judgment as the major fact of life. What, then, do we make of the people responsible for 1 Enoch, or the Wisdom of Sirach for that matter?

Because 1 Enoch is pseudepigraphic, it is difficult to get access to its real-life authors and their activity, but there are a few hints. "Enoch" is three times called a "scribe" (12:4 [cf. 13:4-7]; 15:1; 92:1). Three times the Epistle refers to the religious leaders as "the wise" (98:9; 99:10; 104:12-105:1), reflecting the term *hakkim* of *maśkil*. The role of these people is remarkable, however. In chapters 12-16, Enoch is taken to heaven and commissioned to pronounce judgment on the rebel watchers. In the midst of that session, he also intercedes for the watchers in a fashion reminiscent of Ezra the priest (13:4-7).[50] The above-cited passage in the Epistle suggests that "the wise" speak publicly against the wicked, criticizing their wrong interpretations of the Torah, and they exhort "the sons of earth" to repent by accepting their wisdom (see also 100:6). Thus, alongside their writing activity, the scribes and sages play out a public role analogous to that traditionally attributed to the prophets. Consonant with this observation is the frequent occurrence in 1 Enoch of literary forms typical of the prophets: an oracle, chaps. 1-5; a commissioning, chaps. 14-16; woes and descriptions of the future in the Epistle, *passim*.

This evidence indicates an interesting mixture of roles. Persons called by names normally associated with the wisdom tradition (scribe and sage) play out the role of God's spokesman to society, whether orally or in writing. Conversely, people speaking in the prophetic idiom support their message, by and large, not by reference to the events of history, but by an appeal to creation and a whole range of lore that we tend to identify as "scientific." With the exception of the Animal Vision, the Apocalypse of Weeks, and a couple of vague allusions in the Parables, the events of history are not focal in this large collection of apocalyptic texts (although specific human deeds are cited in the Epistle). Of course, one can find "wisdom" elements in the canonical prophets, but the appeal to creation is massive and widespread in 1 Enoch. Thus, these people who act like prophets and expound prophet-like messages speak from

the intellectual, "scientific" tradition identified by Stone. Cosmology, astronomy, geography, and the world of sound and sight and smell provide the substance of their illustrations and much of the basis of their appeal. In this wonderful confounding of roles (so we have been taught to think), sages spew prophecy rather than proverbs, and God's spokespersons draw on the "wisdom tradition" rather than "the acts of God in history."

4.3 Jesus ben Sira in Somewhat the Same Roles

But perhaps this situation should not surprise us; a similar configuration can be perceived in the book of Sirach. Its author is, of course, perceived as the quintessential Jewish scribe and sage of the Hellenistic period, and the similarities (as well as the differences) between his proverbs and those in the canonical book are well known. But th issue is more complex. Like the sages of Enoch's Epistle, he is much concerned with Torah and, indeed, sees it as the epitome of "wisdom" (especially chapter 24).[51] As a sage, he is an interpreter of the heavenly wisdom embodied in the Torah. However, as Baumgartner observed long ago, ben Sira expresses himself in literary forms that are at home in the prophets.[52] Thus it is not by accident that he describes himself as a channel for wisdom's life-giving water, as one who "pours forth teaching like prophecy" (24:33). The motif of prophecy recurs in Chapter 39, which relates the activity of the scribe or sage to the study of the Torah and the seeking out of the wisdom of the ancients and prophecy (vv 1-2). Moreover, when the sage seeks God in prayer

> If the great Lord is willing,
> he will be filled with the spirit of understanding;
> he will bubble up words of wisdom,
> and give thanks to the Lord in prayer.
> He will direct his counsel and understanding,
> and meditate on his secrets;
> he will make the instruction of his teaching shine,
> and in the law of the Lord's covenant he will boast (39:6-8).

Thus Torah and wisdom are tied together, and the words of the sage are inspired by God's spirit. Finally, alongside all of this we may note ben Sira's

appeal to the works of God in creation and to divine judgment in that realm (42:15-43:33).[53]

In summary, the Wisdom of ben Sira reveals the same collocation of elements found in 1 Enoch: a concern with the teaching of Torah, appeals to creation, a sense of prophet-like inspiration and, of course, overarching it all, the exhortation to right conduct. My point is not to claim that the Enochic authors and ben Sira are clones of one another, and I fully recognize an important difference in the role of eschatology in the two works.[54] Nonetheless, the figure of the sage or scribe emerges in both texts as a teacher of Torah who speaks with the inspiration of the prophets and who can appeal a wide-ranging wisdom that includes the "scientific" tradition.

4.4 Theology, Scientific Knowledge, and Society

These observations bring me back to Professor Neugebauer's letter and to Michael Stone's comments on 1 Enoch. As Neugebauer points out, the material in 1 Enoch 72-82 represents "scientific knowledge" in the author's contemporary society--although the claim to revelation gives the book a "theological" spin. Similarly, Stone correctly cites this astronomical material and other similar content in 1 Enoch as evidence of persons or circles devoted to "science" and "speculation." Who these people were, what hats they wore, with what titles they were called are questions that need to be pursued.

The point of my paper, however, is threefold. First, scientific knowledge and speculation, whatever its origins, could be put to religious usage, and we see this both in 1 Enoch and Sirach. Secondly, at least to some extent, this usage of the wisdom/scientific tradition appears in these texts as an innovation in Israelite literature, or conversely, this literature indicates an innovation as the prophetic tradition is infused with a heavy dosage of the scientific and speculative tradition. Thirdly, we need to be careful as we define the intellectual profiles, the roles, and the *Sitze im Leben* of sages and seers of the late Persian and Hellenistic periods.

NOTES

1. Otto Neugebauer, *The `Astronomical' Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (72-82: With Additional Notes on the Aramaic Fragments by Matthew Black* (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab: Matematisk-fysiske Meddelelser 40:10; Copenhagen: Munkskaard, 1981); republished as Appendix A in Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: a New English Edition* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985) 386-419.
2. Otto Neugebauer, private correspondence, December 26, 1981.
3. My study of the Aramaic fragments and the Ethiopic texts is dependent on J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976; R. H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch* (Anecdota Oxoniensia; Oxford: Clarendon, 1906); and Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978).
4. For the Aramaic text of 1 Enoch 82:9-13 and, on a different MS., the section that appears to have followed it, see Milik, *Enoch*, 295-97.
5. For the use of "see" with reference to "laws" rather than physical phenomenon as such, see 73:1; 74:1; 78:10. For "show" in a metaphorical sense, of Uriel's teaching of Enoch and Enoch's teaching of Methuselah, see 72:1; 76:14; 80:1; 82:7.
6. See also 80:2-8, which, however, looks like an interpolation and actually refers to the luminaries *not* following their orbits.
7. For *rwḥ* as either wind or direction, see Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984) 693.
8. For the text, see Milik, *Enoch*, 278-84. For an analysis of this material, I am indebted to a seminar paper by my student Jay Cassel and comments by my colleague at Iowa, Robert Mutel.
9. Ibid.
10. Neugebauer in Black, *Enoch*, 405-06.
11. For a discussion, see J. C. VanderKam, "1 Enoch 77,3 and a Babylonian Map of the World," *RevQ* 11 (1983) 271-78.
12. The Aramaic fragments of chapter 76 indicate that the Ethiopic text about the winds is not simply a late corruption; see Milik, *Enoch*, 284-84.
13. For details on the contents of the individual Aramaic scrolls, see Milik, *Enoch*, 4-7.
14. Ibid., 4.
15. On the parallels between the Parables and chapters 1-36, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 216.

16. For this particular emphasis in this section, see Marie-Theres Wacker, *Weltordnung und Gericht* (Forschung zur Bibel 45; Wurzburg: Echter, 1982) 302-08.
17. On the form, see ibid., 101.
18. For my rearrangement of the last two stations in the first journey, see Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 66, n. 28. I have italicized Enoch's visit to God's mountain in the second journey because of the additional eschatological material which is not found in the counterpart to the section in 18:6-9.
19. Although this passage does not describe paradise as the present or future abode of the righteous, detailed reference to it may suggest such a notion, such as one finds in other texts.
20. For a comparison, see Randal A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation, and Judgment* (SBLEJL 8; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) 32-35, 93-94.
21. Milik, *Enoch*, 26-27, 36-37.
22. The author lists primarily, though not exclusively, spices at home in the Jerusalem cult. The descriptions prove that he was a spice and perfume merchant no more than the Gospel of Luke proves that its author was a physician.
23. See especially, Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975).
24. On the relationship of Daniel 12:1-3 to Trito-Isaiah, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (HTS 26; Cambridge: Harvard University, 1972) 19-22.
25. For chapters 1-5 as an introduction to 6-36, see Lars Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1-5* (ConBib: NT Series 12; Lund: Gleerup, 1979) 138-45.
26. On Sirach 43, see Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 150-53, 159-61..
27. Eckhard Rau, *Kosmologie, Eschatologie und die Lehrautorität Henochs* (Diss. Hamburg 1974) 71-78.
28. Cf. Sirach 43:3-4.
29. For the parallel, see H. W. Hollander and M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (SVTP 8; Leiden: Brill, 1985) 306. Appeals to works written by "Enoch" are common in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.
30. On 1 Enoch as a wisdom writing, see Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach.*
31. George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Riches, the Rich, and God's Judgment in 1 Enoch 92-105 and the Gospel According to Luke, *NTS* 25 (1979) 324-44.
32. On this passage, see Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 107-12.
33. Rau, *Kosmologie*, 83.
34. For a discussion of 81:1-4 as a fragment from the Book of the Watchers (i.e., the section now in chapters 1-36), see Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach,* 257-65.

35. For details, see Milik, *Enoch*, 269-72.
36. R. H Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912) 2:264.
37. On the relationship of 1 and 2 Enoch, see Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature,* 185-88.
38. Ibid., 150-51.
39. George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality in *1 Enoch*, John J. Collins and James H. Charlesworth, eds., *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium* (JSP Supp. 9; Sheffield: JSOT, 1991) 51-64.
40. See above, n. 15.
41. George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Apocalyptic Message of 1 Enoch 92-105," *CBQ* 39 (1977) 310-15.
42. Ibid., 315-18.
43. On the relatively infrequent use of the Greek root, see Morton Smith, "On the History of APOKALYPTO and APOKALYPSIS," in David Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979* (Tubingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1983) 9-20.
44. For a good introduction to the apocalyptic genre, see John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (New York: Crossroad, 1984).
45. On the issue of good and bad teachers of right and wrong Torah in the Epistle, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Epistle of Enoch and the Qumran Literature," *JSS* 33:1-2 (1982; Fs. Yigael Yadin) 334-40.
46. Ibid., 341-45.
47. Michael E. Stone, "The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.," *CBQ* 40 (1978) 479-92.
48. See above, n. 20.
49. "The Book of Enoch," 488.
50. George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," *JBL* 100 (1981) 585.
51. Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (2 vols; Tr. John Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974) 1:160-62.
52. W. Baumgartner, "Die literarischen Gattungen in der Weisheit des Jesus Sirach," *ZAW* 34 (1914) 161-98.
53. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 142-53.
54. Ibid., 329-39.

Non-Linear Time in Apocalyptic Texts: The Spiral Model

Frances Flannery Dailey, Hendrix College

The paradigm of history rushing towards its pre-ordained, eschatological climax is perhaps the most familiar way of speaking about time in apocalyptic texts.[1] In this scheme, it is implicitly assumed that time is linear, steadily marching towards its *telos.* However, this model does not account for several currents in apocalyptic texts that depict time in more or less cyclical terms, whether from the standpoint of sacred history or as experienced by the apocalyptic seer and/or the original audience. At the same time, a simple cyclical model is immediately contradicted by the mere fact of apocalyptic eschatology, and also falls severely short of capturing the complexity of time as expressed in apocalyptic texts. In this paper I propose that a paradigm which conceives of time as a non-linear, cyclical progression of sacred events and activities, i.e., as a spiral of time, better represents the overall notion of time as reflected in many apocalyptic texts. This spiral has a definite end, and beyond that *eschaton* lies timelessness. This model may be applied to several apocalyptic texts, however, this discussion will focus primarily on 4 Ezra and *2 Baruch,* both of which are historical apocalypses in which the eschatological element is admittedly prominent.[2]

Biblical Time as "Realistic/Psychological Time"

The discussion of time in apocalyptic texts necessarily begins with the topic of Biblical time, which became a subject of scholarly debate with the work of Oscar Cullman, followed by that of John Marsh.[3] Cullman revealed his understanding of the Biblical view of time in a chapter entitled "The Linear Conception of Time in the Revelatory History of the Bible as Contrasted with the Cyclical Conception of Hellenism."[4] As the title indicates, Cullman posited "that the symbol of time ...for Biblical Judaism... is the line, while in Hellenism it is the circle," and he saw these as fundamentally opposed to one another in their implications for the redemptive process.[5]

John Marsh rightly criticized Cullman's model of linear Biblical time, as it implies a concept of "chronological time" that is lacking in the Hebrew Bible.[6] Instead, Marsh and others have argued that the Hebrew Bible possesses no word or concept for *chronos,* in the modern sense of temporal succession, operating instead by "realistic time," or time known by its content.[7] This initial formulation of "chronological time" versus "realistic time" probably overstates the Bible's lack of interest in chronology, as James Barr rightly argues.[8] Nevertheless, Marsh's main point that the Bible largely perceives time in terms of its content stands as a valuable insight. Thorleif Boman agrees, and calls this Biblical conception of time "psychological time," conveying even more strongly the idea that time is defined by the experience of its quality or substance, and not by its quantity.[9]

This view has further been supported by lexical studies on Biblical usage of words related to time. John R. Wilch finds that *'eth* was used "to indicate the relationship or juncture of circumstances, primarily in an objective sense and only secondarily in a temporal sense, and to direct attention to a specifically definite occasion..."[10] Similarly, Simon DeVries concludes in the case of "*yom*" that "it is what fills a day with meaning and gives it its uniqueness, rather than its chronological dimensions, that makes it important."[11]

Apocalyptic Time as "Realistic/Psychological Time"

David S. Russell has applied this distinction between "chronological time" and "realistic/psychological time" to apocalyptic literature, and rightly concludes that while an intense interest in chronology is often evident, the apocalyptic writers "were disposed to think of time concretely in terms of its content and purpose perhaps much more readily than we are today."[12] The example that Russell puts forward is the phenomenon he dubs "the apocalyptists' sense of 'contemporaneity,'" whereby they readily associate their own situation with that of a past, pseudonymous figure.[13] For instance, in *2 Baruch,* Baruch is often described in terms that evoke associations with Moses and Enoch (*2 Bar.* 76:2-5 and Deut. 9:9, 18; *2 Bar.* 13:3 and *Jub.* 4:24, cf. 10:17; *2 Enoch* 40:13, 53:2; 64:5).[14]

Another argument for the view that apocalyptic texts demonstrate "realistic/ psychological time" may be made in assessing the logic behind the division of time periods of various texts. Although the apocalyptic division of history into periods such as hours, weeks, years, and jubilees may at first appear to convey the notion of "chronological time," these periods are made to coincide with events in the sacred history of Israel, such as the giving of the Torah on Sinai, the Exodus, and the Exile (*1 Enoch* 85:1-90:42, 93:1-10; *Jubilees*; *T. of Levi* 14-18; Daniel 9; 11QMelchizedek).[15] Even more striking are the metaphorical symbols for periods of time, such as the twelve "waters" in *2 Baruch* 53:1-74:4, the Biblical characters who represent the ages in 4 Ezra 6:7-10, and the succession of flame, smoke, rainstorm, and drops in 4 Ezra 4:48-50.[16] Clearly, these units of time do not reflect any chronological divisions whatsoever, but rather make an association between the character of the metaphor (bright or dark waters, Esau or Jacob, flame or smoke) and the content or quality of the time period which the metaphor describes.[17]

Non-Linear Time in 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra

The idea that the perception of time in Jewish apocalyptic literature is often based on content rather than on chronology allows me to demonstrate that *2 Baruch* and 4 Ezra each contain undercurrents of complex cyclical temporal events, in addition to the overarching march towards the *eschaton.*

The simplest cycle of time occurs in the motif that the end of time recapitulates the beginning of time, in that their content is essentially the same. Texts such as *2 Baruch* 73:1-74:4 portray the time after the *eschaton* in paradisiacal terms reminiscent of Eden:

> ...health will descend in dew, and illness will vanish...
> And nobody will again die untimely...And the wild beasts
> will come from the wood and serve men, and the asps and dragons
> will come out of their holes to subject themselves
> to a child. And women will no longer have pain when
> they bear, nor will they be tormented when they yield
> the fruits of their womb. And it will happen in those
> days that the reapers will not become tired, and the

> farmers will not wear themselves out, because the products of themselves will shoot out speedily, during the time that they work on them in full tranquility. (*2 Baruch* 73:2-74:1)[18]

The passage reverses the three curses set forth by God after Adam and Eve's transgression in the Garden of Eden: henceforth humans and serpents will be at peace, women will bear children painlessly, and men will not have to produce food by tiresome labor (Genesis 3:14-19). Also, death itself is reversed, and the animals are brought into peaceful co-existence with humanity, as was once the case in Eden (Gen. 2:18-20; cf. Is. 65:25).

Other texts promise a literal return to Eden in the *eschaton*: "it is for you [the righteous elect] that Paradise is opened, the tree of life is planted, the age to come is prepared" (4 Ezra 8:52; see also 4 Ezra 7:29-37, *1 Enoch* 10:18-22, 24:3-25:7, 32:3-6; *2 Bar.* 29:1-8).[19] The eschatological recapitulation of the beginning of time is nowhere stated more clearly than in 4 Ezra, which envisions a return of all the earth and its inhabitants to the primordial state preceding Creation: "And the world shall be turned back to primeval silence for seven days, as it was at the first beginnings; so that no one shall be left. And after seven days the world, which is not yet awake, shall be roused..." (4 Ezra 7:30-31; cf. *2 Bar.* 44:9).[20] As Stone points out, the seven days of silence are a reference to the seven days of Creation.[21] This convergence of the *Urzeit* and *Endzeit* may be schematically represented by a circle (Figure 1).[22]

A more complicated temporal pattern is illustrated by *2 Baruch* 53:1-74:4, which metaphorically divides history into twelve periods of alternating bright and dark "waters." The division of time periods is not determined by even lengths of chronological duration, but rather by a repetitive cycle of wickedness/ignorance alternating with righteousness/wisdom. As J. J. Collins argues, the pattern resembles the Deuteronomic covenantal history, "but the transition from one period to the next is not ascribed to human agency in any way. Instead, it is determined from above."[23] That is, time itself is determined by sacred activity that is experienced by humans as a repetitive cycle of wickedness/ignorance alternating with righteousness/wisdom. This time is "cyclical" in that it is characterized by a regular

succession of events that begins again repeatedly at the starting point. Schematically, this temporal pattern may be represented by Figure 2, with the twelve periods of alternating bright and dark "waters" portrayed as six cycles that reach an ultimate terminus (cf. *2 Bar.* 69:3; 53:6).[24]

Although the schematic models I have used to depict the eschatological return to Eden and the periodization of time in *2 Baruch* are helpful in those contexts, both oversimplify the overall treatment of time in apocalyptic texts, since they imply in the first case a single cycle of time, and in the second discrete cycles of time. In fact, apocalyptic texts often depict significant events in sacred history, in addition to Creation, as being repeated at multiple points in time. For example, the giving of the Torah at Sinai resonates on several levels in the giving of the Torah to Ezra at the end of 4 Ezra, an example of what Russell calls the apocalyptic sense of "contemporaneity" (4 Ezra 14:37-48).[25] When Ezra first arrives in the field in which he will eventually receive the Torah, his prayer explicitly refers to the Sinai event, foreshadowing what is to come (4 Ezra 9:30-37).[26] A later reference to the Sinai event reveals that Moses received the Torah, as well as a secret Torah and esoteric knowledge of the times, part of which he is told to publish openly, and part of which he is to keep secret (4 Ezra 14:3-13). Similarly, during a period of forty days and nights, Ezra receives the Mosaic Torah and seventy esoteric books (4 Ezra 14:42-45). He is likewise instructed, "Make public the twenty-four books...but keep the seventy...in order to give them to the wise among your people" (4 Ezra 15:45-6). These parallels are not merely metaphorical. Rather, like the motif that the *Endzeit* is the *Urzeit*, these similarities in the giving of the Torah on Sinai and in the giving of Torah to Ezra in the field speak to a sacred reality that recapitulates the content of the past sacred event.

In addition to Creation and Sinai, other events in sacred history are also mirrored in qualitatively similar points in time, such as the destruction of the Temple and the Exile, which are repeated in the experience of the post-70 C. E. audiences of *2 Baruch* and 4 Ezra.[27] Other passages resonate both forwards and backwards in time, such as when the pseudepigraphic Baruch spends forty days on top of a mountain and then sees the entire earth pass before him (*2 Bar.* 76:1-5). On the one hand, the event repeats the

showing of the promised land to Moses.[28] On the other hand, it implicitly claims to mirror the eschatological future of the audience, who like Baruch have just experienced the destruction of the Temple, but anticipate the reward of the righteous (*2 Bar.* 51:1-16).[29]

Even more complex is the scenario where multiple sacred events converge upon the present of the narrative. An excellent example is furnished by the fourth vision in 4 Ezra (4 Ezra 9:26-10:59). After remaining in a field of flowers and eating only flowers for seven days at the instruction of an angel, Ezra sees a vision of a mourning woman who transforms before his eyes into the heavenly Zion (4 Ezra 9:38-10:59). The building is a concrete manifestation of the eschatological revelation of the heavenly Zion, which Ezra is able to literally enter and tour (4 Ezra 10:45-57).[30] In this action, Ezra does not merely gain knowledge of the future, but also proleptically *experiences* the eschatological future (4 Ezra 10:50-55).[31] At the same time, the field has definite Edenic overtones (9:26-10:59). As M. Stone has argued, this is aptly captured in a statement by the angel that "It is for you that Paradise is opened, the tree of life is planted, the age to come is prepared... a city is built," which anticipates both an eschatological return to Eden as well as Ezra's experience in the field of flowers (4 Ezra 8:52).[32] Finally, the field is also Sinai, in that Ezra remains in the field for forty days while receiving and transmitting the public and esoteric books of the Torah (4 Ezra 14:37-48). Thus, the essential sacred content that was present in the time periods during the existence in Eden and the giving of the Law on Sinai, as well as the future revelation of the heavenly Zion all impinge on Ezra's present. The seer is privy, through apocalyptic dreams and visions, to the *experience* of multiple points in sacred time, which are meaningfully present for him. Although time in Fourth Ezra ultimately moves towards the *eschaton*, the model of spiral time may best capture time as Ezra experiences it: as the convergence of past, present and future. This may be schematically depicted by Figure 3, which depicts an ascending spiral of time, with a definite end, through which a line may be drawn that represents the seer's access to multiple points in sacred history. The spiral is not meant to convey any even temporal duration of cycles, but rather the notion that time is cyclical in that the essential content of certain sacred

events is mirrored at multiple points in time. The general upwards slope of the spiral is meant to depict the overall temporal progression towards the *eschaton.*

Continuing with this example for a moment, it should be noted that Ezra's present time is located by the narrative at the time of the destruction of the first Temple, which functions typologically for the author's real time of the destruction of the Second Temple. That is, while the seer's contact with the numinous realm provides him access to multiple points in sacred history, (in this instance, Eden, Sinai, and the *eschaton*), the seer is himself located on a point of a cycle in the spiral that is parallel with the author's temporal point on another cycle of the spiral, and hence, with the original audience as well (See Figure 4). The pseudepigraphical Ezra and Baruch are, for the original audience of the apocalyptic texts, characters of past sacred history, but their experiences mirror those of the audience due to the essentially similar sacred content of the time periods involved.

It is of the utmost significance for the topic of the subjective perception of time that revelation in apocalyptic literature is most frequently imparted through dreams and visions. As it was understood in antiquity, the dream experience was not simply an imaginary flight into fancy, but on the contrary, was understood as real contact with the numinous realm.[33] This contact was so real that a dream figure would sometimes manipulate objects or leave behind a token that remained in the waking world, to prove the veracity of the dream experience.[34] Both dreams and visions in apocalyptic literature left a strong and usually physical impression on the seer, who often trembled or fainted in response.[35]

Thus, apocalyptic seers do not merely gain simple foreknowledge of the future through their dreams and vision, they experience the future as the reality of their present. The visions and dreams of Ezra vividly illustrate that this experience is not imaginary, but rather, like normal experience of the present time, involves the senses. In Ezra's first vision, the angel Uriel promises him that in the *eschaton,* "... the things that you *desire to see* will be disclosed to you," so that "if the Most High grants that you live, *you shall see*" the various events of the endtime (4 Ezra 4:43, 5:4). This statement

implies a linear view of time, in that if Ezra lives long enough, he will see the endtime.

However, through the course of the text, Ezra does not see the events of the *eschaton* at that later time in chronological history, but instead is able to proleptically see and experience endtime events through visions and dreams. The *seeing* of signs begins to occur in vision four, when language of seeing begins to appear with great frequency: "*I lifted up my eyes and saw* a woman..." and "*I looked*, and behold, the woman was no longer *visible* to me, but there was an established city" (4 Ezra 9:38, 10:27). The heavenly, eschatological city that appeared in the vision remains in the field even after the vision has ended, causing Ezra to exclaim, "behold, I *saw* and still *see*" (4 Ezra10:32).[36] The angel Uriel tells Ezra to tour Zion, "as far as it is possible for *your eyes to see it*, and afterward you will *hear as much as your ears can hear*" (4E 10:55), suggesting that Ezra is privy to an eschatological and heavenly experience beyond what he is able to fathom.[37] Afterwards, Ezra has two symbolic, eschatological dreams that show a noticeable increase in verbs of seeing (cf. 4E 11:2, 5, 7, 10, 12, 20, 22, 24, 28, 33, 36, 44; 12:1, 2, 3, 11, 17, 19, 22, 26, 29, 30, 31, 35; 13:3, 5, 8, 10, 12, 20, 25, 27, 32, 39, 47, 51, 53). This marked emphasis placed on seeing demonstrates that these dreams fulfill Uriel's earlier statement that Ezra might be granted a chance to *see* the signs of the endtime (4 Ezra 4:43, 5:4). That is, although in the course of the plot Ezra is not present at the endtime, Ezra is in fact allowed to see endtime events in his symbolic visions and dreams, as he himself recognizes: "For you have judged me worthy to be shown the end of the times and the last events of the time" (4 Ezra 12:9; 13:14; cf. *2 Baruch* 81:4). Through the dreams and visions, Ezra is able to by-pass the normal chronology of time. The majority of people will simply have to wait (4 Ezra 4:43).

Beyond the Spiral

Thus far, I have argued that a spiral model of time begins to represent, at least better than a linear or simple cyclical one, the complex cyclical rhythms present in some apocalyptic texts. Significant events in sacred history - Creation, the giving of the Law, the Exile - are recapitulated

throughout time, which sometimes (as in *2 Baruch*) displays in its entirely a divinely ordered cyclical pattern that progresses towards an end. A privileged individual existing at some point along the spiral, such as Ezra or Baruch, or even the audience, may enjoy a privatized experience of past, present and future through dreams and visions. But what of the points before the beginning and after the end of the spiral?

If the beginning of the spiral is Creation and the end is the *eschaton*, the texts agree that eternity - divine time - stretches out on either side. However, eternity may imply either an unending succession of time, or *timelessness,* the cessation of time.[38] While the period preceding Creation is not a focus of apocalyptic texts, several statements naturally speak of the age that follows the *eschaton.* Eternity and immortality are attributes of this period: "For there is a time that does not pass away. And that period is coming which will remain forever; and there is a new world which does not carry back to corruption those who enter into its beginning..." (*2 Baruch* 44:11; cf. 4 Ezra 7:113, 8:52; 2 Bar. 48:38, 51:9; 1 Enoch 91:17).[39] This passage could conceivably support either view of eternity, and in fact the whole matter may come down to semantics. Since, as we have seen, time is coterminus with content, the concept of eternity suggests that the sacred content of the age to come remains utterly constant, which implies timelessness in that there are no further "ages." This timelessness is vividly captured in some apocalyptic texts in the motif that in the *eschaton* the sun and moon, the markers of regular time, will be destroyed (*Sib. Or.* 3:85-91; cf. Gen. 1:14-19).

Here is where the model fails, however, for it is insufficient to simply mark a terminus point on our schematic of the spiral model of time. The idea is not simply that one period of time will end, and that a new period of timelessness will begin, but rather that both exist simultaneously. Regarding the endtime, *2 Baruch* states "...they shall see that world which is now invisible to them and they will see a time which is now hidden to them. And time will no longer make them older" (*2 Bar.* 51:9). The parallelism of the invisible "world" and of hidden "time" makes the exact nature of this puzzling state of timelessness clearer. The invisible heavenly "world" not only exists concurrently with the world that humans know, it was "prepared

from the moment that I decided to create Paradise" (*2 Bar.* 4:3). In 4 Ezra as well the heavenly world exists alongside the earthly one (4 Ezra 7:49-51). Similarly, divine time - or timelessness - exists alongside regular human time, and may be accessed by the privileged few who are granted divinely sent visions and dreams, in which the normal constraints of time (and space) are erased.

Divine time is clearly different from regular, human time. God is the master of time, who has preordained the times, or periods, since God has preordained their content: "for he has weighed the age in the balance, and measured the times by measure, and numbered the times by number; and he will not move or arouse them until that measure is fulfilled" (4 Ezra 4:36-37). God is distinguished from humans in having control over time, as well as by possessing all knowledge of time: "You alone know the end of times before it has arrived" (*2 Bar.* 21:8; cf. 48:2; *1 Enoch* 46:1ff; *1QH* IX:24). Furthermore, God experiences time differently than do humans, simply because of our mortality: "For we are born in a short time, and in a short time we return. With you, however, the hours are like times, and the days like generations" (*2 Bar.* 48:12-13; cf. 17:1 and Ps. 90:4). This is the idea behind the rhetorical riddle question that Uriel asks Ezra, "Go, weigh for me the weight of fire... or call back for me the day that is past" (4 Ezra 4:5).[40] While Ezra answers that these things are impossible for those who have been born, the implication is obviously that such matters may only be accomplished by God. As Cullman and Marsh agree, God is Lord of history and "can survey time in its entire extension."[41] To return to the spiral model, humans exist along one point of a cycle, and a few privileged humans are able to experience, mainly through dreams and visions, multiple points along the spiral as these intersect their apocalyptic axis of visionary experience (See Figure 3). However, God sees all points along the entire spiral at once, including the infinite stretches of timelessness before and after the spiral, as well as the points between Creation and the *eschaton* that lie off the spiral.[42]

Conclusion

I have argued that several motifs in *2 Baruch* and 4 Ezra suggest a complex cyclical temporal course that may be represented by a model of

spiraling time. These include the theme of the *Urzeit-Endzeit,* the periodization of history (especially in repetitive patterns), the repetition of sacred events at multiple points in time (Sinai, the viewing of the promised land, the Exile), and the privatized experience of the seer of past and future events, especially by means of dreams and visions. The ascending spiral "begins" with Creation and "ends" with the *eschaton*, beyond which lies the complete merging of the earthly and heavenly realms, resulting in an experience of timelessness or divine time.

This spiral model of time for apocalyptic texts suggests some implications for further study which lie beyond the scope of this essay, especially regarding the use of the model in describing mythic elements in apocalyptic texts, which persistently refuse to be pinned down to a single temporal referent.[43] Also, I have focused primarily in this study on two historical apocalypses, but it remains to be seen whether the model may be even more pertinent to those "otherworldly journeys" in which the spatial elements figure as or even more prominently than eschatology.

Finally, it should be said that a model is only a tool, and I am not suggesting that the authors of apocalyptic texts literally pictured a temporal spiral. The schematic model particularly breaks down in attempting to portray timelessness, the time before, after and off the spiral. My goal is simply that this model increase sensitivity to the complexity of the temporal element in apocalypses of even the historical type, and that it capture the apocalyptic temporal view better than does the conception of time as linear temporal succession focused only towards the *eschaton*. The difference between the two models is reminiscent of Newtonian versus Einsteinian physics regarding time, and thus I conclude with a quote from Einstein: "...the distinction between past, present, and future is only an illusion, even if a stubborn one."[44]

[1] The definition of "apocalypse" as put forward by the SBL Genres Project and published in *Semeia* 14 captures this emphasis: "a genre of revelatory literature... disclosing a transcendent reality which is... temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation..." J. J. Collins, ed., *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre, Semeia* 14 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979).

[2] I am using the definition of "historical apocalypse" as set forth in *Semeia* 14, p. 22. *2 Baruch* and 4 Ezra both stem from ca. 100 C. E., see G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985) 287.

[3] O. Cullman, *Christ and Time: The Primitive Christian Conception of Time and History* (Zollikon-Zurich, Switzerland: Evangelischer Verlag A. G., 1946; trans. F. V. Filson, London: SCM, 1965; reprint of revised 1962 ed. with new introductory chapter). J. Marsh, *The Fulness of Time* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952).

[4] Cullman, pp. 51-60.

[5] Cullman, p. 51-52, 57-58. Cullman's statement oversimplifies not only Biblical notions of time (see below), but Hellenistic views as well. See G. J. Whitrow, *Time in History: The evolution of our general awareness of time and temporal perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) 37-55. However, it should be noted that in Cullman's revised 1962 version of *Christ and Time*, he addresses his critics and explains that "linear time is weakened by [the present-future] tension" that is constitutive of his main point that Christ is the middle of time. Yet, Cullman still claims that linear time is presupposed in Biblical thinking, see pp. xxv and xxxi.

[6] Marsh, pp. 20-21.

[7] Marsh, pp. 20-21, 77, 179; T. Boman, *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek* (J. L. Moreau, trans.; London, 1960); and more recently D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic: 200 BC - AD 100* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974) 205-34. Marsh's assertion that Biblical time is defined in terms of content serves as a springboard for this study, although our conclusions differ, since Marsh speaks from the standpoint of Christianity, and therefore rejects a cyclical and/or spiral view of time in favor of a model that bends towards the center, that is, towards the Christ event, pp. 155-73, esp. 167-70.

[8] J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (London: Oxford University, 1961); *Biblical Words for Time* (London: SCM Press, 1962) 26ff.; along with W. Eichrodt, "Heilserfahrung und Zeitverständnis im Alten Testament," *TZ*, vol. XIII (1956) 103-25; all as cited in Russell, pp. 206-7.

[9] Boman, p. 137ff. However, the term may imply too much human subjectivity, since the content of Biblical time and hence the divisions of time are divinely determined.

[10] J. R. Wilch, *Time and Event* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969) 161-71, esp. 164.

[11] S. DeVries, *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1975) 337, see also 343-46. DeVries concludes that both the "quantitative" and

"qualitative" approaches to time are evident in the Bible, with the former being operative only in the royal annals of the divided kingdom, in the priestly writer's reconstruction of the nation's primal history, and in apocalyptic, p. 345. Needless to say, this essay seeks to overturn his argument in the case of apocalyptic literature.

[12] Russell, p. 209.

[13] Russell, p. 134ff, 210-12.

[14] Russell, p. 210.

[15] A. Y. Collins, "Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism, (Leiden: Brill, 1996) 69-76. Other common divisions of time are four, ten and twelve, Collins, p. 76ff.

[16] Cf. The division of history into "generations" in *Sib. Or.* 1, 2, and 4.

[17] Kabisch and Box interpret Esau as a symbol of this corruptible age and Jacob the incorruptible age to come, while Keulers and others see Esau as standing for the rule of Rome, and Jacob for the eschatological kingdom of Israel. R. Kabisch, *Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1889) 50-51; G. H. Box, *The Ezra-Apocalypse* (London: Pitman, 1912) 67-70; J. Keulers, "Die eschatologische Lehre des vierten Esrabuches," *Biblische Studien* 20, nos. 2-3 (1922) 1-240; 41, 47-58, 107; all as cited in M. Stone, *Fourth Ezra* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990) 160-61.

[18] This study uses the translation by A. F. J. Klijn, "2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch" in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (vol. 1; J. H. Charlesworth, ed.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1983) 615-52.

[19] This study uses the version by B. M. Metzger, "The Fourth Book of Ezra," *OTP* 1: 517-560. See also *T. of Levi* 18:10; *Sib. Oracles* 3:744-755, 785-795; cf. *Apoc. of Abr.* 21:6-24:9.

[20] See also 4 Ezra 7:70, which states that the Most High prepared the judgment, an event of the endtime, before the creation of the world and Adam.

[21] Stone, p. 217.

[22] S. H. Hooke puts forward the view of time in apocalyptic literature as one giant cycle, "Myth and Ritual Pattern in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses," in *The Labyrinth* (1935) 221; as cited in Russell, pp. 213-14.

[23] J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1998) 220; cf. Russell, pp. 232-34.

[24] I have chosen to represent as a cycle neither the "last black waters after the black waters [of the twelfth period]," i.e., the judgment, nor the "the bright waters which come at the end," i.e., the age after the judgment (*2 Bar.* 69:1-72:6). These are not a cycle, in that the last bright period does not revert to a dark one, but remains eternally.

[25] Russell, pp. 134ff, 210-11.

[26] Stone, pp. 307-309.

[27] In other apocalyptic texts, such as *1Enoch,* the Flood is a sacred event that frequently functions typologically for the judgment. See *1 Enoch* 10:1-3, 83:1-84:6; Nickelsburg, pp. 51, 91.

[28] G. B. Sayler, *Have the Promises Failed? A Literary Analysis of 2 Baruch* (SBLDS 72; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984) 95-98.

[29] *2 Baruch* 51:10ff suggests the reward of the righteous is heavenly exaltation, which is how Murphy understands it, F. J. Murphy, *The Structure and Meaning of Second Baruch* (SBLDS 78; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) 55-63, 67. This raises the question of which of the "two worlds" Baruch is shown in chapter 76, which is called "the likeness of the inhabited world."

[30] Stone, p. 331.

[31] Ezra is shown "the brightness of [Zion's] glory," which is a term that has connotations of the eschatological revelation of God in 4 Ezra (10:50). See Stone, p. 223.

[32] Stone, pp. 286-7; cf. 221.

[33] This is the overall impression given by L. Oppenheim, *Dreams in the Ancient Near East: With a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book* (Transactions of the Ameican Philosophical Society, N.S., vol. 46; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1956).

[34] Oppenheim, p. 192.

[35] Stone, pp. 326, 330. Also see S. Niditch, *The Symbolic Vision in Biblical Tradition* (HSM 30; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980) 223; J. J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993) 338.

[36] Stone, p. 331.

[37] Stone, p. 341, n. 2.

[38] Cullman, pp. 61-68.

[39] *1 Enoch* 91:17 is a rare case that clearly speaks of endless successive time in the age to come, or "weeks without number forever."

[40] See Stone, p. 80-81; *ibid.,* "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature," *Magnalia Dei (G. E. Wright Memorial)* (F. M. Cross, W. E. Lemke and P. D. Miller, eds.; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976) 414-54.

[41] Marsh, p. 180.

[42] See 1QH IX 16-24, in F. G. Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (2nd ed.; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996; and Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1996).

[43] For sources, see J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination,* pp. 18-19.

[44] This quote was uttered by Einstein at the death of a life-long friend, and is found in L. W. Fagg, *The Becoming of Time: Integrating Physical and Religious Time* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1995) 189.

Figure 1

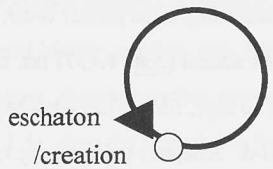


Figure 2

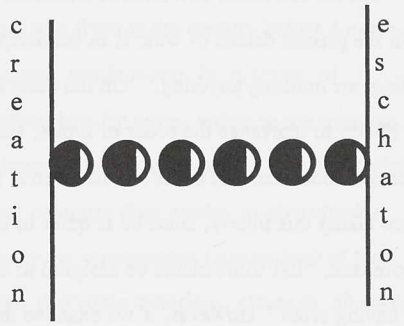


Figure 3

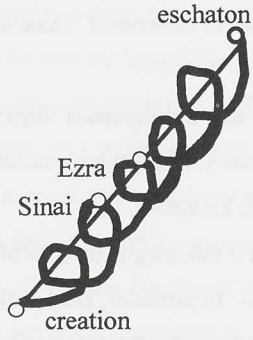
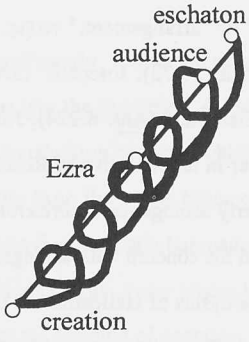


Figure 4



Rearrangement of Biblical Material in Josephus' Antiquities, Book 1

Louis H. Feldman, Yeshiva University

On the one hand, in a famous statement (Ant. 1.17) Josephus promises that he will "set forth the precise details of what is in the Scriptures according to its proper order,.. neither adding nor omitting anything." On the other hand, he admits (Ant. 4.197) that he has taken the liberty to rearrange the order of topics, since, as he says, Moses left what he wrote in a scattered condition, just as he had received it from G-d. Josephus quite clearly feels guilty about taking this liberty, since he is quick to add that he considered it necessary to mention it beforehand, "lest some blame be assigned to us by my fellow countrymen who read this work for having erred." However, if we examine the statement in Antiquities 1.17, we see that what Josephus has promised is not that he will present the details precisely as they appear in Scripture but rather that he will set them forth each in its proper place (*κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν τάξιν*). It is almost as if Josephus the general in Galilee is speaking, since the word that he uses for "place" or "arrangement," *τάξις*, is regularly used in the sense of "battle array" especially in Thucydides (4.72), Josephus' favorite historian.

Elsewhere (Ant. 8.224), Josephus justifies such rearrangement, departing from the biblical order in the narrative of Rehoboam and Jeroboam, noting that he intended thus to preserve an orderly arrangement (*εὔτακτον*) throughout his his history.

In his concern with arrangement, Josephus is following in the path of what his predecessor[1] Dionysius of Halicarnassus calls *οἰκονομικόν*. In particular, Dionysius (De Thucydide 9) criticizes Thucydides, whom he otherwise admires greatly, for arranging his narrative by summers and winters, thus breaking it up into small sections describing the many actions that took place in many different places during a given season and thus presenting a very choppy narrative and destroying its continuity. "History," he concludes, "should be presented as an uninterrupted sequence of events, particularly when it is concerned with a large number of them that are difficult to comprehend."

On the other hand, Dionysius praises Xenophon for his arrangement of material (Epistula ad Pompeium 4): " Everywhere he has begun at the most appropriate place, and he has concluded each episode at the most suitable point." He likewise praises Theopompus (Epistula ad Pompeium 6) for his arrangement, which is both lucid and easy to follow.

Another prominent historian, Diodorus Siculus, who lived in the century before Josephus and whose universal history, starting with mythical times, reminds one, in its scope, of Josephus' Antiquities, though Josephus does not mention him by name, writes in the opening of his Book 5 (5.1.1) about the importance for the historian of the arrangement of his material: "It should be the special care of historians, when they compose their works, to give attention to everything which may be of utility, and especially to the arrangement (*οἰκονομίας*) of the varied material they present." He notes, in particular, that some historians, although otherwise praiseworthy for their style are, nevertheless, deficient in the way that they handle arrangement (*οἰκονομίαν*), so that they are justly censured. He then proceeds to praise Ephorus for the arrangement of his work of universal history, noting that each of the books of this work has unity, being restricted to a single topic.

The word which he uses for "arrangement," *οἰκονομία*, significantly, is also the word used by the extremely influential literary critic, Pseudo-Longinus (On the Sublime 1.4), who also uses Josephus' word *τάξις* in referring to the military-like marshalling of facts, which, he says, shows itself not in one or two touches but emerges gradually from the whole tissue of a composition. Even Quintilian (3.3.9) uses this term, who remarks that the Latin language lacks an equivalent word. He cites the view of the rhetorician Hermagoras, "who places judgment, division, order, and everything related to expression under the heading of economy (oeconomiae), a Greek word which, he says, refers literally to the management of domestic affairs but which is applied metaphorically to oratory.

Josephus has clearly learned this lesson, as we see even at the very beginning of the Antiquities. Thus, the Bible, after relating G-d's creation of the first human being (Gen. 1:27 and 2:7) proceeds to interrupt the narrative about him and instead to state that G-d planted a

garden in Eden and mentions the four rivers that flowed out of it (Gen. 2: 8-14). Then the text returns to the account of the first man and G-d's instructions to him not to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, G-d's bringing of every living creature to him so that he might name them, and the creation of the first woman from his rib (Gen. 2:8-22). Josephus realizes that the account of the Garden of Eden and the rivers interrupts the narrative about the first man; hence, immediately after mentioning the creation of Adam, he continues the narrative about him, noting that G-d brought to him the living creatures. Whereas the Bible (Gen. 2:20-21) cites no connection between that act and the creation of Eve, Josephus supplies this connection, noting that after Adam named all the living creatures G-d looked with astonishment at the other creatures who had their mates but noted that Adam was without one and consequently proceeded to create a mate for him. It is only after completing this account of the creation of Adam and Eve that he proceeds to mention the Garden of Eden and the four rivers that flowed out of it (Gen. 2:8-14). Whereas the Bible jumps around from the creation of Eden to the creation of Eve, Josephus, by his rearrangment, is able to have the expulsion from Eden follow more logically after the account of the creation of Eden (Ant. 1.40-51).

Again, according to the Bible (Gen. 3:20), it is only after Adam and his wife are punished for eating of the fruit of the tree that we are told that Adam called his wife's name Eve. One would have thought that Adam would have given her a name when she was first brought to him; and this is precisely what we find in Josephus (Ant. 1.36).

Sometimes Josephus omits biblical data either because there are long lists of names that might be regarded as difficult or boring to his readers--and if he does insert them, as he does in naming the seventy descendants of Jacob (Ant. 2.176-83) he is apologetic about it--or, as in the case of Seth's descendants (Gen. 5:6-31), he avoids the problem that Lamech is enumerated as the son of Methushael and among the descendants of Cain (Gen. 4:18) and as the son of Methuselah and among the descendants of Seth (Gen. 5:25). Josephus solves the difficulty by simply omitting here the names of Seth's descendants and mentioning them only later (Ant. 1.79), when he states that Noah was the tenth descendant of Adam; and he avoids

the problem of the apparent contradiction as to who was the father of Lamech by giving the name in both places--the enumeration of the descendants of Cain (Ant. 1.63) and those of Seth (Ant. 1.79)--as Methusaleh, whereas Cain's descendant in the Bible (Gen. 4:18) is named Methushael.

Again, the Bible (Gen. 5:28) mentions Noah as the son of Lamech and asserts that he was the father of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, then describes the wickedness of that generation (Gen. 6:1-6), then continues with G-d's decision to eradicate the human race (Gen. 6:7), then notes that Noah found favor in the eyes of G-d, then enumerates Noah's sons again (Gen. 6:10), then describes again the wickedness of mankind (Gen. 6:11-13), and then gives G-d's instructions to Noah to build an ark (Gen. 6:14-22). Josephus avoids jumping around from topic to topic: he proceeds more logically, starting with an extended description of the depravity of mankind (Ant. 1.72-73), then mentions Noah's opposition (Ant. 1.74) and the building of the ark (Ant. 1.77). Moreover, Josephus (Ant. 1.109) saw no point in mentioning the names of Noah's sons until after the flood had subsided and realized that the problem before the survivors was the repopulation of the human race.

One may wonder why, whereas the Bible proceeds shortly after mentioning the building of Noah's ark (Gen. 6:14-16) and the introduction into it of the animals (Gen. 7:2-3), to describe the flood itself (7:17-24), Josephus, after mentioning Noah's construction of the ark (Ant. 1.77,) does not get to the description of the flood until a number of paragraphs later (Ant. 1.89). This would seem to violate his principle of dealing with a given incident in all its details before proceeding to another topic. The explanation here, however, would seem to be that Josephus is first and foremost a historian--and a critical historian at that. Once he mentioned the flood (Ant. 1.75) he realized that it was crucial for him to prove the historicity of the flood, especially since the Greeks knew of more than one flood. Hence, immediately after noting the construction of the ark (Ant. 1.77) he had to establish that Noah was the tenth generation after Adam (Ant. 1.80). He thus gives the precise date of the flood (Ant. 1.82) as occurring 2262 years after the birth of Adam. He then proceeds (Ant. 1.83-88) to cite the

genealogy of the patriarchs from Adam to Noah to confirm this chronology. Only then does Josephus return to the account of the flood itself (Ant. 1.89).

On the other hand, whereas the Bible (Gen. 8:8-12) states that Noah, in order to see whether the waters had subsided, sent forth a dove three times before it did not return to him, Josephus (Ant. 1.91) mentions only one sending forth of the dove, since the biblical narrative is simply repetitious. On the other hand, whereas the Bible merely mentions that the ark came to rest upon the mountains of Ararat, Josephus, concerned with establishing the historicity of the flood and of identifying it with the flood mentioned by the Greeks and others, immediately (Ant. 1.93-95) cites the evidence of Berossus the Chaldaean, Hieronymus the Egyptian, Mnaseas, and Nicolas of Damascus. Such evidence, coming as it does from non-Jewish historians, was of particular value not only in establishing the authenticity of the flood but also the historicity of the Bible as a whole, of which it plays such a significant part.

Whereas the Bible is often content merely to mention the sequence of events, Josephus is concerned with establishing a causal relationship among them. Thus the Bible states that after Noah emerged from the ark he built an altar to G-d (Gen. 1:20) and proceeded to offer sacrifices to Him; and the reader is left wondering why he does so. Josephus (Ant. 1.96) answers this question by explaining that Noah was afraid that G-d, having sought once to annihilate the human race, might seek to do so annually; and so he offered sacrifices in order to beseech G-d to inflict no such calamity in the future. A natural question that comes to mind is why G-d created humans in the first place if He determined to annihilated them. The Bible does not raise this question, but Josephus does (Ant. 1.99), and answers that it was the outrages committed by people that led Him to his drastic action.

The Bible mentions by name the sons of Noah in four different places: first, that Noah had begotten three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth (Gen. 6:10); second, that the sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, entered the ark (Gen. 7:13); third, that the sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, emerged from the ark (Gen. 9:18); and fourth, that (Gen. 10:1) of the descendants of Noah, whom he lists (Gen. 10:1-31), started with his sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Josephus does

not mention them by name until after the flood has subsided and they descend to the plains to make their abode there (Ant. 1.109) and does not mention them again until he proceeds to enumerate their descendants (Ant. 1.122-147).

We may note a striking rearrangement in that the account of Noah's drunkenness and the cursing of Canaan, which in the Bible (Gen. 9:20-26) is seemingly more logically placed after the emergence of Noah and his sons from the ark, is in Josephus (Ant. 1.140-42) delayed until after the account of the building of the tower of Babel and the dispersion of the inhabitants thereafter. In fact, in Josephus we are informed of Noah's death some 36 sections before (Ant. 1.104)! The reason for this delay is that Josephus sought to mention the cursing of Canaan immediately after his extensive enumeration of the sons of Ham and of the countries founded by them. Since he ends this enumeration with the mention of Ham's son Canaan (Ant. 1.138), the narrative continues logically with the account of how he came to be cursed.

Josephus would seem to break the continuity of the narrative when, after mentioning the death of Noah (Ant. 1.104) he presents three reasons to explain the longevity of the patriarchs, whereas the Bible has no such explanation. But this is a natural point for such a discussion, since Noah marks the last of the ten generations from Adam and the last of those who lived extraordinarily long lives, so that the reader at this point might well ask for the explanation of the long lives of these patriarchs, especially as compared with the lives of those who followed. Josephus, realizing that many would question the bibical data, in view, as he admits (Ant. 1.105), that the span of life in his own day was much shorter, proceeds to give three explanations: the patriarchs were beloved of G-d, being the creatures of G-d Himself; their diet (perhaps because it was vegetarian) was conducive to longer life; and finally, their merits warranted it. Moreover, G-d desired that their discoveries in astronomy and geometry should be preserved, since they could have predicted nothing with certainty if they had not lived for six hundred years--the span of the "great year." As he does in his account of the flood, to answer those who doubted its historicy, so here, too, Josephus proceeds to cite no fewer than eleven non-Jewish writers who attest to the fact that the ancients lived extraordinarily long lives:

Manetho, Berossus, Mochus, Hestiaeus, Hieronymus, Hesiod, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, Acusilaus, Ephorus, and Nicolas of Damascus. And to maintain his self-respect as an objective and critical historian, he closes with his trademark declaration that on these matters everyone should decide as he sees fit.

Moreover, there would seem to be a gap in the biblical narrative, since the reader would wonder how the various parts of the earth came to be inhabited. All that the Bible tells us (Gen. 11:2) is that the survivors of the flood migrated from the east and settled in the plain of Shinar. Josephus (Ant. 1.109-10) explains how they came to select Shinar, namely, after some had descended from the mountains to the plains, the rest were persuaded to follow. Again, the Bible (Gen. 11:4) sets forth as the reason why they built the Tower of Babel was to make a name for themelves. Josephus gives a much fuller explanation, namely that their increase in population led G-d to tell them to send out colonies in order that they might not quarrel with each other (Ant. 1.110).

Again, since the reader would ask who the leader was of the effort to build the tower, Josephus (Ant. 1.113-15) introduces the figure of Nimrod, who establishes himself as tyrant in rebelling against G-d. As we have seen elsewhere, Josephus (Ant. 1.118) seeks to establish external evidence to support the biblical narrative, this time finding it in the Sibylline Oracles, which, to be sure, is a Jewish work. He supports the historicity of the narrative by citing a reference, in a non-Jewish historian, Hestiaeus, whom he had mentioned previously (Ant. 1.119), to priests who escaped and came to Shinar in Babylonia. That the reference is to those who in the Bible settled there is, of course, doubtful; but so eager is Josephus to find external references to biblical data that he is ready to cite this also.

When the Bible (Gen. 10) comes to the descendants of Noah's sons it almost always restricts itself to merely mentioning their names, without indicating the geographical areas that they occupied. Josephus (Ant. 1.122-47) has a much longer account and identifies the geographical area that each of them occupied. Indeed, whereas the Hebrew version (Gen. 10:1-32) of the list of the descendants of Japheth, Ham, and Shem has a total of 288 words,

Josephus' version (Ant. 1.122-47) has a total of 1105 words, a ratio of almost four to one as compared with the Hebrew. Moreover, Josephus, bearing in mind that his readers would be unfamiliar with many of the original names of the places that were established so long ago, makes special note (Ant. 1.121) of the fact that while some of the names given by the founders of these nations have been preserved, some have been changed and still others have been modified by the Greeks, Josephus' primary audience, so as to make them "more intelligible to their neighbors." Indeed, Josephus notes that some of the names of the countries have altogether disappeared, that others have been altered beyond recognition, and that, in fact, few have been preserved unimpaired (Ant. 1.130). Josephus himself, forever concerned with his Greek readers, admits (Ant. 1.129) that he himself has Hellenized names with a view to euphony and his readers' pleasure (ἡδονήν).

Logically, the fact that after the flood all people spoke one language (Gen. 11:1) and the account of how they came to be dispersed should have followed immediately after the subsiding of the flood and the list of all the descendants of Noah's sons should have followed. Indeed, Josephus (Ant. 1.109-47) follows this order, whereas in the Bible the subsiding of the flood (Gen. 8:1-9:18) is followed by the list of Noah's descendants (Gen. 10:1-32) and by the statement that the whole earth spoke one language (Gen. 11:1), the account of the dispersal of the human race (Gen. 11:8), and the enumeration of the descendants of Arpachshad, the son of Shem (Gen. 11:10-32), ending with Terah and Abram. In line with Josephus' principle of maintaining continuity on a given subject once he has raised it, Josephus does not have the interruption of the building of the tower of Babel after the list of the descendants of Japheth and Ham, but immediately after the list of the descendants of Japheth, Ham, and Shem (Ant. 1.122-47), since those who were dispersed were the descendants of all the sons of Noah. He thereafter continues with the descendants of Heber, the great-grandson of Shem (Ant. 1.148-50), ending with the birth of Abram. Then, whereas the Bible mentions Nahor, the son of Terah (Gen. 11:27), only to continue at length with the story of Abram (Gen. 12:1-22:19) before mentioning the children of Nahor by his wife Milcah and by his concubine Reumah

(Gen. 22:24), Josephus mentions these children shortly after his listing of the sons of Terah (Ant. 1.153).

The reader of the bibical narrative may well wonder why when Abram left his father, his nephew Lot went with him (Gen. 12:4). Josephus (Ant. 1.154) fills in the gap by explaining that since Abram had no legitimate son he had adopted Lot, who, in addition to being his nephew was also the brother of his wife Sarai. Again, whereas the Bible (Gen. 12:1-4) simply declares that G-d told Abram to leave his father's house and to go to the land that He would show him and that Abram obeyed, Josephus, aware that the intelligent reader would surely ask why Abram blindly obeyed, Josephus explains that Abram was actually a man of ready intelligence and that he had been able to arrive through logic at a very sophisticated proof of G-d's existence through consideration of the exceptions in celestial phenomena (Ant. 1.155-56). Again, since a reader might well ask why Abram had left his own homeland so readily, Josephus (Ant. 1.157) explains that the peoples of Mesopotamia had risen against him owing to his theological views.

At this point, since the Bible offers no external evidence for the historicity of its personalities, Josephus, well aware that his critically minded readers might well ask for proofs of their existence, presents the evidence of three non-Jewish writers--Berossus, Hecataeus, and Nicolas of Damascus (Ant. 1.158-60); most effective of all is the last, who mentions that the name of Abram is still celebrated in the region of Damascus and that a village there is named after him.

According to the Bible (Gen. 12:10), the sole reason for Abram's descent to Egypt was that there was a famine in Canaan. Josephus finds it difficult to believe that a man of Abram's intelligence and virtue would have been concerned solely with his physical survival. And so he adds a second motive, namely to hear what the famed Egyptian priests said about their gods, with the intention either of being converted by them or of converting them to his views (Ant. 1.161).[2]

In the recital of this incident the Bible seems to have a gap. We are told that after Pharaoh saw that he and his house had been afflicted with severe plagues, he summoned

Abram and asked him why he had not told him that Sarai was his wife (Gen. 12:18). The reader's obvious question is how Pharaoh had determined that Sarai was Abram's wife. Josephus (Ant. 1.165) supplies the answer: Pharaoh, terrified by the plagues, summoned Sarai and asked her who she was and who was the man who had brought her with him. Again, the biblical Abram seems to be interested in material goods, as we infer from the fact that he emerged from Egypt with all that was his and that he was very laden with livestock, silver, and gold (Gen. 13:1-2). To be sure, the Josephan Abram is given abundant riches, but he also consorts with the most learned of the Egyptians, exposes their arguments, introduces them to arithmetic and the laws of astronomy, in which sciences the Egyptians had previously been ignorant, and thus gains their admiration (Ant.1.165-68).

The Bible (Gen. 13:12) mentions that Lot pitched his tents as far as Sodom and then adds (Gen. 13:13) that the people of Sodom were exceedingly wicked and sinful. We would expect that thereafter would follow an episode whereby the Sodomites would be punished. Instead we have the episode in which the Sodomites, together with their four allies, are defeated, Lot is captured, and Abram comes to the rescue of the Sodomites (Gen. 14:1-24). It is only much later (Gen. 18:20-19:29) that Sodom and Gomorrah are destroyed by G-d because of their wickedness. In Josephus' version there is no mention here of Sodom's wickedness, only of its wealth and its large population (Ant. 1.171), presumably the reason why the four kings went to war with them. The impiety of the Sodomites is not mentioned until just before the decision of G-d to obliterate them (Ant. 1.194-95).

In the Bible, we read (Gen. 15:2-3) of Abram's lament to G-d that he has no offspring, and this is followed by the Covenant between the Parts (Gen. 15:9-21), in which G-d assures Abram that He has given to his descendants the land from the Nile to the Euphrates, including that of the Canaanites. This, in turn, is followed by the narrative (Gen. 16:1-2) telling how Sarai gives her maidservant Hagar to Abram for childbearing purposes. The Covenant between the Parts seems to interrupt the connection between Abram's complaint and Sarai's action to assure him a descendant by giving him Hagar. Moreover, we may well ask what is

the connection between G-d's assurance as to the land that Abram's descendants will inherit, since those descendants are derived from Isaac, and the story of Hagar and Ishmael. Josephus (Ant. 1.186-87) has made the connection clearer. In the first place, instead of mentioning that Abram's descendants will acquire the land from the Nile to the Euphrates, which his descendants never did acquire and enumerating the ten tribes, ranging from the Kennites to the Jebusites, which they will conquer, and thus, in fact, giving the Israelites a reputation of seeking expansionism and imperialism, Josephus mentions not that the Israelites will obtain this land as a gift from G-d but that his descendants will vanquish the Canaanites in battle and thus obtain it by right of conquest. Josephus (Ant. 1.186) then connects the mention of the Canaanites with the fact that Abram was then living in Canaan near the city of Hebron near the oak called Ogyges. Whereas Genesis, Chapter 16, begins with the statement that Sarai bore no children and brought Hagar to Abram, Josephus (Ant. 1.186) first states specifically that Abram besought G-d to grant him the birth of a male child; and this, in turn, is followed by G-d's assurance that He had led Abram out of Mesopotamia for his welfare so that children would be borne to him. Again, whereas the Bible (Gen. 16:2) states that Sarai at her own initiative brought Hagar to Abram for childbearing purposes, Josephus connects this incident with the preceding incident of the Covenant between the Parts and G-d's assurance to Abram by stating (Ant. 1.187) that it is at G-d's command that Sarai brought Hagar to Abram so that he might have children through her.

In the incident that follows, the pregnant Hagar flees from Sarai, and we are told that an angel found her, told her to return to her mistress, and promised that she would give birth to a son who would be called Ishmael and that she would have numerous offspring (Gen. 16:7-11). We are not told why the angel appeared, but Josephus (Ant. 1.188) has a smoother transition, namely that it was in response to Hagar's entreaty to G-d that the angel met her. Again, whereas the Bible (Gen. 16:9) simply says that the angel told Hagar to return to her mistress, without explaining why she should do so, the angel in Josephus (Ant. 1.189-90) tells Hagar that her plight was due to her arrogance toward her mistress and warns her that if she con-

tinues in her ways and disobeys G-d she will perish, whereas if she returns home she will become the mother of a son who will reign over that country.

In the Bible (Gen. 17:1-14) the birth of Ishmael is followed by a restatement of the convenant between G-d and Abram and only afterwards (Gen. 17:16) by G-d's promise that Sarai will bear a son to Abram. Josephus (Ant. 1.191) has a smoother transition in that after the account of the birth of Ishmael we are told that G-d announced to Abraham that Sarai would bear him a son. Moreover, in the Bible (Gen. 17:10-14) G-d tells Abraham that circumcision will be required as a sign of the covenant, whereas in Josephus (Ant.1.192) it is after G-d announces that Abraham will have a son and that through him great nations will spring that He charges him to perform the rite of circumcision.

The reader of the Bible will note that whereas in Gen. 18:1-16 we hear of the visit to Abraham of three angels and then we hear of the wickedness of Sodom and Gomorrah and of G-d's intention to destroy them (Gen. 18:16-33), Josephus has a more logical order: first the description of the Sodomites' overweening pride and insolence (Ant. 1.194-95) and G-d's decision to destroy them, and then G-d's sending the angels to carry out His decision (Ant. 1.196-204).

In the Bible (Gen. 20:1-17) the incident of Abimelech, the king of Gerar, and Sarah is followed by the account of the birth of Isaac (Gen. 21:1-8) and that of the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael (Gen. 21:9-21), only to return to the account of the alliance between Abraham and Abimelech (Gen. 21:22-32). Josephus avoids the interruption of the birth of Isaac and of the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael and mentions the alliance between Abraham and Abimelech in its more logical place, namely immediately after the account of the incident of Abimelech and Sarah (Ant. 1.212).

Moreover, the Bible (Gen. 25:12-16) does not mention the names of Ishmael's descendants until after the enumeration of Abraham's descendants by Keturah (Gen. 25:1-6). Josephus (Ant. 1.220) mentions Ishmael's descendants immediately after his account of the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael and their rescue by an angel of G-d.

In the Bible the account of the binding of Isaac (Gen. 22:1-19) is followed by the list of the children of Abraham's brother Nahor and by the mention of the birth of Rebecca to Nahor's son Bethuel (Gen. 22:20-23). Only then do we hear of the death of Sarah (Gen. 23:1-2). The connection is much smoother in Josephus, who tells us (Ant. 1.236-37) that after the Aqedah Abraham and Isaac returned to Sarah, and that shortly thereafter Sarah died. Since Sarah was succeeded by Keturah as Abraham's wife, the list of his descendants by Keturah follows, whereas, as we have noted, in the Bible (Gen. 25:1-6) Abraham's childen by Keturah are mentioned after the narrative of the marriage of Isaac and Rebecca.

In the Bible (Gen. 24:22) Abraham's servant, who is on a mission to find a wife for Isaac, produces a precious ring and two heavy bracelets after the unnamed maiden has given drink to him and his camels, and only then (Gen. 24:23) asks her identity, thus seemingly simply rewarding her for giving him drink. In Josephus' version it is only after Rebecca identifies herself that the servant produces a necklace and some other ornaments (Ant. 1.248-49), clearly indicating that he had reached the goal of his mission.

Again, when the servant comes to Laban's house, in the biblical version (Gen. 24:34-49) he repeats at length the whole story of how Abraham had made him swear to find a wife for Isaac from his (Abraham's) family and how the maiden had given him to drink. Josephus (Ant. 1.252-55) hurries the narrative along and summarizes the encounter with Rebecca in a single sentence (Ant. 1.254).

Then, in the Bible (Gen. 24:62-67) we read of the marriage of Isaac and Rebecca, followed by the account of Abraham's second marriage, to Keturah and his children by her, and the statement that Abraham gave everything to Isaac, merely bestowing gifts upon the children whom he had from Keturah. In Josephus' version the account of the marriage of Isaac and Rebecca is followed immediately by the statement that Abraham gave Isaac his entire estate; and immediately after this is the remark that his sons by Keturah departed to found their colonies (Ant. 1.255), thus omitting the embarrassing remark that Abraham did not treat all his childen equally in the matter of the inheritance.

After the statement of Abraham's death and burial (Gen. 25:7-10) the Bible lists the descendants of Ishmael and notes Ishmael's death (Gen. 25:12-18), after which we read of Rebecca's barrenness and pregnancy (Gen. 25:19-21). In Josephus' version, inasmuch as the key figure after Abraham is Isaac rather than Ishmael, the mention of Abraham's death is followed immediately by the narrative of the birth of the twins Esau and Jacob to Isaac's wife Rebecca (Ant. 1.257).

In the biblical narrative the birth of the twins is followed by two simple statements, describing their growth and the favoritism that Rebecca showed for Jacob (Gen. 25:27-28), followed by the story of Esau's sale of the birthright to Jacob (Gen. 25:29-34). Josephus, however, omits the account of the sale of the birthright until the very beginning of Book 2:1-3. There it fits more logically, since the birthright is concerned with inheritance; and Book 1 ends with the mention of the death of Isaac (Ant. 1.345-46), so that the sale of the birthright follows quite naturally.

The narrative that follows the account of the birth and maturity of Esau and Jacob tells of a famine and of Isaac's departure to Abimelech the king of Gerar (Gen. 26:1). The reader will recall that this is the same Abimelech who had abducted Sarah (Gen. 20:1-18) and who had been told by Abraham that she was his sister. In the Bible, very similarly, Isaac tells Abimelech's attendants (Gen. 26:7) that she is his sister. The whole narrative seems to repeat too strikingly the account of Abraham's meeting with Abimelech, and yet the Bible makes no mention of the fact that a similar encounter had occurred with Abraham. Josephus (Ant. 1.259) has a crossreference to the previous meeting of Abraham with Abimelech and of the treaty which they had drawn up (Gen. 21:22-24, Ant. 1.212), while omitting Isaac's statement, so similar to Abraham's as to stretch credulity, that Rebecca was his sister, and in fact the whole episode in which Abimelech sees Isaac sporting with Rebecca (Gen. 26:8-11).

The narrative that follows in the Bible (Gen. 26:34-35) tells of Esau's marriages at the age of forty to two Hittite women, Judith and Basemath--marriages that were a source of anguish to Isaac and Rebecca. Later (Gen. 28:6-9) we are told that Esau, perceiving that Isaac

was displeased with his marriages, married Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael. Still later (Gen. 36:2-3) we read that Esau married two Canaanite women, Adah and Oholibamah. Josephus (Ant. 1.265) here combines all three of these accounts and has Esau at the age of forty marry the two Canaanite women.

In the episode of Isaac's blessing of Jacob we may wonder why the highly spiritual Isaac should send Esau to hunt for game so that he might make him delicacies such as he loved (Gen. 27:3-4). Josephus says nothing of such a motive; rather he mentions that Isaac's age had prevented him from ministering (θεραπεύειν) to G-d, implying that he wished to have the animals so as to be able to offer a sacrifice to G-d.

In the Bible Rebecca, hearing that Esau intended to kill Jacob, tells him to flee to her brother Laban (Gen. 27:41-45). Josephus (Ant. 1.278) says nothing about Esau's intention to kill Jacob, perhaps because he knows the tradition identifying the Romans as descended from Esau.[3] Instead, we pass directly to Jacob's departure, upon the instructions of his mother and the consent of his father, to Mesopotamia to seek a wife.

In the scene that follows (Gen. 28:10-15) Jacob has a dream in which G-d reassures him that He will guard him and that his offspring will be numerous and powerful. However, Jacob's mission at this point is to find a wife and one would imagine that in the dream G-d would give him assurances on this matter. In Josephus' version (Ant. 1.282) G-d does indeed assure Jacob that the marriage on which his heart is set will be consummated.

According to the Bible (Gen. 29:14), Jacob stayed with Laban for a month's time, and Laban had still not asked Jacob nor had Jacob told Laban why he had come. Finally, when Laban asks Jacob what wages he expects for serving him, he tells Laban (Gen. 29:18) that he will work for him for seven years so that he may marry Rachel. In Josephus' version (Ant. 1.294) the month is reduced to a few days, and Laban asks Jacob for what reason he had come, whereupon Jacob tells him that Esau had sought to kill him and proceeds to ask for the hand of Rachel (Ant. 1.298). Again, whereas the Bible does not specify what it is that brought him to love Rachel, Josephus' Jacob explains that "on all grounds she deserved his

esteem, not least for her ministry in bringing him to Laban" (Ant. 1.298). Moreover, he explains that he will serve Laban not only so that he may marry Rachel but also "to give proof of his worth and that it might the better be seen what manner of man he was."

The biblical text (Gen. 29:25) fails to explain how Jacob could have been unaware until the following morning that it was Leah who had been given to him by Laban, especially since, as Scripture (Gen. 29:17) Leah was devoid of beauty, whereas Rachel was not. Josephus (Ant. 1.301) has the explanation: Jacob was deluded by wine and the dark,[4] and hence it was not until daylight came that he recognized her.

Josephus omits the episode wherein Jacob placed peeled rods in the watering receptacles to which Laban's flocks came to drink so that they might give birth to ringed, speckled, and spotted animals that Laban had agreed he might keep (Gen. 30:32-33), since this seems to smack of trickery; moreover, he delays mention of this until he is overtaken by Laban and when he bitterly complains to Laban that he had been deceived by him.

As for Rachel's theft of the teraphim, it seems hard to believe that Laban would so readily decline to search for them in her camel's packsaddle on which she sat simply because she said that she was menstruating, since all he had to do was to ask her to descend from the camel. Josephus, however, has a more credible explanation (Ant. 1.323), namely, that in that condition Rachel would not have approached the images.

The identity of the one with whom Jacob wrestled (Gen. 32:25-30) is not clear from the biblical text. In the Bible (Gen. 32:25) he is termed a man, but Josephus (Ant. 1.331) refers to him as a spectre or phantom (*φάνταασμα*) and as an angel of G-d (*θεῖον ἄγγελον*), since the biblical text indicates that Jacob had striven with G-d and with men (Gen. 32:29). The fact that Jacob's antagonist does not give his name (Gen. 32:30) and that he proceeds to bless Jacob leads Josephus to conclude that he was, indeed, an angel. Once he recognized that his antagonist was an angel, one would have thought that Jacob would beseech him to predict the future. Indeed, this is not in the Bible, but it is in Josephus (Ant. 1.333).

There is a real question as to whether when Esau finally embraced Jacob and kissed him (Gen. 33:4), he was actually sincere. Indeed, the Masoretic Text has dots over every letter in

the word vayishaqehu ("and he kissed"), indicating, apparently, that there was real doubt; and, in fact, the rabbinic tradition was divided on this issue. Josephus (Ant. 1.335), influenced perhaps by the tradition that Esau was the ancestor of the Romans, who were his patrons, leaves no doubt of Esau's sincerity, stating, very clearly, that Esau approached Jacob with no thought of treachery and embraced him.

After the incident of Dinah and Shechem G-d tells Jacob (Gen. 35:1) to go to Bethel and set up an altar there. Jacob, apparently realizing that one should not set up an altar unless one has been purified, tells his household to discard their alien gods, to cleanse themselves, and to change their clothes. Since the Bible had not indicated what had happened to the Teraphim that Rachel had stolen and hidden (Gen. 31:32-35) and that Laban had been unable to find, Josephus takes advantage of this opportunity, since the context speaks of discarding alien gods, to note that while purifying his company Jacob found the Teraphim and hid them beneath an oak near Schehem.

After the account of the death of Rachel in childbirth (Gen. 35:16-20), the Bible (Gen. 35:22) mentions that Reuben had relations with Bilhah, his father's concubine. Josephus omits this altogether, presumably because of the embarrassment, but also because it is an interruption in his narrative, which here, at the end of Book 1 of the Antiquities, deals with the death of Rachel, followed by the account of the death and burial of Rebecca and Isaac (Ant. 1.345-46).

In summary, Josephus, in his paraphrase of the Bible, to judge from Book 1 of the Antiquities, has followed the lead of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Diodorus in avoiding non sequiturs and digressions within a given episode, in seeking to secure a logical sequence in the various episodes of his narrative, in answering questions that the Bible should have raised but did not raise, and in supporting the biblical narrative by citing non-Jewish sources who can support the historicity of the account.

NOTES

[1]On the likelihood of Josephus' indebtedness to Dionysius, as one suspects from the titles of their respective books, Jewish Antiquities and Roman Antiquities, each of them in twenty books, see Gregory E. Sterling, Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography (Leiden: Brill, 1992) 284-90.

[2]See my Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) 228-34.

[3]See my Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible, 322-24.

[4]See J. A. Diamond, "The Deception of Jacob: A New Perception on an Ancient Solution to the Problem," Vetus Testamentum 34 (1984) 211-213, who accepts Josephus' solution.

New Resources for the Study of Josephus

Joseph Sievers
Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome

The SBL Josephus Seminar convenes for the first time in 1999 in connection with the publication of the first volume of an international Josephus project. While concentrating on the concerns and results of this particular project, it may be useful to cast the net a bit wider and to ask where we stand in Josephus studies, in particular with regard to editions and translations of Josephus, worldwide. The following survey will certainly not be exhaustive, but it attempts not to leave out any linguistic area.[1]

Growing Interest in the Works of Josephus

During the Middle Ages, Josephus was the most widely read ancient author in Europe. Schreckenberg, here following Eisler, states that Josephus' literary influence had no equals, with the sole exception of the Bible.[2] Over 130 Greek and about 230 Latin MSS, and innumerable citations in later authors are telling signs of a broad interest in his works.[3] There is also a large number of early prints of Josephus' works. Between 1470 and 1535 there were over twenty printings of Latin translations of Josephus.

A look at more recent editions and translations, however, presents a very different picture. Between 1885 and 1896 three complete editions of the Greek text of Josephus were published: The *Editio Maior* and *Minor* by Niese, plus the edition by Naber in the Teubner series. Niese's *Editio Maior*,

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[1] I would be grateful for information about other recent editions, translations, or projects, to be sent to me at Pontifical Biblical Institute, 25, Via della Pilotta, 00187 Rome, ITALY; e-mail: jsievers1@compuserve.com

[2] Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius-Josephus-Tradition in Antike und Mittelalter* (ALGHJ 5; Leiden: Brill, 1972) xiii-xiv, cf. 9; citing Robert Eisler, *IHΣOYΣ BAΣIΛEYΣ OY BAΣIΛEYΣAΣ: Die messianische Unabhängigkeitsbewegung vom Auftreten Johannes des Täufers bis zum Untergang Jakobs des Gerechten* (2 vols.; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1929-30) 1.xlviii: "dass—nächst der Bibel—keine Schrift des Altertums einen so gewaltigen und weitreichenden Einfluss auf die Geschichtsauffassung der abendländischen Menschheit gehabt, keine Geschichtsquelle so viele gelehrte Federn in Bewegung gesetzt hat … wie das Werk dieses . . . Flavius Josephus."

[3] For a description and evaluation of this material cf. Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius-Josephus-Tradition* and *id., Rezeptionsgeschichtliche und textkritische Untersuchungen zu Flavius Josephus* (ALGHJ 10), Leiden: Brill, 1977.

reprinted in 1955, is currently out-of-print, except for the index volume. The other two editions have long been unavailable. The most recent German translation of the *Antiquities* is the rather unsatisfactory one produced by Clementz a century ago. An Italian translation had not been done since the 1780s. Lately, however, this situation is changing radically, and of these developments I would like to give a brief overview.

Reprint of Niese's Editions

First of all, a reprint of Niese's *Editio Maior* is in preparation.[4] It had been announced in the publisher's catalogues at least as early as 1992 and was recently scheduled to appear in 1999, but has been delayed, until at least next year. It is hoped that soon this edition will again be available to a new generation of scholars. Its critical apparatus is still indispensable for anyone working seriously with the text of Josephus. Also a reprint of Niese's *Editio Minor* is tentatively scheduled for 2000, if there will be a sufficient number of subscriptions.[5]

Perseus Project

The text (without critical apparatus) of Niese's *Editio Maior* has been available for some time on the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* CD-ROM. Perhaps it is less well known that the same text is also available on-line through the Perseus Project at Tufts University.[6] The text may be consulted both in transliteration and in Greek characters. If needed, Greek fonts for both Windows and McIntosh environments can be downloaded free of charge. The text is linked to the English translation by Whiston, which is also searchable. Perseus gives the complete text of Josephus (apparently with the exception of *Against Apion*), as it does for many ancient Greek authors (and some Latin ones as well). Almost every word is morphologically tagged, and with a simple click one may also consult the complete entry in the full version of Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford University Press). Not only that: if the lexicon cites a passage from another author included in the database, one can call up that

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[4] Josephus, Flavius, *Opera*. Edidit et apparatu critico instruxit Benedictus Niese (7 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1885-1895). Reprint in preparation at Olms-Weidmann, Hildesheim (Website: http://www.olms.de E-mail: info@olms.de).

[5] Josephus, Flavius, *Opera*. recognovit Benedictus Niese. *Editio Minor* (6 vols. in 3; Berlin 1888-1895); reprint Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 2000(?).

[6] Website: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu

work as well through a hypertextual link.

The speed of such a search depends on several factors, above all on the speed of one's connection and on user volume. To avoid these limitations, a large part of the data of the Perseus Project is available on a CD-ROM marketed by Yale University Press. This is for now available in a McIntosh version. A platform-independent version, geared primarily toward Windows users, is currently undergoing Beta testing. Unfortunately, however, neither Josephus nor the full Liddell-Scott-Jones seem to be included in either release.

On-line Bibliography (Münster)

Looking for "Josephus" through a search engine such as Altavista one may score over 500.000 hits. Limiting the search precisely to "Flavius Josephus," I recently got a listing of 1.595 web pages. It is of course impossible and rather pointless to check all those websites. One site that did not appear among the first twenty is that of the Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum at the University of Münster.[7] There one finds a bibliography on Josephus that is continually updated by the Institute staff, in cooperation with Heinz Schreckenberg, the author of two well-known volumes of bibliography. This bibliography went on-line in experimental form in June 1998, and has in the meantime become a very valuable research tool.

Recent Translations

Within the last few years, new translations of Josephus have appeared in several languages, some of which I have been unable to see.[8] Per Bilde brought to my attention a 1997 Danish translation of the *War*, with commentary.[9] In the same year a Rumanian translation of the same work was published.[10] Also a Russian translation of the *War*, which appeared in Minsk in 1994, recently came to my attention.[11] *Against Apion* was

[7] http://www.uni-muenster.de/Judaicum/Welcome.html

[8] This information is derived, in part, from the on-line catalogues of the Library of Congress, The National and University Library in Jerusalem, and the library of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

[9] Flavius Josefus, *Den jødiske krig. Oversat med indledning og kommentarer* af Erling Harsberg (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 1997).

[10] Flavius Iosephus, *Istoria razboiului Iudeilor contra Romanilor*, transl. by Wolf Gheneli, ed. and annotated by Ion Acsan (Bucharest: Hasefer, 1997).

[11] Josephus, Flavius. *Iudeiskie drevnosti* / Iosif Flavii; predislovie i primechaniia, V.A.

translated into Hebrew by Aryeh Kasher.[12] A new synoptic comparison of the Greek and Slavonic versions of the *War* is scheduled to appear in 1999.[13] Published over a decade ago and therefore outside the immediate purview of this paper, but probably not well known, is the publication of an 11th-12th cent. Georgian translation of part of Josephus.[14]

Within the last decade, most of the works of Josephus have become available in new translations in Polish,[15] Spanish,[16] Dutch,[17] and Italian.[18] The long awaited Italian translation of the *Antiquities* by Luigi Moraldi appeared in the fall of 1998.[19] Unfortunately, it is in large part based on earlier ones, including the English rendering by Thackeray, Marcus, Wikgren, and Feldman in the Loeb Classical Library. Some passages include mistakes that may be explained on the basis of an English rather than a Greek *Vorlage*. Other passages strongly resemble earlier Italian translations. In some cases I have been able to identify readings that are entirely absent from the Greek text and ultimately go back to the ancient Latin version,

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Fedosika, G.I. Dovgialo (2 vols; Minsk: Belarus, 1994).

[12] *Neged Apion* (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 1996).

[13] *Josephus' Jewish war and its Slavonic version : a synoptic comparison*, directed and ed. by Bernard Orchard in collaboration with Lyubov V. Osinkina (Boston[?]: Brill, 1999).

[14] 2 vols; Tbilisi: Mec'niereba, 1987-88; both volumes edited by Nino Melik'isvili.

[15] Jozef Flawiusz, *Dawne dzieje Israela* (=*Antiquities*), transl. by Zygmunt Kubiak and Jan Radozycki, commentary by Jan Radozycki (2 vols; Warsaw: Rytm, 1993); *id.*, Wojna zydowska (*Jewish War*), transl. by Jan Radozycki (2nd ed.; Warsaw: Rytm, 1991).

[16] Flavio Josefo, *Antigüedades judías*, ed. and transl. José Vara Donado (AKAL/clásica 45-46; 2 vols.; Madrid: Torrejón de Ardoz, 1997); *id.*, *Autobiografia – Contra Apion*, transl. by Margarita Rodriguez de Sepulveda, intro. by Luis García Iglesias (Biblioteca clasica Gredos 189; Madrid: Gredos, 1994).

[17] Gerard Mussies, *De autobiografie van de joodse Flavius Josephus* (=*Life*), with introd., transl., and notes (Na de schriften 8; Kampen: Kok, 1991); Flavius Josephus, *De Joodse oorlog & Uit mijn leven* (=*War* and *Life*), transl. and annotated by Fik J. A. M. Meijer and Marinus A. Wes (Baarn: Ambo, 1992); *id.*, *De oude geschiedenis van de Joden* (*Antiquitates*) transl. and annotated by Fik J. A. M. Meijer and Marinus A. Wes (Baarn: Ambo, 1996-). I am aware only of publication of the first volume, containing Books 1-7.

[18] Flavio Giuseppe, *Autobiografia*, incl. Greek text; intro., transl., and notes by Giorgio Jossa (Studi sul giudaismo e sul cristianesimo antico 3; Naples: M. D'Auria, 1992); *id.*, *Autobiografia*, incl. Greek text, intro., transl., and notes by Elvira Migliario (Milan: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 1993, 2nd ed. 1994); *id.*, *In difesa degli ebrei* (=*Against Apion*) incl. Greek text, intro., transl., and notes by Francesca Calabi (Venice: Marsilio, 1993).

[19] *Antichità Giudaiche* di Josephus Flavio, a cura di Luigi Moraldi (Classici delle religioni: sezione seconda: La religione ebraica; 2 vols.; Turin: UTET, 1998).

which served as the basis also for some earlier Italian translations.[20] The notes too are largely derivative. Thus this work, although handsomely produced, is disappointing. I must confess, however, that it has given me important and unexpected insights into the workings of textual criticism and how not to do our work.[21]

Project of Hebrew Translation of the *War*

A Modern Hebrew rendition of Josephus' *War* is well under way in Israel. Lisa Ullmann of the Classics Department at Hebrew University is doing the translation. Jonathan Price of the Classics Department at Tel Aviv University is editing the work and providing explanatory notes and appendices. Publication is tentatively scheduled for 2000.

French Project at the École Biblique

At the Ècole Biblique et archéologique française in Jerusalem a new critical edition and French translation of the *Antiquities* is under way. As is well known, the volumes containing Books 1-5 have already appeared.[22] A further volume containing Books 6-8, should be published before the end of the millennium.[23] The project is headed by Étienne Nodet, with the cooperation of other scholars. This edition offers a new critical text, based on Niese's manuscript collations, but frequently adopts different readings. Nodet has also tried to verify what type or types of Biblical text Josephus may have used. The first results of this research have been published in a volume on Josephus' Pentateuch.[24] Nodet has supplied concrete textual data that may be verified and evaluated. On the basis of these data he thinks that Josephus used for the Pentateuch a hypothetical Hebrew text ("H"), which differs from MT and from all other known texts and versions.

The notes in Nodet's edition are fuller than in any previous edition of the *Antiquities*. They point to the variety of Biblical and extra-biblical traditions that are reflected in the first half of the work. It is hoped that this edition may progress speedily, and that it be extended to cover all twenty

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[20] My detailed review of this work is to appear in *Rivista Biblica*.

[21] Translations which appeared before 1990 are outside the purview of this survey. For languages not yet mentioned, I am aware of Hungarian, Japanese, Portuguese, and Swedish translations of individual works of Josephus published in the 1980s.

[22] Flavius Josèphe, *Les Antiquités Juives : Introduction et texte, traduction et notes*, ed. by Étienne Nodet *et alii*, Paris : Cerf, 1990- (Books 1-3, 1990 ; Books 4-5, 1995).

[23] Communication from Étienne Nodet, October 19, 1998.

[24] Étienne Nodet, *La Bible de Josèphe I: Le Pentateuque*. Paris: Cerf, 1996.

books of the *Antiquities*.

The Münster Project

Since 1996 a team led by Folker Siegert, with the collaboration of Heinz Schreckenberg, is preparing a new critical edition and annotated German translation of the works of Josephus (excluding the *War*). The *Life* should be published by Mohr/Siebeck of Tübingen before the end of 1999. *Against Apion* should be ready two years later. For the *Antiquities* one will have to wait a bit longer.

In conjunction with this project a series of annual colloquia are being held, which concentrate on various aspects of the works of Josephus. The first two (Münster, 1997, and Brussels, 1998) were devoted mostly to the *Life*. The 1999 colloquium at the University of Aarhus, Denmark, has taken *Against Apion* as its primary topic. The proceedings of the first two colloquia have already been published.[25]

International English Josephus Project

At present, there is no detailed historical and philological commentary on all the works of Josephus, at least in none of the languages I know. For *Against Apion* we are fortunate to have the commentary by Troiani.[26] For the *War*, the commentaries by Ricciotti in Italian and by Michel and Bauernfeind in German are by now somewhat dated and inadequate. Therefore in many quarters the need has been felt for a new historical and archeological as well as philological commentary on all the works of Josephus.

Now an international project tries to respond to this need.[27] This initiative was launched by Steve Mason of York University, in cooperation with the Brill publishing company of Leiden. It was decided to extend the project to the complete works of Josephus and to include a new translation,

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[25] *Internationales Josephus-Kolloquium Münster 1997*, ed. by Folker Siegert and Jürgen U. Kalms (Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 2), Münster: Lit Verlag, 1998; *Internationales Josephus-Kolloquium Brüssel 1998*, ed. by Jürgen U. Kalms and Folker Siegert (Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 4). Münster: Lit Verlag, 1999. For further information one may contact: Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum, Universität Münster, Wilmergasse 1, 48143 Münster FAX: 0049-251-8322565. E-mail: ijd@uni-muenster.de Homepage: http://www.uni-muenster.de/Judaicum/Welcome.html

[26] Lucio Troiani, *Commento storico al _ Contro Apione_ di Giuseppe* (Pisa: Giardini, 1977).

[27] Up-to-date basic information at: http://www.yorku.ca/faculty/academic/smason

since the one by Thackeray, Marcus, Wikgren, and Feldman is in part over seventy years old. The translation at the top of the page will also facilitate use of the commentary. Unfortunately, but I think understandably, it was decided not to provide a Greek text. The time needed for establishing a new critical text and the added cost were judged prohibitive. In addition, since both the French and German projects are in the process of preparing new critical texts (based on the data provided by Niese and not on a new collation of MSS), it seems inappropriate to add another *editio critica minor*.

Every team member has full responsibility for the part assigned to him, but certainly many questions have to be faced together, in order to achieve some degree of consistency. Some of the thorniest issues are the following: How shall personal and geographical names be treated? How do we translate certain recurring terms or characteristic expressions? How do we convey the meaning(s) of the historical present frequently used by Josephus? How much space do we devote to philological and historical questions, and to bibliography? As textual basis we take as our starting point Niese's *Editio Maior* paying attention also to the more recent editions and sometimes choosing readings relegated by Niese to the apparatus. It will be impossible to reach complete consistency. This may be more feasible in the French and German projects, which are based in one particular institution. The advantage of the English project will be the cooperation of a diverse group of scholars from different disciplines, who have considerable experience dealing with the sections of Josephus assigned to them.

The project is planned in nine volumes, as in the original Loeb Classical Library edition, but these volumes will be much more substantial, even without the Greek text. Roughly six parts of commentary are planned for each part translation. The volumes will be subdivided as those in the Loeb edition, but will not be published in that order. Louis Feldman has completed the first volume of the *Antiquities*, with translation and commentary of the entire paraphrase of the Pentateuch. Christopher Begg recently accepted to do most of the rest of the biblical paraphrase in the *Antiquities*. He is well know for his long series of recent articles, published in a variety of journals, about biblical episodes and their transformation in Josephus and in other early Jewish sources. Paul Spilsbury of the Canadian Theological Seminary of Regina will tackle the *Antiquities'* account of the Persian period to the death of Alexander. The Hasmonean period, will be the task of the present writer, while Jan Willem van Henten will treat the reigns

of Herod and the brief account of Archelaus. Per Bilde will cover the time of the procurators to the end of the *Antiquities*. John Barclay is at an advanced stage of work on *Against Apion*. Steve Mason has already translated part of the *Life*. For the *War*, Book 1 (from the Hasmonean period to the death of Herod) will be the responsibility of the present writer. Books 2-3 (to the early stages of the war) have been taken on by Steve Mason, while Books 4-6 (most of the war against the Romans) will be translated and commented by Jonathan Price. Recently James McLaren has accepted to edit the last book of the *War*.

In schematic form the plan of the work looks as follows:

J.W. 1	Joseph Sievers, Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome
J.W. 2-3	Steve Mason, York University, Toronto
J.W. 4-6	Jonathan Price, Tel Aviv University
J.W. 7	James L. McLaren, Australian Catholic University, Ascot Vale, Victoria
Ant. 1-4	Louis H. Feldman, Yeshiva University, New York
Ant. 5-10	Christopher T. Begg, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.
Ant. 10-11	Paul Spilsbury, Canadian Bible College—Canadian Theological Seminary, Regina
Ant. 12-14	Joseph Sievers
Ant. 15-17	Jan Willem van Henten, Delenus Instituut, Amsterdam
Ant. 18-20	Per Bilde, University of Aarhus, Denmark
Life	Steve Mason
Ag. Ap.	John M. G. Barclay, University of Glasgow, Scotland

Thus the task is shared among ten scholars from eight different countries on four continents. In addition, various other scholars from different disciplines have agreed to act as consultants. This global cooperation is made possible in part, but only in part, by communication via Internet. This, however, is a necessary but not a sufficient ingredient. It does not replace personal contact and exchange. Therefore, seminars such as the one at SBL and regular face-to-face meetings, in order to exchange views and coordinate efforts remain essential.

Is DI "PC"? Does Israel have most favored nation status? Another look at "the nations" in Deutero-Isaiah

By Chris Franke

The idea of "the nations" in DI has stimulated much discussion in modern scholarship. A perusal of scholarly books and articles dealing with "the nations" in Deutero-Isaiah shows a remarkable unanimity of opinion on the topic. We might even refer to it as one of the assured results of scholarship. The opinion as described by Hollenberg is this: "There appears to be a serious conflict between nationalism and universalism in Isaiah xl-lv" (Hollenberg 1969:23).

Deutero-Isaiah (DI) sometimes views the nations in a positive light. For example, nations eagerly await the establishment of God's justice and teaching (42:1-4), and seem to be beneficiaries of God's salvation. But elsewhere the nations are portrayed in humiliating, abasing language: they will be "subdued" and trampled (45:1), they will be made to "lick the dust" of the feet of God's people (49:23). DI seems to be both nationalistic or "particularistic," supporting the cause of Israel over against the nations, and at the same time universalistic or "internationalistic" in perspective, allowing the nations to participate in the same treatment God gives to Israel.

One of the chief concerns scholars have about DI's attitude toward the nations has to do with what is perceived as DI's theology. Judgments are often made about the quality and depth or profundity of DI's vision. For example, DI's thoughts have been characterized on a wide spectrum from the "narrowest national self-interest and hatred for Israel's enemies" (Hollenberg 1969:23), "contemptuous or hostile" of the nations (Whybray 1983:63) .to "moments of high vision" in which salvation is extended to the whole world (Gelston 1992:397). Where DI is perceived as a nationalistic prophet, he is not "PC", not politically correct according to certain standards. If DI is understood to be universalistic in his view of the nations, then his vision is considered exalted, "more spiritual."

A number of passages are interpreted to be examples of DI's "missionary theology," especially those which describe Israel as the light to

the nations. Israel as light to the nations meant that all would be converted to belief in one God, the LORD of Israel. In some cases this missionary perspective was thought of more passive than active. Israel would stand as an example of one chosen by God, and this vision would encourage non-Israelites to also make the choice for the "real" God.

These same passages have been assessed in quite a different manner, and are thought to have a very nationalist perspective. For instance, Israel as the light of nations was to dazzle nations by its light, but in no way invited non-Israelites to participate in the saving acts of the God who chose Israel.

Other interpretations see a development in DI's thought from nationalistic to more universalistic. For example, the entire work of chapters 40-55 are seen to grow from narrow to all inclusive thinking with respect to the nations. (For a concise summary of the issues in modern scholarship see Van Winkle 1985:446ff, and Gelston 1992:379ff.).

The preconceived standards by which DI's thinking is judged is part of the problem with the issue of how the nations are understood in these chapters. The intent of this paper is to take another look at the issue outside of contemporary theological implications. My questions will focus on the identity of nation(s) and the nations, and the function of this image or theme within the individual passages. I will also treat the relationship of the terms goy, goyim to parallel vocabulary in DI, and to terminology which has sometimes been equated with goy and goyim.

The terms goy, goyim in DI appear in the following passages: 40:15, 17; 41:2; 42:1, 6; 43:9; 45:1, 20; 49:6, 7, 22; 52:10, 15; 54:3; 55:5 (twice). The words appear in various forms, alternating between definite and indefinite plurals (13 times), and in the indefinite singular form (3 times). Goyim occurs twice with kol-- "all the nations", and the much discussed l'or goyim "light of nations", once in construct with plty-- "survivors of nations," once with the adjective rabim--"many nations."

40:15, 17— Even the **nations** are like a drop from a bucket,
And are accounted as the dust on the scales,
See, he takes up the isles like fine dust.

...

All the nations are as nothing before him,

They are accounted by him as less than nothing and emptiness

The first occurrences are in the poem in 40:12-31which praises God as creator. After rhetorical questions aimed at describing God's immensity and power over the cosmos (v 12) and the incomparability and "immeasurability" (Westermann 1969:50-51) of God's wisdom (vv 13-14), a series of similes continues the comparison. "Nations (indefinite) are like (k-) a drop from a bucket, like dust on scales, isles ('yym) are like fine dust" (v 15). "All the nations are like nothing before him" (v 17a), followed by the comparative "less than nothing and chaos" (v 17b).

Several features—the imagery, parallel terms, the form of the nouns--are worth noting here. The images of God in v 12, and vv 15-17 have to do with measurement--size, weight, volume. God holds the waters in the hand, uses thumb and little finger of the hand (a span) to measure the heavens, weighs and measures the earth and mountains (v 12) . The nations have no more volume than a drop, weigh nothing on a set of scales, and when God lifts (or weighs from ntl) the islands they are as light as dust. Between vv 15 and 17 the magnitude of disparity in size between the compared items grows. Nations are as small, lightweight as drops and grains of sand compared to God in v 15. Now, in v 17, all the nations are compared to God, and they have no substance whatsoever, not even the scanty volume of a mere drop of water. They are nothing, they are less than nothing, in fact they are chaos (tohu). God is compared to the features which make up the known world, the cosmos. His immensity far surpasses that of the entire universe. God's mastery over the universe is effortless, recalling the creation account in Genesis 1.

Most scholars do not see size as the feature of the comparison in vv 15 and 17. Instead, they read these metaphors as relating to the political/historical arena. Watts (1987:91) interprets vv 15-17 as "God's valuation of nations...even the idea of nationhood," and considers this passage to be an "argument against idolatry...". Muilenburg (1956:438), Westermann (1969:51) and Whybray (1975:54) see the prophet moving

from the realm of creation in 40:12-14 to that of history in 15 and 17. Whybray sees a reference to Babylon here. Both he and Westermann consider Lebanon in v 16 a digression from the historical plane of vv 15 and 17.

The reference to Lebanon, however, is not a digression; it is a bridge between vv 15 and 17. This intervening verse (40:16) describes the whole geographical region of Lebanon, well known as a source of timber. The whole of 40:15-17 describes geographical entities the sizes of which are negligible compared to God. Lebanon is inadequate to furnish wood and animals for sacrificial offerings to God. Ostwalt (1998:61) suggests that DI may have implied that "the nations should be worshiping such a great God." But it is not a question of whether the nation of Lebanon will worship or bow down to the God of Israel. It is simply too small to supply fuel and its animals are insufficient for sacrificial offerings. The imagery of nations here is cosmic/geographical, not political/historical.

Another way to understand how the image of nations is used is to examine parallel terms in DI. "Nations" in v 15a are parallel with 'yym, "isles" or "coastlands" in v 15b. Both nations and coastlands are described as dust and grains of sand when compared with God. Other occurrences of 'yym in DI are :41:1, 5; 42:4, 10, 12, 15; 49:1, 51:5, and parallels with 'yym include "peoples" l'mym (41:1, 49:1) or `mym (51:5) , "ends of the earth" (41:5,) , "the earth" (42:4,), "the sea" (42:10). As in 40:15-17, DI does not use "coastlands" as political or historical entities; rather they are images of geographic phenomena or of the whole expanse of the earth. Whybray (1975:60) understands it as "a vague term for distant lands along the Mediterranean coast." Several of these parallels will be examined in greater detail in our analysis of the individual passages which refer to "nations."

The noun goyim in v 15 is indefinite, that in v 17 is definite and combined with kol, "all." Yet translators commonly read "the nations" in both verses. In fact, throughout chapters 40-55 (indeed through to chapter 66) the indefinite is frequently translated with the definite article (see 40:15; 42:6; 49:6, 7, 22; also 60:11; 61:6; 62:2; 64:2; 66:12). While the absence of the definite article may be related to the poetic nature of these verses, nonetheless more care should be taken in translating these texts, especially

since the identity and role of "the nations" in all these passages seems to be taken for granted by interpreters.

The metaphors and similes in vv 12-17 portray a creator God who is incomparable to any known earthly being, who has power to move and manipulate any aspect of the created world. This image of the creator God whose being dwarfs that of any creature is continued in 40:22-24, in another series of similes. It is in this section of the poem that the political/historical sphere is touched on. God dwells above the vault of the earth (v 22), from which its dwellers appear to be the size of grasshoppers. In words that parallel 40:15b, God stretches out the heavens like a "veil" (dq in Hebrew; this is a play on dq, "dust" in v 15), and spreads them like a tent for dwellers. But following the description of God's creative work the poem does enter the realm of history, and political power in vv 23-24. The princes and judges of the earth are reduced to nothing ('yn, as in v 17), to chaos (tohu as in v 17). They are blown away when God breathes on them, and carried away like chaff.

The image of God's immensity and creative power has been demonstrated in the beginning of this poem. In the latter part of the poem DI uses the same kinds of metaphors, similes and terminology to show that God's powers extend to the realm of history. There is no judgment on the worth or value of nations, or rulers, any more than there is judgment on the worth of waters, heavens, earth and mountains. The nations are one in a list of phenomena used to describe God's creative power.

41:2— Who has roused a victor from the east,
Summoned him to his service?
He delivers up **nations** to him
And tramples kings under foot.
He makes them like dust with his sword,
Like driven stubble with his bow.

The next reference to "nations" occurs in the context of a trial speech (41:1-42:9). The order of events in the trial is summons to witnesses, presentation of the case, and verdict. This speech is presented in two parallel panels (Clifford 1984:89) culminating in the announcement of God's servant.

The coastlands and peoples (l'mym) are summoned as witnesses in 41:1. After summoning the witnesses, God next (v 2) asks who has called up the leader from the east (usually understood to be Cyrus) to deliver nations, and trample kings. The question is restated in v 4—Who has done this? God answers, it is I. The reaction of the coastlands is fear; the ends of the earth tremble. Many translators and interpreters lump together coastlands, peoples, ends of the earth, and nations into one group, a "court of nations" (Whybray, 1975:60). A more careful reading of the text shows that these are not necessarily part of a single group, at least translations and interpretations should reflect the distinctive terminology.

It is not clear exactly who is on trial here. Is it nations, coastlands, peoples? What and who are part of these groupings? After God has presented his case 41:2-20, the defendants are asked to present theirs. Now these defendants are clearly identified—they are "gods" (41:23). They must prove their case by describing the future or explaining the past (41:22), and by doing good and evil (41:23). Such actions would create a response of terrifying fear, much like the response of the coastlands and the ends of the earth to God's sending of Cyrus which was part of God's case in the first part of this poem. The gods being unable to make their case are declared to be nothing.

What is the function and identification of goyim in v 2? This is one of the several places where "nations" and "kings" are parallel in DI. Nations will be given up, and kings will be trampled. The fate of both is described in terminology that recalls God's power over creation in 40:12ff. They will be reduced to dust (`pr, see 40:12) and chaff (qš, see 40:24). Cyrus, summoned into service by God, is able to cause the same effect that God did in the natural and historical arenas. Cyrus's power seems superhuman. In his pursuit of nations and kings his feet barely touch the ground. Nations (and kings) are used as features of comparison with the incomparable power of God and God's agent, Cyrus. Cyrus's march through the ancient Near East is also mentioned in 41:25. God has summoned him to trample on rulers, and tread on them like a potter treads on clay. This is a more down-to-earth image, but the effect on the leaders is

the same as that achieved by sword and bow. The military might of Cyrus is compared to the creative powers of God.

The image of nations, especially in parallel with kings in chapter 41:2-3, 25 is in the political sphere rather than that of nature and geography. Specific identifications are difficult, since no particular kings or nations are mentioned by name. A tantalizing feature of these first two passages has to do with the terminology used to identify the rulers. Chapter 41:2 speaks of mlkym; but v 25 has the much more rare term sgnym (BDB identifies as Assyrian and Babylonian prefects). 40:23 speaks of rznym and mšpty h'rṣ. Had DI something else in mind when using the unusual terminology for the leaders? Throughout 40-55 unusual terms are used to describe rulers (see 55:4).

Jacob/Israel was identified explicitly as the servant in 41:8-10. As servant, Israel was comforted, reassured, supported and helped by God. Israel's task as servant was to crush mountains and reduce hills to chaff (41:15-16). The image is of Israel as a sharp-toothed threshing sledge, mowing down the natural elements, perhaps making the road in the wilderness in preparation for returning home.

42:1, 6— Here is my servant, whom I uphold,
My chosen, in whom my soul delights.
I have put my spirit upon him,
He will bring forth justice **to the nations**.
.....
I am the LORD, I have called you in righteousness,
I have taken you by the hand and kept you;
I have given you as a covenant to the people,
A light to the **nations**.

These references to the nations are included in the second half of the trial speech. The relationship of God to the nations and the identification of the nations is dependent upon an understanding of the servant here.

The servant in 42:1-9 is not explicitly identified as Israel. In fact, based on the descriptions in 41:25, and 42:1-7, the servant is best understood to be Cyrus. He tramples rulers, brings justice, frees prisoners,

all the work of the conquering hero. This servant also plays the role of covenant for people and light for nations. Watts (1987:119) explains: "the emperor is responsible for government, justice, and order for the peoples under his rule." The poem begins and ends with Cyrus, God's agent, charged to bring victory (ṣdq 41:2, cf 42:6) and justice (mšpt 42:1, 3, 4).

If our interpretation is correct, the numerous discussions about the relationship of Israel to the nations are not relevant. Interpretations of 42:1-7 betray highly theologized perspectives, which go far beyond evidence in the text. By understanding Israel as the servant in 42:1-7 scholars see a tension between Israel and the nations. Some translate goyim in v 6 "heathens" or "Gentiles" (Westermann 1969:99-100) distinguishes non-believers from Israelites. Hollenberg (1969:32) has decided that because the nations and coastlands wait for justice and teaching it is implied that they are Israelites. But this prejudgment begs the question we are asking about the identity and role of the nations.

Some ask if it is Israel's role as servant to stand passively as a sign for others, or to actively bring God's message into the world? It has also been proposed that as light to the nations Servant Israel is commissioned to convert nations to worship the God of Israel. Some (e.g., Whybray 1975:72 who also denies that Israel is the servant in 42:1ff) interpret these verses to mean that Yahweh's sovereign rule will mean "salvation for Israel, but submission for the other nations." But understanding Cyrus in the role of servant it is clear that he will bring justice to the nations, and Israel would certainly be among those receiving the benefits of Cyrus's deeds. Those who see a distinction between what other nations receive and what Israel receives have little case if the servant is Cyrus.

Ostwalt (1998:112), like Whybray and Watt, says "the servant is not the nation of Israel." His reasoning is quite different from theirs, however. Because the servant brings instruction (torah), he usurps the place of Moses, and even that of God. The nations who awaited that torah were waiting for the Lord and his Messiah, whether they knew it or not. This opinion betrays yet another theological reading of the relationship between the servant, Israel, and the nations in DI.

Several terms in this passage help to define and identify what DI means by "nations" in chapter 42. In verse 1, the servant brings forth justice to the nations. The servant (v 4) will persist until he has established justice in the earth (ʾrṣ); and coastlands (ʾyym) await his teaching. The servant will be a covenant for the people (ʿm), a light for nations (v 6). Goyim and ʿm are parallel terms. Van Winkle (1985:455) demonstrates that although ʿm is often identified with Israel, it can also be seen to identify humankind in general. (Cody 1964:1-6 conversely discusses the applicability of the term goy to Israel.) Here in 42:5, God gives breath and spirit to people (ʿm) who walk on earth. The parallel terms are all inclusive. Goyim includes Israel as one among the group of nations and people.

43:9— Let **all the nations** gather together,
And let the peoples assemble.
Who among them declared this,
And foretold to us the former things?
Let them bring their witnesses to justify them,
And let them hear and say, "It is true."

Another trial speech ensues in 43:8ff. In v 8 people (ʿm) who are blind and deaf are brought forth; in v 9, all the nations are gathered, and peoples (lʾmym) assemble. There appear to be two groups of witnesses. The blind and deaf addressees are difficult to identify. Perhaps the term ʿm, "people" (v 9) and the reference to "my witnesses" and "my servant" (v 10) identifies the first group as Israel. (See 43:20-21.) The second group consists of "all the nations" and "peoples." But what is the role of each group, and how is that role played out?

The summons to nations and peoples is similar to those in 41:1, and 49:1; it also has verbal and thematic affinities with Isaiah 34 (Beuken 1992:79). In each case the role of the nations is unclear, "bewilderingly ambiguous" (Beuken 1992:93). In chapter 34, nations are witnesses to judgment in order to learn from it, but they are also objects of divine wrath. In 41, nations and people assemble and are questioned, but make no answer. In 49:1 coastlands and peoples are summoned to listen to the message of the servant. In 43:9, the nations and peoples are challenged to identify "who

among them declared this, foretold to us the former things? ... Let them bring their witnesses to justify them." The pronouns are maddeningly imprecise, as is the demonstrative "this." Based on the outcome of the trial speech—that there is no other god, and no other deliverer—the role of the nations and peoples is to defend and justify the work of their gods. This they do not do. If the nations and peoples here are identified with their gods then we could understand the terms here to refer to political/historical rather than cosmic/geographical entities.

The other group of witnesses are blind and deaf. Their role as witnesses seems to be a more passive one. They are not asked to defend or justify God's actions; they are chosen witnesses and servant for the purpose of knowing, believing and understanding that "I am he" and "there is no other."

45:1-- Thus says the LORD to his anointed, to Cyrus,
whose right hand I have grasped,
to subdue **nations** before him
and ungird the loins of kings,
to open doors before him
that gates may not be closed.

This is the beginning of a royal oracle set in a larger speech about the advent of Cyrus. It follows some elements of enthronement rituals reflected in Psalms 2 and 110 (Westermann 1969:157). Cyrus is confirmed as messiah by God, who promises to help him as he sweeps through nations and kings in his path. Cyrus will bring them down, disarm them. God will open doors and gates for him, and give him treasures and riches. Three reasons are offered for God's treatment of Cyrus: in v 3, so that (lm`n) Cyrus will know that it is God who calls him by name; in v 4, for the sake of (lm`n) Jacob/Israel; and in v 6, so that (lm`n) they will know that there is no one else but God. This God creates light and darkness, "weal and woe," perhaps a summary statement of God's powers over creation and history.

Nations and kings are parallel, as in the trial speech which also announced the coming of Cyrus (41:1ff), though there kings are subdued and nations are given up to Cyrus. Other echoes of 41:1ff include the grasping

of the hand. In 41:13 God grasps Israel's hand, and in 45:1 the hand of Cyrus. The mountains are leveled by Israel in 41:15, in 45:2 by God. The image of nations and kings in this passage contrasts their military might with that of Cyrus. The subject of the verb, "that they may know" in v 6 is unclear. Does the plural refer to nations and kings of v 1, or to the whole world? It certainly includes nations and kings, but the phrase from east to west could include more than just a message to political powers. Cyrus's coming makes it obvious that God controls the historical arena.

45:20-- "Assemble yourselves and come,
draw near together, you **survivors of the nations**.
They have no knowledge
Who carry about wooden idols,
And keep praying to a god that cannot save.

Language and themes of the trial speech again appear in 45:20-25. It is not nations or coastlands that are ordered to appear and present their case but "survivors of nations." Those who carry around idols made of wood and pray to them are accused of not knowing. In the familiar questions of judicial speech God identifies himself as one who told this long ago, and declares "there is no other god but me." All the ends (ʿpsy—the very extremities) of the earth are commanded to turn to God and be saved. All will bow down to God, and swear allegiance.

The expression "survivors (or fugitives) of the nations" occurs only once in the Bible. To whom does this phrase refer? Suggestions include the following: those who have escaped the judgment (Muilenburg 1956:533); refugees of the nations in Babylon, especially those representing the lands of Syria-Palestine who are devotees of the idols (Watts 1987:162; Blenkinsopp 1988:87); survivors of a lost battle during the downfall of a state, referring in general to survivors of nations (Westermann 1969:175); refugees fleeing the judgments of Cyrus, pathetic survivors of nations like children with dolls, forming a dramatic contrast to God's fidelity to his people (Clifford 1984:126).

Hollenberg (1969:31-32) and others read this as those Jews who have survived among the Gentiles, "crypto-Israelites who fled before the

exile." Whybray (1975:111-112) does not discuss the meaning of the phrase "survivors of nations," but asserts that throughout DI the trial speeches are really addressed to encourage the Jewish exiles to return home. Here as elsewhere he challenges the majority opinion of Christian interpreters that salvation is offered to all humankind. Salvation will be "recognized" by all creation (his interpretation of "all the ends of the earth"), but only Israel will be saved.

Reading a distant parallel between "survivors of the nations" (v 20) and "all the ends of the earth" (v 22), it is possible to include non-Israelites, and Israelites whether they fled to the nations before the exile or are living in exile. The command to all to "come to me and be saved," God's statement that every knee will bow, and every tongue will swear seems indeed to be all inclusive.

Acceptance of salvation, when it includes bending the knee and confessing faith in the God of Israel alone appear to be a "more radical re-orientation of one's religious life" (Blenkinsopp 1988:87). He understands this to be different from the acknowledgement of the nations that there is no other God than the God of Israel. He asserts that in this passage DI alludes to a mission to the nations which originated in the exilic community (92), but sees this as an emerging principle, not a fully developed conclusion.

49:6-- He says: "It is too light a thing that you should be my servant
to raise up the tribes of Jacob
and to restore the survivors of Israel;
I will give you as a light to the **nations**,
That my salvation may reach to the end of the earth.

49:7-- Thus says the LORD, the Redeemer of Israel and his Holy One,
to one deeply despised, abhorred by the **nations**, the slave of rulers,
"Kings shall see and stand up,
princes, and they shall prostrate themselves,
because of the LORD, who is faithful,
the Holy One of Israel, who has chosen you."

49:22-- Thus says the Lord GOD:
Behold, I will soon lift up my hand to the **nations**,
And raise my signal to the peoples;
And they shall bring your sons in their bosom,
And your daughters shall be carried on their shoulders.

The "nations" are mentioned several times in this lengthy poem (49:1-25) which describes the call and work of the servant.

The poem contains numerous phrases and word pairs that we have seen used in parallel with goyim in DI. It summons the "coastlands" and "peoples (l'mym) from far off "(v 1). "Light for (of) nations" is parallel with "end (singular) of the earth" (v 6). It also forms a distant parallel with "covenant of people" (v8). Goyim occurs in plural indefinite form in vv 6 and 22, singular indefinite in v 7. Intepretation of v 7-- lmt`b goy —is difficult. (Clifford 1984:147 based on a repointing of goy, translates "whose body is detested.")

This is a poem that has something for everyone interested in the question of "the nations" and universalism vs nationalism in DI. The idea that it is a trifling matter to be servant to restore only Jacob/Israel so the servant will be a light for nations to bring salvation to the end of the earth supports an interpretation of the universalist point of view in DI. "[A]n exclusively inner-Israel activity is beneath" the dignity of the servant (Clifford 1984:152).

The one who is despised, abhorred, servant of rulers can be understood as the servant or Israel. The servant of rulers sees a reversal of the situation. Now it will be kings (mlkym), princes (śrym) who will bow down. This motif of the reversal of status for royalty is described in even more detail in vv 22-23, where kings and queens will serve as foster fathers and nursing mothers. Nations and peoples (`mym) will be signaled by God and they will carry the sons and daughters of Israel in their bosom and on their shoulders. (This recalls the image of God in 40:11 caring for his flock, carrying lambs in his bosom, and leading them as they return from exile.) The prostration of kings and queens continues to the point of their licking the dust of the feet of Israel.

The children of whom kings and queens are foster parents here have been identified as Israel's lost sons and daughters who have become "so swallowed up within the nations" that they no longer thought of themselves as Israelites (Hollenberg 1969:25-26). They took on a new national identity, and are considered to be among the group referred to as "the nations." Those who seem to show even a slight interest are urged to return. A strength of Hollenberg's position is that neither the foreign nations nor Israel are homogenous categories. He identifies four groups in DI: (1) the servant, a righteous remnant; (2) the rest of Israel who have not forsaken their Israelite identity; (3) foster children who have given up their Israelite identity; (4) foreign nations apart from the Israelites in their ranks. But in the end, Hollenberg believes that DI's "eschatological orientation" allows only two groups, Israel and the nations. "Salvation and the covenant are not for foreign nations, but only for Israelites in whatever state they may find themselves" (1969:30).

Here in 49:7, 22-23 the defenders of the nationalist point of view find evidence for their perspective. The oppressors of Israel will become the oppressed, those who were served become servants. They will be forced to admit defeat in the most degrading of circumstances. Even more humiliating, the oppressors will be forced to eat their own flesh and become drunk on their blood (v 26). After all this, "all flesh" will know that the mighty one of Jacob is savior.

A reading of DI which makes note of the inner biblical allusions can shed light on the function of these images of the subjugation of kings and nations. The humbling of kings and queens before Israel, for example, is used as a foil to the image in Jeremiah 13:18 of Israel's king and queen mother being humbled, taking a "lowly seat" and losing the crown at the time of the Babylonian exile (Tull Willey 1997:203). This image is meant to show one of the many reversals of Israel's fortunes. It is not Zion's royalty but queens and kings of other nations who must bow down.

52:10-- The LORD has bared his holy arm
before the eyes of **all the nations;**
the salvation of our God.

The verse comes toward the end of a poem in praise of God as king (51:17-52:12), and includes motifs of judgment and salvation in the language of the communal lament. The devastation of Zion is described—she has drunk the cup of wrath and lies spent with no one to help or comfort her. God comes as king to remove the cup and put it into the hands of the oppressors who have forced her to bow down so that they might walk on her as on a street. Jerusalem will arise and remove the bonds of captivity. The ruins of Zion will rejoice because God reigns.

The poem repeats many themes, motifs, and ideas of the preceding chapters. Similarities to the poem in chapter 49, discussed above, abound. The reversal of the fortunes of the servant and of Israel and those of the oppressors is of note. The humiliation and degradation by the tormentors, making Zion bow down, was described in 49:23 as an event to be suffered by kings and their queens. The arm and the hand (49:22) of the Lord are comparable. It serves as a signal for the nations and peoples, it is seen by all the nations and all the ends of the earth in the context of God the savior elevating the oppressed, and putting down the oppressors. (See also 51:5—God's arms will rule the peoples, and coastlands will wait for God and hope for God's arm.)

All the nations is parallel here with all the ends (ʾpsy) of the earth. The extremities of earth were addressed in 45:22 in God's command to turn and be saved. But this is the only time in DI that the terms are parallel. Recall another term rendered "end (qṣh) of the earth" in 49:6 which was parallel with goyim.

52:15-- so he shall startle **many nations**:
kings shall shut their mouths because of him
for that which had not been told them they shall see,
and that which they had not heard they shall contemplate.

These lines are generally considered to be part of the larger poem of the servant, which begins in 52:13. An announcement is made to an unidentified group (Muilenburg 1956:615 says it is an address to the nations; however, they are spoken of in the third person here) about the servant, who will be exalted, and will prosper (v 13), even though his appearance appalled

many (v 14). However, he will startle many nations and kings, and they will see something they had not seen or heard of before.

"Many nations" has two parallels here, one with the general "many" in v 14, another with "kings" in v 15 (Other parallels of goyim with kings in DI occurred in 41:2, 45:1, 49:7, 22-23.). The reaction of many nations and kings may be compared OR contrasted with that of the many who are appalled. One of the problem is with the word usually translated "startled." The root of yzh is uncertain; the parallel expression "kings shall shut their mouths" may indicate an attitude of awe and respect. However, it may indicate an attitude of revulsion. The other problem is with the identity of the servant. Is it Israel or some specific individual?

Whybray (1975:169) interprets the servant as Israel here. Therefore he considers vv 13-15 a short promise of salvation which assures the exiles that their fortunes will be reversed, and that they will gain a preeminent status in the world which in turn will startle many nations. .

Clifford (1984:176) observes of this passage that the wide spectrum of opinions on this poem is due to the echoes in the New Testament, which led to "its becoming embroiled in early Jewish-Christian controversy." The many nations and kings are part of important scenes only as a "chorus." The role of nations and kings is to acknowledge the superiority of Israel's God when they see what happens to Israel.

54:3-- For you will spread abroad to the right and to the left,
and your descendants will possess the **nations**
and settle desolate towns.

In this poem (54:1-17) Jerusalem who had been dispossessed of her land, bereft of children and husband will have these in abundance. No one will be allowed to rise up against her as in the past. Anyone who attempts to do so will be put down.

Jerusalem is described as a woman without children who will have many more children than an already married woman. Jerusalem's tent, an image of the land, will need to be enlarged and firmly staked in the land. V 3 elaborates on this theme. Jerusalem will spread out right and left (in all directions), will drive out ("dispossess" rather than "possess") nations, and

settle towns that had been deserted. The dispossession of the nations here recalls the language in Deuteronomy describing Israel driving out the inhabitants of Canaan. Dispossession of nations may be seen to precede settlement of desolate towns, or the language can function as antithetic parallelism. Destroyed nations here are a foil to the rising fortunes of Jerusalem. The combination of historical and eschatological themes (Muilenburg 1956:634) allows several possible lines of interpretation. Israel will get back territory lost before the exile, or on a grander scale, will spread out through the entire world.

55:5-- See, you shall call **nations** that you do not know
and **nations** that do not know you shall run to you,
because of the LORD your God, the Holy One of Israel,
for he has glorified you.

This poem begins with several imperatives: a command to a general and unspecified audience--all who are thirsty and without money. They are to come, to eat and drink (55:1). They are to listen carefully and to take pleasure in eating good foods (55:2). They are to incline the ear, come, listen, and live. The result will be that God will make an eternal covenant with the audience addressed (55:3). This covenant is compared with the promises to David, who in v 4 is called a witness (`d) of peoples (l'mym), leader (ngyd) and commander (mşwh) of peoples (l'mym). The role played by David will now be taken over by the audience addressed in these verses. They are to call a nation (indefinite singular noun, singular verb) they did not know, and a nation (nations? singular noun, plural verb) which did not know them will run to them because God has given them glory.

The people who witness will take over David's royal duty of witnessing God's glory to the nations (Clifford 1984:192). This is much like the commission given to Israel in 43:8ff (discussed above). Whybray (1975:192) reads this as an example of Israel's political as well as spiritual domination over the nations. Westermann (1969:285) understands what is promised to Israel ("the nation") is "not subjugation of foreign nations, but increase in numbers because of the distant and foreign people who come to Israel and want to belong to her because of the God of Israel." Muilenburg

(1956:646) sees a spiritualization of David's mission, but sees national features as well.

Our examination of the terminology used in DI relating to the nations has shown that the image of the nations is used in a variety of ways to accomplish a number of different purposes. Parallel terms which identify and explain what DI might have meant by the nations also are used in various ways. We would not conclude from a study of terminology that DI thought of or used goy or goyim as technical terms with a specific and limited semantic function. In fact, the identification and fate of the nations do not appear to be a major point of interest in the thinking of these chapters.

Some regard DI as a theologian with a great capacity for logical and constructive thought and consider the work to have "massive religious and theological unity" (Whybray 1975:26). But Whybray has to go to great lengths to demonstrate what appears to be great inconsistency within chapters 40-55 on this point, redefining words to fit his views, rather than judging passages individually. Judgment and law means Yahweh's universal sovereignty; salvation means victory, covenant of the people does not refer to a plurality of nations. His overall view that for DI Israel is the envy of the world cannot be sustained by a careful reading of chapters 40-55. The view that DI is "not concerned with consistency in detail" seems much more true of the work, especially with respect to the details of "the nations." DI is not a systematic theologian, but a prophet and a preacher (Gelston 1992:378, 380)

I would go further and say that the way to understand the nations in DI is to look at their literary function. In several of the passages we examined, the nations were metaphors pointing to God's immeasurability. In others they were examples of military might. Yet in others they functioned as geographical markers. The relationship between Israel and the nations was sometimes seen to be one of comparison between the two, elsewhere they were contrasted. And one of the clearest examples of how the nations function in chapters 40-55 was in the reversal motif. What happened to Israel at the hands of the nations will now happen to the

nations—Israel was humbled and debased by oppressors, but now the nations will be humbled and debased and Israel will be the oppressors.

A question about the nations in DI is whether DI considered the nations and Israel to be equal recipients of God's salvation. Some of the tension is removed, it is claimed, if we understand DI's view of salvation as simply acknowledged by the nations, or offered to them without any idea of whether or not they would accept it. At times the nations texts examined in this paper call for the nations to acknowledge that Israel's God is the only God. At other times, the nations must recognize Israel's glorification by God. And yet elsewhere, the nations anxiously await the coming of justice. In a sense, the nations are equal recipients of God's treatment in that just as Israel was punished for its sins, they too will punished for theirs. In some of DI's poems, they will in the future be recipients of salvation, just as Israel will.

Is this high theology, exalted visionary thinking? This is not the language of analytical theological treatises, nor is it the careful phraseology of diplomacy or the word plays of political gamesmanship. It is the language of imagination and vision. These are well-crafted poems. In some respects, reading the nations as main elements of DI's thought has skewed translations and placed too much emphasis on secondary features of the text. As a result, much of the thinking on this point has been governed by current political, theological/religious, and ideological concerns, and the text has been forced to unjustly serve these interests.

Fruitful lines of further research include a study of "the nations" in Isaiah 56-66, in which chapters there is an emphasis on the "wealth of nations." In chapter 66 the word goy or goyim occurs six times. The relationship to how the oracles against the nations in Isaiah relate to DI's thought is of interest. Comparison of the nations in First Isaiah, and in the introductory chapters of Isaiah, especially 2:2-4 may yield information relative to the composition of the book of Isaiah. Tull Willey's and Benjamin Sommers' approach to inner biblical allusions on the theme of nations in the Bible could provide a more comprehensive view of the matter.

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Modus inveniendi Paulum: Augustine, Hermeneutics, and his Reading of *Romans*

Thomas F. Martin, O.S.A., Ph.D., Villanova University

For centuries, much attention has been directed to Augustine of Hippo's reading of Paul's *Letter to the Romans*, seeking to uncover and analyze the complexities, motivations, and impact of this reading. This concern continues today, with estimations and conclusions regarding Augustine's *Romans*' history that clearly reflect the approaches and insights of much modern scholarship. Space does not permit an exploration of these evaluations except to note that little attention has been paid to the explicitly hermeneutical question in Augustine's *Romans* endeavors.

This is, perhaps, both surprising and not. On the one hand, given the intense concern regarding matters hermeneutical in contemporary biblical and theological studies, one would expect more attention devoted to this issue in Augustine. On the other hand, given the chasm that separates modern hermeneutical approaches from ancient, it is perhaps all too easy to lose sight of even the presence of hermeneutical issues, especially given the perceived difference between ancient and modern hermeneutics. Yet Augustine himself was well aware of the formal question of hermeneutics and broke new ground by being one of the very first early Christian thinkers to set out and explain an explicit hermeneutical method to guide interpretation and study of the Bible. All of this is to be found in his *De doctrina christiana.* In this work he defines the starting point for all who would interpret the scriptures, calling it a "way of discovering what must be understood there--*modus inveniendi quae intelligenda sunt.*"[1] If *inuentio* was a key aspect of the dialectical-rhetorical tradition that shaped Augustine,[2] now it is entirely subordinated to scriptural text—and its underlying *veritas*. The notion of "what *must be* understood there--*intelligenda*" states unambiguously that it is the obligation and

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[1] *Doct. chr.* I.1.1.

[2] See Luigi Pizzolato, *Capitoli di retorica agostiniana* (Rome: Istituto Patristico "Augustinianum," 1994), 47ff.

responsibility of the student of the scriptures to surrender to biblical text—meaning does not come from "the investigator" but from "the investigated"--the *quae intelligenda sunt*." Augustine further clarifies by calling this a ***modus*** *inveniendi*. *Modus* clearly suggests method, a "how to," and Augustine argues in his preface to the *De doctrina christiana* that there must be "objective" "standardized," "established" rules and procedures for interpreting the scriptures. He thus decries arbitrary, anti-intellectual, or purely subjective approaches to scriptural text.[3] In so affirming the notion of a *modus inveniendi quae intelligenda sunt* Augustine provides a capsule description of the task of the ancient biblical scholar. And if formally in the *De doctrina christiana* Augustine explores his understanding of this *modus inueniendi*—the theory and practice of scriptural hermeneutics, throughout all his writings but especially in his "biblical commentaries" (On *John*, *Psalms*, and *Genesis* in particular) there are many spontaneous hermeneutical asides and digressions where he pauses and explains his *modus inveniendi*. These tend to be concise and precise, summary capsules of how he is interpreting the scriptures, certainly a reminder or caution to his "audience" to aid them in their understanding, but also an opportunity for Augustine to clarify out loud his own method of proceeding.

It is Augustine's own frequent and spontaneous explanation of his approach to "hermeneutics" that will guide the first part of this analysis. Given the enormous attention paid to the *De doctrina christiana* as indicative of Augustine's hermeneutical approach, I propose to explore a less-analyzed source, the "hermeneutical asides" that occur in the course of the above-mentioned scriptural works of Augustine (On *John*, *Psalms*, and *Genesis*). Paul is very present in all of these scriptural works as well, and so, I will argue, these "rules" apply equally to Augustine's reading of Paul. They will be turned practical in the second part of this paper by looking at the Bishop in practice. Does he, in fact, follow and apply his own rules? How, and in what way? For this I will concentrate on some final works of Augustine where *Romans* figures prominently (but not exclusively): *Grace and Free Choice*,

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[3] He does this above all in his Prologue to the *doct. chr.*

Admonition and Grace, *The Predestination of the Saints*, and *The Gift of Perseverance*. Given the space limitations here, I must insist that these observations will be *suggestive* rather than *exhaustive*—and could certainly be more deeply analyzed and documented.

I.

> There are **certain precepts for treating the scriptures** (*praecepta quaedam tractandarum Scripturarum*) which I think may not inconveniently be handed on to students, so that they may make progress not only from reading the work of expositors but also in their own explanations of the sacred writings to others. I have undertaken to explain these to those able and willing to learn, provided God will not deny my putting in writing those things which He usually suggests to me in thought.[4]

These opening words of the *De doctrina christiana*, [5] most likely to be dated to the winter of 396-397, [6] set the tone for what Augustine will be about in the course of the work. They suggest that even as a novice bishop Augustine was operating out of an all-encompassing theological framework that certainly placed all the *praecepta* he will be handing on into an explicit faith setting: "*si Dominus ac Deus noster ea quae de hac re cogitanti solet suggerere, etiam scribenti mihi non deneget.*" This is confirmed in noting Augustine's most frequent "hermeneutical aside," namely the overriding "spiritual framework" within which he views the reading and understanding of the *Divinae Litterae*. In the *praecepta* that follow, I will cite examples of each rule, beginning with the spiritual-theological approach just mentioned, without claiming that these citations are exhaustive but nonetheless insisting that they are typical.

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[4] *Doct. chr.*, Prol. 1.

[5] See explanation and biblilography in *La Doctrine Chrétienne*, '*De doctrina christiana*', intro. et trad., M. Moreau, notes, I. Bochet et G. Madec, BA11/2, (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1997), 429-433.

[6] Ibid., 10.

1. Guided by the *Regula fidei* [7]

Augustine repeatedly notes a series of "theological" *a priori*'s that guided his study of scripture, all of which he will insist come from the very scriptures themselves. The leading principle is clearly Christological, as he asserts repeatedly that Christ is **the** reading key, and ultimately, the final hermeneutical principle not just for the New Testament, but equally for the Old Testament.[8]

> The entire Old Testament is embraced [by the New] (*omnem veterem textum Scripturarum circumplexus est*). No matter what it speaks of, Christ resonates (*Christum sonat*); but only if [Christ] finds ears [to hear]. "And he opened its meaning to them, so that they would understand the scriptures." And so we too must pray, so that he open our understanding (*sensum nostrum*).[9]

Though commenting upon *1 John* in this particular text, Augustine turns to Luke's account of Christ explaining the scriptures on the road to Emmaus (*Lk.* 14:13ff) for guidance and confirmation of the Christological unity of the scriptures. "*Ad illum* [*Christum*] *omnia quae divinitus scripta sunt, referentur.*"[10] This will be expanded, in the light of his developing sense of the notion of *Christus Totus*, to encompass the church as well, the Body of Christ: "*. . . et totum omnium Scripturarum mysterium*

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[7] Throughout this study I will use the term "*regula fidei*" to refer to the emerging sense of orthodoxy that guided early Christian thinkers like Augustine. Space does not permit a study of Augustine's particular use of this notion.

[8] For patristic writers such as Augustine the Hebrew scriptures were simply the *Old Testament*.

[9] *Ep. Io. tr.* II.1. Abbreviations for Augustine's works are those of the *Augustinus Lexicon*.

[10] *En. Ps.* 71.18; 47.1.

Christum et ecclesiam [*confitetur*]."[11] It is here that the rich complexity of the scriptures finds both unity and univocal truth.

> One thing only *(una eademque res)* is said in many different ways, so that in this way the variety of expression catches our attention, while for the sake of harmony one [truth] is held to.[12]

This is supported by Augustine's placing all reading of scripture into an explicit faith context, described variously as guided by the *fides catholica*,[13] or *apostolica sententia*,[14] or the *dominica et apostolica disciplina*.[15] Thus the scriptures are always and everywhere taken up with ***pietas***: *pie quaerere*,[16] *scripturae pie credere*.[17] Given this Christological predisposition, Augustine consistently turns the act of interpretation in this direction: ". . . *erigere intentionem ad quaerendam in Litteris* [*Sacris*] . . . *christianum et evangelicam fidem*.[18]

2. Ancient Reading

As much as Augustine's hermeneutic was shaped by the *a priori*'s of faith at the very moment he took up the sacred text, there can be no doubt that this *spiritually* driven reading of the scriptures was conditioned by the *modus*

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[11] *En. Ps.* 79.2. see *en. Ps.* 103.IV.10.

[12] *En. Ps.* 46.1.

[13] E.g. *Gen adu. Man.* I.1.

[14] See *Gen. litt.* VI.9.15.

[15] *En. Ps.* 8.13.

[16] *Gen. adu. Man.* I.5.9.

[17] *Gen. litt.* V.4.

[18] Ibid., II.5.

legendi given to Augustine by the world and culture of Late Antiquity.[19] While this certainly included the *décadence* explored by Marrou and enshrined by Augustine himself in the Book III of the *Confessions* where he is appalled by the barbarity of Bible text,[20] it also meant that Augustine applied to the *Litterae Sacrae* many of the same analytical tools he learned to apply to any and all *litterae*. In this sense the study of the "liberal arts" or the "*disciplinae*": grammar, dialectics, rhetoric, arithmetic, music, geometry, and philosophy[21] conditioned him to approach any reading with the standard set of hermeneutical "givens" of his culture: its tools, questions, and methods for ascertaining meaning. Thus when Augustine speaks of *locutiones*,[22] *genera locutiones*,[23] annotated codices,[24] comparing codices,[25] *voluntas scriptoris*,[26] *verborum ordo*,[27] *pronuntiatio*,[28] *temporis verbum*,[29] *mutatio personae*,[30]--and the instances could be multiplied endlessly, he is simply utilizing the

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[19] See Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Brian Stock, *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996).

[20] See Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Saint Augustin et La Fin de la Culture Antique* (Paris: E. De Boccard, Éditeur, 1938, 1949).

[21] In *retr.* I.6.

[22] E.g., *en. Ps.* 104.11.

[23] E.g. *Gen. litt.* VIII.1.2.

[24] ". . . *stella fuerat praenotata*," *en. Ps.* 105.7.

[25] ". . . *sicut alii codices habent*" becomes a veritable antiphon running throughout his commentary on the Psalms, e.g. *en. Ps.* 82.4; see *Gen. litt.* I.2.

[26] *Gen. litt.* IV.1.1.

[27] E.g. *en. Ps.* 71.4.

[28] E.g., *Gen. litt.* V.14.31.

[29] E.g. *en. Ps.* 3.5.

[30] E.g. *en. Ps.* 4.2.

standardized "reading rules" of his day, which apply to Vergil and Cicero and equally to *reading* scripture. Thus while affirming the divine nature of the scriptures—"*et de illa civitate unde pregrinamur, litterae nobis venerunt: ipsae sunt Scripturae . . .*,"[31] he will insist that one must not lose sight of the fact that these are still "human letters" with all their limitations and implied interpretative tasks:

> The human condition would be lowered if God appeared unwilling to administer his Word through humans to humans.[32]

Augustine is thus well aware that "reading scripture" includes and takes for granted all the practices and approaches implied in any sort of "reading."

3. *Intellectus fidei*

Augustine was well trained in the art of *disputatio,* dialectics, and it is evident that this training had hermeneutical implications as well.[33] Often a text of scripture will be the center of a formal debate between Augustine and an opponent, but just as often the debate seems to be taking place within Augustine's own mind as he weighs possibilities, applies the laws of logic and dialectics, and places himself firmly "*in progressu disputationis*"[34] in order to understand a text. Even the most difficult scriptural question is simply a

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[31] *En. Ps.* 90.II.1.

[32] *Doct. chr.* prol. 6. Many of these "hermeneutical asides" do find echoes in the *doct. chr.*

[33] See Jean Pépin, *Saint Augustine et la Dialectique*, The Saint Augustine Lecture 1972 (Villanova: Villanova University Press, 1976). Solignac has suggested that it was precisely in this realm that Augustine overstepped hermeneutical boundaries, A. Solignac, S.J. "Les excès de l'*intellectus fidei* dans la doctrine d'Augustin sur la grâce," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* (1988): 825-849.

[34] See *Gen. litt.* IV.1.1; see also his insistence on "intelligent Christian reading of the Bible" in I.19.38.

solemn call to make even greater effort *ad intellectum*, never an obstacle before which one abandons the course:

> Because the grasping of these things is difficult for those less capable, this must not become an excuse to note or say something which we ourselves do not hold..[35]

This requires a serious effort to integrate *discernere*, *credere*, and *intelligere*,[36] lest scripture be approached "*mente pueri*."[37] This dialectical and disputational approach so permeates Augustine's engagement with biblical text as to often render the final exegetical results *polemical* in both content and "texture."[38] Augustine seems fully at home with the tensions of this approach, and will rarely make apologies for the *exercitatio* implied in all of this.

4. *Obscuritas et mysterium*

Augustine is clearly fascinated, attracted, and drawn to the seemingly "irreconcilable" and "incompatible" within the scriptures, and finds it a preferred field for exploration.

> There are profound mysteries (*profunda mysteria*) in the Sacred Scriptures which are made obscure to prevent us from not respecting them (*ne vilescant*). The seeking of their meaning

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[35] *Gen. litt.* VI.6.9.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., I.18.36.

[38] Gérard Remy speaks of an "*aspect conflictuel*" within the very "*texture*" of Augustine's Christological thought. I am suggesting that it be extended to his hermeneutical method; G. Remy, "La théologie de la *mediation* selon saint Augustin, son actualité," *Revue Thomiste* XCI (1991): 582.

> exercises us, the finding of their meaning nourishes us (*ad hoc quaerentur, ut exerceant; ad hoc aperiuntur, ut pascant*).[39]

The *profunda mysteria* of scripture have, according to this perspective, a very specific function. The labor involved is a coefficient of the sacredness and dignity of the sacred text: *ne vilescant*. By means of its very difficulties, scripture proclaims its depth, dignity, and sacredness. The effort to engage the mystery is, in itself, nourishing and rewarding. It is even an encouragement to continue the pursuit: *ut pascant*. The task of the *tractator* is not to deny the apparent obstacles but to hear in them a call to enter more deeply into their hidden mystery:

> . . . lest it be thought that scripture contains foolish or repugnant things (*aliqua absurdia vel repugnantia*) to offend one who reads them., leading him to think that what the scripture tells cannot be true, or preventing him from growing in faith, or even holding him back from faith.[40]

The "resolution" of apparent contradictions even has its own rules, and are most often solvable by other clearer passages.[41] They can likewise serve as reminder that scripture is *polysemiotic*, offering occasion for "humility" by opportune de-construction of the hegemony of particular understandings.[42] Sometimes it will simply be an opportunity to relish the "pleasurable incongruity"[43] of scripture's truth, inviting not only deeper understanding but,

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[39] *En. Ps.* 140.1. Space does not permit an exploration of Augustine's preference for "antithesis," with its methodological and conceptual implications.

[40] *Gen. litt.* V.8.23.

[41] See ep. 143.1 and *doct. chr.* III.26.37.

[42] See, e.g., *en. Ps.* 74.12.

[43] See Michael Cameron, "Christology and the Roots of Figurative Exegesis in St. Augustine," *Studia Patristica* XXXIII (1997): 46-47.

in fact, taking one even more deeply into the mystery. Exegetically speaking, this attraction to and affirmation of the seemingly contradictory as a way of more fully engaging scripture's meaning plays a persistently prominent role in all of Augustine's scriptural activity.

> *Factum audivimus, mysterium requiramus.*[44]

5. Fallen words

> Indeed before the fall (*ante peccatum*) God having made the green of the field and food, by which terms we indicate that an invisible creature (*inuisibilem creaturam*) is to be understood, he watered it with an interior font (*fonte interiore*), speaking into its intellect (*loquens in intellectum eius*): so that it did not receive words from without (*ut non extrinsecus uerba*), like rain from the already-mentioned clouds; but it was supplied by its own font (*sed fonte suo*), that is to say, by truth flowing from within (*de intimis suis manante ueritate, satiaretur*) . . . I have thus brought to your attention that we are to understand people working the earth to mean people established in the aridity of sin (*in peccatorum ariditate constituto*), and so it is necessary, like the clouds that give rain, that divine doctrine be expressed in human words (*necessariam esse de humanis uerbis diuinam doctrinam*).[45]

If the garden saw unfold the drama of fallen humanity, Augustine has no doubt that human words and human communication now bear the scars of that originating sin.[46] Despite Augustine's delight with words and fascination with the intricacies and wonders of originating human communication, this perspective is ever conditioned by a profound awareness that words are often

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[44] *In Io. eu.*. 50.6.

[45] *Gen. adu.. Man.* II.4.5-5.6.

[46] See *Gen. litt.* 8.25.46, *en. Ps.* 93.6.

fragile, sometimes dangerous, and ever limiting. Augustine thereby proclaims the provisional nature of all words—even the words of scripture.

> There in that homeland Jerusalem [*patria illa Ierusalem*] all the just and holy who are delighted by the word of God will do so without reading and without letters (*qui fruuntur Verbo Dei sine lectione, sine litteris*); what is written for us on pages, they will come to by seeing the face of God (*quod enim nobis per paginas scriptum est, per facien Dei illi cernunt*). What a homeland! What a wonderful homeland! Miserable are the sojourners away from that homeland (*et miseri sunt peregrini ab illa patria*).[47]

"There will be no need for scripture in heaven" is a repeated affirmation of Augustine: *sine lectione, sine litteris*. All human words, even those used to compose the scriptures partake of *miseria*. This creates tension. On the one hand, scripture is saving word, yet in its very humanness, it falls far short of its goal: *nihil enim de Deo digne dici potest.*[48] If on the one hand men and women can luxuriate in the verdant gardens and meadows of scripture,[49] on the other hand the serpent is always present: *susurrare serpens non desinit*[50]--even in the very act of exegeting.[51] There is no doubt that Augustine loved to offer his own words to others, the nature and volume of the works he left behind is its confirmation. However, Augustine will none-the-less consistently "problematize" the very fact and necessity of words.[52] They are always *soni*

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[47] *En. Ps.* 119.6.

[48] *Gen. adu. Man.* I.18.14.

[49] *Ep.* 84.1.

[50] *En. Ps.* 93.20.

[51] See *en. Ps.* 103.IV.8.

[52] This is affirmed in his classic distinction between *res* and *signa*, as well as in his emphasis on "interiority" (e.g. *en. Ps.* 139.15) and "illumination."

mortali and can never rise to the heights of the *Verbum immortale*.[53] They are fraught with peril yet without them we would be sorely lacking necessary *adiutorium* and *admonitiones*.[54]

6. *Mores scripturarum*

Commentators have consistently noted that beginning with Augustine's ordination and his "scriptural sabbatical," fervently sought after from Valerius his bishop in *Letter 21* of the Augustinian *corpus*, Augustine's very vocabulary becomes thoroughly imbued with the words, phrases, concepts, and even rhythms of scripture. One manifestation of this, with specific hermeneutical repercussions, is to be found in Augustine's repeated assertion that the scriptures often have a peculiar, distinct, and customary way of speaking. Augustine refers to this as "*mos scripturae*"[55] or "*usitato more Scripturarum*,"[56] sometimes noting that scripture is just taking up a standard "*loquendi consuetudo*" that applies to all manner of speaking,[57] other times suggesting that it has its own idiosyncratic mode of speaking: "*more suo scriptura tanquam infirmis infirmiter loquitur*."[58] It is almost as if it is speaking in a particular dialect if not its very own language. This is not just a question of Old Testament interpretation, for even Paul employed the "*mos scripturarum*"[59] proceeded "*more apostolico*,"[60] and speaks "*suo more*."[61]

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[53] *En. Ps.* 103.8.

[54] *Ep. Io. tr.* III.13.

[55] *En. Ps.* 71.2.

[56] *Gen. litt.* V.2.4.

[57] E.g. ibid., III.5.

[58] E.g. ibid., V.6.19. This "*more suo*" of scripture is clearly distinguished from the "*more nostro*" of general linguistic convention, see e.g. *en. Ps.* 12.1; 78.17; *Io eu. tr.* 10.2.

[59] *C. Faustum* 11.3.

[60] *Op. mon.* 2.3.

[61] *C. Faustum* 11.7.

Augustine intriguingly explores Paul's unique way of speaking in Book XII of the *De Genesi ad Litteram*, analyzing II *Cor.* 12: 2-4 where he speaks about the "third heaven" and paradise." To recognize and interpret correctly the *mos scripturarum* demands a close and constant encounter with the words of scripture, leading to the recognition of and submission to scriptures' ways:

> . . . There are those who are fighting for their own opinions rather than those of the scriptures; we want the scriptures to agree with us rather than wanting to make our own what is scriptures' own.[62]

Augustine insists on the necessity of learning, understanding, and appreciating the *consuetudines* and *mores* of scripture as a necessary step towards correct and true comprehension: *audite "scripturae sanctae consuetudinem."*[63]

7. The Hermeneutics of Conversion

I have been suggesting in the exploration of the previous six points, that Augustine reveals important dimensions of his own *modus inveniendi* by means of the hermeneutical and exegetical *asides* that occur in the course of his explaining the text of scripture.[64] While much attention has been directed towards his formal exegetical comments in *De doctrina christiana* and other similar writings, I am suggesting that these reveal much about his own "rules" and the interpretative strategies and concerns Augustine brought to the text of scripture. I am likewise suggesting that, though these asides are often **not** specifically Pauline in content or focus, they nonetheless reveal Augustine's "approach" to all scripture and so apply not just to *John* or *Genesis* or the *Psalms* or *Paul*, but to all. In this light, I wish to propose one final "*modus inveniendi*" which permeates and conditions *all* of Augustine's scriptural activity and places that activity squarely within a framework of conversion,

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[62] Ibid., I.18.37. "*extra usum nostrum, non quo more nos loquimur*" *Io. eu. tr.* 28.3.

[63] Ibid., 42.10. In *Gen. litt.* XII.8.19 Augustine carefully tracks Paul's specific use of vocabulary.

[64] Space does not allow an exploration of possible sources for these "rules."

holiness, humility, and spiritual growth.[65] It makes abundantly clear that for Augustine the question of biblical interpretation could never be simply an academic, speculative, or scholastic exercise but was always placed within an expressly religious context and intention. This gets affirmed in a variety of ways.

Scripture, for example, is a *speculum* in which one ought to see oneself: "*posuit tibi speculum Scripturam suam.*"[66] Hermeneutically speaking, this will pre-dispose Augustine to locate present audience in sacred text, and give this presence an objective value.[67] Thus "pastoral intention" seems to be inseparable from author's intention because this is certainly the Divine Author's intention,[68] such that God writes the very scriptures upon the hearts of all the faithful.[69] The consistent attitude and response of the *lector/auditor/tractator* before this divine condescension to human words is thus *humility*, where progress and growth in humility becomes every bit as important as progress and growth in the languages of the bible, vocabulary, encyclopedic knowledge—all the things Augustine suggests as helpful and important in the *doct. chr.* Humility provides the surest guarantee of a fruitful and worthwhile encounter with scripture:

> That one attends in a holy way to the law of God and the word of God's mouth whose ears are led by humility.[70]

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[65] See Pierre Hadot's perceptive comments about all ancient "study" in his *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault,* edited with an introduction by Arnold I. Davidson, trans. Michael Chase (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995).

[66] *En. Ps.* 103.4; also 30.III.s.3.1; and 54.4.

[67] Augustine argued this early on in his theological career. In Book XII.18.27; 25.35 of the *Confessions* he proposes that Moses' intention does not exclude the "truth" God presently inspires in the reader. All particular "truths" are subsumed into Truth.

[68] E.g. *en. Ps.* 38.1.

[69] See *en. Ps.* 85.24.

[70] *En. Ps.* 77.3.

For Augustine this is clearly not a once-and-for-all event but a question of on-going progress, conversion, growth, familiarization. This is likewise why *Mt.* 7:7 permeates all of Augustine's scriptural activity from beginning[71] to end:[72]

> . . . so that it is given to those seeking, it is found by those searching, it is opened to those knocking (*ut detur petentibus, inveniatur a quaerentibus, intretur a pulsantibus*).[73]

This conversion lens or hermeneutic can perhaps be linked to Augustine's long training as a *rhetor* where he learned the importance of persuasion. This present truth of scripture operates "*ad persuasionem*" and places even greater responsibility upon the *lector/auditor* to respond to its present call.

These seven "precepts," drawn by me from Augustine's own spontaneous comments about his "*modus inveniendi*," suggest what drove and shaped Augustine's encounter with the scriptures. How do they manifest themselves in his reading of Paul and *Romans*? It is to this question that we will now turn.

II.

The choice of attempting an interface between the seven "principles" culled from Augustine's own "exegetical asides" and four of his final works is not without risk, for the investigator, and perhaps for Augustine himself. It is has become virtually commonplace to see the "final" Augustine as theologically self-imprisoned within a rigorist, predestinarian framework. The "love grown cold" Bishop of Hippo, as many would see it,[74] could hardly be expected to have maintained any serious hermeneutical principles in the

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[71] *Gen. adu. Man.* 1.2.

[72] *Perseu.* 23.64.

[73] *En. Ps.* 103.II.1.

[74] This is the famous and oft-repeated estimation of John Burnaby, *Amor Dei: A Study of the Religion of St. Augustine* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1938), 231.

"winner-take-all" polemics that marked the final phase of the Pelagian controversy, especially with Julian of Eclanum. But such commonplaces perhaps provide the necessary and appropriate occasion for a closer look at the later "biblical Augustine," more particularly the Pauline-*Romans* Augustine. How does the *Letter to the Romans* appear in *De gratio et libero arbitrio* (426 C.E.),[75] *De correptione et gratia* (426/427),[76] *De praedestinatione sanctorum* (429/430),[77] and the *De dono perserverantiae* (429/430).[78] The unique perspective of these works is that they lack the sharp polemical atmosphere of Augustine's writings addressed to or against Julian of Eclanum, with the particular hermeneutical challenges created and posed by polemical debate. The agonistic and antagonistic framework for polemical discourse leaves little room for nuance or irenic explanation. All four of these works, on the other hand, are addressed to monastic audiences, perplexed perhaps but not hostile to Augustine. Thus the aged Bishop of Hippo's exposition, passionate though it may be, is restrained in its language while firm in its conviction—and the *Letter to the Romans* is virtually omnipresent.

De gratia et libero abritrio

As the title makes clear, Augustine is compelled to set the Monks of Hadrumentum straight regarding both grace and free choice. He wrote the work:

> . . . on account of those who, when defending the grace of God, think they deny free choice, and those who so defend free choice

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[75] *PL* 44, 881-912, *FOC* 59. For this and the following works, I refer the reader to the Latin-French vol. 24 of the Bibliothèque Augustinienne, Œuvres de Saint Augustin, *Aux Moines d'Adrumète et de Provence*, intro., trad. et notes par Jean Chéné et Jacque Pintard (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1962).

[76] PL 44, 915-946, FOC 2.

[77] PL 44, 959-992, FOC 86.

[78] PL 45, 993-1034, FOC 86.

> as to deny the grace of God, insisting that [grace] is given according to our merits . . .[79]

What strikes anyone looking at the scriptural content of the work is that the entire treatise is an elaborate tapestry of scriptural citations and allusions from Old and New Testament. No one biblical author bears the weight of the argument but each is subordinated into an overall scriptural strategy that suggests the overriding principle of the *regula fidei* that is both the product of the *veritas scripturarum* as a whole and yet supported at each turn of bible page. Paul and his *Letter to the Romans* are subsumed into this overriding framework, citations of the letter occurring 42 times over the course of its 46 paragraphs, the most cited biblical book in the work. The opening chapter highlights "the abstruse nature of the question at hand—*quaestionis obscuritas*"(1.1),[80] a certainly familiar hermeneutical emphasis and opportunity for Augustine. In the same introduction he affirms the need to link understanding and prayer—"*ut intelligatis orate*," once again a familiar theme. While ever insisting that the content of the exposition is simply biblical doctrine—"*revelavit autem nobis per Scripturas suas sanctas*" (2.2), there is the equal conviction that *intellectus fidei* (*ut intelligatis*) is the goal.

What form does this *intellectus* take? In 3.5 he cites *Romans* 2:12:

> For those who have sinned without the law, will perish without the law; and those who have sinned under the law, will be judged by the law.

Augustine comments accordingly:

> I do not think that the Apostle meant to say that those who sin in ignorance will suffer worse punishment than those who know the

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[79] *Retr.* II.66.

[80] In all the translations that follow I have consulted and modified the translations of the Fathers of the Church (FOC) series.

> law. It would seem that it is worse to perish than to be judged. But as the Apostle was speaking here of the Gentiles and of the Jews, since the former are without the law while the latter have received it, how can anyone dare say that those Jews who sin under the law will not perish. For they have not believed in Christ, and it has been said of them that "they shall be judged by the law." For without faith in Christ no one can be set free, and consequently they will perish by judgment.

Augustine is paying close attention to the *context* of Paul's affirmation, noting that it is addressed to both Jew and Gentile. At the same time, he affirms his overriding Christological hermeneutic: "without faith in Christ no one can be set free." In the same section he cites *Rm.* 12:21: "Be not overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good." Here dialectics enter in, as he draws the *logical* conclusion from such a statement: Paul would not so command our wills unless he understood those same wills to be free: "*velle enim et nolle propriae voluntatis est.*" Here he pays careful "logical" attention to the words of Paul, and draws their "reasonable" implications.

In 6.13 he notes to his monastic audience what "method" he is pursuing in the work:

> It is proven (*probatur*) by these and similar testimonies of Sacred Scripture (*talibus testimoniis divinis*) that God's grace is not given according to our merits. We see, in fact, that it is given, and continues to be given daily (*quotidie*).

While specific scriptural texts are constantly being brought forward for this *probatio*, there is, in fact, a "cumulative argument" (the "*regula fidei*"?) operational as the real driving force behind his exposition. Augustine makes no apology for this "combining of texts," referred to generically as "testimonies of Sacred Scripture." He does seem to be aware that Paul did the same:

> And in another passage, right after he had quoted the words of the Psalm: "Because for your sake we are put to death all the day long and we are counted as sheep for the slaughter" (*Ps.* 43:22), he went on to say: "Because in all these things we are overcome because of him who has loved us" (*Rm.* 8:36-37). We overcome, therefore, not by ourselves, but through Him who has loved us (7.16).

On this occasion he does not pursue the *fact* of Paul's own citational method, but he does elsewhere, and it can be presumed that, if challenged, Augustine would simply point to Paul's own citational practice, certainly subsumed under the one truth of scripture.[81]

In 8.19 Augustine ties together four separate passages from *Romans*: 2:6; 4:4; 11:5-6; and 6:23. The question at hand is whether "eternal life" is grace or merit. All four citations refer to grace, and he concludes:

> He has said this so plainly that it is absolutely impossible to deny it. His words to not require acute understanding, but that one merely pay attention.

Here Augustine insists that careful hearing/reading of the text makes evident Paul's grace intention and meaning. Certainly at this point it is the personal authority of Augustine and the sheer weight of such an affirmation that is the basis for the assertion, though in the same passage *Rm.* 2:6 is paired with *Mt.* 16:27 to further implicitly demonstrate that even Paul's reading is part of the much larger scriptural truth.

Augustine's most careful reading of Paul in the course of the entire treatise occurs in. 10.22. Here it is a close reading of *Rm.* 3:20 along with 4:15a-b, 7:6, and 7:7-13.

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[81] See his commentary on *Ps.* 31(32).II, where he notes Paul's citation of this Psalm in *Romans* 4, reiterated in his commentary on *Ps.* 118(119).III.3.

> Accordingly, brothers and sisters, you should not do evil with your free will, but good; for this is what the law of God prescribes in the Sacred Scriptures, both in the Old and New Testaments. Yes, let us read and try with the Lord's help to understand what the Apostle means when he says: "For by the works of the law no human being shall be justified before him, for though law comes the recognition of sin" (*Rm.* 3:20).[82] He did not say the "destruction" of sin, but its "recognition." Now when someone comes to a knowledge of sin, the law undoubtedly works wrath unless one be aided by grace to avoid what is known to be sinful. This is what the Apostles says in another place, and these are his own words: "The law works wrath" (*Rm.* 4:15a). He said this because God's wrath is more severe towards a transgressor who knows sin by the law, and yet commits it. Such a one is indeed a transgressor of the law, as the Apostle also remarks in the same passage where he says: "For where there is no law, neither is there transgression" (*Rm.* 4:15b). This is why he also says in another place: "That we may serve in newness of spirit and not in oldness of letter" (*Rm.* 7:6). By "oldness of letter" he would have us to understand the law, whereas by "newness of spirit," nothing else but grace. Furthermore, so that no one might think he was blaming the law, or finding fault with it, he immediately faced the problem by asking: "What shall we say then? Is the law sin? By no means! . . ." (*he follows with a full citation of the remainder of Rm.* 7: 7-13).

Here once again there is a "close reading" of Paul with various passages from *Romans* made to stand side by side, one to clarify the other. On Augustine's part, there appears a careful attention to Paul's vocabulary and method of

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[82] While Augustine's text reads "*ex lege*" the New Vulgate reads "*ex operibus legis*." Pelagius' text likewise has "*ex operibus legis*," "Pelagius' Text of Romans," in Theodore De Bruyn, *Pelagius' Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 173.

argument: e.g., "he immediately faced the problem by asking . . ." In these instances it appears clear that Augustine is not citing from memory (perhaps his most common practice) but has his own codex of *Romans* open and is carefully coordinating and contrasting Paul's own words with Paul's own words!

It is perhaps worthwhile to note two more passages that reveal the kind of reading of *Romans* Augustine is about. In. 12.24 there is a strong polemic against the Jews. Having cited *Rm.* 10:3, regarding those "led by their own spirit . . .," he comments that Paul is speaking "about the Jews," who "because of their self-confidence, rejected grace and as a result did not believe in Christ." This clearly reflects the bitterness and distance that in Augustine's day had become a commonplace in Christian discourse. Finally as the treatise draws to a close, 22.44 explodes with citations from *Romans*, prompted by a discussion of children who do not receive baptism: "these things take place by the hidden providence of God—*per occulta Dei providentia*—whose judgments are incomprehensible and whose ways are unsearchable" (*Rm.* 11:33). The string of texts that follow are all Pauline exclamations of wonder before this hidden providence (*Rm.* 11:30-32; 11:33 [now in full]; 5:20). The treatise then ends with a repetition of the initial call to "pray for understanding—*orate ut intelligatis*", put in the light of progression in wisdom. Once again the familiar conversion hermeneutic brings a work to conclusion.

De correptione et gratia

This work is an attempt to further clarify questions and concerns raised by the previous work, and is not intended for the occasional reader:

> If you would derive the most fruit from it, determine to become entirely familiar with it by repeated reading, so that you may know very clearly the important questions that are answered therein, not by a human, but by a heavenly authority, from which we must not depart if we wish to reach the goal of our striving (1.1).

There are some 40 references to the *Letter to the Romans* in the work, the most of any biblical book, yet these form part of a larger scriptural repertoire that permeates the work. Thus neither Paul nor the *Letter to the Romans* is ever read without the omni-presence of an abundant array of scriptural citations from *Psalms*, the *Prophets*, the *Gospels*, and the Letter of *James*. Along with a kind of argument by cumulative effect, there are a number of key moments in the work where the hermeneutical lens that drives Augustine is stated boldly and unequivocally. One of these is found in 7.11, where his Christological reading is made explicit:

> . . . as truth itself speaks, no one is freed from the damnation accomplished by Adam except through faith in Christ.

Augustine follows this assertion with a "*massa perditionis*" conclusion, his application of the Latin *massa* of *Rm.* 9:21 to:

> . . . those who have not heard the Gospel, and those who, having heard it, do not persevere, and those who, having heard the Gospel call to come to Christ, are unwilling to believe in him . . . (7.12).

This Christological key is aided by a *Romans* allusion:

> . . . we ought to understand that no one can be singled out of that lost mass (see *Rm.* 9:21) for which Adam was responsible, except one who has this gift; and anyone who has it, has it by the grace of the Savior.

This reading and application of *Romans* terminology is, at this point, simply declaration, rather than exposition or explanation of scriptural text. However, in the aural-oral culture of Augustine and his world, where texts were remembered and memorized and easily called to mind, it seems evident that there is a kind of "exegesis by association": Augustine does not feel the need

to justify these citations since they are held together by similar vocabulary drawn from a variety of biblical contexts.

This is not to say, however, that in the course of the treatise there is no attempt to do a more careful reading of *Romans*. Augustine does this in 7.14. Here it is *propositum* that carries the reading (kept in the original to appreciate its holding force):

> *De talibus dicit Apostolus: "Scimus quoniam dligentibus Deum omnia cooperatur in bonum, his qui secundum* ***propositum*** *vocati sunt: quoniam quos ante praescivit, et praedestinavit conformes imaginis Filii sui, ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus: quos autem praedestinavit, illos et vocavit; quos autem vocavit, ipsos et iustificavit; quos autem iustificavit, ipsos et glorificavit" (Rm. 8:23-30). Ex istis nullus perit, quia omnes electi sunt. Electi sunt autem, quia secundum* ***propositum*** *vocati sunt:* ***propositum*** *autem, non suum, sed Dei; de quo alibi dicit: "Ut secundum electionem* ***propositum*** *Dei maneret, non ex operibus, sed ex vocante dictus est ei: 'quia maior serviet minori'" (Rm. 9: 11-13); et alibi: "Non secundum opera nostra," inquit, "sed secundum suum* ***propositum*** *et gratiam" (2 Tm. 1:9). Cum ergo audimus: "quos autem praedestinavit, illos et vocavit," secundum* ***propositum*** *vocatus debemus agnoscere: quoniam inde coepit, dicens: "omnia cooperatur in bonum, his qui secundum* ***propositum*** *vocati sunt;" ac deinde subiunxit: "Quoniam quos ante praescivit, et praedestinavit conformes imaginis Filii sui, ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus" (Rm. 8:28-30); atque his praemissis subdidit: "Quos autem praedestinavit, illos et vocavit;" ne putentur in eis esse aliqui vocati et non electi, propter illam dominicam sententiam: "Multi vocati, pauci electi" (Mt. 20:16). Quicumque enim electi, sine dubio etiam vocati: non autem quicumque vocati, consequenter electi. Illi ergo electi, ut saepe disctum est, qui secundum* ***propositum*** *vocati, qui etiam praedestinati atqui praesciti.*

This close reading of aspects of *Romans* 8 and 9, combined with other scriptural texts carefully interwoven, is demanding upon both Augustine and audience. Codex would need to be opened, vocabulary clearly noted, the interconnections and movement plainly seen. Yet Augustine quickly turns to two favorite texts from *Romans* (9:20 and 11:33) to highlight the *mysterium* and *obscuritas* of these demanding explorations:

> At this point, if I am asked why God does not give perseverance to those to whom He once gave the love whereby they lived a Christian life, I answer that I do not know. Not with arrogance, but in the recognition of my condition, I heed the Apostle's words (*sed agnoscens modulum meum, audio dicentem Apostolum*): "O human, who are you to reply to God?" "O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are his judgments, and how unsearchable his ways!" Insofar as He has deigned to manifest his judgments to us, let us give thanks; insofar as He has hidden them, let us not murmur against His will, but let us believe that this, too, is most salutary for us (8.17).

Here Augustine has turned again to his "conversion" principle, and this theme of humble stupor before divine mystery will recur again in 8.18,19; 9.24,25; 10.28; 12.37; 13.40,42. It likewise returns as he concludes the treatise. We, he insists, do not know nor understand but yet it is necessary to believe whatever scripture affirms: "*nec gratia prohibet correptionem, nec correptio negat gratiam*" (16.49).

While there has been some effort at careful reading of Paul and while there is no doubt that *Romans* figures prominently in the treatise, the preferred approach is "apostolic declaration": "A*udio dicentem Apostolum*" (8.17), Augustine affirms, and there is no doubt that this "hearing" is simply "*secundum apostolicam veramque sententiam*" (9.21).

De praedestinatione sanctorum

This work and the following are in many ways a single work—or at the very least are intended to be read together. They represent the last two completed works of Augustine, and while they do not contain the bitter polemics of the Unfinished *Contra Iulianum*, they nonetheless reflect resistance to Augustine's positions on grace, free will, and predestination, signaling a Gallic controversy that will continue well after Augustine's death. This is not the occasion to enter into these questions, since the concern here is how Augustine reads *Romans* in the course of these work. Yet the more controversial atmosphere will be immediately apparent throughout the work. Scripture will frequently be used starkly as proof-text, often without any introduction, explanation, or examination as such.

The very title of the work, *De predestinatione sanctorum* is thoroughly Pauline, since the four times the word appears in scripture are all Pauline: *Rm.* 8: 29, 30 and Eph. 1: 5, 11 (Pauline authorship of *Ephesians* was not in question for Augustine and his theological circles). The importance of *Romans* in prompting the work appears clear from *Letter* 225 from Prosper to Augustine, setting out the nature of the problem that work will address:

> . . . Quoting what the Apostle Paul wrote in his *Epistle to the Romans* (9:14-21) as proof of divine grace antecedent to the merits of the elect, they declare that these words have never been understood by an ecclesiastical writer as they are now understood [by you].[83]

It is obvious that what is being challenged is his reading of *Romans*.

Both the introductory and concluding paragraphs provide, it may be argued, Augustine's own suggestions for the nature of the controversy that prompts the treatise as well as the approach that ought to be taken to his comments. Four points are made at the outset regarding the attitude of mind

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[83] *Ep.* 225.3.

guiding Augustine--and he invites his audience to take this same approach. The first is that the fundamental issue is grace—suggesting that predestination is a corollary to the whole question of grace; the second is that *humility* is needed to appreciate what is at stake—he cites *Jer.* 17:5: "*Maledictus omnis qui spem habet in homine;*" the third is that even the understanding of the question is grace: "*et si quid aliter sapitis, hoc quoque vobis Deus revelabit;*" finally, it is clear that all this is guided by the *regula fidei*: "*ut credant* ***cum*** *Ecclesia Christi.*" These are the principles that will guide his arguments and expositions (and they will be echoed as he concludes the work).

Augustine cites *Romans* some 51 times, once again the most-cited book of the bible in the work. There are also two lengthy citations from his *Retractationes*, the first in reference to his *Propositions on Romans* and the second, his *Ad Simplicianum.* Both are designed to demonstrate that Augustine himself has been anything but static in these questions, gentle but firm reminder that he has grown--and so ought his audience:

> The care they took to read my books, they did not apply to progressing with me in them also (4.8).

And such progress itself has been a grace:

> This is why I said above that it was especially this testimony of the Apostle by which I myself was convinced, when I thought otherwise about this matter; **God revealed this to me**, as I have said, when I was writing to Bishop Simplicianus, trying to resolve this question (*quam* ***mihi Deus*** *in hac quaestione solvenda, cum ad episcopum Simplicianum, sicut dixi scriberem,* ***revelavit***) (4.8).

Not only do Augustine's intended readers need to grow in the understanding of the faith, they must also reckon with the fact that Augustine himself has received this by "revelation"—an unambiguous call to accept the authority this implies. Augustine turns this into a "human fallibility" vs. "Divine Infallibility" question:

> Truly, when the Apostle says, "Therefore it is of faith that, according to grace, the promise might be firm to all the seed" (*Rm.* 4:16), I am amazed that people would rather trust in their own weakness than in the strength of God's promise. "But I am uncertain," someone might say, "of God's will toward me." What then? Are you certain of your own will toward yourself, and do you not fear, "Wherefore, he that thinks himself to stand, let him take heed lest he fall" (1 *Cor.* 10:12)? Therefore, since both wills are uncertain, why not commit one's faith, hope, and love to the stronger rather than to the weaker (11.21)?

Here it is Augustine *disputator* at work, showing the "logic" of trusting in God versus the "illogic" of trusting in self.

Neither has Augustine lost sight of his Christological hermeneutic in defending "the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord."[84] In 12.23, he highlights, in conjunction with the need for infant baptism, the case of the "man Christ Jesus":

> . . . nor was Christ, being himself also human, made the liberator of humans by virtue of any preceding human merits.

This is a reminder that the Christological foundations and implications of all these questions remain critical for Augustine. It all gets forcefully stated in 15.31 as he vigorously affirms grace from beginning to end of the salvation event, ever-placed within the framework of God's foreknowledge and predestination. Paul's opening words in *Romans* provides the testimony:

> This is what the teacher of the gentiles proclaims in the beginning of his Epistles: "Paul a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God, which he had promised

[84] Augustine is citing the Latin of *Rm.* 7:25a which translates a Greek *charis tou theou* in place of the received text's *charis to theo*.

> before, by his prophets, in the Holy Scriptures, concerning his Son, who was made from the seed of David for him, according to the flesh, who was predestined as the Son of God in power, according to the Spirit of Sanctification, by the resurrection from the dead." Therefore (*ergo*) Jesus was predestined . . .

The mere repetition of Paul's own opening words from *Romans* confirms the grace of predestination. This receives more detailed analysis in 16.32, as the predestination affirmation of *Rm.* 8: 28-29 is linked with *Rm.* 9:12 (citing *Gen.* 25:23), 11:29, 25-27, and 28.

> And the Apostle shows that this came about by God's design (*ex Dei dispositione*), who knows how to use even evil things for good; not that the vessels of wrath might be of benefit to him, but rather that by his own good use of them they might be of benefit to the vessels of mercy. For what could be said more clearly (*apertius*) than these words: "As concerning the gospel, indeed they are enemies for your sake" (*Rm.* 11:28)?

It is thus clear what Paul intends in *Romans*--grace:

> It would take too long to argue these points one by one. But certainly you must see with what evidence of apostolic testimony (*quanta manifestatione apostolici eloquii*) this grace is defended, against which human merits are exalted, as if someone should first give something to God in order to receive compensation for it. (18.37).

Yet this affirmation extends beyond *Romans* as Paul *himself* seems to be held up as the strongest argument for Augustine's insistence on the centrality of grace:

> Behold why this most intrepid soldier, this most invincible defender of grace, gives thanks. Behold why he gives thanks—that the apostles are the good odor of Christ unto God, both in those who are saved by his grace and in those who perish in virtue of his judgment . . . (20.41).

Augustine's focused reading of *Romans* is inserted into the wider interpretative framework Paul himself provides and models: *miles acertimus et defensor invictissimus gratiae*.

De dono perserverantiae

The *Concerning the Gift of Perseverance* is Augustine's final *complete* work. It is complex, digressive, permeated with scripture, a combination handbook, apologia, tract, and spiritual exhortation. It contains a commentary on the *Our Father*, numerous citations from the likes of Ambrose, Cyprian, and Gregory Nanzianzus, reproaches directed against Pelagian and Manichaean adversaries, advice and counsel, reflections on his own *Confessions*, and even a final *caveat lector*:

> I would not wish anyone to accept my opinions to the point of following me except in those points where they see that I have not erred. For that very reason I am now undertaking a review of my works, so that I may show that I do not even agree with my own views in every matter now. However, since I did not begin perfectly, I do think that, through God's mercy, I have made progress in my writing. Indeed I would be speaking with more pride than truth, if I say even now that I have reached perfection, without any error in my writing even in this period of my life. But what is of importance is to what extent and in what matters someone has erred and how readily he corrects, or how stubbornly he tries to defend his error. Certainly there is great hope for someone if, even on his last day of this life, he is found to be progressing, so that what he lacked while progressing be given

> him, and he be judged worthy to be perfected rather than punished.[85]

Once again Augustine is providing reading key for this work, or perhaps even better for Augustine himself.

It is clear, then, that there is much more to this work than *Romans*. However, it is equally important to note the place of *Romans* in the work itself, and to make some observations regarding this presence. Once again it is the preeminent text throughout the work. It is cited some 41 times, compared to 33 references from *Matthew*, the next most-cited biblical book in the work. His gospel figures prominently because of the explanation of the Our Father. Also, there is much more than *Romans* that represents Paul: 1 *Cor*. is cited some 16 times, with frequent references to *Gal*. And *Eph*. Further, Augustine is well into the work (paragraph 17) before he makes explicit reference to *Romans*, though this first citation suggests the approach he will take. He is exploring the mystery of why some are graced and others are not (*numquam esse apud Deum iniquitas invenitur*, 8.17):

> "O human, who are you to respond to God--*O homo, tu quis es, qui respondeas Deo*" (*Rm.* 9:20)? You indeed see him to be a most kind benefactor in the case of one of your number, a most just exactor in your own case, yet not unjust to anyone. For since he would be just, even if he punished both, the one who is freed has reason to be grateful, the one who is condemned has no grounds for complaint.

This has by now become a familiar theme:

> So let us believe without doubt in his mercy in the case of those who are liberated, and in his truth in regard to those who are

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[85] 21.55.

> punished; but let us attempt neither to scrutinize the inscrutable, nor to search out the unsearchable (11.25).

Yet despite the affirmation of the *inscrutabilia* and *investigabilia*, he in fact pursues *intellectus fidei*, not content with simple declaration.

In 18.47 he shows this by an lengthy exploration of *Romans* 11. He pays close attention to Paul's terminology:

> For this reason predestination is sometimes also called foreknowledge (*nomine praescientiae*), as the Apostle says: "God has not cast off his people whom he foreknew" (*Rm.* 11:2).

He goes on to place this within context:

> The expression "he foreknew" (*praescivit*) is correctly understood to mean nothing else than "he predestined" (*praedestinavit*)," as the context of this passage (*circumstantia ipsius lectionis*) shows.

He then goes on to explain this *circumstantia*:

> For he was speaking about the remnant of the Jews who had been saved while the others were perishing.

He proceeds to explore this election and moves to its implications.

> Then he added the part concerning which we are now discussing: "God has not cast off his people whom he foreknew" (*Rm.* 11:2). And to show that it was by the grace of God, and not by the merits of their own works that the remnant of the Jews had been preserved, he immediately added . . . (he cites *Rm.* 11:4, which cites 3 *Kgs.* 19:18).

He continues paying close attention to the text, what was said, and what was **not** said, and how it was said:

> Now he does not say (*non enim ait),* "They have been left for me," or "They have left themselves for me," but "I have left for myself" . . . and joining that which I have just introduced he asks: "*What then?*" And to this question he answers . . . (ibid).

He has taken a series of texts from *Rm.* 7: 5-7 and considered them in sequence. This leads him to conclude:

> Therefore (*ergo*), by this election, and by the remnant left "selected out of grace" he meant the people whom God did not cast off because he foreknew them (*praescivit*). This is the election by which those whom He wills He chose in Christ before the foundation of the world . . . predestinating (*praedestinans*) them to be adopted sons and daughters (ibid).

Augustine has returned to his starting point where he affirmed identity of meaning between *praedestinatio* and *praescientia.* This careful reading of text, noting vocabulary, sequence, connections, etc. has all the hallmarks of the "reading habits" he would have learned in his own grammatical, literary, and rhetorical training. Its dialectical component is evident, beginning with the assertion of identity in the terms *praedestinatio* and *praescientia.* Once this premise is agreed to, he can then proceed with logical precision: therefore--*ergo.*

In the chapter that follows, Augustine continues to operate wirh this logical method:

> When we find in the works of certain exegetes of the Word of God [the expression] "the foreknowledge of God," used in reference to the calling of the elect, what is there to prevent our understanding this foreknowledge as predestination? . . . This fact

> I know, that only someone in error could argue against this doctrine of predestination which we are defending in accordance with Sacred Scripture (*secundum Scripturas sanctas defendimus*) (19.48).

"*Secundum Scripturas sanctas defendere*"--Augustine restates once again his strategy. He proceeds to offer further support for his own careful analysis of Paul by the same close reading of statements of Cyprian and Ambrose. These "*tractatores excellentissimi divinorum eloquiorum*" (49) provide clear testimony and evidence that Augustine's reading of *Romans* is within the *regula fidei.*

Thus, while the *De dono perseverantiae* is about much more than reading Paul or *Romans*, nevetheless, it is clear that Augustine's reading of Paul and *Romans* plays a critical role in the argument at hand. As Augustine concludes he insists that this argument—"the predestination of divine grace" (59) though absolutely true, must nonetheless be heard and taught in a way that is *ad salutem.*

> . . . certainly this is absolutely true, yet by all means it is most outrageous, most inopportune, most inappropriate, not because what is said is false, but because it is not applied in a salutary way (*salubriter*) with respect to human weakness (22.61).

The communication of the *veritas scripturarum* must itself serve the conversion hermeneutic by avoiding what is outrageous and unsalutary. This exploration of how to preach/teach predestination draws upon an array of biblical texts eventually leading to a call to *pray* for perseverance. Here *Rm.* 8:26-27 and 8:15 provide part of the guidance necessary for this prayer. This explanation eventually and not surprisingly builds to an exhortation developed from *Mt.* 7:7:

> Therefore, let our adversaries consider how mistaken they are to think that it is from us, and not granted to us that we ask, seek,

> knock; and when they say that this is [from us], that preceded by our merits, grace follows: when seeking, we receive it, and asking, we find it, and it is opened to us, when we knock. Are not these unwilling to understand that it is also a divine gift that we pray--that is, that we seek, that we ask, and that we knock: "For we have received a spirit of adoption as sons, by virtue of which we cry, Abba! Father!" (*Rm.* 8:15) (64).

Even the prayer for grace, *Romans* teaches us, is itself a grace.

Conclusion

The intention of this exploration was to try to enter into Augustine's own exegetical-interpretative world, first by bringing to the fore his own, as I have called them, "hermeneutical asides," and then by looking at Augustine "in operation" with the *Letter to the Romans*. I deliberately chose late-in-life works, precisely because it is here that it is most often suggested that Augustine abandoned any systematic approach to the scriptures, resorting to uncritical proof-texting, driven by the heat and passions of polemics.

In the light of the seven "precepts" outlined above, drawn from Augustine's own occasional observations about to read Scripture, I would like to suggest that he **does** remain quite faithful to much that he himself expressed regarding his *modus inveniendi*. One notes in particular the prominent role played by the *regula fidei*, the omni-present dialectical-logical analysis, his continued fascination with mystery, and a consistent insistence on a "conversional" reading. In his own carefully digressive way, he does, in fact, return again and again to the implicit principles that drove him in all of his scriptural activities, finding in the *Letter to the Romans* both affirmation and expression of them. There is no doubt that Augustine shows little evidence of "technical exegesis" in these works, and debates will continue regarding whether he truly *found* Paul or simply found his own "precepts" confirmed—but the "final" Augustine and his reading of *Romans* certainly appears at least internally consistent with his own "exegetical asides."

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A Conversion of Augustine:

From Natural Law to Restored Nature in Romans 2.13-16

Simon J. Gathercole

'I write as I progress, and progress as I write'.

Modern academia is not swamped by scholars admitting to changes of opinion, and the theological disciplines are sadly no exception. Augustine's *Retractations* come as a breath of fresh air, as do his changes of opinion in other works. One of the most interesting, and most neglected, confessions of repentance is on Romans 2, where Augustine changes his position on the identity of the gentiles who have the law written on their hearts. One intention of this present study is to integrate discussions of natural law with research into Augustine's soteriology, such as feature heavily in work on Augustine's reading of Romans. There are a number of works which deal with Augustine's interpretation of Romans but they are concerned with a very narrow range of texts. This is understandable, and I have no desire to criticize works for not covering ground which they never intended to cover. But by and large, scholarship has concentrated on a few key texts in Romans: Rom 5.14 with its impact on the nature of original sin; Rom 7.14ff and Augustine's discussions of concupiscence; and Rom 9 and the question of predestination and

grace.[1] These chapters are much discussed, because they were crucial in Augustine's articulation of his soteriology, in particular in the transition from his early to his mature thought. But none of this secondary literature really discusses Rom 2.13-16 and its relation to the doctrines of natural law, sin and salvation.

This essay is also intended to do a service to NT scholars, who, obviously in Romans commentaries, and articles on this passage do not have the opportunity to plough through Augustine. As a result, what come up in exegetical discussions are simply the citations which appear in the Scripture index to sets of Augustine's works in translation. Sometimes, as we will see, this leads to misquotation when these are taken out of the context of the works in which they appear. Further, it leads to a very incomplete view of Augustine's use of the passage, because of his wider use of the concepts - and the language as well - of Rom 2.13-16, both of which will also be examined here. This paper will, I hope, contribute to the ongoing exegetical debate among NT scholars on this passage - a debate which has come to something of a standstill.[2] Since Augustine's work is one of the most important episodes in the interpretive history of this passage, it is important to have access to something more that proof-texts.

Augustine's change in his interpretation of Rom 2.13-16 is a

[1] E.g. W.S. Babcock, 'Augustine's Interpretation of Romans (AD 394-396)', *Augustinian Studies* 10 (1979) 55-74; J. Patout Burns, 'The Interpretation of Romans in the Pelagian Controversy', *Augustinian Studies* 10 (1979) 43-54; P. Frederiksen Landes, *Augustine's Early Interpretation of Paul* (Ann Arbor: Landen, 1980); M.G. Mara, 'Note sul commento di Agostino alla Lettera ai Romani (Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistula ad Romanos)', *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 1 (1984) 59-74; B. Delaroche, *Saint Augustin. Lecteur et Interprète de Saint Paul dans le* De peccatorum meritis et remissione (Paris: Institute d'Études Augustiniennes, 1996); P. Gorday, *Principles of Patristic Exegesis* (Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 4; New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1983) however, gives a short assessment of how Augustine (as well as Origen and Chrysostom) treat each section of Romans.

[2] Part of the discussion after N.T. Wright's paper 'The Law in Romans 2' at the Durham-Tübingen Symposium in 1990 reached an impasse on this question: see the conclusion to J.D.G. Dunn, ed. *Paul and the Mosaic Law* (Tübingen: Mohr/ Siebeck, 1993).

topic which has occupied NT scholars much more than Augustinians. However, it does need to be shown that Augustine used the passage in a set way in his early works, and again consistently in his later works: Augustine's use of Scripture did not require that he decide on a fixed meaning, and then use a passage with that meaning in whatever argument he was constructing.[3] I aim to show that Augustine's interpretation did evolve and change, and that the change occurred in a consistent direction. This paper will focus in particular on the 'law written on the heart' in Rom 2.15a, as well as dealing with the conscience and conflicting thoughts in 2.15b.

One textual note, before we begin. It is interesting that in verse 15, Augustine's (and Pelagius') text differs from the Vulgate at one particular point. The Greek, some commentators note, probably supplies three distinct witnesses:[4] the work of the Law written on the heart, the conscience as a further confirmatory witness, and finally the thoughts either accusing or defending. Some, however, do take the third to be explanatory of the second (e.g. Calvin), or even all three as descriptive of the same process (e.g. Barrett). In any case, the second and third are in the genitive, and are almost certainly genitive absolutes. Augustine's Latin text however, has the work of the conscience as an ablative absolute (*contestante* [Pel. & B: *testimonium reddente*] *conscientia illorum*)[5] and the accusing and defending thoughts in the *genitive*, as it is in Greek. Of course, this changes the meaning slightly: the genitive in Latin cannot bear the

[3] For example, in his discussion of Genesis 1 in Confessions XII, he makes it clear that what is important is that an interpretation is orthodox: that is the ultimate criterion of truth (XII, xxv[34]; xxxi [42]), rather than needing to be certain about whether it was what the human author meant, though he did want to find the author's intention (XII,xxiii [32]). If orthodox interpreters differed in their interpretations, they should exercise love for one another. For love, and the unity of Scripture, as Augustine's two fundamental hermeneutical principals, see Chapter 1 of volume III in Bertrand de Margerie, *Introduction à l'Historie d'Exégèse. Vol. 3: St Augustin* (Paris, 1983). Also E. TeSelle, 'Some Reflections on Augustine's Use of Scripture', *AugStud* 7 (1976) 174-175.

[4] Thus, e.g Käsemann. It is pointed out that the Torah required two or three witnesses for conviction.

[5] *Prop. Ep. Rom.* 10, *Serm. Dom. Mont.* II,32.

same sense as a genitive absolute in Greek. So, the verse for Augustine and Pelagius must be translated: 'They show the work of the Law written on their hearts; bearing additional witness is the consciousness also of their accusing and even defending thoughts (on the day when... v.16)'.

Augustine's Early Interpretation

One passage that is cited as evidence for Augustine's view of this passage is *Contra Faustum* 19,2. In this text, which dates from 397-398, Faustus tries to problematize Jesus's statement that he did not come to abolish the Law and the prophets, but rather to fulfil them. He does this by putting forward in 19,2 three different laws and three different kinds of prophets. The law aspect is relevant to us here: 'And there are three kinds of law (*legum genera tria*): one of the Hebrews, which Paul calls the Law of sin and death; and another of the Gentiles, which he calls the 'natural' law: [he quotes Rom 2.14-15a]; and the third kind of law is the truth, which the Apostle indicates when he says "The Law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus..." '. But far from endorsing the position which Faustus expounds here, Augustine's response is more likely to be critical of it. He replies: 'And do not go on straining, trying to seek (but not finding!) a way out through the three kinds of law and three kinds of prophets'.[6] It is not certain that Augustine is criticizing Faustus' taxonomy of laws here,[7] but it seems to be another example where Augustine, having waited for so long for the Manichaean oracle to

[6] *c.Faust.* 19,7.

[7] Augustine does employ similar taxonomies himself. By combining Rom 3.27 and Rom 7.14ff, he comes up with a *lex triplex* of the law of faith, the law of works, and the law of sin (*PL* V, 821, 823). TeSelle also notes the triad of the law of works, the law of sin and death, and the law of the Spirit of life in Sermons 151-156 (Eugene TeSelle, 'Exploring the Inner Conflict. Augustine's Sermons on Romans 7 and 8', *SBL Seminar Paper*, 1998). The *Exposition of Ps 118* talks further of the law given in Paradise, the law instilled by nature, and the law given at Sinai (*Enarr. in Ps CXVIII*, 5).

answer his difficulties, was disappointed with the reply.[8]

Kuss makes the mistake in his Romans commentary of assuming that the text from the *contra Faustum* constitutes Augustine's own view of natural law, and of this half-verse from Romans.[9] But it seems that this evidence, while it might function as part of the backdrop to Augustine's reading of the passage, does not actually count as direct evidence *for* Augustine's reading. In fact, as we examine our next passage, we see that Augustine uses Rom 2.13-16 with a decisively anti-Manichaean slant.

Augustine's *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount* is our first text. Here, the universality of natural law, of God speaking in the conscience to all men however sinful, is the guarantee that God could speak to Satan, in the story of Job. This had evidently been mocked by the Manichees, and used as an argument against the authority of the OT: 'those heretical enemies of the Old Testament, when they wish to mock at it with sacrilegious mouth, brandish this above other weapons, that Satan begged that he should be tempted. For they put the question to unskilful men by no means able to understand such things, how Satan could speak with God.' Augustine's reply further on is: 'For when will they be able to understand that there is no soul, however wicked, which can yet reason in any way, in whose conscience God does not speak? For who but God has written the law of nature in the hearts of men? This is the law concerning which the apostle says: "For when the gentiles, who do not have the Law, do by nature the things contained in the law, they, though not having the Law, are a Law for themselves. They show the work of the Law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness to them, and their thoughts the

[8] For Augustine, the law of faith is what teaches that one is righteous not by his own effort, but by divine grace (*de Spir. et Litt.* 17 [x]), the law of works is explained as the law with its commandments which bring the knowledge of sin (*de Spir. et Litt.* 21 [xiii]), and the law of sin is equated directly with concupiscence (*De Nupt. et Conc.* 34 [xxx]). Again out of Rom 3.27 and 7.14ff arises the triplet of the law of God, the law of faith and the law of deeds (*PL* X, 218). Further,

[9] O. Kuss, *Der Römerbrief I* (1963) 70-71.

meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another, on the day when the Lord shall judge the secrets of men." And therefore, as in the case of every rational soul, which thinks and reasons, even though blinded by passion, we attribute whatever in its reason is true, not to itself, but to the very light of truth by which, however faintly, it is according to its capacity illuminated, so as to perceive some measure of truth by its reasoning...'[10] Because of this, Augustine argues, even the faint perception of truth that Satan had discerned about Job must have come from God. Thus it makes sense that there is no-one who is so sinful that God cannot speak to them. And reason is the faculty which makes this possible. Chroust refers to this passage in *Serm. Dom. Mont.* and comments: 'Man's moral conscience, which can never be silenced, is the *lex naturalis* of these heathens.'[11]

Book II of the *Confessions* provides another example of exactly the same function of the Law written in the heart. Here Augustine confesses to theft in the famous 'pear-stealing' incident. 'Theft receives certain punishment by your law (*lex tua*), Lord, and by the Law written in the hearts of men (*et lex scripta in cordibus hominum*) which not even iniquity itself destroys.'[12] Chadwick and Pine-Coffin[13] take this sentence slightly differently in their translations: the former distinguishes the two laws, and the latter sees them as one (the *et* being explanatory). There is probably a slight distinction, *lex tua* being the Divine Intellect, or *lex aeterna*, while the *lex scripta in cordibus hominum* is the *lex naturae*. This *lex aeterna* is crucial to the way Augustine thinks that society should function. 'Briefly to express in words as best I can the idea of eternal law as it is stamped in our minds I should say this: it is that all things should be in perfect order' (*de Lib. Arb.* I. 6, 15).[14] This means that everything should be

[10] *Serm. Dom. Mont.*, II,32.

[11] A.-H. Chroust, 'The Fundamental Ideas in Augustine's Philosophy of Law', *American Journal of Jurisprudence* 18 (1973) 69.

[12] *Confessions* II,iv (9).

[13] R.S. Pine-Coffin, *The Confession of Augustine* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961).

[14] This is *pax*, 'the tranquillity of ordered relationships under eternal law', E. TeSelle, 'Some Reflections on Augustine's Use of Scripture' 171.

given its proper place and treated in its right proportions. Chroust gives two examples: 'this is not the proper order, nay, cannot be at all called order, when that which is superior should be sub-ordinate to that which is inferior'; and elsewhere, reason functions in a moral way when 'in all its distinctions, choices and evaluations it subordinates the lesser to the greater, the corporeal to the spiritual etc.'[15] The *lex aeterna*, then, is the Divine Intellect by which the whole cosmos is ordered, of which the *lex naturalis*, the norm by which rational souls act morally, is a subset. Thus 'the *lex naturalis*, according to St. Augustine, is the conscious participation of rational man in the *lex aeterna*.'[16] This *lex naturalis* is that which is written on the heart of every human.

A concrete example of this *lex naturae* can be seen in Sermon 1, possibly Augustine's strangest use of Rom 2.14-15. It comes in his defense of the practice of adoption against those who, it seemed, claimed it was unbiblical. Augustine responds that it was the common practice of the wives of the patriarchs to insist on their husbands having children through maid-servants, which they could then themselves adopt. Moses was adopted; and in those times, what happened was that 'the choice of the will (Augustine's term for adoption: as opposed to 'the natural way of birth') was taken for the rule of law, as the Apostle saith also in another place, "The Gentiles who do not have the Law, do by nature the things contained in the Law" '. It is very difficult to determine precisely what Augustine had in mind here, except that he is giving an example of the use of the natural law.

This reference in *Conf.* II is not a quotation of any whole verse, but is a clear allusion to Rom 2.14. Augustine asserts that evil contravenes not just Torah, but also a law in all humans which - to quote Pine-Coffin's translation - 'cannot be erased however sinful they are'.[17] This very much echoes what we saw about the truth that

[15] *De Lib. Arb.* I,8,8; *Epistola CXL* 2,4 quoted in Chroust, 'Fundamental Ideas', 60.

[16] Chroust, 'Fundamental Ideas', 68.

[17] *Conf.* II, 4 (9).

'there is no soul, however wicked, which can yet reason in any way, in whose conscience God does not speak.'[18] This law of nature is evident, Augustine argues, from the fact that even a thief cannot bear being stolen from, even if the stealer *needs* what he is stealing. Perhaps it is the 'rationality' of the Law in the heart that leads Augustine to present the pear-stealing incident in such *irrational* terms. Augustine wants to make clear that he stole purely for the thrill of the communal sin: 'I took pleasure in the same vices (*sc.* as my companions) not only for the enjoyment of what I did, but also for the applause I won.'[19] The sin itself had no rational basis. On the contrary, 'of what I stole I already had plenty, and much better at that, and I had no wish to enjoy the things I coveted by stealing, but only to enjoy the theft itself and the sin. There was a pear tree near our vineyard, loaded with fruit that was attractive neither to look at nor to taste... We took away an enormous quantity of pears, not to eat them ourselves, but simply to throw them to the pigs. Perhaps we ate some of them, but our real pleasure consisted in doing something that was forbidden.'[20]

The *Exposition of Psalm 58* contains something very similar. In his extended discussion of natural law here, he again employs Romans 2. Here, 'the hand of our Maker in our very hearts has written this truth, "That which to thyself thou wouldest not have done, do thou not to another" (Tob 4.15) '. This Law is universal, given before Torah, although it was not read or heeded. The abandoning of this Law in the heart gave rise to an alienation within the human person - a fragmentation of nature - and the restoration of the person involved a return to oneself. 'What does the written law cry to those who have deserted "the law written in their hearts" (Rom 2.15) ? "Return to the heart, you transgressors!" (Is 46.8) '[21] As

[18] *Serm. Dom. Mont.*, 2,32; see further Chroust, 'Fundamental Ideas', 67-70.

[19] *Conf.* II,3 (7).

[20] *Conf.* II, 4 (9).

[21] Chroust, 68: 'The realization that these truths and norms are actually "in" us, that is, in our soul or mind or heart, becomes for St. Augustine the basis of an important moral imperative, namely to know and understand ourselves.'

we saw in the pear-stealing incident, the universal human instinct of not wishing to be cuckolded, stolen from, or murdered gives validity to the positive prohibition of these things, which is the *content* of the universal law in the heart expressed in Tob 4.15.

In Letter 107 (AD 414) Augustine's use of the law on the heart is triggered by a reference to Rom 4.15: 'for where there is no law, there is no transgression'. He goes on to argue that the law which is the precondition of transgression in the verse is not confined to Israel, *quoniam lex est etiam in ratione hominis qui iam utitur arbitrio libertatis naturaliter in corde conscripta, qua suggeritur ne aliquid faciat quisque alteri quod pati ipse non uult*: 'since there is also a law, in the reason of a person who uses free will, written naturally in the heart, by which it is suggested that no person should do anything to another which he would not be willing to suffer.'[22] According to this law, then, all are transgressors according to the law, whether that law was 'given in paradise, naturally embedded, or legislated on tablets'.[23]

The *Exposition of Psalm 118*[24] (*c.* 420), also shows that Augustine's use of this passage arose not merely out of polemic, but out of his own wrestling with the text in the context of the unity and harmony of Scripture. Here the motivation is to reconcile two parts of Scripture: Ps 118.119, 'praevaricantes aestimavi omnes peccatores terrae' and Rom 4.15 'ubi enim lex non est, nec praevaricatio'. How can gentiles be transgressors if 'where there is no law there is no transgression'. The answer is the same: they have a *lex naturae* which they should not ignore, because what they do to others they would not put up with themselves.[25] There was a Law before Sinai, but it was *instaurata, aucta, firmata* by the Mosaic Law. [26]

[22] *Letter 107*, 15 (PL II,681).

[23] *Enarr. in Ps CXVIII*, 5.

[24] *Sermon* 25, *Enarr. in Ps CXVIII.*

[25] *Enarr. in Ps. CXVIII*, ad v. 119 (PL IV,1574): 'Nullus enim est qui faciat alteri injuriam, nisi qui fieri nolit sibi... id quod facit non uult pati'.

[26] See K.M. Girardet, 'Naturrecht und Naturgesetz: Eine Gerade Linie von Cicero zu Augustinus?', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 138 (1995) 286 n. 100.

Summary

It is evident from these texts that Augustine does not merely use Rom 2.14-15 polemically, as a proof-text. He has reflected on the passage deeply, and it is thoroughly integrated into his system. Its systemic relations and functions can be discerned from the consistent features which appear again and again in his reference to these verses. The first feature is that this law is universal, ineradicable even in the most terrible sinner, because even the most sinful person retains their rationality.[27] It means that all nations are guilty of transgression, not just Adam who received the commandment in the garden, and the recipients of the Law of Moses, though these transgressions are more serious.[28] Secondly however, this law, though ineradicable, is ineffectual because it is not heeded. And thirdly, the content of this *lex naturalis* is consistently the negative version of the golden rule. 'Man darf daher die Goldene Regel, die *lex in cordibus hominum oder naturaliter insita*, als Augustins *lex naturalis/naturae ‚non scripta'* bezeichnen.'[29] On an individual level, this can be seen from the fact that any (rational) person hates having certain things done to them. But it is also tied up with Augustine's political theory and theology of jurisprudence, which are based on these two foundational principles: everything in its proper place and proportion, and the Golden Rule.

The Late Works: The New Covenant Law written on the Heart

The *Exposition of Ps 118* is particularly interesting because it includes

[27] Chroust also mentions *de Spir. et Litt.* 48 (XXVIII) and *Epistola CLVII* 3, 15ff in this connection.

[28] On the cosmic seriousness of Adam's sin (seen in its effects) see *de Nupt. et Conc.* II,viii,20; also Frederiksen, *Augustine's Early Interpretation of Paul*, 256-257.

[29] Girardet, 'Naturrecht und Naturgesetz' 286. Chroust, p. 72 n. 76, also cites *De Ordine* II.8,25, *De Doct. Christ.* III.14, 22 for other references to the Golden Rule.

both this reference to the law of nature which we have just seen, and also reference to the new covenant law on the heart, where we see that Augustine has, by this time, begun to understand this concept of 'law written on the heart' in a rather different way: 'You, more inward that my inmost self, have laid down a law within my heart by your Spirit, as it were, by your fingers, so that I might not fear it as a slave without love, but might love it with a chaste fear as a son, and fear it with chaste love.'[30]

The most important text for Augustine's treatment of Rom 2.14-15 is undoubtedly *de Spiritu et Littera* (AD 412), where we see the explanation of his new position. Here, Augustine deals with the interpretation of this passage at far greater length that anywhere else. The discourse is prompted by an inquiry by one of Augustine's friends, Marcellinus, who has been perturbed by Augustine mentioning the possibility of achieving perfection in this life. Augustine carefully sets out his premise that this is not possible by oneself, but is achievable by the human will *divinely aided*: nothing is impossible with God. Here the Pelagian polemic becomes evident: 'They, however, must be resisted with the utmost ardour and vigour who suppose that without God's help, the mere power of the human will in itself, can either perfect righteousness, or advance steadily towards it.'[31] The Pelagians held that the commandments were sufficient, in view of the ability of the human will, to give that will proper direction. Perfect righteousness should be sought, and was a possibility, as one had sufficient knowledge of how to please God.[32] But for Augustine, knowledge on its own is useless. In his interpretation of Rom 1.19ff, as Madec argues, the knowledge of God which the philosophers have reached does not restrain idolatry and *superbia*.[33] Similarly, the knowledge which Israel had was not

[30] *Enarr. in Ps CXVIII*, ad v.102.

[31] *Ibid.*, 4 [II].

[32] On the perfectionism of Pelagian theology, see P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo. A Biography* (Lonodon: Faber & Faber, 1967) 342.

[33] See G. Madec, 'Connaissance de Dieu et action des grâces', *Recherches Augustiniennes* II (1962) 273-309.

sufficient, for 'the letter kills, but the spirit gives life'. The Spirit, by the grace of Christ, is needed to bring the requisite divine assistance to the will. This grace was hidden in the Old Testament, but is revealed in the New, and so the central chapters of this work are concerned with the exposition of the difference betwen the old and new covenants. In *de Spir. et Litt.* 28-29 (XVI-XVII) two key verses which Augustine uses to explicate Rom 2.14-15 are introduced. First, Jer 31.31-34, with its prophecy of the law to be written on the heart, which Augustine sees as being fulfilled by the regenerate gentiles here in Romans.[34] Secondly, Rom 5.5, where love for God (Augustine takes the genitive objectively) is poured out into the hearts of believers through the Holy Spirit. Jer 31.31-34 is expanded on in 33-34 (XIX) and 39-41 (XXIV), and he actually defines this law in the heart in 36 (XXI): 'What then is God's law written by God himself in the hearts of men, but the very presence of the Holy Spirit, who is the "finger of God", and by whose presence is shed abroad in our hearts the love which is the fulfilling of the law and the end of the commandment?' At this stage, Augustine concludes this stage of the argument by summing up the discontinuity between the covenants: 'It is therefore apparent what difference there is between the old covenant and the new: in the former, the law is written on tablets, while in the latter, on hearts; so that what in one alarms from without, in the other delights from within; and in the former, man becomes a transgressor through the letter that kills, in the other, a lover, through the life-giving Spirit.'

Here, Augustine raises the question of the gentiles in Rom 2.14-15. He imagines an interlocutor asking how Augustine's distinction stands when there were gentiles who had the law written on the hearts, the natural law of their consciences, before the coming of Christ. Furthermore, were not gentiles better off with a law in their hearts than Israelites were, having one on tablets? Augustine answers these two questions by expounding Rom 2.13ff in the

[34] Chroust mentions this passage in *Spir. et Litt.* in his discussion of natural law, but does not note that Augustine is dealing with regenerate gentiles here (Chroust, 69 n. 57).

context of the argument of Rom 1-2. Crucially, verses 14-15 are framed by the sentence 'It is not the hearers of the law who are righteous before God, but the doers of the law who will be justified'. Augustine comments on this in 44 (XXVI): 'Who they are that are treated of in these words, he goes on to tell us: "For when the gentiles, who do not have the Law, do by nature the things of the law" and so forth in the passage which I have quoted already.' So Augustine equates these gentiles here with the activity of God promised in Jer 31.31-34: he interprets Rom 2.25-29 in precisely the same way. Chapter 46 concludes 'God puts his laws into their mind, and writes them in their hearts with his own finger, the Holy Spirit, by whom is shed abroad in them the love which is the "fulfilling of the law" '.

From the perspective of modern exegetes, the biggest obstacle to this interpretation is the 'by nature', and Augustine felt he might be criticized by his contemporaries here as well. He replies: 'Nor ought it to disturb us that the apostle described them as doing that which is contained in the law *"by nature,"*– not by the Spirit of God, not by faith, not by grace. For it is the Spirit of grace that does it, in order to restore in us the image of God, in which we were *naturally* created. Sin, indeed, is contrary to nature, and it is grace that heals it.'[35] This is an important point: the law written on the heart is the restoration in humanity of the *imago Dei*, which has been tarnished (but not abolished) by sin.[36] It still exists in any person who participates in reason.

On the other hand, Augustine does allow the possibility of the 'non-Christian' reading of these verses. Or, more precisely, he does not want the reader to think that his view of the difference between the covenants stands or falls by his interpretation of Rom 2.14-15. *'Etiam sic'* – even if this other interpretation (from which Augustine distances himself here) is correct, his theology is not threatened.

35 *de Spir. et Litt.* 47 [XXVII].

36 See G. Bonner, *St Augustine of Hippo. Life and Controversies* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1997) 370.

Chapter 48 begins 'But if those who do naturally what pertains to the law are not yet to be reckoned in the number of those whom the grace of Christ justifies...' (*si autem hi qui naturaliter quae legis sunt faciunt, nondum sunt habendi in numero eorum quos Christi iustificat gratia*...). Augustine concedes that this 'writing on the heart' exists in a faint and faded form in even the most depraved individual: the renewal by the Spirit means that the law is written more clearly, and the *imago Dei* restored to some of its original glory.

The objection that Augustine makes to the 'non-Christian' reading of this passage is this: 'how will "their thoughts defending them on the day when God judges the secrets of men" be of any use except perhaps that they be punished more mildly?' Augustine then expands on this with his doctrine of gradations of reward in heaven and punishment in hell. But, here at the end of his discussion of this passage, he has still distanced himself from this non-Christian reading. So, by 412, he had changed his position, and argues that these gentiles do these things by nature because grace has restored and healed their nature, and now they have to some extent reverted to the righteousness that was a reality pre-fall. His theology of the fall now meant that he was less inclined to admit the possibility of natural virtue.

The argument surrounding Rom 2.14-15 in the *contra Julianum* IV, 23-25 follows a similar pattern to *de Spiritu et Littera*, though in a rather shorter form. The first similarity is that Augustine explains his view of the passage, in direct response to Julian's use of the passage, by which Julian had hoped to dismantle Augustine's anthropology:[37] 'By means of these gentiles you tried to prove that even those who are strangers to the faith of Christ can have true righteousness, for

[37] Julian's pithy objection to Augustine's doctrine of sin is cited in Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 387: 'it is improbable, it is untrue; it is unjust and impious; it makes it seem as if the devil were the maker of men' (*Op. Imp.* III, 67ff).

the Apostle says "they do by nature what the Law prescribes".'[38] Augustine criticizes Julian for not explaining what he means: is 'true righteousness' good things, which are not really good at all because they are not for God; or is it actually worship of God which will be rewarded with eternal life? The second feature in common with the discussion in *de Spir. et Litt.* is the objection to Julian's view that it makes a nonsense of the 'defending thoughts' in 2.15. That, at least, is the case if Julian takes these gentiles to do some good, but *not* to receive the reward of eternal life for their good. If they do receive eternal life for these good deeds, then they could not possibly do them except by faith.[39] Thirdly, Augustine again introduces his doctrine of lesser punishment as the possible result of good deeds (i.e. in obedience to the the *lex naturae* of the Golden rule) by the unregenerate. This is not to concede anything to Julian, but merely to rule out any possibility of escape for him. Augustine confines the function of the defending thoughts to the lessening of punishment for the wicked who obeyed in small ways the law of nature, occasionally not doing what they themselves would not put up with. For his urbane interlocutor, Augustine gives the example of the virtuous Fabricius and the villain Catiline: 'Fabricius will be punished less than Catiline, not because the former was good, but because the latter was more evil.'[40]

But there is more in the *contra Julianum* than a rehearsal of the arguments of ten years earlier. There is a further development in this later period when Augustine faced Julian of Eclanum. In the early stage of the Pelagian controversy, Augustine is providing a systematic exposition of his thoughts about the Law, and explains 2.14-15 primarily as an example of the difference between the covenants. And Augustine accepts the plausibility of the non-Christian reading of the text, even though he does not hold it

[38] *C.Jul.* IV,23.

[39] Here Augustine uses two texts in particular, Rom 14.23: 'Everything which is not of faith, is sin' and Heb 11.6, 'without faith it is impossible to please God'.

[40] *C.Jul.* IV,25.

himself. He wants to say that his point still stands if one takes the other view of that text. This is in line with his exposition, mentioned above, of his hermeneutic at the end of the *Confessions*, where it is the orthodoxy of a reading which is crucial, not its exegetical accuracy. But by the time of the *contra Julianum*, Augustine is less willing to leave the door open to the possibility of a non-Christian reading which allows for true virtue: 'nec per eos potes probare quod vis, etiam infideles veras posse habere virtutes: sunt quippe isti fideles'.[41] *He has decided that this reading is no longer orthodox.* Unbelievers cannot have true virtues because 'all that is not from faith is sin' (Rom 14.23) and 'without faith it is impossible to please God' (Heb 11.6). This reading of 2.14-15 is what makes Julian and his colleagues 'enemies of the grace of God', and, further on, 'greatly despised by the Chistian Church'.[42]

Yet Augustine is not unequivocal about condemning the non-Christian interpretation *per se*. What he criticizes is Julian trying to prove from these gentiles that 'alienos a fide Christi *veram* posse habere justitiam'. Augustine allows the (admittedly very slim) possibility, as he did in *de Spir. et Litt.*, of an orthodox, 'non-Christian' reading of the passage. He takes it as read that if they do not have faith in Christ, then they cannot be righteous, and so the only possible function of the excusing thoughts is the lessening of punishment. But Augustine's acknowledgement of the possibility of the non-Christian reading here in the *contra Julianum* is much more faint that it had been ten years earlier.

Summary:

'Within the last few days, I have read some writings by Pelagius – a holy man I hear, who has advanced considerably in the Christian life – which contain very brief expositions of the epistles of Paul'.[43] So

41 *C.Jul.* IV,25.
42 *C.Jul.* IV,23.
43 *Pecc. Mer. Rem.* III, I (1).

wrote Augustine in the winter of 411-412,[44] shortly before he wrote *de Spiritu et Littera*. Pelagius had described in his Romans commentary (written somewhere betweeen 405-410[45]) how there were two possibilities for the meaning of 'they do by nature what pertains to the Law' in Rom 2.14: 'Either: He means those who were by nature righteous in the period before the law. Or: Those who even now do some good.' Again, he supplies two possibilities for verse 15: either that nature produces the law in the heart through conscience, or, 'the conscience testifies that it has a law... since the conscience is apprehensive when one sins, and rejoices when sin is overcome'.[46]

But Augustine is not in debate with the exegesis of Rom 2.14-15 in this commentary: Pelagius here is not particularly Pelagian.[47] At stake in the controversy between Augustine and the Pelagians over this text are the broader issues of the doctrine of sin and anthropology, whether that be defined in terms of human nature,[48] or the more relational categories that Brown and Bonner employ.[49] In Augustine's opinion, real virtue and pleasing God are impossible because of the sinful nature. Augustine provides a rather sarcastic

[44] For dating see Delaroche, *Saint Augustin. Lecteur et Interprète de Saint Paul*, 15-17.

[45] T. de Bruyn, *Pelagius's Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Translated with Introduction and Notes* (Oxford Early Christian Studies; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) 11.

[46] De Bruyn, p. 73.

[47] He merely talks about doing 'some good' – a position which Augustine is quite happy with (*de Spir. et Litt.* 48 [XXVII] talks of 'actions we not only cannot blame, but even justly and rightly praise), as long as they are not described as 'true virtues' (*C.Jul.* IV,25) or as being done with good motives (*de Spir. et Litt., ibid*).

[48] For Augustine, however, nature can mean either the ideal, created order, or the condition into which one is now born as a result of Adam's sin: see *de Nat. et Grat.* 81 (lxvii).

[49] Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 351-352, sees the crucial difference in the tropes that Augustine and Pelagius use to describe humanity: Augustine talks in terms of the baby suckling at its mother's breast, depending on her for all its strength; Pelagius on the other hand, talks of the fully-grown son who is independent of his father. Bonner, *St Augustine of Hippo*, 361, notes how 'Julian of Eclanum did not hesitate to speak of man as "emancipated from God" by the possession of free will, while Caelestius asserted that the will could not be free if it needed the help of God.'

example of this in *City of God*. In the course of his debate with Roman culture about the so-called Golden age of morality, he quotes Sallust: 'equity and virtue prevailed among the Romans not more by force of laws than of nature'.[50] He then comments himself: 'I presume it is to this inborn equity and goodness of disposition we are to ascribe the rape of the Sabine women.'[51] This is the current 'nature' of humanity: Augustine knew that Rom 2.14-15 could not refer to the achievement of *veras virtutes*, but in his own mind, he could not envisage even partial obedience to the law in this text, such is the extent of human sin. But it is precisely this nature which is restored by conversion. Augustine's works against the Pelagians are full of references to the restoration of nature which is effected by God's grace. In *de Natura et Gratia*, Augustine's first reply to Pelagius is that 'if righteousness comes by nature, then Christ died in vain' (2 [II]);[52] but he then opposes the possibility of justification 'by the law of nature and the power of the will' (10 [ix]) with the doctrine that grace is concerned with 'the *cure*, not the constitution' of nature.[53] As a result, Augustine's favourite epithet for our Lord in this work is that of the Physician.[54] Similarly, there are three citations of Matt 9.12 ('it is not the healthy who need a physician, but the sick')[55] and two of the parable of the good Samaritan, which Augustine uses as an extended illustration of conversion:[56] humanity was created healthy, but 'our present inquiry however, is about the man whom the thieves left half dead on the road, and who, being disabled and pierced through with heavy wounds, is not so able to

50 Sallust, *Catilinarian Conspiracy* ix.

51 *City of God*, II, 17.

52 As Frederiksen (*Augustine's Early Interpretation of Paul*, 248) says of Augustine's defense of his views on baptism and original sin, he reasoned 'not so much forward from Adam's sin in the garden, as *backwards* from the universal and absolute necessity of redemption in Christ.'

53 *de Nat. et Grat.* 11 (x).

54 See TeSelle's Bibliography on this topic in 'Exploring the Inner Conflict' n. 26.

55 *de Nat. et Grat.* 1 (i), 21 (ix), 23 (xi).

56 *de Nat. et Grat.* 60 (lii) and 50 (xliii).

mount up to the heights of righteousness as he was able to descend from them; although if he is now in the inn, he is in the process of cure.'[57] This 'process' is the restoration of nature that begins when God writes the law on the hearts of these gentiles. This law that had faded as a result of sin is now inscribed more boldly, the image of God which had been marred begins to be restored, and the motives which previously had not directed action towards God at all are now infused with the "love for God, poured out in our hearts by the Holy Spirit". It is this restored nature which now begins to please God by faith.

The Conscience and the Accusing and Defending Thoughts

Augustine's typical method in his *Expositio quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* (mid-390s) especially consists of using other short passages of Scripture to explain difficult verses: 'Poi seguono gli 84 passi ripresi dalla *lettera ai Romani* che, secondo il metodo interpretativo che gli è proprio, trovano una loro chiarificazione in altre citazioni vetero e neotestamentarie.'[58] When Augustine comes to explain the conscience in Rom 2.15, he uses 1 John 3.20, the verse previous to that which Origen used. Origen is discussing whether the conscience is different from the heart or the soul. 'For this conscience is also spoken of elsewhere, since it accuses and is not accused, judges a man, but is not itself judged, just as John says, "If our conscience does not accuse us, we have confidence before God" (1 John 3.21).'[59] Augustine uses 1 John 3.20, which has a rather different force: 'Quod autem dicit: *Contestante conscientia*

[57] The similar work *de Perfectione Justiciae Hominis* has a similar range of tropes: healing is the principal term for salvation in II (1), II (3), III (5,6,7,8), XXI (44) and again Matt 9.12 is cited in III (5) and IV (9). The healing metaphor is used elsewhere, see e.g. *Civitas Dei* II,1.

[58] Maria Grazia Mara, 'Note', 98. This method was not merely his own: it was a very common approach, similar in particular to Origen's and Pelagius's commentaries, though Augustine's *Expositio* was of course not a commentary.

[59] Origen, *Commentarii*, 230, ll. 17-21.

illorum, secundum illum locum loquitur Iohannis apostoli, quo ait: *Dilectissimi, si cor nostrum nos reprehenderit, maior est deus conscientiae nostrae* et cetera.'[60] Frederiksen mistranslates '*contestante conscientia illorum*' as 'by their conflicting thoughts', whereas it is actually the previous phrase 'their consciences also bearing witness'.[61] The Latin translation of 1 John 3 is also peculiar here, translating καρδία as *conscientia*, except in the first occurrence in 1 John 3.20. Origen certainly understands the activity of the conscience here in a positive way, with an acquitting, rather than a condemning function: he wrote previously of this taking place *testimonio sanae conscientiae*, 'with the witness of an upright/healthy conscience'. Augustine's interpretation has a slightly different, and a slightly peculiar force: with his use of 1 John 3.20, he says that Paul is referring in Rom 2.15 to God's acquittal of 'us' *despite the testimony of the conscience.*

This is actually in slight contrast with Augustine's use of the Rom 2.15 in his reading of Psalm 9 (390s). Here the conscience and the thoughts are brought into the divine court-room as testifying that God's judgement is just. That is to say, God will judge according to people's real internal guilt or innocence, 'not as men judge who see not the heart'.[62]

In *The City of God* XX (425-427), in a section on the judgement of the wicked, he says that God's judgement comes swiftly, 'either because he is to come suddenly... or because He will convince the consciences of men directly and without any prolix harangue. "For", as it is written, "in the thoughts of the wicked His examination shall be conducted."(Wis 1.9) And the apostle says, "The thoughts accusing or else excusing, in the day in which God shall judge the hidden things of men, according to my gospel in Jesus Christ." (Rom 2.15-16) Thus then shall the Lord be a swift witness, when He shall suddenly bring back into the memory that which shall convince and punish the

60 *Prop. Ep. Rom.* 10.

61 P.F. Landes, *Augustine on Romans* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983) 5.

62 On Ps. 9, 9.

conscience.'[63] Here the text has a wholly negative reference, to the punishment of the wicked, with their depraved thoughts and consciences being the objects of judgement.

We have seen that the reference to the accusing and defending thoughts in *de Spir. et Litt.* and the *contra Iulianum* give rise to explanations of Augustine's doctrine of gradations of reward (whereby 'in the Kingdom of God the saints differ in glory as one star does from another'[64]) and punishment, as with Catiline being punished more severely than Fabricius. The problem comes when in these texts Augustine introduces his objection to his opponents' reading of the texts. He sees the main flaw in the 'non-Christian' reading of 2.14-15 as not doing justice to the 'defending' thoughts: 'quid eis proderunt excusantes cogitationes?'[65] Or again, 'quid ergo eis prodest, quod secundum Apostolum defendent eos cogitationes suae, in die qua iudicabit Deus occulta hominum'.[66]

Summary

Because the references to Rom 2.15b are so sparse and spread over such a long time frame, it is difficult to assess whether Augustine had a consistent view of these verses or not. A synthesis is certainly possible, however, though we must be cautious about how much of it was present to Augustine's thinking when he quoted these verses. Putting *Prop. Ep. Rom.* and *City of God* together (somewhat risky considering the time gap) one might conclude that both believer and unbeliever experience a guilty conscience and accusing thoughts: the believer because of the internal struggle which we see in Augustine's interpretation of Rom 7, and the unbeliever because the voice of God is not completely silenced by sin. For the unbeliever, the wicked thoughts are the object of God's judgement on the final day. This judgement is swift and direct, as our *City of God* passage makes

63 *City of God*, XX,26 (Tr. Dods)
64 *de Spir. et Litt.* 48 (XXVIII).
65 *Ibid.*
66 *C.Jul.* IV, 23.

clear, and entirely just, as is emphasized by *Enarr. in Ps. 9*. This is reasonably coherent, and one could imagine Augustine seeing it this way.

There are problems, however, when one combines Augustine's view of the law written on the heart with his view of the conscience and the thoughts. In the early period, Augustine's 'non-Christian' reading of 2.15a sits very uncomfortably with his positive interpretation of the conscience, which we saw in *Prop. Ep. Rom.* 10. Conversely, his later interpretation of 2.15a, which sees the law on the heart as referring to God's fulfilment of new covenant promise in the lives of gentiles, is problematic alongside his negative view of the conscience and the thoughts as involved in the condemnation of the wicked in the *City of God* passage. One might be tempted to say that Augustine viewed the two halves of the verse as disparate units, were it not for the fact that he insists on the unity of the passage in *de Spir. et Litt.* and the *Contra Julianum*, to the point of demanding that his opponents take the two together, and criticizing them precisely for not integrating the two halves acceptably: 'if they are strangers from this grace, then what use to them are *excusing thoughts on the day when God judges the secrets of men*' (*de Spir. et Litt.* 48 (XXVIII). This tension does not seem to be easily soluble.

Uses of Augustine's Interpretation

This is not the place for any detailed history of interpretation of this passage;[67] rather, we will look at two striking examples (from the Reformation and modern period) of the reception of Augustine's interpretation. His general theory of the *lex aeterna* and the *lex naturae* went on to be extremely influential: 'It may be remarked here that St. Augustine's theistic definition of the *lex aeterna* was destined to become the basic concept and the authoritative

[67] J. Riedl, *Das Heil der Heiden. Nach Röm 2,14-16.26.27* (Mödling-bei-Wien: St Gabriel Verlag, 1965) supplies the definitive comprehensive history of interpretation.

pronouncement for the whole medieval (scholastic) jurisprudence or natural law theories.'[68] His reading of Rom 2, however, did not take a hold: the Greek Fathers by and large followed Chrysostom, where these gentiles were given grace, and did believe in one God (though not in Christ). Later, Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure confined the passage to gentiles before Christ, while many (Riedl mentions Bruno, Abelard, Robert of Melun and Nicholas of Lyra) assumed a natural knowledge of God which led to an anonymous, inclusive faith in Christ and divine assistance to fulfil the law of nature: this then led to a reward of eternal life.[69]

When it comes to the time of the Reformation, T.H.L. Parker makes two noteworthy points about the very short period of time which his book covers.[70] First, the great number of commentaries written in this ten-year period: Parker has counted thirty-five (including different editions). Second is the fact that more commentaries specifically on Romans were written by Roman Catholic Cardinals than by reformers. And when we look at what they have to say on Rom 2.13-16 (to which Parker devotes a whole chapter) there are a dazzling array of interpretations, as one might expect. But, what they have in common is that almost none of them follows Augustine in seeing the reference to gentile Christians: surprising, considering how influential Augustine was on both sides of the divide. The Reformation was, among many other things, a battle over Augustine.

Luther, whose commentary predates the spate of commentaries from 1532-1542, rejects both of the options that Augustine presents, saying that the truth lies somewhere in between. He prefers to understand Paul as talking of those gentiles who prepare their hearts to receive God's grace, so, those who are almost in the process of becoming Christians. Melanchthon also disagrees: 'Augustine, he says, imports difficulties into Paul here, whereas the

[68] Chroust, 'Fundamental Ideas', 63.

[69] Riedl, *Das Heil der Heiden*, 171.

[70] T.H.L. Parker, *Commentaries on Romans. 1532-1542* (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1986) 125-141.

text itself is not obscure. Paul is discussing knowledge and judgement. It is plain that the unregenerate can do the external works of the law...'[71] In their different ways, Calvin and the Roman Catholic Cardinals take an approach more negative than Augustine's, Calvin arguing here that 'ignorance is offered in vain as an excuse by the Gentiles, since they declare by their own deeds that they do have some rule of righteousness.'[72] On the other side, the Roman Catholic Cardinals (e.g. Caietan and Guilliaud) refer at this point to the two stages of justification, the first by the sheer and unaided grace of God, the second by the person's cooperation with grace.[73] Caietan further argues 'note well that it is one thing to do the things which are of the Law and another to do meritoriously the things which are of the Law'.[74] It is only *possibly* Heinrich Bullinger (a Swiss reformer) who takes these gentiles to be regenerate, and even about his reading Parker is not sure. He writes in a rather confusing way on 2.14-15 about certain people, whose consciences will be clear on the day of judgement, much as Augustine does in *Prop. Ep. Rom.* 10. But apart from this uncertain case, Augustine's early explanation had clearly won the day on both sides of the divide. And because this 'non-Christian' reading was one on which Reformers and Cardinals were in agreement over, it is no surprise that is has been so strongly held ever since.[75]

One exception in the modern period is Karl Barth, who shares Augustine's incomprehension that an optimistic view of Rom 2.14-15 is compatible with a properly Pauline doctrine of sin: 'shortly afterwards, Paul says unmistakeably that both Jews and gentiles

[71] Parker, 139-140.

[72] Calvin, 47-48.

[73] Parker, 131.

[74] Caietan, VIIB, cited in Parker, 130.

[75] Though Sanday and Headlam note that the gentile Christian reading has remained very strong in certain circles: 'Since the time of Augustine, the orthodox interpretation had applied this verse, either to the Gentile converts, or to the favoured few among the gentiles who had extraordinary divine assistance' (Sanday and Headlam, *The Epistle to the Romans* [Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, ^{5}1902] 60).

collectively and individually live under sin, that none is righteous, no, not one (3.10), that the whole world is guilty before God (3.19), that all have sinned and have no glory with God (3.23). How, then, can he assume in Rom 2, even hypothetically, let alone in practice, that there are Gentiles who are not merely noble but who keep and fulfil God's law without knowing it in its revealed form, and who are thus justified before God as its doers? Something is wrong here' (CD IV/4, 8).

Cranfield cites five places where Barth discusses this passage in the Church Dogmatics,[76] and there is a good deal of common ground with Augustine's theological exegesis in *de Spiritu et Littera*. Just as Augustine sees Rom 2.14-15 as describing those who fulfil the promise in Jer 31.31ff, so does Barth. Like Augustine, he sees the φύσει (*naturaliter*, 'by nature') as unproblematic: the 'nature' of the person who has been transformed by God's grace has changed so radically that they are, for Barth, a different person. They have 'this other heart, this new spirit' – a nature utterly different from their previous condition. Two books later, Barth declares: 'For in this way and on this basis, God will break the opposition of His people, creating and giving a new heart to the men of His people, putting His Spirit in their inward parts, making the observance of His commandments self-evident to them (Paul in Rom 2.14 uses the word φύσις in relation to gentile Christians), and in that way completing the circle of the covenant' (IV/1, 33). And so the radical otherness that takes place in this new creation is realized: 'If God's Law is written on his heart, if his heart is circumcized, if he acquires a new and different heart, this means that he himself, in so far as this has a decisive bearing on his whole being and act, becomes another man. According to Rom 2, Gentile Christians have become other men, and consequently true Israelites before God' (IV/4, 8). The main

[76] Barth, CD II/2, p. 604; IV/1, pp. 33ff, 395; IV/2, p. 561; IV/4, p. 7ff = KD II/2, p. 672; IV/1, pp. 33ff, 437; IV/2, p. 635; IV/4, p. 8ff.

difference here[77] is that Barth sees a second birth, a second generation which is of a radically different character to the natural birth, as 'his natural origin ... is absolutely superseded and transcended' (IV/4, 9), while Augustine sees this new nature as restored and remade into its original form.[78]

Barth's *Shorter Commentary on Romans* argues for this same view of the passage, but the major modern commentary to espouse it is C.E.B. Cranfield's two volume *magnum opus*. Here, Ambrosiaster and Augustine and Barth are mentioned as also bearing witness (Barth himself does not mention Augustine by name). Cranfield follows very Barthian lines, rejecting the hypothetical reading, and the 'good pagan' reading as 'hardly compatible with Romans 3.9, 20 and 23'.[79] But with Cranfield an element which was crucial for Augustine has been abandoned: the φύσει is attached to the first half of 2.14a, not the second. This reading was not a serious option for Augustine because the Latin does not support this reading in the way that the Greek does. But Cranfield maintains the close connection between 2.14 and Jer. 31.31ff, and says that the question of the what φύσει refers to cannot be decided with complete certainty.[80]

Most recently, this position has been argued forcefully by N.T. Wright, who has developed a thoroughgoing theology of the Christian fulfilment of Torah, in which our passage plays a important, if introductory rôle. According to Wright, Paul leaves the precise nature of these gentiles 'deliberately vague for good

[77] Though Dr Carol Harrison has pointed out to me that both Barth and Augustine have baptism, to some degree, in view here, which reduces some of the apparent difference.

[78] J.I. Packer has used Augustinian categories in defence of a traditional position on the rôle of women: 'This is part of the reality of creation, a given fact that nothing will change. Certainly, redemption will not change it, for grace restores nature, not abolishes it.' J.I. Packer, 'Understanding the Differences', in A. Mickelsen, ed., *Women, Authority and the Bible* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1986) 299.

[79] C.E.B. Cranfield, *Romans Vol. 1* (International Critical Commentary; Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1975) 156.

[80] Cranfield, *Romans Vol. 1*, 157.

rhetorical reasons'.[81] Fulfilment of Torah by gentile Christians in this passage is a theme which is being flagged up initially, to be developed further in 2.26-29, 8.3-4 and 13.8-10. So, there is a faithful remnant who adhere to the Augustinian position.

Critical Assessment of Augustine's Interpretation

(i) Logical flow of 2.13-14

Two common views today which Augustine's reading challenges are the 'negative view'[82] and the 'hypothetical view'[83] of this passage. Augustine argues that in 2.14 is an explanation of Rom 2.8-13 with its promise of reward and punishment first to the Jew then to the gentile. In particular, it explains 2.13b: 'not the hearers, but the doers of the Law shall be justified'. The gentile here is 'a doer of the law', and must be regenerate: 'To what gentiles, however, would he promise glory, honour and peace, in their doing good works, if living without the grace of the gospel? ... How then could he (sc. Paul) say that any gentile person, who was a doer of the Law, was justified without the Saviour's grace.'[84] The 'hypothetical' view of 'the doers of the Law will be justified' is problematic, because as Augustine says, Paul goes on to give a concrete example of a set of people who do the law and are justified.[85] And similarly, the 'negative' view of Rom 2.14-15, which argues that this passage shows that 'gentiles too

[81] N.T.Wright, 'Romans and the Theology of Paul', in D.E. Hay, E.E. Johnson eds. *Pauline Theology Vol. III. Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995) 41 n. 12.

[82] Probably the standard view.

[83] Adopted in particular by reformed exegetes, most recently D.J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996) *ad loc.*

[84] *de Spir. et Litt.* 44 (xxvi).

[85] Most striking is the lexical parallel between ποιηταί νόμου in 2.13b and τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῶσιν in 2.14. Much exaggerated too is the partial nature of τὰ τοῦ νόμου as 'some parts of the law' or suchlike. A brief look at the way τὰ τοῦ/ τὰ τῆς phrases function in the NT show that they are general, but inclusive and comprehensive, not limited. See eg. Mk 8.33/ Mt 16.23, Mk 12.17 and parallels, Rom 8.5, 1 Cor 2.11, 14, 1 Cor 7.32-34.

are justly candidates for condemnation', is undermined because, again, these gentiles as a group 'will justified'.

(ii) Doing the law *by nature*?

Karl Barth is almost Augustine's only modern supporter in taking 'by nature' to refer, as we have seen, to the accomplishment of the Law by a renewed nature.[86] Luther criticizes Augustine here: 'this interpretation of "by nature" is forced, and I cannot see why the apostle wanted to use this particular expression, unless he wanted to hide from the reader what he really intended to say'.[87] More recently, Räisänen, Dunn, Byrne all say that Paul would not speak of humanity doing the law by nature.[88] But Augustine could think of 'nature' in much more positive terms - 'that human nature in which man was created faultless after his kind'[89] - much as Paul does in Romans 1, perhaps.[90] Modern supporters of Augustine's view, however (e.g. Cranfield, Wright), actually take φύσει with the preceding clause. This is much more likely in Greek, where adverbials often follow verbs. In Latin of course, though, *naturaliter* comes straight after a verb, and so must really go with the next clause.

(iii) Coherence of Augustine's Reading

We saw above that Augustine did not always use his reading of Rom 2.14-15 very consistently. This is seen in two areas in particular: first,

[86] F. Flückiger, 'Die Werke des Gesetzes bei den Heiden' *TZ* 8 (1952) 17-42 attempts to give Barth's exegesis a more solid grounding.

[87] Luther's Works, Vol. XXV, p. 186.

[88] J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8* (WBC; Word: Waco, 1988) and B. Byrne, *Romans* (SacPag 6; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996) *ad locc*; H. Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* (Tübingen: Mohr/ Siebeck, 1987) 104.

[89] *de Nat. et Grat.* 81 (lxvii).

[90] In fact, in the second century, Ignatius can speak of the Ephesians' status as Christians, 'which you have received through your righteous nature' (ὅ κέκτησθε φύσει δικαίᾳ).

when he continues to use talk of the 'law in the heart' as the universal law by which all nations are reckoned as transgressors even after he has changed his position by the year 412. We see this in Letter 107 (AD 414) and also in the Exposition of Psalm 118 (*c.* AD 420) – the exposition of v. 102 has the new reading, and v. 119 the old. Again, it is difficult to see how these are compatible. It might be possible to harmonize the usages by resorting to Augustine's view of the law as still faintly written on the hearts of unbelievers, but made clear again at conversion; but it seems more likely that Augustine merely forgot. There might well have been a considerable time gap between the two sermons from Ps 119. This lapse is surprising considering the amount of attention Augustine gives the verse in *de Spir. et. Litt.*, though we should remember that even what we see on Rom 2.13-16 in *de Spir. et Litt.* is only a tiny part of Augustine's system.

Second, as we said above, there does not seem to be a simple solution to the inconsistent use of the conscience and the thoughts. In *Prop. Ep. Rom.* 10 where Augustine tackles the question of the conscience, he seems to have come under the influence of Origen's commentary at this point, and not attempted to harmonize the two halves of Rom 2.15. Later on, his use of accusing thoughts (to explain further Wis 1.9: 'in the thoughts of the wicked his examination will be conducted') in *City of God* XX, 26 is very difficult to understand. Augustine was not infallible: 'The interpretation of Scripture by Scripture is one of the most problematical aspects of Augustine's Biblical interpretation, for it is often done in a way that is out of keeping with the meaning of the different texts.'[91]

However, apart from these occasional lapses, Augustine is quite consistent in the way he uses Rom 2.13-16. It fits well with the immediately preceding verses, and the wider context of the first few chapters of Romans, as Augustine explains in *de Spir. et Litt.* 44 (XXVI). It is coherent, and there are no serious objections to it,

[91] E. TeSelle, 'Some Reflections', 175.

contrary to the opinion of Platz.[92] Indeed, Augustine might well ask the vast majority of NT scholars today what use defending thoughts are to those who are strangers to the grace of Christ.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it remains to be asked what the precise nature of the shift was in Augustine's thinking on the passage. It does not seem that there is much change in Augustine's *theology* as a result of his different exegesis. He did not cease to believe in a *lex naturae;* however, there is certainly a considerable development in his understanding of the relation between old and new covenants.[93] This is an important advance, as it is another example of Augustine's shift from a philosophical-traditional position to a more biblical-theological one.[94]

In terms of the transition between his earlier position and *de Spir. et Litt.*, the change undoubtedly took place in Augustine's description of *the ability granted to the will to produce obedience.*

[92] As Gorday says, Platz 'suggests that the Pelagian dispute forced Augustine into an untenable position on the status of Gentiles who have only the natural law, and thus constrained him to take up a tortured exegesis (one which he did not hold at an earlier time)'; see P. Gorday, *Principles of Patristic Exegesis* (Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 4; New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1983) 155, 325 n. 90. And see P. Platz, *Der Römerbrief in der Gnadenlehre Augustins*, 1938 (Cassiciacum 5) 126-128.

[93] This is a further advance on the shift that took place much earlier from the 'six ages scheme' to the more existential four ages: see P. Frederiksen, *Augustine's Early Interpretation of Paul*, 126.

[94] Just as the Manichaean controversy had driven Augustine back to Paul, so the Pelagian controversy had again pushed him to reconsider his philosophical principles and review them in the light of biblical theology: in this case, from a theological *lex naturae* to the relation between OT prophecy and Paul's representation of its fulfilment. For the philosophical background, see R.A. Horsley, 'The Law of Nature in Philo and Cicero', *HTR* (1978) 35-59, and Girardet, 'Naturrecht und Naturgesetz'; Girardet, 281, and Chroust, 59, respectively describe the differences between the Stoic and the Augustinian positions as lying in the autonomy of the human will, and the identification of the *lex aeterna* with God, both of which Augustine challenged.

Now, with the new covenant, the will has been given the ability to be truly obedient: this is not perfection, yet these 'feeble beginnings of the virtue of the saints', as he calls them in *City of God*,[95] are of a very different character from the deeds of pagans, which 'we could rightly praise because they are done according to the rule of righteousness', yet, 'were we to discuss with what motive they are done, they would hardly deserve the praise and defense which are due to righteous conduct'.[96] Augustine's repeated emphasis throughout *de Spir. et Litt.* is that this ability *(posse)* now granted to the will *(velle)* is very clearly a divine gift.[97]

As we have seen, the shift between *de Spir. et Litt.* and the *contra Julianum* lies in Augustine's greater reluctance to admit the validity of the 'non-Christian' reading of 2.13-16, and his greater emphasis on the exclusion of reference to *veras virtutes*. Pelagius' and Julian's praise of pagan virtues[98] had evidently caused Augustine to tighten up his definition of the capacity of the unregenerate.[99]

Souter in his analysis of Augustine's commentaries begins by describing him as 'the greatest Christian since New Testament times' and 'assuredly the greatest man that ever wrote Latin'.[100] He concludes his chapter with the words 'Augustine was a robust and wonderfully independent thinker, always growing in power and grasp, and never afraid to retract an earlier opinion of his own, if

[95] *City of God*, VI,19. Cf Cranfield's description of τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῶσιν in Rom 2.14: 'those works of obedience which, though but imperfect, and far from deserving God's favour, are the expression of their hearts' faith' (*Romans Vol. 1*, 156).

[96] *de Spir. et Litt.* 48 (XXVII).

[97] See esp. *de Spir. et Litt.* 53 (XXXI).

[98] See Bonner, 365, who cites Pelagius' *Epist. ad Demetriaden*, 3, and *C.Jul.* IV, 30-32. Augustine replies with Heb 11.6 and Rom 14.23 as we saw earlier, as well as Matt 7.18: 'non potest arbor mala bonos fructus facere'.

[99] As recently as *City of God* V, written in 415, Augustine had spoken of 'good arts', of 'virtues' of pagans who 'seem to do some good', for which they have already received their reward in the human glory they have achieved.

[100] A. Souter, *Earliest Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of St Paul* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927) 139.

further study, either of the biblical text or of other commentators, led him to change his opinion.'[101] Many of us claim to be open to change our positions, but with the Bishop of Hippo we can actually see it in print. May Augustine's scholarly humility inspire similar exegetical and theological repentance.

101 Souter, 199.

Ancient and Modern Exegesis of Romans 13 under Unfriendly Governments

Mark Reasoner

The question of whether to read Romans as Melanchthon's *doctrinae christianae compendium* or as a thoroughly occasional text is increasingly answered with a choice of the latter, but yet such a choice is not always implemented throughout one's reading of Romans.[1] If we are going to move beyond paying lip service to a recognition of Romans as an occasional text, we must start to examine distinct sections of the letter and show that this reading is preferable to Melanchthon's tendency to absolutize the text, a tendency that does not lack followers to this day. Romans 13:1-7 is a natural test case. In this paper I take the preliminary step of comparing how pre-Constintian and twentieth-century German exegetes handled this text. I chose to focus on these two groups of exegetes for the rather unsophisticated reason that I guessed both groups would find it difficult to absolutize or universalize this paragraph in Romans. I wanted to see how they constructed "exegetical space" for their own circumstances under governments that ignored or opposed some forms of Christianity. The comparison is not complete, but it is my hope that a discussion of this comparison in November 1999 will help to correct and develop the following thesis: Since Origen, exegetes of Romans 13:1-7 who experience dissonance between their own experience of government and Paul's

[1] Philipp Melanchthon, *Loci communes*, 1521, ed. R. Stupperich, Werke in Auswahl 2.1 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1952), 7.

description of it as a minister of God have responded to the ethical responsibility inherent in their exegesis by leveraging their reading of this paragraph with other texts within the Bible or emphasizing certain words or phrases within this paragraph in order to attain consonance between their understanding of scripture and their own experience.

Pre-Constantinian Commentators

Irenaeus

Irenaeus quotes Rom 13:1-6 in order to show that God is behind all authority on this earth. His use of this text is motivated by ethical considerations only in the sense that he is calling his readers in this section to righteousness, but he is not concerned with the specifics of obedience in the second century.[2] Similarly in the next book of his work, Irenaeus quotes Rom 13:1 to argue that the devil lied when he claimed worldly authority for himself and offered it to Jesus.[3] Irenaeus goes on to explain "authorities" in Rom 13:1 by referring to verse 6. Since people pay taxes to secular government and not to angelic powers, Paul must be referring to the former.[4] This author shows no hint of a struggle in reading Rom 13:1-7.

Martyrdom of Polycarp, Theophilus of Antioch

A passing reference to the beginning and end of this paragraph in *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 10 gives evidence of the difficulty in reading Rom 13:1-7 absolutely. Here Polycarp tells the local magistrate in the stadium

[2] Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 4.36.6.
[3] Ibid., 5.24.1, 3; Matt 4:9; Luke 4:6.
[4] Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 5.24.1. He also appeals to Matt 17:27 to show that Jesus paid a tax to the tax collectors, which he assumes means that Jesus endorsed the secular authorities.

that the Christians have been taught to respect divinely appointed authorities, provided this obedience does not harm the Christians' identity. Polycarp is of course presented in this martyrdom as the ideal model of a Christian who respects the secular authorities while remaining loyal first to God (and thus ultimately unsubmissive to the authorities). Theophilus of Antioch similarly seems to juxtapose the possibility of martyrdom with a reference to Rom 13:7, for this verse is quoted at the end of a short chapter that begins with an apology for the Christian faith based on Christians' love for enemies.[5]

Origen

Origen, working under a hostile government all his life and intimately concerned with martyrdom, finds a way out of the universalizing reading of the text by noting that Paul uses *psyche* (*anima* in Rufinus's translation) when giving his opening command in Rom 13:1. For Origen this means that the audience Paul is addressing is considered to be somewhere between flesh and spirit, for he has constructed a continuum from *carnis* to *psyche* to *spiritus* from scripture as a whole that allows him to rate people from low spirituality (*carnis*) to high (*spiritus*). If the implied audience of Romans 13 were truly joined only to the Lord, Origen writes that they would be called to be subject to the Lord. But since up to the time of Paul's writing they are ordinary, with something of the world still among them, Paul asks them to be subject to the authorities of the world. Is this an exegetical move that would fit within Botha's linguistic reading?[6]

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[5] Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum* 3.14. This juxtaposition anticipates Barth's link between Rom 12:19, 21 and 13:1-7; see discussion linked to footnote 21 below.

[6] Origen apud Rufinus 9.25, Caroline P. Hammond Bammel, ed., *Der Römerbriefkommentar des Origenes*, Vetus Latina: Aus der Geschichte der Lateinischen

Origen negotiates more space in the text by connecting this first command with the logion about paying to Caesar what is Caesar's.[7] From this instantiation of how one can be subject to authorities, he finds a counterexample in Acts 3:3-5. Since Peter and John had no money, he argues, they could not be subject to the authorities above them. The opening command of Romans 13 is therefore repeated with Origin's proviso that the one who has money, possessions, or some kind of employment in the world is the one who should hear, "Let every *psyche* be subject to the authorities."[8]

Origen goes on to deny that verse 2 means that everyone who resists the governing authorities resists God. Origen lived his whole life under a government that was opposed to Christians; Origen valued the martyrs' resistance to such government, though he does not mention it here.[9] He simply states that the authority mentioned in this verse cannot mean those whose persecutions inflict injury on the faith. The response of Peter and the apostles in Acts 5:29 is the text he uses to justify his qualification of this verse, a qualification that grants readers the moral space to resist some governments. Still, for Origen the omission of many laws from the apostolic decree of Acts 15:28-29 moves him to conclude that the Jerusalem council assumed that believers would have to observe civil laws, and in that sense the authority behind these civil laws can represent God's minister within society.[10]

Bibel 34 (Freiburg: Herder, 1998), 748-749. Jan Botha, *Subject to Whose Authority? Multiple Readings of Romans 13*, Emory Studies in Early Christianity (Atlanta: Scholars, 1994), 38-61.

[7] Matt 22:21; Mark 12:17; Luke 20:25.

[8] Origen apud Rufinus 9.25, Hammond Bammel 749.

[9] Eusebius, *HE* 6.1, 4-5, 39.

[10] Origen apud Rufinus, 9.27-28, Hammond Bammel 750-752.

Origen goes on to distinguish between paying taxes and paying honor, but he is not so concerned in exegeting this latter part of the paragraph to make space for those under hostile governments, for he has already done that by carefully delimiting the audience for whom this paragraph is written, and the type of rulers who stand in God's place. He has used a linguistic argument (on *psyche* in verse 1) to narrow the proper audience of this paragraph. He uses a literary argument (appealing to Acts 5:29) to narrow the sort of government against whom resistance means resistance toward God. His exegesis has thus effectively provided two doors out of an absolute, universal reading of this text, the doorway of its proper audience and the doorway of the proper referent for Paul's description of government. We can surmise that it is Origen's respect for martyrdom that drives him to construct space within Rom 13:1-7 for those who choose not to be subject to authorities, but he does not admit that as the primary motive for his exegesis here. He faces the ethical challenge of exegeting Rom 13 for himself and others who live under a government hostile toward Christians while still affirming the value of secular authorities' imposition of order on society.

It is significant that after writing this commentary, Origen in *Contra Celsum* 8.65 claims that Christians are not so stupid as to incite rulers to torture or execute them. He then quotes Rom 13:1-2 and refers to his Romans commentary to support this and to lead into his defense against Celsus's charge that Christians think all secular rulers have a demon behind them. The point again is that Origen faces the challenge of balancing the Christians' independence from secular authorities with their need to appear compliant. In chapter 75 of the same book, Origen explains why Christians do not take part in secular government. His answer does not identify the

pagan rites incumbent on secular rulers of his day. He rather states that Christians have something better to do, i.e. hold office in the church.

Tertullian

More explicit reference to martyrdom within commentary on Rom 13 is found in Tertullian's *Scorpiace* 14. After loosely quoting Rom 13:1-4, Tertullian says that Paul does not ask people to be subject in order to give them an opportunity to escape martyrdom. He then goes on to explain our paragraph in Romans as referring to a government that functions as God intends. He appeals to the "Give to Caesar what is Caesar's" logion (Matt 22:21), but notes (anticipating Barth!) that humanity belongs only to God. He goes on to discuss how one can balance loyalties between God and the state and concludes the short chapter by observing that one must not love life more than God. Since the *Scorpiace* is explicitly written to encourage Christians during a time of persecution, it is no wonder that the virtue of martyrdom is a strong force in Tertullian's exegesis of Rom 13. This is what prompts him to emphasize God's supreme worth over government itself. Tertullian's consideration of Rom 13 occurs toward the end of this treatise as a response to a possible objection to martyrdom. When one reads the *Scorpiace* as a whole, it is clear that Tertullian anchors his treatment of Rom 13 more explicitly than any other exegete considered in this paper to the world in front of the text. Tertullian's *De Corona* does not explicitly refer to Rom 13:1-7, but his theology of the state clearly allows him plenty of room for civil disobedience in order to be faithful to God.

Cyprian

Cyprian also juxtaposes the obedience called for in Rom 13:3 with the possibility of suffering persecution from the government, for he sandwiches his quotation of this verse between 1 Peter 4:15-16 (glory in suffering as a Christian) and 1 Peter 2:21-23 (Christ's example in suffering). There is no reflective exegesis on the Romans text, but Cyprian is well aware of evil, hostile government.[11]

Clement of Alexandria

Origen's successor in Alexandria, Clement, quotes Rom 13:4b ("If you do evil, fear!") in order to explain how it is that God can discipline those among his people who need it, while those who are obedient can live without fear of such discipline. His implicit argument is that Paul has correctly formulated a general principle of government that applies to God's government of his church.[12]

There are inevitably different ways to see how pre-Constantinian Christians read Romans 13. For example, another entry point is the question of Christians and the military.[13] My tack here has been to examine explicit references to Romans 13. The primary motive for the creation of exegetical space within this paragraph among these pre-Constantinian authors seems to be the specter of an empire that does not recognize and is occasionally hostile toward Christians. This specter prompts Christians such as Origen

[11] Cyprian, *Treatises* 37-39. He also quotes Rom 13:7-8 in *Treatise* 5 as part of a general call for humility.
[12] Clement of Alexandria, *Paid.* 1.9.

and Tertullian to go to other biblical texts and marshall these texts to restructure the political cubicle suggested by an absolute reading of Rom 13 into an open canopy that allows readers to enjoy the shade of government, but to leave its shadow when necessary.

Twentieth Century German Commentators

Hans Lietzmann

Lietzmann takes Rom 13:1-7 as traditional encouragement to be subject in the face of anti-Roman attitudes the Jews had and similar attitudes within the Christian community that were easily evoked by the chiliasm of early Christianity and the ongoing reality of the imperial cult. In a straightforward manner he lists Jewish texts that treat loyalty to the foreign authority as an expected duty, and he does not ponder how audiences of this letter were to read it. His quotation from Wisdom 6:1-4 might indicate that Paul is continuing his dependence on the wisdom traditions of Hellenistic Judaism begun in Rom 12:9, but Lietzmann does not make the point explicit. He does note the variant that omits "Every *psyche*," the first two words of the paragraph, but dismisses the variant as worthless, and does not consider the exegetical exigencies that might have spawned that variant.[14]

Ernst Kühl

Kühl's opening paraphrase seems rather conservative, but a hint of his quest for exegetical space comes in his paraphrase of verse 5, where he

[13] John Helgeland, Robert J. Daly and J. Patout Burns, *Christians and the Military: The Early Experience* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985).
[14] Hans Lietzmann, *An die Römer*, HNT 8 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1906), 111-112.

qualifies the necessary obedience for conscience's sake with the final clause, "wenn du dir klar machst, welche Zwecke sie verfolgt."[15] He opens more space in his more detailed commentary that follows, where he says that Paul does not intend to give a casuistic outworking of possible instances of conflict for the Christian's loyalties, but that the opening sentence sets the stage for a grand outline that takes its perspective mainly from what would be outwardly useful for the religion.[16] I assume he means by this that Paul considers civil obedience a key element in the survival of the Roman churches. Linking the *leitourgoi* of verse 6 with Paul's self-description in 15:16 (*leitourgos Christou Iesou*), Kühl entertains the possibility that Paul might not be baptizing secular government here in 13:4, 6 so much as he is buying into the model from his own scriptures of a ruler as a priest.[17] Kühl might thus be leaning toward legitimizing civil disobedience in the case of a ruler who does not function as a priest, but he does not explicitly state this possibility.

Kühl more widely opens the door into the exegetical space of which he has hinted in an excursus entitled "Des Apostels Stellung zum Staat: Verhältnis unseres Abschnittes zu 1 Petr." that follows his exegesis of Rom 13:1-7. Here he situates the composition of Romans historically, and notes that it is "mehr als fraglich" whether Paul would have advocated obedience with such a principial foundation if he were writing after the year 64. In the same paragraph he notes that Paul's perspective on secular authority is definitely different in 1 Cor 6:1-6, and Kühl thus concludes that in different circumstances Paul can write differently on the question of civil obedience.

[15] Ernst Kühl, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1913), 431.
[16] Ibid., 432.

Kühl expresses certainty that in other circumstances Paul would not have emphasized obedience because of conscience or necessity as we now find in Rom 13:5. In the final paragraph of the excursus, Kühl admits that "conscience" comes up in 1 Peter 2:19, but judges that from a purely literary perspective, there is not enough evidence to prove literary dependence between 1 Peter 2:13-25 and Rom 13:1-7.[18]

Karl Barth

Chronologically, the next Romans commentator we encounter is Karl Barth.[19] His commentary (first written in 1916-18; second edition 1921) was written in response to Protestant liberalism, not to Nazi socialism. However, his contribution to the Barmen Declaration (1934) was driven by a theological logic not unlike that which drives his Romans commentary.

Barth takes Rom 12:21 as the integral beginning to the next seven verses, so from the very beginning of his exegesis it is clear that the possibility of an evil government looms large in his exegetical framework: "There is here no word of approval of the existing order; but there is endless disapproval of every enemy of it. It is God who wishes to be recognized as He that overcometh the unrighteousness of the existing order. This is the meaning of the commandment; and it is also the meaning of the Thirteenth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans."[20] Barth takes it as a given that

[17] Ibid., 433-434.
[18] Ibid., 434-436.
[19] In the section that follows I am indebted to Lois Malcolm for theologically situating Barth, his Romans commentary, and his role in the Barmen Declaration (correspondence of April 28, 1999).
[20] Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans*, trans. E. C. Hoskyns from 6th ed. (1933; reprint ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1980), 481.

government is evil based on context, since Romans 13:1-7 follows right after Paul's statements on relating to one's enemy and overcoming evil with good (12:19-21).[21] However, this does not mean for Barth that one is to participate in active rebellion. Barth goes to great lengths to show that revolution only breeds more evil, for it represents a human (and thus evil) attempt to negate an order that only God can negate.[22] Nor does this mean that one should actively defend the status quo, or join the establishment in actively opposing revolutionaries. Barth faults even the "White Guard," the Russian resistance of 1920 to the Bolshevik revolution, and labels such a political choice as "conservative insubordination" toward God.[23]

I have already noted the exegetical decision Barth makes to include Rom 12:21 as the first sentence in Paul's section on obedience to authority. Unlike Kühl, Barth makes no reference to Nero or specific circumstances in the world behind the text. Barth's most dominant exegetical strategy in this section is to allow the idea of God in this section of Romans to have its full significance. Commenting on 13:1, he writes: "Here a positive, affirmative authority seems to be assigned to the existing government. This would, however, directly contradict the basis of subjection which has been set forth above. It is therefore evident that the emphatic word 'God' must not be so interpreted as to contradict the whole theme of the Epistle to the Romans. We must not give to the word 'God' the value of a clearly defined, metaphysical entity. What will it profit us if a formal fidelity to the meaning of a word is purchased a the cost of complete infidelity to the Word?"[24]

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[21] Ibid., 484.
[22] Ibid., 482-483.
[23] Ibid., 486.
[24] Ibid., 484.

Barth taps into this idea of God, wholly other but still immanent in human experience, to provide the exegetical space for him to make sense out of this paragraph in Romans. At the very end of his exegesis, when considering why Paul would end with a call to continue paying taxes when we might still be thinking of revolution or the legitimacy of the established order, Barth offers a reprise: "Beyond all those interesting and important problems concerning what we ought to do lies the great negative possibility of God."[25]

Barmen Declaration

Section five of the Barmen Declaration, expounding on 1 Peter 2:17, draws on Barth's understanding of Romans 13. After acknowledging God's appointment of the state for the maintenance of justice and peace, Barmen declares: "Die Kirche erkennt in Dank und Ehrfurcht gegen Gott die Wohltat dieser seiner Anordnung an. Sie erinnert an Gottes Reich, an Gottes Gebot und Gerechtigkeit und damit an die Verantwortung der Regierenden und Regierten. Sie vertraut und gehorcht der Kraft des Wortes, durch das Gott alle Dinge trägt."[26] This is the voice of Barth, who insisted on seeing God and the possibility of God's kingdom as the controlling category for the exegesis of Romans 13. He wrote the "Erklärung über das rechte Verständnis der reformatorischen Bekenntnisse in der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirche der Gegenwart" for the Free Reformed Synod of

[25] Ibid., 491-492. On this "negative possibility of God," see Robert Zenke's letter to Dietrich Bonhoeffer, quoted in Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Illegale Theologen-Ausbildung: Sammelvikariate 1937-1940*, Dietrich Bonhoeffer Werke 15 (Gütersloh: Christian Kaiser, 1998), 36-37, n. 9. For Barth's later criticism of the idolatry of the state, see his *Church Dogmatics* 2/1: 174.

[26] *Die erste Bekenntnissynode der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirche zu Barmen, II: Text-Dokumente-Berichte*, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Kirchenkampfes 6, ed. Gerhard Niemöller (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), 200-201.

January 3-4, 1934 and the "Theologischen Erklärung" for Barmen (May 30-31, 1934).[27] His voluminous correspondence could also be mined for more evidence of his "take" on Romans 13.[28]

Otto Kuss

Otto Kuss's three volume Romans commentary of 1957-78 ends at 11:36, but his 1940 commentary on the letters of Romans, 1-2 Corinthians and Galatians does contain a short exegesis of Romans 13:1-7 and a reflective paragraph following it, under the heading "Der Staat." Kuss does show a sensitivity to the anti-Christian posture that the Roman Empire developed after the composition of the Romans letter. He exegetes Paul's description of the state as the state as an ideal and explicitly denies that Paul is writing about the anti-Christian legislation of the Roman Empire. Kuss supports his reading of the state as idealized entity by emphasizing Paul's description of what the state is supposed to be and do (13:3-4). [29] This allows him to write of government: "Wo sie in den ihr von Gott gesetzten Grenzen bleibt, handelt sie an Gottes Stelle, aber auch in ihrer Verzerrung ist sie noch wohltätig, indem sie das Chaos beherrscht. Daher darf sie in allen Gottes ausdrücklichem Willen nicht widerstrebenden Dingen Gehorsam verlangen."[30] Only at the end of this exegetical section does he go outside

[27] Ibid., 16.
[28] See Karl Barth and Gerhard Kittel, *Ein theologischer Briefwechsel* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1934). I am indebted to Wayne Meeks for directing my attention to this volume.
[29] Otto Kuss, *Die Briefe an die Römer, Korinther und Galater*, RNT 6 (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1940), 98-99.
[30] Ibid., 99.

Romans, to Matt 12:17; 22:21; Luke 20:25, to show that one should honor the state within a divinely prescribed order.

In his paragraph that follows he seeks to balance Paul's caricature of the state within a divinely prescribed order alongside his sense that Rom 13:1-7 is not a complete statement on the Christian and government. He argues for the latter by mentioning 1 Cor 6:1-8 and an argument from silence that nowhere does Paul invite believers to participate in government. He also notes how Paul wants his readers to maintain traditional loyalties within marriage, the family and the state, and considers those who break down such institutions as violating what is divinely ordained. This allows him to make the significant assertion, "Es kann kein Zweifel sein, dass mit Röm 13,1-7 nicht der ganze verwickelte Fragenkreis des Verhältnisses von Staat und Einzelmensch umschrieben ist."[31] It seems that Kuss is using other Pauline texts to verify that from a social-scientific perspective, the community offered us in the text is not as rigidly or obediently bound to the governing authorities as Rom 13:1-7 viewed in isolation might lead us to believe. This is analogous to the move made by Botha in his social-scientific chapter.[32]

After this comes a conservative quotation from G. Kittel: "Paulus 'würde zweifellos nicht von ferne daran gedacht haben, die (staatskritischen und feindseligen) Aussagen der Apokalypse zu bestreiten oder zu missbilligen; er würde sie sicherlich an ihrem Ort voll anerkannt und bejaht haben; nur hebt dies nun wieder ganz und gar nicht die erste Aussage auf, dass die Institution des Staates als solche eine Ordnung ist und bleibt, von

[31] Ibid., 99.
[32] Botha, *Subject to Whose Authority?* 206-211.

Gott geordnet, Diener Gottes' (G. Kittel)."[33] Kuss seems to distance himself from Kittel, however, for he concludes the paragraph by saying that while it is clearly wrong for Christians to rebel against the state simply to exercise their freedom, "doch bleiben eine Reihe von Fragen offen, die immer wieder schmerzlich genug das Gewissen der Christen bedrängt haben."[34]

The twentieth century German commentators surveyed here do not seem to be particularly indebted to the historical-critical method for their treatment of Romans 13:1-7.[35] Kühl and Kuss acknowledge the anti-Christian position that the state adopted in some places and at some times within the Roman Empire soon after the composition of this letter. Lietzmann knows this as well, for he mentions that an anti-government attitude easily developed within early Christian circles, but he does not harness this knowledge for the creation of exegetical space in Romans 13:1-7.[36] The look to ancient Rome is always only brief, and those German commentators examined here who do find space within the text for civil disobedience do so primarily by comparing this text with other scriptures and by leveraging certain aspects of the paragraph in order to open up more room for their own circumstances within the text. None of the modern authors surveyed here seem alert to the status of the rhetorical situation that

[33] Ibid., 99. This cannot be from Kittel's *TDNT*, for the article on exousia there by Werner Foerster only mentions Rom 13 in passing (565), and contains no category for secular government in its explication of the NT usage (*TDNT* 2 [German edition 1935; English translation 1964]: 562-575).

[34] Kuss 99-100.

[35] While Dietrich Bonhoeffer is not a commentator on Romans, perhaps I should pay more attention to his struggles with Romans 13. Cf. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Illegale Theologen-Ausbildung: Finkenwalde 1935-1937*, Dietrich Bonhoeffer Werke 14 (Gütersloh: Christian Kaiser, 1996), 244, 318, 484.

[36] Kühl 435; Kuss 98; Lietzmann 111.

may have led to this paragraph in Romans.[37] As for the rhetorical function of the paragraph, Lietzmann comes closest when he notes how Paul's command in this paragraph fits with the stance of Hellenistic Judaism.[38] One could easily take the next step to infer that Paul is aligning himself with a position the readers already share.[39]

None of the German commentators surveyed here seem to be as explicit about the world in front of the text as Tertullian. Perhaps Barth's suspicion of preaching and writing that attempts to be too relevant inhibited his references to the world in front of the text. Also, such candor might have prevented a work such as Otto Kuss's 1940 commentary from seeing the light of publication. In both groups of commentators, however, we see the crisis they face calling for exegesis that is ethically responsible to those believers who continue to read Romans. The usual tactic to handle this responsibility seems to be a move to other passages of scripture; most of the exegetes considered in this paper go outside Romans, though Barth can stay within Romans and successfully create exegetical space in Rom 13:1-7. A related tactic is to emphasize or define a certain word or phrase, such as Origen's work with *psyche* or Barth's emphasis on "God," and use these words as exits out of a restrictive, absolute reading of Romans 13:1-7. It is my hope that we can continue the work of Origen, Barth, and others, creating space within Romans so that we may truly read this occasional letter in our own day.

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[37] Botha, *Subject to Whose Authority?* 161-163.
[38] Lietzmann 111-112.
[39] Botha, *Subject to Whose Authority?* 165.

Subjection, Reflection, Resistance: A Three-Dimensional Process of Empowerment in Romans 13 and the Free-Market Economy

Monya A. Stubbs

I. Personal Point of Departure

> I had reasoned it out in my mind, there was one or two things I had a right to--freedom or death. If I could not have the one, I would have the other, but no man would take me alive. I would fight for my freedom as long as my breath lasted, and when the time come for me to go, the Lord would let them take me (quote by Harriet Tubman).[1]

Life is replete with revelatory moments. We experience events, meet people, or encounter ideas that transform or clarify our purpose in the world. Lerone Bennett's discussion on Harriet Tubman's life gave me such an occasion. When asked why she returned to the South some nineteen times, helping more than 300 slaves escape to freedom, Tubman responded with the above quotation. Her words have long intrigued me. She reveals through her statement three important aspects of her character that now serve as a paradigm, framing how I comprehend and engage the world. Tubman understood herself and those she rescued as subject to a "governing authority," namely, the institution of slavery. To "fight" for freedom, first she had to recognize that she was subject. Second, Tubman valued the process of careful examination that leads to a conviction. She "reasoned it out in her mind" that the institution of slavery denied her the dignity warranted by her humanness. After carefully reflecting on the condition she shared with her enslaved cohorts, Tubman became convicted that slavery stood outside the will of God. Third, and finally, as a response to her recognizing her subjection and reflecting upon it, Tubman resisted the subjection. She seized her own freedom by escaping from the slave South and then returned repeatedly, leading other slaves to the metaphoric "promised land." Tubman's statement therefore

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[1]Bennett, 166. Bennett quotes Harriet Tubman.

reflects a three-dimensional process of empowerment that I define as Subjection-Reflection-Resistance. Although the institution of chattel slavery did not end by Tubman's resistance alone, her subjection-reflection-resistance did prove that slavery was not absolute for either the slaves or slave owners. Ultimately, through this process, Tubman envisioned and created a faith reality beyond her slave experience.

II. Introduction: The Paul in Tubman

I experienced this Tubman revelatory moment during my junior year of college. Now, some seven years later, I sit staring at Romans 13:1-7, trying to make sense of Paul's supposed call for Christian "subjection" to civil and state authorities. This is no simple task. As learned from the preceding years of the Romans Consultation through critical studies as biblical scholars, we must assume responsibility for our interpretations by explicitly identifying the frames and categories we employ to make sense of the text. Interpreters should make clear not only the analytical frame[2] used to ground a particular reading in textual evidence, but should also identify two other frames that critical interpretations often fail to explain: the hermeneutical frame (s), used to circumscribe the dialogue with the text, as done in theological commentaries; and the contextual frame (s), used to relate life and text--the frame commonly emphasized in believers' interpretations and sermons. Considering these issues, this paper revisits Romans 13:1-7, and presents the view that if this passage is read in light of its surrounding verses (12:1-13:14), it reads less like a prescriptive demand and more like a call for Roman Christians to acknowledge their social reality in relation to the Roman state which is part of the existence of life in the Christian community. This broader text shifts the emphasis from subjection as a single hermeneutical frame and expands the frame to include subjection-reflection-resistance as a three-dimensional process that Paul espouses for empowering those who may feel powerless in their relationship with governing authorities.

The paper is divided into two major sections: the contextual frame and

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[2]Discussion of the analytical frame will come mostly in footnotes and references to other texts.

the hermeneutical frame. The paper's first section, the contextual frame, outlines the author's perspective of the free market economy and its present role as the "governing authority" today. Economics or the way in which money influences the human condition concerned both Paul and the Christian community at Rome. For instance, Romans 12.13 reminds the community to support the needs (χρείαις) of each other. 13:6 speaks of the Christians' duty to pay taxes (φόρους). Romans 13:7 refers to the Christians' responsibility to discharge all dues (ὀφειλας), including taxes and other types of revenue (τέλος) owed (ὀφειλω) to the state or to an individual. Therefore, considering the importance of economics (finances) to the first century world of the text, it is reasonable to employ the free market economy as a contextual frame that helps me to recognize as particularly significant the way in which the text integrates economic political, and social power structures and their implications for human relationships.

The hermeneutical frame is subdivided into three parts. Part A discusses *subjection*, the first step in the three-dimensional process of empowerment. First, it offers a brief analysis of Paul's usage of "subjection" throughout Romans, noting the ambiguity in Paul's usage of the term, vacillating between voluntarily offering self in subjection to an authority and offering self to an authority because of coercion. Second, the paper examines "subjection" in Romans 13:1, where one faces the challenge of deciding if Paul wants πᾶσα φυχὴ ὑποτασσέσθω ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις understood as an imperative middle (let every soul subject her or himself to governing authorities) or as an imperative passive (let every soul be subjected by governing authorities). Ultimately, I argue that although the Christians at Rome act as agents in their subjection, they do so because of the ideological influence the governing authority holds over their lives. Finally, I briefly consider the implications for modern readers whom the free market economy subjects.

Section B on *reflection* discusses Paul's call for the Christians at Rome to reflect upon the perceived conception of their relationship with the "governing authority." It further argues that Paul challenges them to a careful reflection that leads to the conviction that God dwells both in and beyond their subjection. The analysis pulls important textual support from Romans 12:2 and

Romans 1:1-23, showing these texts' significance to Romans 13:1-7 as an empowering passage for those in a subjected relationship to governing authorities. Section B ends with a model for discerning resistance language and/or actions within Paul's seemingly pro-empire comments.

Finally, section C argues that Paul offers in Romans 12 and Romans 13:8-14 resistance language that denies the absolute authority of the Roman system of authority and (re) defines love as "debt of love"or the voluntary commitment one makes to addressing the physical and spiritual needs of both self and others. In closing, section C analyzes the free market economy in light of Paul's call to resist governing authorities as absolute. The discussion characterizes the free market doctrine as an absolute, highlights features of the free market ideology, points out its contradictions, and finally offers Paul's "love of neighbor" (13:9) for envisioning and creating a reality beyond our subjection by and to the free market economy and its culture.

III. The Contextual Frame: The Ethos of the Free Market Economy

The free-market economy functions as the ethos of our social and economic context, whether actively or passively, voluntarily or involuntarily, we are "subject" to its rules and demands. Since 1989, and the fall of USSR (communism), the free-market economy reigns as what appears to be the absolute system of maintenance in which the world functions. The United States, however, since its inception, has promoted a free-market economy. It is the transcendent economic order of history and it represents a development through which human beings have sought to meet their economic needs (food, clothing, shelter). At the same time, the free-market economy has served as a historical development through which individuals, or groups, or classes, or races have sought to gain a privileged position at the expense of others. This economic order will therefore present anytime in history a development in which there is much that is good and much that is evil.

The free market economy, however, is not driven merely by the dynamics of market production nor does the term economy refer solely to the economic power in capital itself. The free-market economy relies on a specific type of culture to support it. "Thoroughly privatized, the American economy only moves in response to personal initiatives to invest in productive

enterprises, to mobilize resources for work, and to save or spend according to individual dictates."[3] Appleby, Hunt and Jacob argue that the American economy is sustained by cultural models such as "individual fortitude, prosperity, agricultural abundance, open opportunity, hard work, free choice, inventive genius and productive know-how."[4] These models, according to Appleby, Hunt and Jacob, permeate America's historical consciousness. America's people have come to understand or accept these "coerced" values as natural:

> History texts have provided American children with exemplary models of trailblazing initiatives, disciplined efforts, and individual sacrifices for progress. Beginning with the accounts of nation-building in the revolutionary era, national history has imparted the kinds of moral lessons that have enabled capitalism to flourish, but like the roots of a plant, this vital cultural sustenance is hard to see.[5]

The force of the free-market economy lies in its ability to appear fundamental to the human condition or as essential to the human exchange of services and goods. The deception, masked in the ideal of "freedom" and fueled by the presumed naturalness of self-interest, creates an environment where the very act of "commercial transactions appear voluntary and its participants feel as if they are free to choose." Appleby, Jacob and Hunt provide a simple yet profound example:

> The fact that people must earn before they can eat is a commonly recognized connection between need and work, but it presents itself as a natural link embedded in the necessity of eating rather than as arising from a particular arrangement for distributing food through market exchanges. Despite the fact that men and women

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[3]Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob, 120.

[4]Ibid., 119.

[5]Ibid., 120. For a more theological analysis of this concept read Walter Wink's *Engaging the Powers,* particularly chapter 5.

> must buy and sell in order to live, the optional aspects of the market remain most salient.[6]

It is the specific individual or the specific group who decides to take certain actions and suffers the misfortune or enjoys the benefits. Nevertheless, as Appleby, Hunt and Jacob remind us, because we have become so accustomed to natural and personal (freedom/voluntary) presentations of how people provide for the necessities of life, the "social and compulsory" aspects of capitalism elude us. The situation is comparable to recent discussions in biblical scholarship regarding proper modes of interpretation. For centuries the historical-critical method served as the normative model for biblical hermeneutics (the subjection). One was "free" to analyze any passage within the Bible, however that freedom was qualified by the underlining notion that biblical interpretation is that type of analysis that looks "behind" the text, seeking to uncover the meaning intended by the authors themselves. Although biblical scholars had conclusions about what a given text "meant" the methodology used for arriving at their conclusions and its "universal" intent were never questioned. Like the veiled significance of the free-market in the lives of Americans, the historical-critical method, until some thirty years ago was "the" way of being a biblical scholar, it was the governing system in which we lived and scholars were only "free" to follow the rules which governed historical-criticism.

Like the historical-critical method functioned as the governing authority for over a century in the world of biblical scholarship, the free-market economy and its culture functions as the "governing authority" in our current social structure. The marketplace-demand influences, even guides our decision making process. It decides who will die of disease and who will receive adequate health care. It decides who will receive a viable education and become equipped with the appropriate information required for rational thought, judgment, and planning, and who will fall prey to the vultures of ignorance. The marketplace-demand decides who will be demonized as an enemy and who will be extolled as a friend. The free-market economy is the

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[6]Ibid., 120-121.

transcendent structure in which we live. We are "subject" to it and subjected by it. So, as we explore Paul's three-dimensional process for Christians' relationship to the state or "governing authorities," Paul's opening statement, "Let every soul be subjected by/to (πᾶσα φυχὴ ὑποτασσέσθω) governing authorities" sets the interpretive tone for the remainder of the chapter in that it introduces the first step (subjection) in our hermeneutical frame.

IV. The Hermeneutical Frame

A. Subjection in Romans: The Imperative Middle or the Imperative Passive?

Paul uses ὑποτάσσω, in four different contexts within his letter to the Romans: 8:7; 8:20; 10:3; and 13:1. Romans 8:7 reads: "For the mind belonging to flesh is enmity against God: for it is not subject (ὑποτάσσεται) to the law of God, indeed it lacks the power (δύναται)." Flesh-oriented[7] humanity's concern is death, which directly opposes the "life" offered by God through the law of the Spirit in Christ Jesus (see 8:1). Therefore, those with a mind of the flesh resists what God desires. Building on 7:15-25, Paul asserts that the refusal by those whose minds are set on "this world" to "subject" to the will of God moves beyond the matter of one's personal *will*. Paul raises the question of *ability*. Flesh-oriented humanity, dominated by sin, lacks the power to free itself when confronted by the law of God.[8]

Romans 8:20 offers a more concise example of subjection as a consequence of coercion: "for the creation was subjected to (ὑπετάγη) futility (ματαιότητι) not of its own will, but by the will of the one who subjected it (ὑποτάξαντα)." The creation is subject to purposelessness through no fault of its own. Rather, it lacks the *ability* to free itself from the bondage of decay (vs.

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[7]I borrow this term from Fitzmyer.

[8]I do not read humanity's lack of power as a result of an inherent sinful nature (see Fitzmyer, 489; Stuhlmacher, 121); Nor only as a result of an egocentric preoccupation with its own satisfaction and desires (Cranfield, *On Romans*. 34-35). Humanity's lack of power springs from a refusal to acknowledge its creatureliness which ultimately produces dominating attitudes and actions that can "lock so tightly into a mind-set that it takes a disruptive revelation to shatter the imprisoning mold in which those attitudes have become set" (Dunn 38a, 427).

21). From this perspective, a pattern arises in Paul's employment of "subjection" which emphasizes his recognition that subjection can result both from acting as an agent by will, as well as from being acted upon because of a lack of power.[9]

Romans 13:1 stresses an issue central to Walter Wink's argument in *Engaging the Powers*: why do people tolerate subjection?[10] Paul suggests that people *willingly* tolerate and perpetuate their subjection because they lack the ability to recognize or resist the power's influence. πᾶσα ψυχὴ ὑποτασσέσθω can be translated either as an imperative middle or an imperative passive. At first glance, the distinction between the translations may seem irrelevant. But, a closer examination uncovers, in my estimation, a central point of Paul's argument in Romans 13:1 and its co-text. If translated as a middle imperative, the phrase reads "every person subject herself or himself" to governing authorities.[11] On the other hand, if translated as a passive imperative,[12] taking into account the dative of means (ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις), the phrase reads "be every person subjected" by governing authorities. The first reading suggests that Christians possesses the power to socially situate themselves

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[9]I am not concerned here with the source of or reason for creation's subjection but only with Paul's understanding that subjection can be an act of volition or imposition.

[10]Wink, 87-104.

[11]Fitzmyer translates the term as an imperative middle: "Paul recommends submission in earthly matters" . . . (665). Cranfield also reads this phrase as an imperative middle: "the term implies more than simple obedience but it also carries the sense of recognizing that one is placed below the authority of God" (71). Both Fitzmyer and Cranfield's readings suggest that subjection is primarily a matter of *will*.

[12]Dunn leans more toward reading the text as an imperative passive. He writes, "such counsel to disciplined acceptance of the realities of social status and of what that entailed for the social inferior was a regular part of early Christian parenesis, . . . it may well be the case that such submission is an inevitable or inescapable outworking of the Christian grace of humility (761). Jan Botha's definition of the phrase further emphasizes an imperative passive understanding of the term. Romans 13 means, "to submit to the orders or directives of someone. . . It does not have specifically the semantic feature of a voluntary action . . . It is not a means of conforming to rules and regulations (46).

within the order of their environment. "Subjection" then, is a matter of *will,* only. The second translation, on the other hand, suggests that the "governing authority" is a structure in which the Christian is placed or already exists and it acts upon the Christian's existence. The Christian cannot but live within a preexisting social system that limits how one can best express one's Christian faith within the parameters of the "governing" structure. The power of Paul's logic does not, however, rest in the either/or of these two translations but in the both/and. Taking seriously the ambiguity embedded within the imperative mood as both middle and passive reveals a provocative alternative meaning: Christians act as agents, tolerating and perpetuating their subjection to the "governing authority," because of its power upon them. Essentially, Christians subject themselves **to** the governing authority (middle imperative) because they are subjected **by** the governing authority (passive imperative). Paul's exhortation, in my hermeneutical analysis, is not a prescriptive demand for some sort of subjective action or an admonition to prevent subversive action against the state or civil authorities. Instead, Paul's comment calls the Roman Christians to acknowledge the social reality of their relation to the Roman state.

Jan Botha's observations on the rhetorical effect of Romans 13:1-7 is helpful at this juncture. Not allowing Paul's comments to remain within the realm of narrative, Botha's conclusions forces the reader to look at the passage's ideological dimension. Botha argues that Romans 13:1-7 reflects the "existing and well-known values of Paul's Jewish audience." Values, he adds, which were "held more or less as self-evident truths in the wider context of the Hellenistic world".[13] Botha substantiates his claim by referring to Strobel and Van Unnik's works which demonstrate that the vocabulary used is that of the Hellenistic administration and that the Greek ideals of the just and honorable man are evidenced in Romans 13:1-7.[14] Furthermore, the ideals expressed in Romans 13:1-7 reveal certain universal values attributed to God and ascribed to authorities: everyone should submit to God; God punishes those who resist

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[13]Botha, 185.

[14]Ibid.

God's ordinations; God always does what is good; everything belongs to God. Thus, everyone should submit to governing authorities. God punishes through the governing authorities those who resist the governing authorities; the governing authorities always do what is good; everything belongs to God, therefore that which one gives to governing authorities, one gives to God. The power of the rhetorical analysis then, according to Botha, is that it brings to the "fore the implicit and unspoken/unwritten values which underpin the argumentation."[15] The rhetorical analysis illuminates the ideological underpinnings of Paul's statement. Reading Romans 13:1 as both an imperative passive (every soul be subjected by governing authorities) and an imperative middle (every soul subject him or herself to governing authorities) shifts Paul's statement from a prescriptive charge, advising on what people should and should not do, to a religious perception of the relations between God and humanity via worldly "governing authorities." In this light, the value system functioning in Romans 13:1-7 reflects an ideology in Louis Althusser understanding of the term, according to which people are "always already subject" to the normative ideas or values which lay at the roots of particular societies.

Althusser maintains that ideology is a "representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence."[16] In other words, ideology is that which is self-evident. Yet, that which is self-evident is a construct, is created through the imagination. The relevant question is what exactly is this ideological construct? It is a construct of a relationship to one's condition of existence. Using Romans 13:1 as an example, the construct, according to Althusser, is not the fact that governing authorities exist nor that they have power. The construct is the way in which human beings conceive of their relationship with the governing structure and to other individuals. The construct is the illusion of subjection. At the same time, however, illusion becomes reality as human beings accept the ideology as a natural ordering of human relations: the illusion equals the obvious. So, while Romans 13:1

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[15]Ibid., 187.

[16]Althusser, 36.

describes the unspoken/unwritten values that underpin Roman social life, Althusser makes clear that this perceived relationship is but an illusion, an ideological construction of the community's perception of their relationship to the governing authority. This phrase read as both an imperative middle and passive recognizes that Christians are agents of their subjection, (they subject themselves **to** the governing authority) because they are subjected **by** the governing authority. The combined reading takes seriously the enormity of the social and religious ideological weight placed on the lives of individuals within given communities.

Romans 1:18-25 supports reading Paul's opening statement as both an imperative middle and an imperative passive. Humanity's wickedness, according to Paul, rests in its conspiracy to suppress the truth that we are indeed subjected by a governing authority: God the Creator. Paul argues that humanity has taken God's partial manifestation in nature as an absolute manifestation. Consequently, we suppress the truth about God in our glorification and worship of the creature rather than God, thus making it an absolute. The result is exploitive and destructive human relationships. Romans 1:21-24 describes these "false" governing authorities as ἀσύνετος minds,[17] proven "worthless and base in not recognizing God" for what God is (1:28). In the end, we subject ourselves to (imperative middle) the governing authorities, because we failed to acknowledge that we are subjected by (imperative passive) the governing authorities. In Romans 12:2 Paul calls for a "renewal of the mind" as a way of redeeming and resisting the evil indicative of humanity's current mind-set (this analysis continues in the reflection section).

In our contemporary context, we too have created an absolute reality out of our constructed relationship with the free market economy (see section on contextual frame). Therefore, Paul's comments in Romans 13:1-2 fit well as consequences for one's cooperation with or negligence of the free market ideology. After Paul's opening charge, he moves into a more detailed

[17]The term is actually "senseless hearts" but functions like the term "mind." See Fitzmyer, 127-128 for detailed discussion.

discussion regarding the necessity and consequences of the community's voluntary, yet imposed subjection. "Every soul be subjected by and to governing authorities for there is no authority if not by God and the existing ones have been appointed by God. So that the ones to resist the authority resists what God has ordained, and those who resist shall themselves receive judgment" (vss. 1-2). Paul has presented a reality made possible by the social acceptance of the people's perceived relation to governing authority. To resist subjection to the authority of the free-market economy, to resist understanding and participation in the free-enterprise economic system (failure to gain prosperity is interpreted as a form of resistance) results in a person or a community receiving the wrath of God. In a free-market economy one is subject, therefore, free to pursue the aim of economic advancement: he or she is free to respond to the marketplace demand with the hope that one's response (creating a supply to meet the demand) will afford one (as an individual or a specific group) the opportunity to enjoy fortune and dispose of it as one chooses; without regard for other human beings and independently of society.

Moreover, according to Romans 13:2, systems of power are ordained by God. To resist the system is to resist God and live in a state of alienation from God. Alienation from God is manifested in misfortunes within the system of authority: "for if you do what is wrong or what is evil, fear, for the authority does not bear the sword in vain" (vs. 4).[18] In a free-market economy such alienation or misfortune, or the wrath of God often manifests itself in the forms of poverty and social, political and cultural disenfranchisement. Such an understanding of God's wrath within the free-market economy promotes the theory that poverty is caused by individual defects not the result of a mismanaged economic system. People are poor or experience the wrath of God because of their inability to succeed within the economic system. Their poverty is the result of their sin.

By drawing such conclusions, I am forced to ask: Is salvation characterized by economic advancement? Have we transformed an ideology into a reality by accepting as absolute the "illusion" that we are in a righteous

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[18]See section on resistance for more discussion on verse 4.

or unrighteous relationship with God based solely on our economic prosperity? Has the free-market economy become a subjection that blinds us to a faith reality of a higher order of humanity and human relationships that brings us into a more perfect relationship with God and each other?

B. Discerning Awareness: Reflections on the Subjection

Subjection alone is an oppressive posture and mere submission forces one to remain in a powerless state. Therefore, acknowledging one's subjection by the governing authority represents the first step in Paul's three dimensional-process of empowerment, but, Paul moves a step further. He challenges the Christians at Rome to *reflect* upon the situation in which they live; he challenges them to engage in the process of careful examination that leads to the conviction that God dwells both in and ***beyond*** their "subjection by governing authorities." Paul makes clear the empowering quality of reflection within the lives of the Christian community at Rome in his comments in 12:2:

> and do not be conformed by this world, but let yourselves be transformed by the renewing of your mind so that you may **discern** (δοκιμάζειν)[19] what is the will of God - the good and acceptable and complete (will of God) (12:2).[20]

In light of the discussion on subjection, our first hermeneutical category, we see that Paul has already advised the Christian community against accepting as absolute the *apparent* order of "this world." Argentinean theologian Enrique

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[19]Other possible translations are "test," "prove" or "examine."Dunn suggests that "discern" refers to the "capacity of forming the correct Christian ethical judgment at each given moment." The point is however, that it is not simply forming a correct judgment but also acting in a responsible manner (714). Fitzmyer, on the other hand, limits his definition to "knowledge" of what God desires (641). My argument stands closer to Fitzmyer's position in that I read discernment as a process of examination which leads to "awareness."

[20]Length constraints on the paper do not allow me to develop the possible connection Paul makes between δοκιμάζειν in 12.2 as "discerning awareness" and συνείδησιν in 13.5 as "discerning awareness." I hope to develop this perspective in a follow-up project.

Dussel's observations on community ethics and social morality are highly relevant here. According to Dussel, the term "this world" functions in the bible both as a reality and a category. He writes:

> *This* world, is a 'practical' totality (a totality constituted and characterized by relationships of praxis), a system or structure of prevailing, dominant *social* actions and relationships, under the hegemony of evil.[21]

"This world" for instance, referred to Egypt, not simply as a nation, but as a "system of practices" confronting or engaging Moses. "This world," Dussel notes, is self-totalizing, it lifts itself as an absolute system of authority which is opposed to the will of God. This world is under the domination of sin. Paul too, I suggest, employs "this world" as a means of referring to a system of social actions and relationships opposed to the will of God.

Hence, Christians are not to be conformed (συσχηματίζεσθε) to/by "this world/age." They are to recognize the prevailing norms of the society in which they live but not fashion their personal or communal behavior by it. Dunn notes that the significance of Paul's warning lies in its recognition of a "power or force which molds character and conduct. Paul in effect recognizes the power of social groups, cultural norms, institutions, and traditions to mold patterns of individual behavior."[22] At the same time, however, Paul recognizes that the mind is the seat of conformity. Therefore, he argues that Christians must have a renewal of mind, a change in their attitude, in their way of thinking: μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοὸς. The renewing of the mind is evidenced by one's rational discrimination, therefore Paul argues that one is able to discern the will of God, because one's thinking and attitude are renewed and no longer fashioned by the norms of "this world."

Finally, reflection is a process of discernment. Walter Wink's comments on discernment are worth noting here. Wink writes, "discernment does not entail esoteric knowledge, but rather the gift of seeing reality as it really is.

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[21]Dussel, 29.

[22]Dunn, 712.

Nothing is more rare, or more truly revolutionary, than an accurate description of reality."[23] Reflection, the renewal of the mind, empowers those oppressed by what I describe as an "illusionary relationship of subjection to the "governing authorities" or what Wink calls the "delusional power of the System of Domination" with the ability to discern that subjection to "worldly" authority is not absolute. Instead, the standard for Christian conduct is measured by a "knowledge" of what God desires. One does not "know" what is "right" or "wrong" through the normative values of "this age/world" whether it be Roman values or Jewish law. Instead, Paul suggests that it is in fact the renewal of Christians' mind (s) from these prescribed norms which allow them to "know" God's will. The significance of reflection, however, is not to end the subjection. Instead reflection prevents the Christians at Rome from making absolute the Roman political authority, thus worshiping it instead of God (worshiping the creature rather than the Creator, Rom. 1:19-23). Or as Wink states, "the seer's gift is not to be immune to invasion by the empire's spirituality, but to be able to discern the internalized spirituality, name it, and externalize it."[24] The subjection remains, but not as an absolute reality within the life of the "seer." Consequently, humanity in a state of reflection stands in direct opposition to the state of humanity described in Romans 1:21: "for though they knew God, they did not honor him as God or give thanks to him, but they became futile in their thinking, and their senseless minds were darkened" (recall discussion in previous section). Reflective humanity, on the other hand, possesses the capacity to see anew, to envision and understand realities of the power and presence of God beyond their immediate subjection.

Comparing God with the artistic concept of negative space offers a powerful example of Paul's call for Christians to *reflect* upon their subjection in order to reach the conviction that God dwells both in and ***beyond*** the

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[23]Wink, 89. Although I agree with Wink's position on the importance of discernment as an accurate description of "reality," I add that every description of reality is clouded by an ideological presupposition which must be made explicit. People's descriptions of reality are largely based on their relationship to their conditions of existence.

[24]Wink, 89.

structure or the ordering of relationships that we deem absolute. Artists refer to the hollow, empty area surrounding the edges and contours of an object as "negative space." For instance, draw a circle on a sheet of blank paper and fill the circle with a solid color, the outer white space defines the edge of that circle. The white area is negative space because it is not recognizable. It is nothingness. Without this negative space, however, the viewer would not be able to identify a solid blue circle. The blue circle represents "positive" space because it occupies an area of the negative space and is defined by that negative space.

At the same time, "positive" objects possess the capacity to ***partially*** frame negative space. Although positive space partially frames negative space, negative space cannot be transformed into positive space. A brief interactive exercise will help further clarify this point. Take your hands and bring them together into a praying posture. Slowly release your hands, allowing only your finger tips to touch, including your thumbs. Adjust your hands so that you create an upside down heart. Your eyes tell you that you see a heart. If you now completely pull your hands apart, however, do you see a heart? No. Your eyes really saw your two hands coming together to create a heart shape. Negative space always define your hands, regardless of the shape they take.

In the same way artists discuss negative and positive space, I argue that Paul speaks of God and human relationship. Like negative space, God is infinite and undefinable. Similar to the way negative space circumscribes the reality of the solid circle and the hands, God circumscribes and defines finite humanity. God reminds us that we are creatures within the boundaries of our finite existence precisely because we are able to construct more than a "heart," or a "circle," - negative space reveals many revelations of itself through positive space. Likewise, God engages our humanness and offers other possible revelations of itself **beyond** what we presently see. According to Paul, reflection represents freedom. We argued in the previous section that "freedom" rests in one's participation within the governing structure as absolute. On the contrary, freedom as reflection involves participation in the governing structure with the *discerning awareness* that it represents **one** but not the **absolute** way of being in the world.

Discerning the Resistance: A Foundation for Analysis

Using James C. Scott's recent study *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* as a interpretive frame, the remainder of the paper explores how Paul's call to reflection leads to his ultimate call for the Christian community to respond to, in words and/or gestures, the empowering awareness that its subjection to the governing authority is but an illusion, an ideology. Scott suggests that in any given political situation where an elite class dominates segments of the population, there exists a public transcript of events managed by the ruling elites and hidden transcripts of the same events produced secretly by the oppressed. Scott defines "public transcript" as "a shorthand way of describing the open interaction between subordinates and those who dominate."[25] Hidden transcript, on the other hand, characterizes "discourse that takes place 'offstage,' beyond direct observation by powerholders."[26] Produced by the dominant class, public transcript presents "the self-portrait of the elite as they would have themselves seen."[27] Although each group has both a public and hidden transcript, the public transcript produced by the elites serves as the social/cultural ideological *subjection* which conforms to the "flattering self-image of the elite."[28] The oppressed group's survival usually depends on their seeming compliance and obedience to the "onstage" script and political play of the elite, hoping to find recourse for their interest within the "prevailing ideology without appearing in the least seditious."[29] Of course, the hidden transcript of the oppressed offers another form of political discourse, but it is regulated to the "offstage", beyond the purview of the powerholders. Therefore, the oppressed actions "onstage" seems consistently to affirm the *subjection,* limiting the hidden transcript of the oppressed to little more than a private venting mechanism. The power of the

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[25]Ibid., 2.

[26]Ibid., 4.

[27]Ibid., 18.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid.

hidden transcript of the oppressed group, however, is that it is not limited to the "offstage." Rather the oppressed hidden transcript functions as a "politics of disguise and anonymity that takes place in public view but is designed to have a double meaning or to shield the identity of the actors."[30] For instance, during the period of chattel slavery in America, spirituals functioned as hidden transcripts or resistance songs. Although these songs were sang in the public arena and employed the language of Christian piety, they were coded messages signaling revolt, rebellion, or simple disgust with the institution of slavery and the slave masters. For example, whenever Harriet Tubman planned an escape, the enslaved men and women often sang in the fields throughout the day, "swing low, sweet chariot coming for to carry me home" or "steal away, steal away to Jesus! Steal away, steal away home, I ain't got long to stay here" as an indicator of their impending flight to freedom. In essence, "Spirituals were the indispensable device that slaves used to transmit a worldview fundamentally different from and opposed to that of slaveholders."[31]

C. Resistance: How Much Do I Owe You?

Whereas *reflection* makes obvious the *subjection*, and allows one to envision other possibilities of God's reality beyond subjection, *resistance* represents the state of transformation: It represents those acts that a person or a community makes, based on reflection, which places both their minds and bodies beyond the given subjection. Resistance is about acting and speaking in such a way that reflects commitment against conformity both to and by this world. Paul speaks of this metaphorically in 12:1 where he urges the Christians at Rome:

> I appeal to you therefore brothers and sisters by the mercies of God, to offer your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your reasonable worship.

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[30]Ibid., 18-19.

[31]Wade-Gayles, 23.

Worshiping God requires the giving of one's life and body.[32] In essence, Paul suggests that "worship" of God only happens as a consequence of resisting conformity to "this world." Because one has engaged the process of *reflection*, she is now able to offer her body as a living sacrifice--able to engage in speech and action which moves beyond the boundaries established by societal norms.

Let us now, in light of Scott's concept of "hidden transcripts," examine more closely Paul's call to *resistance*. Reading Romans in light of its resistance features is not a common mode of interpretation. But, neither is it a novel one. William R. Herzog argues that Paul's exhortation in 13:1-7 to the Christian community at Rome represents "dissembling" speech. Paul's comments "feign obedience and loyalty to the colonial overlords while pursuing its own hidden agenda."[33] Herzog's study suggests that Romans 13:1-7 alone, functions as *resistance* text. Herzog builds his thesis around Paul's usage of διάκονός (13:4) and λειτουργοὶ (13:6), arguing that rulers, as "servants" stood diametrically opposed in the Roman world. Therefore, Paul's description of the rulers as servants is a "hidden transcript."[34] Paul specifies that the military, as servants of God, be used solely to suppress anarchy and wrong behavior. In reality however, the military and its sword functioned more as a "means of intimidation and brutality that ensured that subjected populations would quietly endure the so-called Pax Romana."[35] Thus, by using this coded term, Paul suggests loyalty to a non-existent empire while actually critiquing it for not following the will of God.

Similarly, Paul characterizes the authorities as *leitourgoi,* a variant on

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[32]I realize the underlining danger in such a statement for those "accustomed to patterns of submission to the desires of others and of denying their own worth" (Gaventa, in *Women's Bible Commentary*, 319). However, Paul's call for the community to present their whole selves as a "living sacrifice" challenges those limited by societal norms to seek the liberative power and presence of God **beyond** the confines of their present relationship to their conditions of existence.

[33]Ibid., 341.

[34]Ibid., 356.

[35]Ibid.

diakonoi. These figures carried out the public and bureaucratic functions of the state. Thus, "just as the military devotes itself to physical control, the financial bureaucrats devote themselves to economic control."[36] So, Paul writes: "Pay to all what is due them, taxes to whom taxes are due, revenue to whom revenue is due, respect to whom respect is due, honor to whom honor is due" (vs. 7). Financially, this implies resistance to conceding to the finance minsters, who were obsessive about extracting from the population everything but the barest necessities, more than is their due.[37] Likewise, Christians are to offer respect (phobon) and honor (*timen),* not as enthusiastic support of the empire. Instead, "Paul most likely means that Christians should always display the public deference that the oppressed show their masters."[38] Paul offers allegiance to empire that does not exist while using the "weapons of the weak to reinforce the survival skills of the fledgling community."[39]

This paper broadens the textual range for examining the interaction between public transcripts and hidden transcripts, or between *subjection* and *resistance*. I propose that Romans 13:1-7 functions as the public transcript or the subjection and Paul's mentioning it reminds the Christians at Rome to acknowledge it as the ideological system in which they live because by not recognizing the system, they are not only subjected by it, but they also subject themselves to it. The hidden transcript surfaces not so much in 13:1-7 (although Herzog has proven this to be a legitimate claim), but in verses 8-10. In his summary statement on the Roman Christian community's relationship to governing authorities, Paul writes: "owe (ὀφείλετε) no one anything, except to love (ἀγαπᾶν) one another, for the one who loves another has fulfilled the law" (vs. 8). Paul has just described in verse 7 that according to the public transcript of the Roman empire, giving all (military and financial bureaucrats) their expected dues (ὀφειλας) is a service to both humanity and

[36]Ibid., 358.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid., 359.

[39]Ibid., 360.

God. But in verse 8 Paul encourages his readers to discharge all debts except the debt of love. Herein lies Paul's resistance language, where the hidden transcript imposes itself upon the public transcript. Before offering an analysis of verse 8, let us explore Paul's utilization of ὀφειλή in Romans.

ὀφειλή or one of its derivatives appears seven times in Romans: 1:14, 4:4, 8:12; 13:7, 13:8, 15:1, 15:27. Paul uses the term in varying contexts which affords the reader several interpretive options. For instance, Romans 4:4 describes one incurring a monetary debt to the one who performs a service for hire. The employer "owes" the employee for the work he has performed on behalf of the employer. Romans 15:27 describes a debt incurred out of an obligation to repay one group for what they have done for another. Gentiles are indebted to share their material resources with the saints at Jerusalem since the Jerusalem saints shared their "spiritual blessings" with the Gentiles. New Testament scholar Revelation Velunta clarifies Paul's usage of ὀφειλή. Explaining the notion of debt from a Filipino perspective, Velunta notes that debts can be voluntarily incurred or imposed.

> A debt incurred voluntarily arises either from the asking of a loan or favor. If the loan or favor is paid back in equivalent terms or with the margin agreed on, both parties can consider themselves discharged. Involuntary debts would occur when a loan or favor is offered or done without having been preceded by a formal request. Even here both loan or favor could be repaid in equivalent or with profit in order to be absolved of the debt (14).[40]

The subjection listed in Romans 13:7 concerning the payment of dues represents a type of imposed debt. Velunta rightly argues that involuntary debts, like taxes and tribute are exactly what Paul wants everyone to cancel. The problem for Paul is that one's continued indebtedness to the structures described in verse 7 forces one to remain a "debtor to the flesh," therefore living "according to the flesh" (Romans 8:12). Yet, Paul maintains that those empowered by the Spirit of God are no longer ὀφειλέται τῇ σαρκὶ. More importantly, Paul associates indebtedness with subjection. He suggests that if

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[40]Velunta, 46.

one is indebted to the "flesh" then the "flesh" possesses the authority to create the ideological presuppositions under which one must live. Paul is concerned here with right actions (including gestures and speech)--the world created by the flesh forces one to engage nature and other human beings in a manner that results in death (see 8:13). But, those no longer indebted to the flesh, no longer κατα σαρκα ζῆν (live according to the flesh) (8:12). In light of 8:12, one sees clearly how Paul's usage of debt (ὀφειλή) speaks to his call to *resistance;* he employs the language most indicative of Roman social, political, and economic structure[41] to describe how Christian's ought not engage in relationship with each other.

Surprisingly, Paul returns to ὀφειλή as a means of discussing human love for other human beings. Velunta suggests that there is yet another way of understanding *opheilei* which he calls *utang na loob*. *Utang na loob* refers to a debt of volition which is unresolvable.

> Utang na loob is a unique kind of debt: however it may have been incurred, no matter how insignificant the debt, there is no way by which one is absolved of the debt except perhaps by having the 'lender' him/herself incur a similar *utang na loob*. The debt goes beyond the legal-juridical framework; it creates an extra-legal but even more binding debt because it involves a personal debt, *one that can only be paid back not only in person but with one's person* . . . one is bound no longer by a single compensating act but binds him/herself voluntarily to be committed beyond repayment.[42]

Debt as a voluntary commitment sheds new light on Paul's use of what Fitzmyer calls oxymoronic language: "Paul states it strangely, speaking of love as something owed like a debt. Love does not constitute one being under an obligation to pay or repay another for something received."[43] Yet, debt is an appropriate representation of humanity's responsibility to one another. Paul moves beyond the traditional ideas of indebtedness and challenges the community to understand their debt to humanity as the logical consequence of

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[41]See Horsley, *Paul and Empire*. Pp. 96-97.

[42]Velunta, 47.

[43]Fitzmyer, 677.

love. The two terms, *opheilei* and *agape*, actually redefines the other. Paul equates debt with love and love with debt as the voluntary commitment to love. The Roman state often characterized human relationships asymmetrically, associating "debt" with parties of an unequal status (= debtor to the flesh) (feeding off the classic patron-client dynamics).[44] Paul, on the other hand, offers a more horizontal model of human relationships in 13:9 where he summarizes proper human relationships as "love your neighbor." The aim now focuses on wholesome relationships amongst people with a commitment to use their talents and skills to effect qualitative good in the community rather than on relationships guided by selfish motivations for social status (12:3-21).

Ultimately, debt as a voluntary commitment to love functions as *resistance* ideology in the midst of Paul's seemingly pro-empire language. Paul's hidden transcript offers a supreme critique of "secular authority," suggesting that true servants or ministers of God occupy themselves with addressing the physical and spiritual needs of the citizens, not in exacting burdensome taxes and forced military might to maintain control of the masses of people for the benefit of the governing elite. Thus, Paul's juxtaposition of opheilie (debt/owe) and agape (love) challenges the Roman social structure as an absolute authority and offers "debt of love" as an alternative system of authority, as a measuring stick which gauges the actions and intentions of both individuals and governing institutions.

Chapter 13 reaches its climax in 11b; subjection-reflection-resistance is made purposeful as Paul exclaims: "for now is nearer our salvation (σωτηρία) than when we (first) believed." The community of believers having acknowledged its subjection by the governing authorities, reflected upon the subjection and now are convicted that God exists both within and beyond their subjection, and finally, resisted their subjection by allowing "love of neighbor" to have dominion over their lives, the community has stepped into the process of salvation--it has come near. (Paul does not say this is full revelation--love of neighbor--it just brings it closer to realization). Paul's understanding of salvation is best summarized in Romans 6 where he explains that on the one

[44]See Horsley, chapter 5.

hand, salvation was made possible (in the past) through the death and resurrection of Jesus the Christ. However, salvation continues (the fruits of salvation) in the lives of those dedicated to the worship of God through their voluntary commitment to seek and serve the good of others (in the present and future). Paul begins his explanation of salvation in chapter 6, describing it as "walking in the newness of life" (6:4). We are unable to grasp the fullness of his soteriological argument until chapters 12 and 13 (particularly 13:9-love of neighbor as fulfillment of law). But, his argument against idolizing the law reflects his expectation that the Christian community, in their process of salvation, would change (through the grace and power offer by God through the Holy Spirit) both their habit of thinking and their habit of living. He explains:

> We know that Christ, being raised (ἐγερθεὶς) from the dead, will never die again; death no longer has dominion over him. The death he died, he died to sin, once for all; but the life he lives, he lives to God. So you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus. Therefore, do not let sin exercise dominion in your mortal bodies, to make you obey its passions. No longer present your members as instruments of wickedness, but present yourselves to God as those who have been brought from death to life, and present your members to God as instruments of righteousness (6:9-13) (see also 8:10-11).

The language and the implications of this passage are reminiscent of what we have already discussed regarding the community of Christians at Rome being "transformed-nonconformist."[45] But, what is central here is that like in 12:1 or 8:12 or 13:9, Paul is concerned with *resistance*. He wants the community of believers to act in a manner that gives priority to personhood in God, not to the judicial or legalistic prescriptions of the law or the hierarchal and exploitive social relations of the Roman state. Being raised from the dead, raised from a death-sleep--a state where love of neighbor is not a vigorous, operative power--speaks to the essence of Paul's soteriological stance in that it reemphasizes the connection he establishes between humanity's relationship

[45]King, 2.

with God and their relationship with one another.[46] Ultimately, "salvation comes near" in the process of subjection-reflection-resistance, empowering the Christians at Rome to break through the idolatries of "worldly" structures and build a community and an ideological stance grounded in offering their minds and bodies to the worship of God through the (voluntary indebtedness) "love of neighbor."

Resistance and the Free-Market Economy

In light of "love of neighbor" as a model of resistance, let us revisit my earlier argument which suggests that as world citizens at the end of the 20th century, the power (s) which govern our lives is the free-market economy and its culture. Full participation within the "aim of economic advancement" is imperative for the salvation of an individual or a community. The economic structure itself, however is not God. Therefore if one seeks full participation in it without at some point and in some way resisting the structure, the free-market economy is forever perpetuated and affirmed, therefore deemed absolute. In our modern context, to be subject by/to the aim of economic advancement and to fully participate, without resisting is idolatrous. This paper argues, however, that although the historical circumstances which surround our 20th century situation within the *subjection* by/to the free-market economy differs from those about which Paul was writing, the command to love remains the same. Let us now explore a few examples as to why "love of neighbor" is needed as a model of resistance in order to counter the free-market economy as absolute--as a "demonic spiritual force."[47]

Six basic arguments contribute to the authoritative dominance of the free-market economy in contemporary society: 1) the freedom to consume; 2) the freedom of the seller; 3) the freedom of the producer; 4) freedom from

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[46]Length constraints on the paper prevented me from doing an analyis of 13.11a. Paul's call for the community to arise from its "sleep" points back to the discerning awareness called for in 12.2 and 13.5.

[47]Hebrew Scriptures scholar Walter Brueggemann argues in his recent article "The Liturgy of Abundance, the Myth of Scarcity" that consumerism is more than a marketing strategy, it has become a "demonic spiritual force" and he asks does the gospel have the "power to help us withstand it"(342)?

government interference; 5) lower costs; 6) promotion of democracy. John McMurtry explores each of these arguments noting the incoherency in the market's doctrine because it fails to consider the power of "external influence in the production and exchange of goods between buyers and sellers who agree to the transaction."[48] As explained in the section on *subjection,* this essential "freedom" to buy and sell applies to every aspect of our lives, therefore it is critical that we examine, and as McMurtry advises, *reflect* on how the "veiled" inconsistencies of the doctrine contribute to the betterment or detriment of human lives and relationships and at those points where we find detriment make the necessary steps towards resistance.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to present McMurtry's analysis of each of the arguments. However, let us briefly consider two of the arguments along with McMurtry's counter-arguments. First, the free market doctrine maintains that individuals are "free" to consume. But, freedom to consume presupposes one has the money to buy those things she needs or desires. "Under the rules of the free market, need without effective demand (i.e. the purchasing power of money) is not recognized. It counts for nothing. Need with no money to back it has no reality or value for the market . . . . The 'freedom of the consumer' in the free market, is really only the freedom of those who have enough money to demand what they need or want."[49] And so it seems that under the rules of the free market those without the money to purchase the things they need do not have the right to live.

Second, the free-market argues that it reduces the costs of production and distribution. In a free market producers and sellers must compete to produce and sell their goods at the lowest price, thereby ensuring lower costs for consumers. The problem with this argument is that "it looks only to lower costs for the consumers, not to the way these lower costs are achieved."[50] For instance, private businesses can lower their costs by avoiding or eliminating pollution control, minimum wages, workers' benefits, health and safety

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[48]McMurtry, 645.

[49]Ibid., 646.

[50]Ibid., 658.

standards, etc.). McMurtry points to the highly controversial NAFTA as an example of how businesses promote lower costs at the expense of the environment and human integrity. New trade laws established by NAFTA have encouraged the recent trend of major companies relocating to areas where they are not required to pay the costs of protecting human life and the environment. For instance, many private corporations move to the Maquiladora Zone "where wages are a small fraction of what they are in Canada or the U.S., effective pollution controls are non-existent and taxes for public health and education have been reduced or abolished."[51] Moreover, under the rules of the international free market, the obvious consequence of companies relocating is that unemployment increases in the home country and lowers the price of labor. Ultimately, lower costs to private businesses results in lower wages paid to employees.

A further way of reducing costs in the free market is by "economies of scale."[52] The danger here is that small producers or businesses, without "economies of scale" are unable to compete in the price of their goods. Consequently, these smaller, "home town" businesses are forced to close. These negative aspects of the free market are referred to as "externalities" which means they are not recognized as business costs. Ultimately, consumer goods for sale in the market may carry a lower price for those who can afford to purchase them, but all suffer the social costs produced by these non-factored "externalities:"

> While consumer goods may become less expensive, though this is by no means assured by the current oligopoly conditions of competition, the shared goods of life such as our air and water, social conditions, mutual security and cultural diversity

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[51]Ibid.

[52]A situation where the greater the investment and purchasing powers, the capital infrastructure of labor-saving machinery, the division of labor and specialization, the volume of goods produced, and the international linkages of production and distribution, the cheaper the per-unit costs of the commodities produced and sold (649).

deteriorate, with no limit in free market doctrine to their decline.[53]

In the end, McMurtry likens the current free market doctrine to an "absolutist religion." The inevitable hand of free trade governs human events "with an omniscient logic 'which cannot be interfered with'." Those loyal to this true faith will be rewarded with prosperity, perhaps immediately, or in some indeterminate time in the future. On the other hand, those who resist its strict necessity suffer the "wrath of God." The responsibility of failure rests on the shoulders of those under the doctrine's rule and "no amount of human suffering or natural destruction exacted by the doctrine's implementation can alter its prescriptions or prove it false because its truths are eternal and not subject to falsifying evidence."[54] Salvation then, can only be won by **successful** participation in the free market system. And those who participate and life grows more desperate (the majority of those under its rule), are characterized as **sinners,** undeserving or unworthy of the blessings offered by the free-market economy and its culture.

As in the time of Paul, "love of neighbor" serves as a resistance ideology against an absolutist structure which rules out any social alternative. It functions as a hidden transcript because it challenges us to make decisions and take actions based not on the minimization of costs and the maximization of profits, but on how we can best maximize our service in helping to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, heal the sick, educate the illiterate. Love of neighbor as resistance ideology disrupts policies and ideologies that promote the (inalienable) "freedom to consume," yet denies this freedom to those unable to afford it. It critiques the logic of profit for private investors as the ruling absolute of global life:

> the free market in fact flourishes by the dynamic new outlets for investment which social crisis provide: producing and selling arms to the combatants; selling ever more narcotic stimulants; producing and selling costly new pharmaceuticals to the

[53]McMurtry, 649.

[54]Ibid., 657.

> environmentally diseased who can afford them . . . generally making the rich richer, the poor poorer and the environment more uniform and more degraded.[55]

Unchallenged, the free market increasingly becomes an unethical structure or in Paul's words, a system of sin. Ultimately, love of neighbor calls us to "internalize the externalities." That is, social responsibility must accompany "the aim of economic advancement." Social responsibility resists the free market economy as a transcendent power upon individuals through the recognition of our "debt" of love as the love of neighbor evidenced in our voluntary commitment to the service of humanity. Yet, "debt of love" cannot be manifested in a simple appendixed welfare system. Instead, it must be incorporated into the fabric of our society, allowing, inviting even, love of neighbor to dominate our hearts and minds. We must subject ourselves to love, so that we are subjected by love. In this way, humanity pays homage to God. In this way, we experience the nearness of salvation.

[55]Ibid., 652.

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The Book of Elchasai: a Jewish Apocalyptic Writing, not a Christian Church Order

Gerard P. Luttikhuizen, University of Groningen

This paper continues a discussion started by F. Stanley Jones in the 1990 session of the New Testament Apocrypha Group.[1] Jones alleges that the classification of the Book of Elchasai as an apocalypse is based ultimately on a disputable reading of Hippolytus (*Refutation* IX 13-17) to the neglect of some allegedly clear evidence to the contrary in Epiphanius (*Panarion* 19). He refers to my monograph *The Revelation of Elchasai: Investigations into the Evidence for a Mesopotamian Jewish Apocalypse of the Second Century and its Reception by Judeo-Christian propagandists*[2] as an example of the challenged view.

Jones proposes a reconstruction of the book starting with information supplied by Epiphanius. This leads him to the hypothesis that the book did not begin with an account of a vision of two angelic figures, but rather with instructions about proper action in times of imminent persecution. Jones maintains that among other things, the book offered a second baptism to Christian sinners (for this information he refers to Hippolytus, *Ref* IX 15.1-3[3]). He arrives at the conclusion that the book's main concern was the regulation of Christian life (hence his designation of the book as a Church Order). Jones claims that he has disproved the dominant view of the Book of Elchasai as an apocalyptic writing (p. 96: '75 years of scholarship in this regard seem to come tumbling down').[4]

Obviously we have to ascertain first the contents of the book before we can determine its genre. Jones restores to the Book of Elchasai several more items (amongst others, the second baptism for Christian sinners) than I do. This has far-reaching consequences for our understanding of this book.

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[1] Cf. his essay 'The Genre of the Book of Elchasai: A Primitive Church Order, Not an Apocalypse', pp.87-104 in: *Historische Wahrheit und theologische Wissenschaft* Festschrift for Gerd Luedemann, ed.A. Oetzen, Frankfurt-New York: Peter Lang 1996.

[2] Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 8, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) 1985.

[3] Jones points to a parallel in Epiphanius, *Pan* 19.1.7 (furthermore to *Pan* 19.1.6; 19.3.4; 19.6.4). But in these passages Epiphanius does not mention a second baptism (see below).

[4] *Art. cit.*, 99. A consequence of Jones' analysis is that in the Book of Elchasai we have an early second century church order (*ibid.*, 98) and that Elchasai is the first datable witness of Christianity in northern Mesopotamia (103).

To a certain extent I agree with Jones' interpretation of Epiphanius. But in my opinion, the scholarly confusion about the Book of Elchasai is due first of all to a serious misinterpretation of the purpose and content of Hippolytus' report.[5] I therefore begin with Hippolytus, actually our earliest source.[6] It is my contention that in IX 13-17 Hippolytus is not refuting 'Elchasai' and that he did not have a first-hand knowledge of the book connected with this name. In this report (the very last refutation of a Christian heresy in Hippolytus' work), the heresiologist is refuting the teaching of Alcibiades of Apamea, a contemporary of his.

I. *Hippolytus, Ref IX 13-17*

Books IV-X of the *Refutation of All Heresies* were discovered only in 1842 in a 14th century manuscript (published in 1851). Before that time Epiphanius was by far the most important source of the book in question. According to Epiphanius the book was written by Elxai. On the basis of Epiphanius, scholars assumed that Elxai was the name of a prophetical teacher who in Epiphanius' time (second half of the fourth century) still had descendants in a region to the east of the Dead Sea[7] and who had influenced several trans-Jordan sects. Does Hippolytus refer to the same facts?

Hippolytus, a Roman presbyter and leader of a schismatic community, wrote his heresiological work in about the year 230, some years after the death of Calixtus, his former competitor for the bishop's throne of Rome. He mentions the name 'Elchasai', and the book which in some way or other was connected with this name, in Book IX, *i.e. within the context of the heresies of his own time.*[8] This may seem strange, for there are strong reasons to assume that the book was written in the early second century (during Trajan's Parthian war of 114-117, see below) but, as I noticed above, in *Ref* IX 13-17 Hippolytus does not refute an early second-century heretic but a contemporary religious propagandist, Alcibiades of Apamea. Alcibiades in his turn referred to a book which 'a certain righteous man, Elchasai' had received in Parthia. In fact Hippolytus speaks about Elchasai in fairly vague terms.[9]

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[5] Cf. *The Revelation of Elchasai*, 35.

[6] Below I will also refer to a third patristic source: the summary of a homily by Origen in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VI 38.

[7] Cf. below, n. 28.

[8] Cf. IX 6: 'the greatest struggle still remains, viz. to give an account and a refutation of those heresies that have sprung up in our own day...'

[9] *The Revelation of Elchasai,* 86.

1. *Calixtus and Alcibiades*

That Hippolytus had no precise knowledge of 'the strange demon Elchasai'[10] was not a problem for him, for indeed his prime interest was not in the relationship between Alcibiades and 'Elchasai' but in that between Alcibiades and Calixtus, his former rival and the subject of the foregoing part of his book (IX 11-12, an extensive defamation of this Roman bishop). Actually the refutation of Alcibiades is little more than an appendix to the refutation of Calixtus.

Hippolytus blamed Calixtus for his indulgent attitude towards sinners. More particularly, Calixtus is charged with having said that 'by him the sins would be remitted to all'. In Calixtus' 'school', Hippolytus intimates, all kinds of sinners came together, among them people that had been cast out by Hippolytus from his own 'Church' (IX 12.20). At the close of his refutation of Calixtus and the Catholics or 'Calixtians' he notes that 'in his [Calixtus'] time a second baptism was ventured upon by them'. To this information Hippolytus adds: 'Those things, then, the most amazing Calixtus established' (12.26). The wording in this passage ('in his time', 'by them', 'those things') is rather unclear. Apparently Hippolytus could not state unambiguously that Calixtus had introduced a second baptism (but nevertheless he includes it in the things established by Calixtus and at least suggests that it was approved by him).

2. *Alcibiades and the introduction of a second baptism*

Hippolytus reports that 'when the teaching of this man (Calixtus) had been disseminated over the whole world', someone called Alcibiades came to Rome from Syria. According to the heresiologist, Alcibiades considered himself 'more vigourous and more clever in tricks' than Calixtus. After a reference to the mysterious book (particularly to the enormous angel who reportedly had revealed the book, and to the female companion of this angel), Hippolytus immediately draws attention to the introduction of a baptism, in fact a second baptism as far as Christian sinners were concerned:

> And he appoints (ὁρίζει) a baptism , which I shall relate as well, saying that those who have been involved in any lasciviousness, pollution, and lawlessness, -even if he was a believer - when he has repented and listened to the book and believed in it, he will receive remission of sins by means of a baptism.

[10] IX 4 (Introduction of the heresy of IX 13-17).

In the following sentence Hippolytus connects this baptism with a tenet (δόγμα) of Calixtus:

> He ventured[11] to achieve these knaveries starting from the already mentioned tenet which Calixtus had brought forward.

It is likely that Hippolytus is suggesting that if Calixtus had not introduced the second baptism himself, at least somebody like Alcibiades could profit from the situation created by Calixtus' lenient policy with regard to sinners.

Hippolytus reports that 'he' appointed a baptism. There can be no doubt whatsoever, in my opinion, that the reference here is to Alcibiades. (But we will see presently that this is not a consensus view.) Admittedly, the heresiologist does not make explicit mention of Alcibides as being the subject of ὁρίζει. In the following sections, the name of Alcibiades is also left unmentioned. His name only recurs in the very last sentence of this report, where Hippolytus characterizes Alcibiades as being 'the most amazing interpreter of the wretched Elchasai' (IX 17.2). For that matter, Hippolytus does not explicitly present Elchasai as the protagonist of the refuted ideas and prescriptions either. This has caused some uncertainty among modern scholars: is Alcibiades or is Elchasai the central figure of the report of IX 13-17? I have already made clear that in my opinion we are concerned with a refutation of 'the interpreter of Elchasai', Alcibiades, not directly with a refutation of 'Elchasai' himself. As an example of the opposite view I quote J.H. MacMahon's translation of the opening section of this report by Hippolytus in the *Anti-Nicene Fathers*, vol. V (explanatory additions to the text are italicized by MacMahon):[12]

> (IX 13) The doctrine of this *Callistus* having been noised abroad throughout the entire world, a cunning man, and full of desperation, one called Alcibiades, dwelling in Apamea, *a city* of Syria, examined carefully into this business. And considering himself a more formidable character, and more ingenious in *such* tricks, than Callistus, he repaired to Rome; and he brought some book, alleging that a certain just man, Elchasai, had received this from Serae, a town in Parthia, and that he gave it to one called Sobiai. *And the contents of this volume*, he alleged, had been revealed by an angel [here the description of the enormous angel and his female companion, the Holy Spirit, follows]. By detailing these prodigies he imagines that he confounds fools, *while at the same time* he utters the following sentence: 'that there was

[11] Here the same verb (τολμάω) is used as in the concluding section of the refutation of Calixtus (IX 12.26), where Hippolytus states: 'In his time a second baptism was ventured upon by them'(see above).

[12] 1886, republished 1995, pp. 131ff.

> preached unto men a new remission of sins in the third year of Trajan's reign.' And *Elchasai* determines *the nature of* baptism, and even this I shall explain. He alleges, as to those who have been involved in every description of lasciviousness, and filthiness, and *in* acts of wickedness, if only any *of them* be a believer, that he determines that such a one, on being converted, and obeying the book, and believing *its contents*, should by baptism receive remission of sins. Elchasai [*sic*, not italicized], however, ventured to continue these knaveries, taking occasion from the aforesaid tenet of which Callistus stood forward as a champion. For, perceiving that many were delighted at this sort of promise, he considered that he could opportunately make the attempt *just alluded to*. [In the following sections the name of Elchasai is also inserted into the translation.]

Very early in this translation, the report of Alcibiades' appearance in Rome changes over into an description of Elchasai's ideas and prescriptions. (But how could Elchasai have availed himself of a tenet brought forward by Calixtus, who lived more than a century later?[13])

According to Hippolytus' account, he (Alcibiades) decreed that *under certain conditions* sinners could be remitted from their sins by a baptism: they had to repent, they had to listen to the book he had brought with him to Rome, and they had to believe in the book. So one of the conditions for remission of sins by a (second) baptism was *listening to the book*. Hippolytus does not explicitly report that the baptism itself was prescribed in the book. Note further that our third patristic source (a summary of a homily by Origen included in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles*. VI 38), likewise mentions remission of sins in connection with the Elchasaite book[14] but it does not mention the second baptism. *Pace* Jones, Hippolytus is our only witness to this baptism.[15] This is not surprising if Hippolytus is right in reporting that an Elchasaite missionary

[13] In *The Revelation of Elchasai*, 82, I discuss the possibility that Hippolytus believed Alcibiades to be the author of the book. Cf. *Ref* X 29.1: 'Some others, having borrowed from all heresies and introducing this as something new, made a strange book called after a certain Elchasai.' We have to bear in mind here that to a large extent book X must be regarded as an independent work. (See J. Frickel, *Die 'Apophasis Megale' in Hippolyt's Refutatio*, Rome: Pont. Institutum Orient. Studiorum 1968, 45-73.) Book X does not point to the alleged pagan roots of the heresies (undoubtedly the main object of Ref IV-IX). X 29 does not refer to the second baptism for Christian sinners, nor does it mention Alcibiades, the central figure of IX 13-17. I still doubt that the cited words of X 29.1 are more than a polemical statement to the effect that the most recent heresy is nothing more than a mixture of earlier heretical ideas presented as something new.

[14] Origen is said to have stated that 'the Helkesaites', who had appeared in the churches in Palestine, possessed a book, which, they claimed, had fallen from heaven, and that they proclaimed that the person who listened to this book and believed in it would receive remission of sins, 'a remission other than that which Jesus Christ has given'.

[15] Cf. above, n. 3.

made clever use of the Roman controversy about the position of Christians sinners by referring to a book revealed by an angel who (in some way or other, see below) offered remission of sins.

3. *Alcibiades or Elchasai?*

Is it possible that Hippolytus is dealing initially with a contemporary missionary, Alcibiades of Apamea, and thereupon with Elchasai? Perhaps the answer can be found in the two passages of his report in which the heresiologist seems to disclose how he wishes to structure this refutation:

> (IX 13.6) But since we have begun, we shall not be silent regarding the tenets of this man also, exposing some of them. Having first demonstated that [his] life as well as the alleged piety was hypocritical, I shall hereafter adduce important passages of [his] sayings [τῶν ῥητῶν κεφάλαια παραθήσομαι] in order that he who reads his written words closely [? τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐγγράφοις ὁ ἐντυγχάνων ἐνατενίσας], may come to know what and of what nature is the heresy which this man has ventured upon.
>
> (IX 14.3b) Having sufficiently described their[16] sources and the causes of these audacities, I will now proceed to give an account of the written words [? παρελεύσομαι ἐπιδιηγησόμενος τὰ ἔγγραφα], so that the readers with their help will see the nonsense and the godless character of their endeavours.

There can be little doubt that 'this man' of IX 13.6 is still Alcibiades. It should likewise be clear that Hippolytus is alluding to utterances of Alcibiades when he speaks of τῶν ῥητῶν κεφάλαια. From the two passages we gather that it was Hippolytus' plan to introduce Alcibiades in IX 13. In IX 14 he intends to speak about his most important utterances (first of all his utterances about Jesus Christ) and about the alleged pagan 'sources' of his ideas. (I come back to Alcibiades' utterances about Jesus Christ below.) In IX 15-16 he will turn to his ἔγγραφα, words of Alcibiades which were known to Hippolytus in some written form.[17]

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[16] In IX 14.2 and some other passages of this refutation, and in X 29, the third person plural is used to denote co-religionists or followers of Alcibiades.

[17] From a study of virtually all the occurrences of ἔγγραφος/ν and cognate words (notably the adverb ἐγγράφως) in ancient Greek texts (collected in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* and in several lexica: Dindorf, Kittel, Lampe, Stephanus) dr. L. Roig Lanzillotta, Groningen, concludes that as a rule this terminology denotes written records of orally pronounced ideas, pacts, or orders. Cf. also *The Revelation of Elchasai*, 47, n. 7.

The usual interpretation is that this expression refers to the book Alcibiades had brought with him to Rome. This enables scholars to assume that in IX 15-16 Hippolytus is quoting passages from this book (and that the third person singular here no longer refers to Alcibiades but to Elchasai). I quote the beginning of IX 15:

> The baptism, then, he transmits [παραδίδωσι] in this way to those who originated from him[18], speaking such words as these to the deceived ones: 'If therefore, children, somebody has had intercourse with any animal or with a male or a sister or a daughter, or if he has committed adultery or fornication, and wishes to receive remission of sins, let him, as soon as he has heard this book, be baptized a second time...'

The idea that here Hippolytus is refering to Elchasai, the supposed author of the book, seems to me problematic for two reasons. First of all, this solution implies that Elchasai is the author of the book. But there is nothing in Hippolytus' report that supports this view. As we have seen, in IX 13: 1 Hippolytus writes that according to Alcibiades, *Elchasai was the one who had received the book.* For the rest, Elchasai seems to have remained a shadowy figure for Hippolytus (compare above).

Secondly, this solution does not account for the cross reference between the introductory report in IX 13 (cited above: 'And he appoints a baptism, *which I shall relate as well,* saying that those involved in any lasciviousness...') and the full quotation in IX 15 ('The baptism, then, he transmits in this way...'). What in IX 13 the heresiologist is promising to do, he fulfills in IX 15. In other words, if in IX 13 Hippolytus is referring to Alcibiades, he is likely to be doing this also in IX 15 (and remember that Hippolytus does not indicate a change of subject).

We noticed before that according to Hippolytus, Alcibiades decreed that sinners could under certain conditions be remitted from their sins by means of a baptism. This is precisely what we find in his words in IX 15. Christians who had committed grievous sins and wished to receive remission were summoned by Alcibiades *to hear the book* and then to be baptized a second time. We can conjecture why they should hear the book. Compare IX 15.5-6:

> ...let him call to witness the seven witnesses *written in this book*: 'Lo, I call to witness the heaven and the water and the holy spirits and the angels of prayer and the oil and the salt and the earth. I call these seven witnesses to testify that I shall sin no more, I shall not commit adultery, I shall not steal, I shall not do injustice, I shall not be

[18] Here the text of the only extant manuscript is damaged: τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτ.....ενοις.

> greedy, I shall not hate, I shall not break faith, nor shall I take pleasure in any evil deeds...' Upon these words let him be baptized...

Apparently the witnesses of the book were called upon in connection with a solemn abjuration of all sins.[19] This explains why hearing the book was mentioned as a condition for remission of sins: Alcibiades decreed that the second baptism could be received by Christians who had committed grave sins on condition that they were prepared to make the vow stipulated in the book. I admit that this solution is slightly hypothetical but I claim that it does full justice to the specific information of Hippolytus' report.

These observations imply that Hippolytus had not a first-hand knowledge of the mysterious book. But this is what can be expected if the heresiologist is right in reporting that Alcibiades treated the book as a secret document. Compare IX 17.1:

> Because he believes it would be absurd to have these great and ineffable mysteries trampled upon or to have them transmitted to many, he advises that they should be preserved as valuable pearls, saying this: 'Do not read this word [λόγος Ἰ to all people, and keep these commandments carefully, since not all men are faithful nor all women straight.'[20]

It is quite obvious that if we want to resolve questions about the content and the genre of the Book of Elchasai, it is of the greatest importance to establish whether the second baptism for Christian sinners was included in it (Jones) or not (the thesis of this paper). I have therefore spent some time discussing this question.

What we know with a sufficient degree of certainty, in my opinion, is that the book contained something that enabled Alcibiades (and the Elchasaite missionaries in Palestine, compare n. 12) to proclaim that those who listened to the book and believed in it, could receive remission of their sins. I suggest that we connect the proclamation of remission of sins with the solemn abjuration of all sins before seven non-human witnesses 'written in this book' (*Ref* IX 15.2 and 5-6).

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[19] This is confirmed by the fact that Epiphanius more than once refers to a list of witnesses prescribed by 'Elxai'. Note that the second list of *Pan* 19.1.6 is identical with the one reported in Hippolytus *Ref* IX 15.2 and 5. 'He (Elxai) decreed to them that salt and water and earth and bread and heaven and ether and wind should be honoured *as witnesses to an oath*. Once again he decreed seven other witnesses, viz. the heaven and the water and - as he says - holy spirits and angels of prayer and the oil and the salt and the earth' (*Pan* 19.1.6; cf. 19.6.4 and 30.17.4).

[20] In IX 15.2 Hippolytus remarks: 'These are the amazing, ineffable and great mysteries of Elchasai which he [Alcibiades] transmits to the worthy pupils.'

4. *Further information about the book in Hippolytus*

I now turn to the other data contained in Hippolytus' report relating to the content and the genre of the book that Alcibaides had brought with him from Syria. It will appear that these details are very relevant to the question of the genre of the book.

We have noted that in the very beginning of his report, Hippolytus mentions the book in question. Here the heresiologist quotes Alcibiades who is said to have asserted that the book

> had been revealed by an angel whose height was 24 *schoeni* - 96 miles - and whose girth was 4 *schoeni*; from shoulder to shoulder he was 6 *schoeni*; his footprints were three and a half *schoeni* long - that is fourteen miles -, the breadth being one and a half and the height half a *schoenus*. With him was a female whose dimensions, he said, accorded with those mentioned , the male being the Son of God and the female was called 'Holy Spirit'.

It is generally agreed that this description of the two angels was contained in the book.[21] Note that according to Alcibiades, the book was revealed or issued (χρηματισθεῖσα) by the gigantic male angel.[22] Hippolytus' report includes another passage that might be indicative of the purpose and genre of the mysterious book (*Ref* IX 16.2-4):

> Honour also the day of the Sabbath, since it is one of these days [one of the days, that is, on which 'the wicked stars of impiety' bear rule]. But beware of undertaking anything on the third day of the week too, for when again three years of Emperor Trajan are completed, from the time he reduced the Parthians to his own sway; when three years have been completed, the war among the impious angels of the North will break out. Thereby all impious kingdoms will be troubled.

It is not appropriate at this point to discuss this passage and its immediate context in the *Refutation* in any detail.[23] Suffice it here to note that the reference to a date in connection with Trajan's Parthian war is an indication that we are dealing with a passage of the book (according to *Ref* IX 13.1, Elchasai had received this book somewhere in Parthia). I suspect that the prediction to the effect that a cosmic war would break out 'when again three years of Emperor

[21] Epiphanius presents three parallel accounts of this description. Just as in the case of the list of witnesses, these accounts are not fully consonant.
[22] But see Jones, p. 97, n. 46.
[23] Cf. below and *The Revelation of Elchasai*, pp. 78f, 190-4.

Trajan are completed' is indicative of the apocalyptic message of the original book.

We may state, in conclusion, that the main interest of Hippolytus was in Alcibiades' establishment of a second baptism for Christians who had committed grave sins. Thanks to the fact that in his teaching Alcibiades referred to the book he had brought with him to Rome, we do get some (second-hand) information about this book. Indeed, *Ref* IX 13-17 cannot be used to reconstruct the order of the contents of the book. On the other hand, the few pieces of information about the book betray its apocalyptic tenor. One of the many questions remaining is whether the version of the book referred to by Alcibiades still had its original character. Another question concerns the Syrian and Jewish Christian background of Alcibiades. We shall see below that the latter question becomes important when we try to explain some striking parallels in Hippolytus and Epiphanius.

II. *Epiphanius, Panarion 19 (30.3 and 30.17; 53)*

Jones argues that while Hippolytus does not contain clear evidence for the order of fragments of the *Book of Elchasai*, such evidence can be found in Epiphanius.[24] With regard to Epiphanius, Jones does not deal with two preliminary questions which in my view are highly relevant, at least for the genre of the book, and for the question of whether we are dealing with a Christian or rather with a Jewish book.

1. *A Jewish or a Christian book?*

Jones is convinced that the Book of Elchasai was a *Christian* book. But several pieces of information in Epiphanius militate against this assumption. First of all, Epiphanius speaks about the book and its supposed author, Elxai, within the part of his work that is devoted to the Jewish 'heresies' (*Pan* 14-20). This is the more noticeable since Epiphanius dates the activity of Elxai to the period after Christ and he presents Elxai as the teacher of the fourth century Sampseans or Elkeseans. The reason for his connection of the book with a Jewish heresy rather than with the fourth century Sampseans is apparently that Epiphanius could not detect any clearly Christian feature in the book. Compare *Pan* 19.1.4-5, where Elxai and his teachings are introduced:

[24] P. 96. Jones claims that Epiphanius' indications of order 'have surprisingly received no attention at all in previous research'. He must have overlooked p. 127 of my study (above, n. 1). Cf. esp. n. 36: 'Epiphanius' reference to the book in 19.4.3 ("later in the book") is noteworthy. This reference suggests that the arrangement of the contents of the book was known to him.'

> Later on, at the time of Emperor Trajan, after the advent of the Saviour, a man called Elxai joined them [viz. the Jewish Osseans]. He was a false prophet. He wrote a book, ostensibly based on a prophecy or inspired by divine wisdom....He was erring in his way of life. And he was a deceiver in his doctrine. He was of Jewish origin and his ideas were Jewish, but he did not live according to the Law. For he smuggled in some things for others and made his own heresy. [Here the prescription of seven witnesses to an oath follows.][25]

2. *Epiphanius' combination of source data*

A second preliminary question concerns Epiphanius' curious combination of sources. Here we enter a very complicated and tricky area of research. Let me just shortly explain how I see this question. In *Pan* 19 (Osseans) and 53 (Sampseans), Epiphanius combines information from several sources: a) a few data about a Jewish sect of Osseans; b) a source on the early second-century book of 'Elxai' (or, for that matter, a version of the book itself); c) a source on a contemporary trans-Jordan sect, the Sampseans; and d) ideas of other trans-Jordan sects (notably ideas which Epiphanius attributed to Ebionites). Why were all these sources mixed up by Epiphanius?

Osseans-Sampseans: Perhaps Epiphanius had been informed that the Sampseans lived in the former residences of the Jewish Osseans.[26] This may have been reason enough for him to assume that the Sampseans had developed from the Osseans.

Sampseans-Book of Elxai: Obviously Epiphanius could not make out from his source on the book where exactly this book had been written and who was the author.[27] The heresiologist himself must have gathered that it was written by the teacher of the trans-Jordan Sampseans. It should be noted that Epiphanius may have been informed about this contemporary sect simply *through oral reports* (the Sampseans lived in areas to the east of the river Jordan and the Dead Sea, not far from the Palestinian region where Epiphanius himself had lived before he was elected bishop of Salamis in 367).[28] It is my

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[25] In 19.3.4 Epiphanius doubts whether the book spoke about Jesus Christ.

[26] Cf. *e.g. Pan* 20.3.2: 'the remnant of the Osseans, which no longer observes the Jewish way of life but has joined the Sampsites [Sampseans], who took their place in regions on the other side of the Dead Sea. Nowadays they have joined the heresy of the Ebionites'.

[27] We have no indications that his source for the book referred to a trans-Jordan sect, nor do we find indications that his source for the Sampseans contained any information about the book.

[28] The most specific detail he knows about these people concerns their worshipping two female descendants of 'Elxai' (53.1.2 and 5-6; cf. 19.2.4-5). They also spoke about a brother of Elxai, called 'Iexai', who, like Elxai, might have written a book (53.1.3; cf. 19.1.4).

guess that the name of the teacher of the Sampseans (Ἠλξαι) reminded Epiphanius of the name of the book, and that this was the only reason why he supposed that the book was written by the teacher of the Sampseans.

Elxai-Ebionites: For his extensive report on the Ebioneans or Ebionites,[29] Epiphanius used two different sets of sources; namely, earlier heresiological reports (Irenaeus, Eusebius), and later documents which for some reason or other he believed to have been composed (or rewritten) by the Ebionites (in particular the so-called *Periodoi Petrou*, a lost writing which according to modern scholarship must have been closely related to the surviving pseudo-Clementine literature). Since the ideas contained in the new documents, especially the Christological ideas, differed from those in his heresiological sources, Epiphanius supposed that in the course of time the Ebionites had changed their opinions about Christ. He suspected that they had done so under the influence of Elxai, the teacher of the neighbouring sect of the Sampseans.[30] This supposition in turn led him to the conclusion that the later Ebionites were acquainted with 'Elxai's phantasy' about 'Christ' as an man-like figure of enormous dimensions. Compare *Pan* 30.3.2-5 and 30.17.5-6:

> I suppose that after Elxaios had joined them [the Ebionites, that is], the false prophet <whom I mentioned before> in connection with the so-called Sampsenes and Ossenes and Elkeseans, they started to tell some phantastic ideas about Christ and the Holy Spirit... For some of them say that Christ is also Adam, the first man created and breathed into by God's inspiration. But others among them say that he is from above and that he was created before all, that he is a spirit, and being superior to angels, rules over all... that he comes into the world whenever he wishes, as he also came in Adam and appeared to the patriarchs clothed with a body...
>
> I have already explained above that Ebion did not yet know these matters [*viz.* the 'invocation' of seven non-human witnesses], but that after some time, when his followers had joined Elxai, they retained from Ebion circumcision and the Sabbath and the customs, but from Elxai the phantasy, so as to suppose that Christ is some man-like figure, invisible to men, ninety six miles long, ...

Indeed Epiphanius was merely conjecturing that Elxai was responsible for those Ebionite ideas and practices which were not reported by his standard sources on the Ebionites. Since he reports that Elxai was the teacher of the

[29] Cf. A.F.J. Klijn and G.J. Reinink, *Patristic Evidence for Jewish-Christian Sects*, Leiden 1973, 19-43, G. Koch, *A Critical Investigation of Epiphanius' Knowledge of the Ebionites*, Univ. of Pennsylvania 1976.

[30] But in Pan 20.3.2 he writes that in his time the 'Sampsites' joined the Ebionites (cf. above, n. 26).

Sampseans, we have to reckon with the possibility that he ascribed to the Sampseans ideas and customs known to him from documents which were allegedly Ebionite.[31]

3. *Christological ideas*

This might apply first of all to the Christological speculations which Epiphanius attributes to the Sampseans in 53.1.8:

> They confess Christ in name, believing that he is a creature, and that he appears time and again, and that for the first time he was formed in Adam and puts on and off Adam's body, whenever he wishes. He is called Christ, and the Holy Spirit, with a female shape, is his sister. Both of them ... are ninety-six miles long, ...[32]

Here we have the same combination of quite different Christological ideas as in the report of the Ebionites (30.3.3-5, quoted above). The most plausible assumption is that the second idea (the view of Christ as an angel of gigantic dimensions) stems from the Book of Elchasai (Elxai) but that Epiphanius found the first mentioned idea in one of his new Ebionite sources.[33]

In this connection I have to come back to Hippolytus' refutation of the teachings of Alcibiades. In his summarization of the most important utterances of this Syrian missionary (τῶν ῥητῶν κεφάλαια) in *Ref* IX 14 we find a comparable Christological speculation:

> He says that Christ was a man like all [others] and that he was not born for the first time when he was born of a virgin, but that already earlier and many times again, having been begotten and being born, he appeared and came into existence, thus going through several births and transmigrating from body to body.[34]

I propose that we explain the (partial) agreement between these passages not because they stem from the Book of Elchasai (as Jones and others suggest) but because the relevant ideas developed in a common social environment: the Ebionite documents used by Epiphanius originated in circles that were somehow related to the Syrian type of Christianity represented by Alcibiades.[35]

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[31] For the question of why Epiphanius regarded these documents as Ebionite writings see Koch (above, n. 30).

[32] Cf. the summary of tom. II 30.2.

[33] Klijn and Reinink come to the same conclusion (*Patristic Evidence*, 65).

[34] Cf. *Ref* X 29. 2.

[35] For the Christological speculations of early pseudo-Clementine Jewish Christians, see G. Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen*, Berlin , 2nd ed. 1981, 145-53.

4. *Water Rites*

We may safely assume that the therapeutical immersions of Alcibiades and the Ebionites have the same background. Compare *Pan* 30.17.4:

> When one of them [*i.e.* one of the Ebionites] falls ill or is bitten by a snake, he goes down to running water and invokes the names which are in Elxai, that is, of the heaven and the earth and the salt... .

Once again: Epiphanius does not state that this therapeutic water rite was mentioned in 'Elxai' but merely that the names (of the non-human witnesses) were mentioned there. Indeed we come upon a striking parallel to this rite in Hippolytus' report of the teachings of Alcibiades (*Ref* IX 15.4-5):

> He speaks thus: 'If a rabid or furious dog, in which there is a spirit of destruction, bite or savage or touch any man or woman or boy or girl, let this person in the same hour run fully clothed and go down into a river or a spring, wherever there is a deep spot, let him immerse himself fully clothed and let him pray with a faithful heart to the great and most high God and let him call to witness the seven witnesses who are written in this book: "Lo, I call to witness the heaven and the water and the holy spirits ... I call to witness these seven witnesses that I shall sin no more, I shall not commit adultery, I shall not steal ...".

Epiphanius' Ebionites and Alcibiades were familiar with a therapeutical immersion in running water. I see no reason to relate this rite to the Book of Elchasai (Elxai). It is more plausible that water rites were one of the characteristic features of the type of Jewish Christianity that Epiphanius' Ebionites and Alcibiades shared. Incidentally it should be observed that Epiphanius did not make Elxai responsible for the purification rites of the 'Ebionites'. Compare *Pan* 30.3.4-5:

> He [Ebion!] says that a man has to wash himself with water every day, after he had intercourse with a woman and left her, if there is enough water available either of the sea or of other waters. And likewise when he meets somebody when he comes up from the immersion and the baptism with water, he returns to wash himself in the same way, several times and fully clothed.

The fact that Epiphanius connects the purification rites of the Ebionites with Ebion and not with Elxai is an indication that he did not find clear traces

of ideas about baptism in his source for the book 'Elxai'. In connection with the present question (did the book contain ideas and practices to do with baptism?) we have to pay some attention to an instruction attributed to Elxai in *Pan*19.3.5-7:

> He forbids prayer eastward, saying that one should not turn one's face in that direction, but to Jerusalem from all sides ... so that from all regions the face is turned to Jerusalem...
> 'Children, do not go towards the sight of fire, for you shall err. This is an error', he says, 'because you see it quite near but it is far away. Do not go towards the sight of it but rather go towards the voice of water.'

What do these instructions mean? In the period after the destruction of the Temple, the direction of prayers towards Jerusalem was most likely motivated by eschatological expectations focusing on Jerusalem.[36] But apparently Epiphanius associates the direction of prayers with the temple cult in Jerusalem. This enables him to point to an inconsistency in Elxai's teaching: Elxai rejected the temple cult and yet he prescribed that one prays in the direction of Jerusalem.[37]

But if it was important to Epiphanius' argument about the inconsistency of Elxai's teaching that he reject the temple cult and the burnt offerings (and perhaps replace them by ritual purifications?), why, then, does he adduce as a text to prove this the enigmatic words about the sight of fire and the sound of water? I suspect that the answer to the question is this: because he did not find more unequivocal evidence in the book for the supposed anti-cultic tendency of the teaching of Elxai. The report of Elxai's rejection of burnt offerings was based merely on his questionable conjecture that several beliefs and practices of the Ebionites (particularly those features which he did not find in his standard sources on the Ebionites) were introduced by Elxai.[38]

Otherwise Epiphanius discusses only the first half of the sentence about the sight of fire and the sound of water. He is silent about the meaning of the

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[36] E. Peterson, *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis*, Freiburg 1959, 5ff.

[37] Pan 19.3.6: 'Note the madness of the deceiver. For he curses sacrifices and temple services as being alien to God and having never been offered to God at all according to the Fathers and the Law, and then he says that one should pray in the direction of Jerusalem, where the altar and the sacrifices were, the very man who renounces ... the altar and fire as being alien to God, saying that water is agreeable [to God] and fire alien with these words: 'Children, do not go toward the sight of fire, ...'

[38] Or, what comes down to the same, that as a trans-Jordan teacher Elxai must have shared a characteristic feature of trans-Jordan heresies: the disapproval of sacrifices and temple services.

second half of this statement. An attempt to interpret the metaphor 'the voice of water' hardly makes sense as long as we do not know its direct context.[39]

In a different connection (the report of the Sampseans) we come upon a statement that may or may not bear upon 'baptist' ideas and practices of these and other trans-Jordan sects (53.1.7):

> Water is revered by them and they take it for a god, asserting more or less that life comes from it.

In summary: in Epiphanius' reports of various Jewish and Christian sects resident in trans-Jordan areas, mention is made of 'baptist' ideas and rites. But we do not find conclusive reasons to assume that Epiphanius found these ideas in the book 'Elxai'. *Pan* 30.2.4-5 shows that Epiphanius did not hold Elxai but Ebion, the putative founder of the Ebionites, responsible for the water rites of this sect.

5. *Information about the book 'Elxai' in Epiphanius*

I do not ascribe to the book speculations about repeated manifestations of Christ (this is an 'Ebionite'concept that was wrongly attributed by Epiphanius to Elxai), nor ritual immersions (a ceremony which is wrongly to 'Elxai' by modern scholars). On these points my analysis of Epiphanius deviates from the interpretation advanced by Jones. In other cases I endorse Jones' interpretation. First of all, I agree that in the following passages we come upon citations (or paraphrases) of the book:

a. *Pan* 19.1.8-19.2,1 (cf. 19.3.2f and Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VI 38):

> [Elxai says that] it is not a sin if somebody happens to have worshipped idols in the face of an imminent persecution, if only he does not do so from conviction. [40]
> [Epiphanius adds that in this connection ,Elxai refers to a priest who lived during the Babylonian Exile, and who was a descendant and a namesake of Phineas, the ancient

[39] W. Brandt, *Elchasai. Ein Religionsstifter und sein Werk*, Leipzig 1912, 42, assumed that the words mean a substitution of water rites for sacrifices, others (Ritschl, Bousset, Rudolph) that the words were directed against the Persian fire cult. But the warning against the sight of fire may as well mean a rejection of martyrdom or an allusion to the sexual desire (cf. ps.-Clem. *Hom.* XI 26.4). See further *The Revelation of Elchasai*, 203f.

[40] This attitude is ascribed to the Elchasaite missionaries in Palestine by Origen: 'It (their doctrine) says that denial is a matter of indifference and that he who has understood this will under necessity deny with his lips but not in his heart' (in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VI 38).

hero of the faith. By worshipping the Artemis of Susa this Phineas is said to have escaped destruction by death under King Darius.]

b. The description of the two enormous angelic figures, paraphrased in 19.4.1f; 30.17.6f and 53.1.9 (compare Hippolytus, *Ref* IX 13.2-3, quoted above).

c. The instruction about the direction of prayer and the avoidance of fire in 19.3.5-7 (quoted above).

d. The seven witnesses to an oath (*Pan* 19.1.6; 19.6.4; 30.17.4; compare Hippolytus *Ref* IX 15.2 and 15.5-6; compare above, n. 19)

e. The cryptic formula in 19.4.3:

> Let nobody search for the meaning but only speak in prayer the following words: '*Abar anid moib nochile daasim ane daasim nochile moib anid abar selam.*'

This logogriph was deciphered in 1858 by two scholars working independently of each other (I. Stern and M.A. Levy). If the words are read in the reverse order, beginning by *ane*, it appears that we are dealing with a Greek transciption of an Aramaic sentence: 'I bear witness to you [plur.][41] on the Day of the Great Judgement.' We shall see below that this fragment is very relevant to the question of the original message of the book.

f. A last possible element of the book is the recommendation of marriage and the accompanying rejection of continency in *Pan* 19.1.7:

> He detests virginity, hates continency, and forces people into marriage. [42]

With some hesitation I agree with Jones that Epiphanius' reports contain some evidence relating to the order of the relevant fragments. (The survey of fragments given above follows the order proposed by Jones.) In *Pan* 19.3.2 Epiphanius writes: 'First (πρῶτον) Elxai teaches apostasy and hypocrisy'[43]; in 19.4.1: ' he next (εἶτα) describes Christ as a power (whose dimensions, he

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[41] Or: I will intercede on your behalf.

[42] But note that this same idea is attributed by Epiphanius to the Ebionites (*Pan* 30.18.2), probably not without reason: in some of the surviving ps.-Clementine writings, presbyters are commissioned to take care that young men marry in due time. *Ep. Clem. ad Jac.* 7:1; *Hom.* III 68: .

[43] Jones admits that this 'first' can also also mean 'especially', 'above all'. Perhaps Epiphanius wishes to expose a logical inconsistency in Elxai's teaching: on the one hand he teaches apostasy and hypocrisy, on the other hand he seems to confess Christ (19.3.4: 'But again he apparently confesses Christ in name..'), cf. above, n. 37. Otherwise, the heresiologist adds that he could not make out whether in speaking of 'Christ' the author of the book meant 'our Lord Jesus Christ', above, n. 25.

also indicates)'. It is not fully certain, though, as Jones makes clear, that the two adverbs carry a sequential meaning.[44] We are on more solid ground in 19.4.3 where Epiphanius states: 'But what deceitful and empty talk he (Elxai) utters *later in the book* (ὕστερον ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ)'. Here he introduces the above-quoted cryptic formula. I assume, as Jones does, that Epiphanius claimed to know the order of the contents of the book. (But does this mean that he had seen the book?)

In Epiphanius I find several pieces of information suggesting that the book contained an apocalyptic message:

In *Pan* 19.1.7 the heresiologist states that Elxai had written a book 'allegedly based on a prophecy or inspired by divine wisdom'; in 18.1.7 that Elxai 'smuggled in some phantastic ideas allegedly from a revelation (δῆθεν <ἐξ> ἀποκαλύψεως)'.

In the cryptic formula quoted in 19.4.3 mention is made of the Judgment Day: 'I bear witness to you on the Day of the Great Judgment'.

Epiphanius gives a clue to the meaning of the name Elchasai/Elxai. His explanation may shed some light on the message of the book. In 19.2.2 he states: 'In their phantasy they [the Sampseans] call this man [*i.e.* Elxai] "Hidden Power", since *el* [*hyl*?] means "power" and *xai* [*ksy*?] means "hidden"'. Obviously Epiphanius believed that 'Elchasai'/ 'Hidden Power' was the name of the Sampsean teacher. On the other hand he states that this teacher (whom he considered to be the author of the book) describes 'Christ' (i.e. the gigantic man-like angel, the Son of God) as a 'power' (19.4.1) and that this figure was invisible to men (30.17.6). A combination of these statements comes quite close to a circumscription of the name or title 'Hidden Power'. So Epiphanius not only discloses the meaning of the name 'Elchasai' but he also (though unwittingly) hints that this name originally belonged to the enormous male angel. Was the male angel of huge dimensions, the Hidden Power, thought to be hidden with God until on the Day of the Great Judgment he would intercede on behalf of the faithful?[45]

III. *The Purpose and Message of the Book*

Above I analyzed the relevant evidence for the Book of Elchasai (mainly Hippolytus and Epiphanius) separately. Now I will bring together and shortly discuss all those source data that in my opinion pertain to the purpose and

[44] πρῶτον may mean 'above all' and εἶτα may express indignation, cf. Jones, 94.

[45] See *The Revelation of Elchasai*, 196-9.

message of this book.[46] First a few observations about the time and place of its origin.

The prediction of a war among the impious angels, 'when again three years of Emperor Trajan are completed, from the time he brought the Parthians under his sway' (Hippolytus, *Ref* IX 16.4) enables us to date and to locate the book quite exactly. It must have been written during Trajan's Parthian war of 114-117 C.E., more precisely in the autumn of 116, when, according to the ancient mode of inclusive counting, three years of Roman dominion over northern Mesopotamia had been completed. The Parthian revolt against Trajan in the second half of 116, in which Mesopotamian Jews had an active share,[47] ended in a disaster. During the Roman reprisals, a slaughter took place among the Jews of Mesopotamia. It is a plausible guess that the book was written shortly after these events. At that time the author could not yet know that the Roman armies would soon withdraw from Parthia (which happened in the summer of 117).

Apparently, the anonymous author of the book expected that after the completion of another three years of Roman dominion a new war would rage, indeed a war of cosmic dimensions: 'when again three years are completed...the war among the impious angels will break out. Thereby all impious kingdoms will be troubled.'

This prediction of a war of cosmic dimensions did not come true. Yet the book kept on being read and transmitted. In fact the information of our sources relates to one or more Greek versions which were used one to two and a half centuries later.[48] We cannot exclude the possibility that these versions included reinterpretations of the original message. I mention two instances where a more or less radical revision of the text can be suspected.

In the version of the book cited by Alcibiades, the prediction of a war among the impious angels and the attendant troubles in all impious kingdoms is embedded in a warning against the evil influence of the war-like Mars, the ruler of Tuesday: 'Beware of undertaking anything on the third day of the week too, for when again three years of Emperor Trajan are completed...' Are we entitled to assume that the reference to the future Roman rule over the Parthians ending in a cosmic war was obscured in the Greek version (perhaps so as to give this prognostication a more lasting and general significance)?

We come upon a similar phenomenon in Epiphanius. In the fragment of the book quoted in *Pan* 19.4.3 the words, 'I will bear witness to you (or:

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[46] For a more detailed discussion I refer to *The Revelation of Elchasai*, 189ff.

[47] The rebellion coincided with Jewish uprisings in several countries of the Diaspora.

[48] There are several reasons to assume that the original language was Aramaic: the intended audience of the book (Jews living in northern Mesopotamia), the Aramaic logogriph, the name or title 'Elchasai (*hyl ksy?*)'.

intercede on your behalf) on the Day of the Great Judgment', are left untranslated which makes them a quite incomprehensible formula: 'Let nobody search for the meaning but only speak in prayer the following words, "*abar anid*"...' I assume that the relevant words were supposed to be wholly understandable for the listeners they were originally intended for, and that its message was highly relevant to them. But in Epiphanius' source for the book, the message of this text fragment was disguised so as to become unrecognizable.

In view of these uncertainties our considerations of the book's purpose, message, and genre must necessarily remain tentative and hypothetical. Was the original book written in order to encourage the Jews who had survived the Roman massacre in northern Mesopotamia in 116 C.E.? Was the huge male angel, designated as a 'Hidden Power' and as the 'Great King',[49] expected to defend and protect them?[50]

Not only did the book announce a cosmic catastrophe and the Day of the Great Judgment, it also stipulated how the hearers should prepare themselves for the the imminent eschatological events: they were summoned to formally declare before seven non-human witnesses that they would no longer commit any sins (Hippolytus, *Ref* IX 15.5-6). It must have been of vital importance to the person who had abjured all kinds of sins to avoid further trespasses. Was this the background of the idea that in the face of imminent persecution, outward denial of once's faith is permitted (Epiphanius, *Pan* 19.1.8-2.1; cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*. VI 38)? After the massacre of Jews in northern Mesopotamia in the summer and autumn of 116, there was every reason for the surviving Jews to fear that the Romans would soon put an end to the religious liberty they had enjoyed under the Parthians. The passage under discussion may mean that denying one's faith under coercion is not a violation of the vow made before the seven witnesses.[51]

Interestingly, the Greek version of the book (at least the version used by the Elchasaite missionaries in Rome and Palestine) still purported to reveal how the hearers could be remitted from their sins and be sure of their future bliss (compare Hippolytus, *Ref* IX 13.4; 15.1-5; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VI 38). Apparently it was this message that induced Syrian Jewish Christians to visit the churches of Rome and Palestine. With reference to their book they

[49] Hippolytus, *Ref* IX 15.1; Epiphanius, *Pan* 19.3.4.

[50] In that case we may assume that some of the duties of the guardian angel of Israel, Michael, 'the Great Prince', were transferred to this enormous angelic figure.

[51] Marriage may have been recommended in the book (Epiphanius, *Pan* 19.1.7) as an institution against fornication (cf. *e.g.* Paul's first Letter to the Corinthians 7:2,5,9). In some Jewish and Jewish-Christian texts, fornication is seen as the second gravest sin (after idolatry).

proclaimed a new remission of sins ('a remission other than Jesus Christ has given': Origen, in Eusebius). The second baptism for Christians who had committed grave (or 'mortal') sins was not included in the book. As we have noticed, Hippolytus reports that this baptism was appointed by Alcibiades who - still according to Hippolytus - in doing so was acting according to Calixtus' line.

Was the book of Elchasai an apocalyptic writing? I am inclined to answer this question in the affirmative but with some qualifications. Firstly, this designation applies to the original Aramaic book rather than to the Greek version cited in our sources. Secondly, the book was an apocalyptic writing in so far as it conveyed an urgent eschatological message worded in apocalyptic language. Otherwise it may have been just a pamphlet.

The question of the book's genre is complicated by our hypothesis that on essential points the message of the Greek version deviated from that in the original Aramaic text. But however radical the revision may have been, I do not see reasons to believe that it was transformed into a Christian Church order.

Augustine, Contra Adimantum, Pseudo-Titus, BG 8502.4 and the Acts of Peter: Attacking Carl Schmidt's Theory of an Original Unity Between the Act of Peter and the Acts of Peter

Andrea Lorenzo Molinari, Marquette University

The Act of Peter, Papyrus Berolinensis 8502.4, was discovered several years before the end of the 19th century, presumably somewhere near Akhmim in Upper Egypt. The actual date and location of the discovery is unknown since the codex which contains the Act of Peter was found in an antiquities shop in Cairo in 1896. After its appearance and subsequent recognition, Carl Schmidt brought it to Berlin and published its contents in 1903.[1] Since 1896, it has been preserved in the Department of Egyptology of the National Museum in Berlin. The codex itself contains three other texts, the Gospel of Mary, the Apocryphon of John and the Sophia of Jesus Christ -- all of which are gnostic in character.

At the time of Schmidt's publication the text received its first critical analysis.[2] Following this first study, a good portion of the overall debate has centered on this text's relationship with the apocryphal Acts of Peter (preserved in its most complete form in the Latin manuscript, Actus Vercellenses).

Schmidt himself viewed the Act of Peter as part of the long-lost first

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[1] The basic details of the circumstances surrounding the discovery are described by Schmidt in his Prelude, (Die alten Petrusakten im zusammenhang der apokryphen Apostellitteratur nebst einem neuentdeckten Fragment [TU 24; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1903] 1-2).

[2] Schmidt was the first to publish the Coptic text (Die alten Petrusakten, 1-7). As far as I have been able to determine there have been three subsequent publications of the Coptic text: Walter C. Till and Hans-Martin Schenke, eds., Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502 (TU 60; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1972) 296-319; James Brashler and Douglas M. Parrott, ed., Nag Hammadi Codices V,2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,1 and 4 (NHS 11; Leiden: Brill, 1979) 478-93; and, most recently, Louise Roy, L'Acte de Pierre [BG 4] (BCNH Section Textes 18; Québec: Les Presses de l' Université Laval, 1987). It is not my intention here to review all of the times this text has been published and into which languages. This has already been accomplished by Roy (L'Acte de Pierre [BG 4], 172-74).

third of the Acts of Peter. Although his 1903 introduction received a fairly warm reception,[3] he endured some criticism from A. Hilgenfeld.[4] He was also challenged, this time with more resolve, by Gerhard Ficker in 1904, a position Ficker reaffirmed in 1924.[5] Unfortunately, Ficker's comments were not as thorough as they should have been. Thus he left himself vulnerable to a determined refutation. Not surprisingly, Schmidt responded almost immediately in that same year,[6] pushing aside Ficker's light resistance, and

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[3] Cf. some of the early critical reviews: Ernst von Dobschütz, TLZ 12 (1903) 352-55; M. R. James, JTS 5 (1904) 293-96; and J. Flamion, RHE 5 (1904) 820-29.

[4] Hilgenfeld, "Die alten Actus Petri," ZWT 46 (1903) 321-41.

[5] There are three works by Ficker that come into play here. The first two were published in 1904, the third in 1924. In the first analysis (a brief introduction in the first edition of Neutestamentliche Apokryphen), Ficker hesitatingly accepted Schmidt's proposal of an original unity between the Coptic Act of Peter and the Acts of Peter, albeit with some reservations. In this collection the text of the Act of Peter was published in German as part of the Acts of Peter ("Petrusakten," in Edgar Hennecke, ed., Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in Verbindung mit Fachgelehrten in deutscher Übersetzung und mit Einleitungen [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904] 383-423; hereafter "Petrusakten I"). However, in the same year (1904), Ficker also published a rather extensive analysis of the Acts of Peter as part of a handbook intended to accompany the texts provided in the previous volume. In this study Ficker included a brief critical analysis of Schmidt's 1903 article in which he concluded, contrary to Schmidt, that the Act of Peter was probably not the long-lost first part of the Acts of Peter ("Petrusakten," in E. Hennecke, ed., Handbuch zu den Neutestamentlichen Apokryphen in Verbindung mit Fachgelehrten [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904] 395-491; see especially 400-4; hereafter "Petrusakten II"). Finally, in 1924, Ficker pushed Schmidt too far. In the second edition of Neutestamentliche Apokryphen, Ficker, acting upon his previously stated conviction, refused to publish the Act of Peter as part of the Acts of Peter ("Actus Vercellenses," in E. Hennecke, ed., Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in Verbindung mit Fachgelehrten in deutscher Uebersetzung und mit Einleitungen [2nd ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1924] 226–49).

[6] From Schmidt's own words it is clear that, although irritated by Ficker's comments in 1904 ("Petrusakten II," 400-404), it was Ficker's refusal in 1924 to even publish the Act of Peter that was the final straw that provoked Schmidt's extended argument ("Studien zu den alten Petrusakten," ZKG 43 [1924] 321). Schmidt also wrote a second article on the Acts of Peter ("Studien zu den alten Petrusakten: Die Komposition," ZKG 45 [1927] 481-

since then his arguments have attained general acceptance.[7] Due to space considerations Schmidt's discussion cannot be evaluated adequately here. However, for the purposes of contextualization, it is profitable to sketch the basic lines of his thinking in regard to the relationship between the Act of Peter and the Acts of Peter. Schmidt's arguments can be divided into three categories: 1) his general observations on the title Act of Peter itself;[8] 2) nine

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513).

[7] E.g., Roy states, "That this Coptic fragment was part of the ancient Πράξεις Πέτρου, there cannot be any doubt, as was established by C. Schmidt," (L'Acte de Pierre [BG 4], 177). See also Léon Vouaux, Les Actes de Pierre (Documents pour servir a l'étude des origines chrétiennes; Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1922) 35-38; Brashler and Parrott, Nag Hammadi Codices V,2-5 and VI, 474-75; Kurt Rudolf, Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987) 28; James E. Goehring, "Act of Peter," in David N. Freedman, ed., ABD 5 (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 266; S. Kent Brown, "Act of Peter," in Aziz S. Atiya, ed., The Coptic Encyclopedia (8 vols; New York: Macmillan, 1991) 1.57; and J. K. Elliott, The Apocryphal New Testament (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993) 391. Also, Michel Tardieu, while not describing the relationship between the Act of Peter and the Acts of Peter in detail, still assumes (presumably following Schmidt) that they were at one time a single text. He attributes the "suppression" of the Coptic fragment to its "fundamentalism," (Érits Gnostiques: Codex de Berlin [Sources Gnostiques et Manichéennes 1; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1984] 69).

[8] Schmidt begins his observations on the title by stating that the Act of Peter is "only a little episode out of a bigger work that had Peter as its object" ("Studien I," 323). He notes that the Coptic incipit, ⲦⲈⲠⲢⲀⲔⲒⲤ ⲘⲠⲈⲦⲢⲞⲤ, preserves the original Greek title, Πράξις Πέτρου. Schmidt argues that because the Coptic Act of Peter calls itself an "act" (i.e., associating itself with the genre "apocryphal acts") it must associated with a larger collection of acts (and to Schmidt's mind there can only be one collection of Petrine acts!). In fact, Schmidt's entire argument is based on the fallacious assumption of a single source in antiquity for Petrine acts-like traditions. Schmidt admits that, "Now all these points noted here are not convincing in the same degree; because these points of contact could be shown also with other acts of the apostles. However in their totality they encourage the conviction, that the little πράξις must be placed in some connection to a fictitious depiction of the life of Peter, and that can only be the ancient πράξεις Πέτρου, such as that available to us in the Actus Vercellenses (ibid., 328). We see this same presupposition at work again in Schmidt's later comments concerning evidence drawn from the Acts of Philip: "If now it is certain that

points of consensus in thought and language between the Acts of Peter and the Act of Peter;[9] and 3) the witnesses of various early Christian documents.[10] Of these documents, a key early Christian text upon which Schmidt builds his argument of an original unity between the Act of Peter and the Acts of Peter is a short passage from Augustine's anti-Manichean treatise, Contra Adimantum -- in particular his discussion in chapter 17.[11] In this chapter, Augustine is attempting to refute the claims of Adimant, a disciple of Mani, who suggested that the writings of the Old Testment contradict those of the

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the author of the Acts of Philip has known and used the Acts of Peter, then everyone who is unbiased will naturally come to the conclusion, that he has also read the story of Peter's daughter in the same Acts of Peter. Or is he expected to have used still other Petrine stories as well?" (ibid., 332).

[9] The following is a brief paraphrase of Schmidt's nine points of consensus between the Acts of Peter and the Coptic Act of Peter:

1. Narrated events occur on a Sunday.
2. Healing of the blind, deaf and lame occurs in both texts.
3. Visions play a big role.
4. The description of the paralyzed state is similar.
5. Sexual asceticism is the moral ideal.
6. Similar phrases are used for the Eucharistic sharing.
7. The phrase "eyes of the flesh, eyes of the soul" appears in both texts.
8. God is portrayed as a merciful God in both texts.
9. The names and/ or descriptive terms used for God and/ or Christ are similar.

[10] The four witnesses which Schmidt claims support his position of an original unity of the Act of Peter and the Acts of Peter are found in Jerome, Against Jovinianus 1.26, the Acts of Nereus and Achilleus, Augustine, Contra Adimantum 17.5 and Acts of Philip 142. In this study, I shall focus my attention on the third of these four witnesses.

[11] According to William A. Jurgens, "The Contra Adimantum Manichaei discipulum was written between 393 and 396 A. D., perhaps in 394. Its purpose, as given in the Corrections 1.21.1, was to refute certain writings of the Manichean Adimant, who had published his arguments that the Old Testament books are in opposition to those of the New," (The Faith of the Early Fathers, 3.46). In the following argument, unless otherwise noted, I have relied on the Latin text and French translation available in R. Jolivet and M. Jourjon, Six Traités anti-Manichéens (Bibliothèque augustinienne, Oeuvres de Saint Augustin 17; Bruges, Belgium: Desclée de Brouwer, 1961).

New Testament. According to Adimant, the words of Exodus 23:22-24 contradict those words spoken in the gospel by Jesus (i.e., "If you will only listen to his voice and do all I tell you, then I shall be an enemy to your enemies, and I shall harass those who harass you. My angel will go before you and bring you to the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Canaanites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, and I will make an end of them. You are not to bow down to their gods; you are not to worship them or observe their rites. Rather, you must tear down all their images and smash their sacred pillars." -- versus -- "But what I tell you is this: Love your enemies and pray for your persecutors..."). Of course, Augustine is concerned to attack the suggestion of two separate Gods which is implied in the Manichee's argument, so he launches into a series of exegetical gymnastics in which he tries to demonstrate that the vengeance of God is without hatred -- it is for the ultimate salvation of those God loves. To prove this, Augustine refers his audience to Paul's statement in 1 Corinthians 11:28-32:

> Everyone must test himself before eating the bread and drinking from the cup. For he who eats and drinks eats and drinks judgement on himself if he does not discern the body. That is why many of you are feeble and sick, and a number have died. But if we examined ourselves, we should not fall under judgement. When, however, we do fall under the Lord's judgement, he is disciplining us to save us from being condemned with the rest of the world (εἰ δὲ ἑαυτοὺς διεκρίνομεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκρινόμεθα. κρινόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ [τοῦ] κυρίου παιδευόμεθα, ἵνα μὴ σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ κατακριθῶμεν).

Basing his position on this text, Augustine states: "There is the proof manifested that God corrects with love, not only by infirmities and sicknesses, but also by temporal death, those who he does not wish to damn with the world" (17.3). This last statement eventually leads to a section in 17.5 in which Augustine discusses the apostles's growth in understanding of this proper loving-vengeance of God. Augustine refers to Luke 9:53-56, a text in which the disciples ask Jesus if they should call down fire from heaven upon a village that refused to accept Jesus, as an example of the disciples's initial misunderstanding of vengeance tempered with love. Augustine compares this

gospel text with the story of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1-10), which he touts as an example of vengeance with love. Here Augustine, recognizing that the Manichees reject the canonical Acts of the Apostles, attempts to reinforce his point by drawing upon three further examples of vengeance with love which are taken from some of the apocryphal writings accepted by the Manicheans themselves. Thus Augustine is not rejecting these stories but rather, he is using texts known and appreciated by the Manicheans as weapons in his argument against them. The text that follows is that which most directly concerns us here, Augustine's reference to the story of Peter's daughter:

> They show great blindness in condemning this since, among the apocrypha, they read and treat as an important work the one which I have mentioned about the apostle Thomas and about the daughter of Peter himself who became paralyzed through the prayers of her father, and about the gardener's daughter who died at the prayer of the said Peter (cum in apocryphis pro magno opere legant et illud, quod de apostolo Thoma commemoraui, et ipsius Petri filiam paralyticam factam precibus patris et hortulani filiam ad precem ipsius Petri esse mortuam); and they reply that this was expedient for them, that the one should be crippled with paralysis and the other die; nevertheless they do not deny that this was done at the prayers of the apostle.

The first of Augustine's examples is a story about Thomas which appears in the apocryphal Acts of Thomas 6-9. Given the immediate context of Augustine's discussion of the canonical Acts and the fact that the first of his comparison texts is from a known collection of apocryphal acts, Schmidt assumes that the other two stories mentioned by Augustine must also derive from apocryphal acts.[12] Here he assumes both a similarity of genre (a point understood easily enough considering all three examples are miraculous narratives with an apostle as a protagonist) and, in the case of the two Petrine stories, an identity of source as well. While the first of these assumptions may be acceptable based on the limited information we have, the second demands further inquiry.

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[12] Schmidt, "Studien I," 332-34.

The word "apocryphis" or apocryphal writings (the ablative neuter plural in Latin) used by Augustine to describe the source material from which the three stories were taken implies at least two separate sources -- a conclusion with which Schmidt would agree. However, why does Schmidt assume that the story of Peter's daughter and the story of the gardener's daughter derive from the same apocryphal source (i.e., the Acts of Peter)? This is a particularly interesting question when one considers the facts that 1) Augustine's conception of apocrypha is not limited to the genre apocryphal acts; 2) nowhere else are these two texts associated; and 3) neither text is part of the Vercelli acts.

There are several places where Augustine discusses the difference between canonical and apocryphal writings.[13] The most important of these instances occurs in his City of God 15.23:

> Let us omit, then, the fables of those scriptures which are called apocryphal, because their obscure origin was unknown to the fathers from whom the authority of the true Scriptures has been transmitted to us by a most certain and well-ascertained succession. For though there is some truth in these apocryphal writings, yet they contain so many false statements, that they have no canonical authority. We cannot deny that Enoch, the seventh from Adam, left some divine writings, for this is asserted by the Apostle Jude in his canonical epistle. But it is not without reason that these writings have no place in that canon of Scripture which was preserved in the temple of the Hebrew people by

[13] On Christian Doctrine 2.8 is an important text which actually delineates the books which are considered by Augustine to be canonical. Unfortunately, Augustine does not use the term "apocryphal" in this passage and does not provide a list of those books he calls simply "the others" which he regards to contain "dangerous falsehoods and delusions." In Contra Faustum 11.2, Augustine indirectly defines the term "apocryphal": "It is one thing to reject the books themselves, and to profess no regard for their authority, as the Pagans reject our Scriptures, and the Jews the New Testament, and as we reject any books peculiar to your sect, or any other heretical sect, and also the apocryphal books, which are so called, not because of any mysterious regard paid to them, but because they are mysterious in their origin, and in the absence of clear evidence, have only some obscure presumption to rest upon..."

> the diligence of successive priests; for their antiquity brought them under suspicion, and it was impossible to ascertain whether these were his genuine writings, and they were not brought forward as genuine by the persons who were found to have carefully preserved the canonical books by a successive transmission. So that the writings which are produced under his name, and which contain these fables about the giants, saying that their fathers were not men, are properly judged by prudent men to be not genuine; just as many writings are produced by heretics under the names both of other prophets, and, more recently, under the names of the apostles, all of which, after careful examination, have been set apart from canonical authority under the title of Apocrypha (sicut multa sub nominibus et aliorum prophetarum et recentiora sub nominibus apostolorum ab haereticis proferuntur, quae omnia nomine apocryphorum ab auctoritate canonica diligenti examinatione remota sunt).

From this passage we can extrapolate at least one specific book which Augustine classes under the heading, apocrypha -- I Enoch.[14] As for other apocryphal works, Augustine makes only the general statement that these writings are associated with the prophets and apostles -- a designation which could include such diverse works as the Ascension of Isaiah, 5 Ezra, the Apocalypse of Paul and, of course, the five major apocryphal acts. Thus no specific indication of genre can be gleaned from this description. This assessment is reinforced when one examines the other times that the word "apocrypha" is used throughout the corpus of Augustine's works.[15] For example, in Answer to an Enemy of the Law and the Prophets 2.4.14 (ca. AD 420), Augustine states:

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[14] Jude 6, the NT passage to which Augustine refers, reflects I Enoch 6-10; 18.14-16 and 21.2.

[15] Surprisingly, the word "apocrypha" in its various forms appears only 21 times: Epistle 237 (4 times); Questions on the Heptateuch 4.42; On the Gospel of John 124.2; Eighty-Three Diverse Questions 59.1; The City of God 15.23 (3 times); Heresies 46.15; 70.2; Contra Adimatum 17.2, 5; Contra Faustum 11.2; 13.13; 22.79; 23.9; Contra Felicem 2.6; Answer to an Enemy of the Law and the Prophets 1.20.39; 2.4.14 (2 times).

He says, "When the apostles asked him what they should think of the prophets of the Jews who were thought to have in the past prophesied something about his coming, our Lord was disturbed that they should still have such ideas and answered them, "You have abandoned the living one who is before you, and you tell stories about the dead." He has taken this testimony from some apocryphal writings (Sed apostolis, inquit, dominus noster interrogantibus de Iudaeorum prophetis, quid sentiri deberet, qui de aduentu eius aliquid cecinisse in praeteritum putabantur, commotus talia eos etiam nunc sentire, respondit: Dimisistis uiuum, qui ante uos est et de mortuis fabulamini... [quandoquidem hoc testimonium de scripturis nescio quibus apocryphis protulit]).[16]

Those familiar with the Nag Hammadi library and, more specifically, the Gospel of Thomas will immediately recognize this saying as existing as part of Logion 52, "His followers (ⲘⲀⲐⲎⲦⲎⲤ) said to him, 'Twenty-four prophets have spoken in Israel, and they all spoke of you.' He said to them, 'You have disregarded the living one who is in your presence and have spoken of the dead' (ⲡⲉϫⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥ̀ⲓ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϫⲉ ϫⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲱⲁϫⲉ ϩ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲥⲣⲁⲏⲗ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲏⲡⲟⲩ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲕ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲁϫⲉ ϩⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ).[17] There are other texts in which Augustine's knowledge of a variety of apocryphal works is illuminated. In Contra Faustum 23.9, Augustine makes mention of an apocryphal work in which the generation of Mary from her father, Joachim, is described. It is likely that this writing to which Augustine refers is none other than the Protoevangelium of James. Furthermore, there is also the fleeting reference,

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[16] The Latin text is taken from Klaus-D. Daur, ed., Sancti Aurelii Augustini Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum; Commonitorium Orosii ; et, Sancti Aurelii Augustini Contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas (CC, Series Latina 49; Aurelii Augusttini opera 15.3; Turnholt: Brepols, 1985).

[17] Translation taken from Marvin W. Meyer, The Gospel of Thomas: The Hidden Sayings of Jesus (San Francisco: Harper, 1992).

in Eighty-Three Diverse Questions 59.1, to an apocryphal text which apparently offered an exegetical exposition of the Parable of the Ten Virgins (Matt. 25:1-13). Augustine also uses this term to refer to passages from the apocryphal acts of the apostles. This is the most common referent for this the term "apocrypha" in Augustine's writings -- including the references in Contra Adimantum 17.2 and 17.5, there are nine instances where it is used to describe various apocryphal acts.[18] However, the "commonness" of this use is somewhat deceptive as four of the nine appear in one instance (Ep. 237) and the same passage from the Acts of Thomas is mentioned in three of the remaining five instances. The conclusions that must necessarily be drawn here are 1) the word "apocrypha" in Augustine is not specific to any one type of literature and 2) its range of meaning is much the same as the modern understanding of this term. Therefore, the appearance of the term in Contra Adimantum 17.5, despite partially referring to the passage from the Acts of Thomas, is no certain indication that the other two stories, although including an apostle as a protagonist, can be assumed to be taken from works which resemble the genre, apocryphal acts. They could have just as easily come from any number of a variety of apocryphal texts.

Schmidt also ignores the facts that nowhere else but in Contra Adimantum 17.5 are the stories of Peter's daughter and the gardener's daughter associated and that neither story appears in the Vercelli acts. I believe that Schmidt's argument is based on the premise of guilt by association as well as the assumption of one collection of Petrine narratives (which I elaborated

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[18] Epistle 237 (4 times), discusses a hymn of Jesus that is found in the Acts of John 94-96; On the Gospel of John 124.2, describes the narrative of John's death which is found in Acts of John 111-115; Contra Faustum 22.79, recounts the same story about the apostle Thomas that appears in Contra Adimatum 17.2 and 17.5; Contra Felicem 2.6 (2 times), makes a general reference to apocryphal acts. In Answer to an Enemy of the Law and the Prophets 1.20.39, Augustine alludes to "apocryphal writings written under the names of Andrew and John." Since he provides no description of the actual contents included in these works it is difficult to ascertain what these works are apocryphal acts or not. Roland J. Teske suggests that the books referred to here are the apocryphal acts of Andrew and John (Arianism and Other Heresies [The Works of Saint Augustine 1.18; Hyde Park, NY: New City, 1990] 405 n. 167).

earlier). In the evidence Schmidt presents from the Acts of Nereus and Achilleus, the basis of his assertion that the story of Peter's daughter (in this case, Petronilla) was originally part of the Acts of Peter lies in the author's knowledge and use of episodes from the Acts of Peter. (Although, as I have demonstrated elsewhere this use was probably not a reliance upon an actual written text that was periodically consulted as the Acts of Nereus and Achilleus was created.)[19] Schmidt fails to take into account the apparent possibility that other sources could have been consulted and neglects the obvious seam in the Acts of Nereus and Achilleus between the materials from the known Acts of Peter (from the Vercelli manuscript which is, I grant, an incomplete document) and the story of Petronilla, which has no demonstrable connection with the material from the Acts of Peter. The case is similar with the story of the gardener's daughter which is known to us in its most complete form in the Epistle of Pseudo-Titus. As with the Acts of Nereus and Achilleus, we are again dealing with a text that has drawn upon a number of sources. Aurelio de Santos Otero, commenting on Ps.-Titus, states, "What is most striking is not only the external apocryphal guise of the 'Epistula Titi,' but also the liberal use that is made in it of all sorts of apocrypha, especially of the Acts of the Apostles and of some Apocalypses."[20]

Certainly, the story the gardener's daughter is not present in the Vercelli acts. The closest connection the two texts have is that Ps.-Titus does show an awareness of the Acts of Peter with its reference to the Rufina episode from Acts of Peter 2 ("If the apostle Paul forbade communion to a woman caught in an adulterous relation with a strange man, how much more when those concerned are saints dedicated to Christ!"). However, the significance of this point in common is dubious. It is clear that the relationship between Ps.-Titus

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[19] A full treatment of the evidence from the Acts of Nereus and Achilleus is provided in an, as yet, unpublished manuscript entitled: `I never knew the man': The Independence of the Coptic Act of Peter (Papyrus Berolinensis 8502.4) from the Apocryphal Acts of Peter, its Genre and Origins, which treats Schmidt's argument and the Act of Peter as a whole in detail.

[20] De Santos Otero, "The Pseudo-Titus Epistle: Introduction," New Testament Apocrypha, 2.53.

and the Acts of Peter is not one of direct dependence (i.e., a direct quote) but rather an indirect dependence -- possibly reflecting the summarizing of this episode from the redactor's memory. Furthermore, Ps.-Titus demonstrates a knowledge of numerous apocryphal texts -- some that can be reasonably identified yet also including many others that remain shrouded in mystery.[21] In point of fact, other than the summary of the Rufina episode (whose protagonist is Paul, not Peter),[22] Ps.-Titus does not demonstrate any special affinity with Peter or any other known episode from the Acts of Peter.

It is amazing to me that the mere presence of another Petrine story, alongside of the story of Peter's daughter, is so readily taken by Schmidt as evidence of an original connection of the Act of Peter with the Acts of Peter. This is particularly interesting when one considers the absence of both the stories (Peter's daughter and the gardener's daughter) from the Vercelli acts. In my opinion, it is questionable whether the story of Peter's daughter and the story of the gardener's daughter ever were part of the Acts of Peter. While I cannot pile up nine points of difference between the stories of Peter's daughter and the gardener's daughter on the one hand and the Acts of Peter on the other, I am convinced that a few "smooth stones" of difference will prove deadly to Schmidt's argument. To this end I offer four points -- the first two are primarily intended to refute the connection between the Act of Peter and the Acts of Peter and the second two are aimed at refuting any connection between the story of the gardener's daughter and the Vercelli acts.

The first point, offered against an original unity of the story of Peter's daughter and the Acts of Peter, is the fact that no character from this supposed "extract" (except Peter) appears again in the Vercelli acts. This is also the case

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[21] D. De Bruyne was the first to publish the apocryphal extracts that appear in Ps.-Titus ("Nouveaux fragments des Actes de Pierre, de Paul, de Jean, d'André et de l'Apocalypse d'Élie," RBén 25 [1908] 149-60).

[22] The fact that the Pauline sections are only loosely linked to the rest of the Acts of Peter has been well noted by Christine M. Thomas. She asserts, "The parts of the text mentioning Paul, however, are those most suspect in the Actus Vercellenses," (The Acts of Peter, the Ancient Novel, and Early Christian History (Ph.D. dissertation; Harvard, 1995) 38; see also 39-410.

between the story of the gardener's daughter and the Acts of Peter. However, in the case of the story of the gardener's daughter this is hardly surprising due to the nature of the story. Like many similar stories in the canonical gospels, this narrative presents a suppliant who approaches the religious figure with a petition. After this appeal is somehow resolved, there is no further need of the suppliant.[23] However, this phenomenon is very significant in the case of the story of Peter's daughter. I make particular reference here to the character of Peter's wife.[24] In the Vercelli Acts of Peter, Peter is presented as a man without personal attachments. In chapter 5, while in Jerusalem Peter receives a vision which informs him as to the current difficulties in Rome and instructs him to depart the next day for Caesarea to meet a ship bound for Italy. The action Peter takes immediately after receiving this vision is important to this observation: "Peter then, instructed by this vision, related it to the brethren without delay and said, 'I must go up to Rome to overthrow the opponent and

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[23] A fine description of this narrative technique is afforded us by Jack D. Kingsbury, who describes the role of what he calls "minor characters" in Mark: "Besides all of these, however, there is a host of minor characters who populate the world of Mark's story. These characters appear suddenly and then vanish, never to be seen again. Some bear names or other identifying designations, 'Jairus' or 'Simon's mother-in-law,' but most do not. The roles these characters play vary so greatly that it is not immediately obvious whether certain ones exhibit traits at all. (a) Some minor characters are so unobtrusive in the episode in which they appear that they virtually meld with the setting, or scenery. For example, the only thing Mark reports concerning Simon the leper is that it is in his house at Bethany that the woman comes and anoints Jesus' head (14:3). (b) Other minor characters tend only to facilitate the action of an episode. A striking case in point is Herodias's daughter. Her dancing enables Herodias to maneuver vain and foolish Herod Antipas into ordering the beheading of John the Baptist (6:14-29). (c) Still other minor characters serve mainly as catalysts, which is to say that they provide opportunity for other characters to exhibit the traits they possess. The man with the withered hand whom Jesus heals on the sabbath provides the opportunity for Jesus to 'do good' on the sabbath and for the Pharisees to 'do evil,' even plotting Jesus' death (3:1-6)," (Conflict in Mark: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989] 24-25).

[24] For the occasions where Peter's wife is mentioned in the Act of Peter see, 132.15, 17 and 135.4.

enemy of the Lord and of our brethren.'" Here the author takes the trouble to narrate a closure to Peter's actions in Jerusalem, yet neglects to narrate any kind of separation or good-bye between Peter and his wife. Surely this is a very odd occurrence! (One can only imagine what kind of homecoming Peter might expect to receive from his wife after leaving for Rome without so much as a 'by your leave!')[25] One might argue that the author of the Acts of Peter might have wanted to have Peter leave Palestine, so as to go to Rome to face his arch enemy, Simon, alone -- as if the two were to square off like gunfighters at high noon in the streets of some dusty western town. However, even if this was the goal of the author (a goal not without dramatic impact), the paralyzed state of Peter's daughter would have afforded him or her the perfect excuse to leave both Peter's wife and daughter behind in Jerusalem.

Certainly, had the story of Peter's daughter been part of the Acts of Peter, this would have been an option. However, upon closer inspection of the Vercelli Acts of Peter a second, more subtle point presents itself against the original unity of these two pieces of literature. As I read through the Acts of Peter once again (but this time with this objection in mind), I noticed that in the Vercelli Acts of Peter there is a devaluing of Christian marriage. In the entire Acts of Peter, there is only one Christian married couple that is specifically mentioned by name -- Candida and Quartus (chapter 1). In this case, Candida is one who converts upon hearing Paul's preaching. This is convenient for

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[25] This portrayal of Peter as a solitary missionary is interesting in light of Paul's remarks in 1 Corinthians 9:3-5. In this text Paul, discussing the proper use of freedom, notes: "To those who would call me to account, this is my defense: Have I not the right to eat and drink? Have I not the right to take a Christian wife about with me, like the rest of the apostles and the Lord's brothers and Cephas" (μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα περιάγειν ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Κηφᾶς)? Here it is presumed that Peter's wife accompanies him on his travels. This proximity of Peter's family to his ministry is echoed in the Act of Peter (the actual presence of Peter's daughter in a crowd being ministered to by her father and the assumed presence of his wife -- as Peter preaches in the environs of his own house) and in the story told by Clement of Alexandria about the martyrdom of Peter's wife (Strom. 7.11) -- an anonymous woman tucked away in some Galilean village or even in Jerusalem would have hardly merited such a fate!

Paul since this woman's husband happens to be the jailer in charge of Paul's custody. Candida's preaching to her husband, Quartus, results in his conversion and Paul's subsequent release. The couple are never mentioned again. Originally, the marriage is one between two non-Christian Romans who only later are converted. It is mentioned primarily because it is this relationship that the author uses to provide a narrative explanation for Paul's release.

The only other time that it is expressly stated that marriages even exist within the Roman Christian community (or rather the Roman community that exists in the narrative world of the Vercelli acts) is in chapter 34.[26] The comments on marriage here are significant to my argument. It should also be noted that these comments follow upon the story of the decision to renounce sexual intercourse by the four concubines of the Roman, Agrippa (Agrippina, Nicaria, Euphemia and Doris):

> But one woman who was especially beautiful, the wife of Albinus the friend of Caesar, Xanthippe by name, came with the other ladies to Peter, and she too separated from Albinus. He therefore, filled with fury and passionate love for Xanthippe, and amazed that she would not even sleep in the same bed with him, was raging like a wild beast and wished to do away with Peter; for he knew that he was responsible for her leaving his bed. And many other women besides fell in love with the doctrine of purity and separated from their husbands, and men too ceased to sleep with their own wives, since they wished to worship God in sobriety and purity (Multae autem conplures et aliae honestae feminae, audientes uerbum de castitate, recedebant a uiris suis, et uiri a mulieribus, propter quod uellent caste et mundae deo seruire).

While this text is not clear as to the religious affiliations of the husbands and wives from which those inspired by this doctrine of purity separated themselves, it is clear from this passage that within the Roman community of

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[26] Compare this with the emphasis in the Vercelli Acts of Peter on the celibate groups within the Christian community, e.g., the prominence and respect given to the Christian widows in chapters 20-21 and the deference paid to the "virgins of the Lord" by both Peter and Marcellus in chapter 22.

the Acts of Peter itself marriage is devalued and its leaders actively encouraged marital dissolution. This view is supported by other statements such as Paul's call for abstinence in chapter 2 and Peter's reference to Adam's "lustful desire" during his remarks against Simon in chapter 22. What becomes clear upon reviewing these points is that it is no accident that the story of Peter's daughter is not found in the Vercelli Acts of Peter. It's portrait of a Peter who is married and who, apparently, continues to live under normal familial relationships does not agree with the Vercelli acts's picture of Peter as a solitary and celibate missionary of Christian chastity.

It should be noted here that nowhere in the Act of Peter is marriage denigrated. When Ptolemaeus offers his proposal of marriage to Peter's wife, the concept of marriage is not rejected. The text merely says that "Her mother was not persuaded" by his offer (ⲘⲠⲈⲦⲈⲤⲘⲀⲨⲠⲒⲐⲈ, ⲘⲠⲈ = the negative of the first perfect; 132.17-18). Douglas M. Parrott recognizes this in the text:

> Conceptually the emphasis of ActPet. is Encratite. As Schmidt says, the story is essentially "about the preservation of the virginity of a young Christian." It is not clear, however, that the Encratism expressed here is as extreme as his characterization, "Better death or a broken body, than marriage" ([2], p. 329). After all, Peter was married and still living with his wife. Also it is probably significant that we do not learn the grounds for Peter's wife's objection to Ptolemy as a husband for her daughter (132,17-18). A strict Encratite (cf. Iren. Haer. 1.28.1) could have used this as an opportunity to denounce marriage and sexual relations as such. What is denounced, however, is the attempt to deprive a Christian maiden forcibly of her virginity (137,1-11), probably as a means of gaining her as a wife without her parents' consent. Thus this section does not display the extreme view attributed to it by Schmidt and found in Act.Pt. 33-34. Its Encratism consists in its advocacy of rigorous sexual self-control, which is little different from the view generally held among Christians in the second century (cf. Ign. Pol. 5.1-2; 2 Clem 12:5-6; Just. I Apol. 15; Athenag. Suppl. 33). However there is no doubt that the silence of the text mentioned above, as well as the

lack of any conceptualization of the meaning of the story, would have allowed it to be interpreted in a more extreme sense by those who chose to.[27]

Parrott concludes these remarks by stating, "The difference in emphasis between ActPet. and Act.Pt. as we know it in Actus Vercellenses suggests that they may represent different recensions of the ancient Acts (similarly, Vouaux, p. 36)." However, the complete absence of any residual trace of Peter's wife and daughter in the Vercelli Acts of Peter disputes against this conclusion for the reasons I have already delineated. We should not underestimate the significance of the differences between the Act of Peter and the Acts of Peter in regard to marriage and their subsequent portrayal of Peter's personal life. These differences are so fundamental that they render the two texts incompatible. Peter cannot be portrayed as both celibate and as a preacher of sexual continency and at the same time be married and apparently sexually active all in the same work.

My third point particularly applies to the relationship between the story of the gardener's daughter and the Acts of Peter. In the story of the gardener's daughter, the death of the daughter is viewed as "what was expedient for her soul" -- i.e., death is preferred over sin (in this case fornication). This position is contrary to that which is found in the Acts of Peter. The concept of death rather than sin is extreme and not in keeping with the Acts of Peter's interest in forgiveness and redemption. In the Vercelli acts, the possibility of

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[27] Brashler and Parrott, Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI, 475. By way of augmenting Parrott's point, we can consider the vision Peter claims to have received on the day of his daughter's birth (131.15-132.4). This is, quite obviously, a time in Peter's life when he has recently been engaging in marital relations, yet the vision offers no censure of his activities! It only states that "For this (daughter) will wound many souls if her body remains healthy" (ⲧⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲥⲛⲁϣⲱⲱⲥϩⲉ ⲛϩⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ; 132.1-4) -- a point that could easily be taken to suggest that her beauty will cause men to lust. (Certainly, marriage itself is no protection from this as is evidenced by Ovid's work, The Art of Love. This text was intended to offer advice to men on how to conduct extramarital affairs -- a fact which played no small part in his Black Sea "vacation.")

repentance for various serious sins is afforded to Christians. For example, in chapter 2 Rufina, guilty of adultery, is punished with paralyzation yet is instructed by Paul, "But if you repent of your action, he is faithful, so that he can wipe away your sins and deliver you from this sin. But if you do not repent while you are in the body, the consuming fire and the outer darkness shall receive you forever." While no promise is made that Rufina's body will be restored, Rufina's sin is held to be forgivable -- she is not killed as is the case with Sapphira in Acts 5. Again, in chapter 28, Peter intervenes to save Simon's life when the angry crowd wishes to kill him. Later, during his final conflict with Simon, Peter prays that Simon will break his leg "but not die" (chapter 32). One need only consider the apostasy of practically the entire church at Rome (except the presbyter Narcissus, two women in the lodging house of the Bithynians and four shut-ins; chapter 4) and its subsequent reclamation (chapters 7-10) to understand the importance of forgiveness to the author of the Acts of Peter.

We are left to ponder the question: why would death be preferable to sin? To our modern minds such a position smacks of religious fanaticism such as that of the followers of Jim Jones and the Branch Davidian cult of Waco, Texas. However, in order to understand this extreme position, we must look deeper. I suggest that when death is preferable to potential sin the underlying assumption is that there is no forgiveness of serious sins once one has become a believer. In other words, there is only one forgiveness of sins -- baptismal forgiveness.[28] In this worldview, for a Christian serious sin equals eternal

[28] In the early centuries, specifically the second-, third- and fourth centuries (the probable time-frame in which both the Act of Peter and the Acts of Peter were produced -- redaction notwithstanding), there were two major positions on second penance: 1) no forgiveness for grave sins after Baptism (e.g., Hebrews 6:4-6; the Epistle of Barnabas [ca. late first- to early second century] which, like the NT text Hebrews, rejects the possibility of forgiveness for the erring Christian declaring, "a man deserves to perish if, having knowledge of the way of righteousness, he ensnares himself in the way of darkness" 5.4; Tertullian, On Modesty and Novatian [post-251]) and 2) a one-time second repentance (e.g., Shepherd of Hermas, Tertullian, On Repentance, Clement of Alexandria and Cyprian). This is not to say that other positions did not exist (certainly we recall the existence of the lax party in Cyprian's Carthage). This is only to say that these two were very common. For a thorough

damnation. Thus, for the adherents of this view temporal death is preferable to eternal death! It is clear that such extremism (at least with regard to forgiveness of serious sins, a position more amenable to the Montanist-influenced Tertullian) is not part of the theological worldview of the Acts of Peter. This point is particularly underlined in Peter's speech found in chapter 7, in which he encourages the fallen (apostasizing) Christians of Rome to believe that they can be forgiven:

> Dearest brethren, I denied our Lord Jesus Christ, and not once only, but three times. For there were wicked dogs who came about me, as said the prophet of the Lord. But the Lord did not lay it to my charge; he turned to me and had compassion on the weakness of my flesh, so that afterwards I wept bitterly and lamented the weakness of my faith, because I was made senseless by the devil and did not keep my Lord's word in mind. And now I tell you, men and brethren, who have come together in the name of Jesus Christ: Satan the deceiver points his arrows at you too, that you may depart from the way. But do not be disloyal, brethren, nor let your spirit fall, but be strong and stand fast and do not doubt. For if Satan overthrew me, whom the Lord held in such great honor, so that I denied the light of my hope; if he subdued me and persuaded me to flee, as if I had put my trust in a man, what do you expect, you who are new to the faith (Si enim me, quem in honore maximo habuit dominus, scandalizauit satanas ut abnegarem lumen spei meae, subiciens me et fugere me persuasit, tamquam in hominem crederem, quid putatis uos, qui neofyti estis?)? Did you expect that he

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overview of both Tertullian and Cyprian's positions on penance see, Cahal B. Daly, Tertullian: The Puritan and His Influence (Dublin: Four Courts, 1993). Unfortunately, this work is weak on modern bibliography as it represents the author's unpublished 1945 doctoral dissertation. However, it remains useful as an introduction because of its familiarity with the ancient texts which express the arguments of Tertullian and Cyprian regarding penance. Another useful contextualizing study is found in Robert F. Evans, One and Holy: The Church in Latin Patristic Thought (Church Historical Series 92; London: S.P.C.K., 1972) 4-64. For a more general overview of the issue see Karl Rahner, Penance in the Early Church (Theological Investigations 15; New York: Crossroad, 1982).

> would not subvert you, to make enemies of the Kingdom of God and plunge you into perdition by the lowest deceit? For whoever he has dislodged from hope in our Lord Jesus Christ, that man is a son of perdition for ever (Quemcumque enim eiecerit ab spe domini nostri Iesu Christi, ille filius perditionis in aeterno). Change your hearts, therefore, brethren beloved of the Lord, and be strong in the Lord Almighty, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom no man has ever seen, nor can see, save him who has believed on him.[29]

Thus, according to Peter, the only sure path to perdition is tread by a sinner who loses hope in the forgiveness of Jesus -- quite a hopeful position and definitely a far cry from the view advocated by the story of the gardener's daughter.

It should also be noted that the story of Peter's daughter and the story of the gardener's daughter also differ on this point of the possibility of forgiveness. The Act of Peter, like the Acts of Peter, does not take such an absolute view in regard to the possibility of forgiveness for serious sins. Ptolemaeus grieves because of his sin and seeks to hang himself but a voice from heaven intervenes and prevents his death (136.1-137.11). Ptolemaeus does repent of his sin and, upon experiencing forgiveness, causes many to "hope in Christ" (ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ ϩⲉⲗⲡⲓϩⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅; 138.7-15). This difference in theological outlook in regard to forgiveness of post-baptismal sin militates against the likelihood of the story of the gardener's daughter ever appearing in the same larger work as either the story of Peter's

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[29] I find the author's use of Peter (and, by implication, the other disciples who fled from the garden of Gethsemane) as an example of the possibility of forgiveness of the sin of apostasy to be a brilliant piece of exegesis. I am surprised that I have not come across a similar use of Peter as an exemplar for second penance among the applicable writings of the second- and third centuries (although I must confess that my knowledge on this topic is not encyclopedic). This is particularly the case in On Modesty 2, where Tertullian lists the scriptural proof texts used by his opponents to support the idea of second penance (cf. also Tertullian's treatment of various parables used by his opponents in On Modesty 7-9).

daughter or the Acts of Peter as a whole.[30]

The fourth point, the second being offered against an original unity between the story of the gardener's daughter and the Acts of Peter, is somewhat related to my third point. Here we must observe that the story of the gardener's daughter ends in defeat. If this was indeed originally part of the Acts of Peter, it is unique in that it is the only story that offers no hope of forgiveness or redemption. As we have seen, the Vercelli acts are nothing if not hopeful. Nowhere does the Church suffer a final defeat -- Rufina is offered hope, the fallen away Christians are retrieved by Peter, Marcellus repents, the widows are granted their request, Peter bests Simon and the women who opt for sexual renunciation stand firm. Even at the end, when Peter is martyred, he preaches a powerful sermon from his cross and eventually appears to Marcellus to demonstrate his victory over the Romans and death. The final words of the Acts of Peter testify to the unity and overall joy of the Christian community as a result of Peter's work. Such defeatism as we are met with in the story of the gardener's daughter would have found no home in the Acts of Peter!

Regardless of what one wants to believe about the relationship between the Act of Peter and the Acts of Peter, it must be conceded that the story of the gardener's daughter is theologically incompatible with both of these texts. Based on this conclusion, it must be recognized that in the story of the gardener's daughter we have a Petrine narrative that circulated independently of the Acts of Peter -- a fact that, when taken together with its theological polarization from the Acts of Peter and its obvious absence from the Vercelli manuscript, must argue definitively for its independence. We now know that, at least in the case of the story of the gardener's daughter, Augustine was referring to a Petrine story that did not originally derive from the Acts of Peter. We are confronted with the facts that 1) the story of Peter's daughter does not

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[30] I would stress here (against those that view this similarity of theological outlook as an argument for original unity between the Act of Peter and the Acts of Peter) that this theological harmony should not be overestimated. While these documents share a common position on forgiveness of post-baptismal sin, they are clearly incompatible as regards their views on Peter's marital status and Christian marriage in general.

appear in the Acts of Peter; 2) there is a complete absence of any characters from the Act of Peter (except for Peter himself) in the Vercelli acts; and 3) its portrayal of Peter as a married, sexually active family man is fundamentally different than the picture of Peter provided in the Acts of Peter. There is every reason to think that the story of Peter's daughter referred to by Augustine represents a Petrine narrative that was also independent from the Vercelli acts. In short, we must conclude that Augustine's witness in Contra Adimantum is referring to three separate apocryphal apostolic legends, none of which were connected, either to each other or to the Acts of Peter. Augustine's witness is therefore of no value in arguing an original unity between the Act of Peter and the Acts of Peter.

Ira J. Jolivet, Jr.
Pepperdine University

Stoic Philosophy and Jewish Scripture in the Argument from the Letter and Intent of the Law in Romans

As the product of a thoroughly Hellenistic mind Romans is a true syncretism of both Jewish and Greco-Roman cultural elements. More specifically, in Romans Paul combines arguments involving quotations from and allusions to verses in the Septuagint with others based on concepts from Hellenistic philosophy, especially from Stoicism which was both the leading school of philosophy and the predominant world view of the Hellenistic period.[1] The contextual framework which provides cohesion for this syncretism is Paul's primary argumentative strategy, a line of reasoning which the writers of the ancient Greco-Roman rhetorical handbooks referred to as an argument from the letter and intent or exception of the law.

The argument from the letter and intent was one of several strategies available to the orator whose case involved a written document such as a constitution, a will, or a civil statute. As Cicero writes in the *De Inventione*: "A controversy turns upon written documents when some doubt arises from the nature of writing. This comes about from ambiguity, from the letter and intent, from the conflict of laws, from reasoning from analogy, and from definition."[2] Cicero further explains that "a controversy over the letter and

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[1]According to William Tarn and G. T. Griffith (*Hellenistic Civilisation*, third edition [London: Edward Arnold LTD, 1966], 325): "The philosophy of the Hellenistic world was the Stoa: all else was secondary." On the popularity and pervasiveness of Stoicism David Hahm (*The Origins of Stoic Cosmology* [Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1977], xiii) writes:

> For half a millennium Stoicism was very likely the most accepted world view in the Western world. . . . The Stoic world view . . . appealed to all classes, attracting slaves and laborers as well as kings and emperors. Its ideas infiltrated religion and science, medicine and theology, poetry and drama, law and government. . . . For a variety of reasons the Stoic outlook, both physical and ethical, captivated a large number of people in the ancient world, more than we shall ever realize, and, in fact, in view of its pervasiveness, it may not be much of an exaggeration to say that the Stoic physical world view was the ancient counterpart to our current, popular, scientific world view.

[2]Cicero, *De Inventione*, 2.40.116 (Loeb Classical Library). The *De Inventione* serves as an effective analytical tool because, even though its author was a Roman who wrote in Latin, the system of rhetorical theory which it contains was derived primarily from Stoic,

intent occurs when one party follows the exact words that are written, and the other directs his whole pleading to what he says the writer meant."[3]

In Romans Paul's pronouncement that a person is justified by faith rather than by works of the law is his way of saying that one must follow the intent of God the lawmaker rather than the letter of the Mosaic law. Recognizing that Paul's primary argumentative strategy is to argue for the intent over the letter not only sheds light on how he combines philosophical concepts with Jewish scriptures but also shows Romans to be a highly coherent persuasive speech and brings the logic of its subsidiary arguments into sharper focus.

In this paper I will first show how Paul uses a *partitio*[4] to indicate to his audience that he will argue from the letter and intent of the law to persuade the Jewish converts in the church in Rome to cease from judging and boasting over the Gentile converts who do not adhere to the letter of the Mosaic law. I will then show how the subsidiary arguments in chapters 4-8 of the confirmation/refutation section of the speech support Paul's rhetorical purpose and contribute to his argumentative strategy.

The Letter and Intent in the Partition of Romans

In the partition of Romans (1:18-3:31) Paul gives several clear indications that he is arguing for the intent over the letter of the Mosaic law.[5] The first indication appears in his description of the eschatological trial scene in chapter two. In 2:12-16 he writes:

Peripatetic and other Hellenistic sources.

[3]Cicero, *De Inventione*, 2.42.121.

[4]According to Cicero, "in an argument a partition correctly made renders the whole speech clear and perspicuous." Furthermore, the partition

> takes two forms, both of which greatly contribute to clarifying the case and determining the nature of the controversy. One form shows in what we agree with our opponents and what is left in dispute; as a result of this some definite problem is set for the auditor on which he ought to have his attention fixed. In the second form the matters which we intend to discuss are briefly set forth in a methodical way. (*De Inventione* 1.22.31).

[5]Romans 1:18-3:31 conforms to the first type of partition described above. In 1:18-32 Paul agrees with the Jewish converts in the church at Rome that the Gentiles are sinners who are worthy of God's condemnation. In 2:1-3, however, he begins that section of the partition in which he shows what is in dispute by accusing the Jewish converts of doing the very same things for which the Gentiles stood condemned.

> All who have sinned apart from the law will also perish apart from the law, and all who have sinned under the law will be judged by the law. For it is not the hearers of the law who are righteous in God's sight, but the doers of the law who will be justified. When Gentiles, who do not possess the law, do instinctively what the law requires (φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῶσιν), these, though not having the law, are a law to themselves. They show that what the law requires (τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου) is written on their hearts, to which their own conscience also bears witness; and their conflicting thoughts will accuse or perhaps excuse them on that day when, according to my gospel, God, through Jesus Christ, will judge the secret thoughts of all.

According to the editors of *The Hellenistic Commentary to the New Testament*, "here Paul seems to reflect the Greek concept of the unwritten law of nature, not 'unwritten Law' in the Jewish sense of oral Torah."[6] The editors recognize that Romans 2:12-16 shares certain affinities with the following passage from Aristotle's *Art of Rhetoric* in which he discussed the rhetorical aspects of the concept of written and unwritten laws which formed the basis for the argument from the letter and intent of the law.[7]

> For it is evident that, if the written law is counter to our case, we must have recourse to the general law and equity, as more in accordance with justice; and we must argue that, when the dicast takes an oath to decide to the best of his judgement, he means that he will not abide rigorously by the written laws; that equity is ever constant and never changes, even as the general law, which is based on nature (κατὰ φύσιν), whereas the written laws often vary . . . and further that justice is real and expedient, but not that which only appears just; nor the

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[6]M. Eugene Boring, Klaus Berger and Carsten Colpe, eds., *Hellenistic Commentary to the New Testament* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995), 342.

[7]The concept of a law which permeates the universe became foundational to Stoic philosophy. Cleanthes, for example, begins his *Hymn to Zeus* in this way: "Most majestic of immortals, many-titled, ever omnipotent Zeus, prime mover of nature, who with your law steer all things, hail to you." (SVF 1.537.1). And he concludes the hymn with this petition: "Let us achieve the power of judgement by trusting in which you steer all things with justice, so that by winning honour we may repay you with honour, for ever singing of your great works, as it befits mortals to do. For neither men nor gods have any greater privilege than this: to sing for ever in righteousness of the universal law." (SVF 1.537.4). This translation in A. A. Long and D. N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers: Volume 1: Translations of the Principal Sources, with Philosophical Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 326-27.

> written law either, because it does not do the work of the law (οὐ γὰρ ποιεῖ τὸ ἔργον τὸ τοῦ νόμου).[8]

If modern analysts recognize the affinities between Paul's statements in 2:12-16 and the argument involving written and unwritten laws, then a first-century audience which was immersed in the Hellenistic world view and sensitive to rhetorical nuances would no doubt understand that Paul is indicating that the argument he is about to present involves the letter and intent of the law.

And this audience would surely have known immediately which of the two positions Paul was going to argue from when they heard 2:25-29 in which he states:

> Circumcision indeed is of value if you obey the law; but if you break the law, your circumcision has become uncircumcision. So, if those who are uncircumcised keep the requirements of the law, will not their uncircumcision be regarded as circumcision? Then those who are physically uncircumcised but keep the law will condemn you that have the written code and circumcision but break the law. For a person is not a Jew who is one outwardly, nor is true circumcision something external and physical. Rather, a person is a Jew who is one inwardly, and real circumcision is a matter of the heart--it is spiritual and not literal (ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι). Such a person receives praise not from others but from God.

Commenting on the letter-spirit antithesis in 2:29 Boaz Cohen states that Paul "used his Jewish and Greek learning to discredit Jewish law, by methods employed in the law courts to win a case. Hence he coined the antithesis between letter and spirit, which is an amalgam of the familiar Greek antithesis of ῥητὸς κάι διάνοια and dressed it in a Hebrew garb woven from משפט רוח and אות מן התורה."[9] Paul's intended audience would most likely have heard the antithesis as an explicit indication that he was about to argue for following the intent over the letter of the law.

The catena of scriptural citations in 3:10-18 and the concluding summary statement that follows in 3:19-20 would serve as further indications of Paul's argumentative strategy. For in the summary statement Paul states:

> Now we know that whatever the law says it speaks to those who are under the law, so that every mouth may be silenced, and the whole

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[8]Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric*, 1.15.4-7 (Loeb Classical Library).

[9]Boaz Cohen, *Jewish and Roman Law: A Comparative Study*, vol. 1 (New York: Shulsinger Bros., Inc., 1966), 57.

> world may be held accountable to God. For "no human being will be justified in his sight" by deeds prescribed by the law, for through the law comes the knowledge of sin.

This passage actually contains two distinct indications that Paul is arguing for the intent. The first of these indications emerges in light of the following topic for the advocate of the intent from the *De Inventione*:

> And just as we said that the speaker who is upholding the letter of the law would find it most useful to lessen in some degree the justice or equity which supports his opponent's claim, so the speaker who opposes the letter will profit greatly by converting something in the written document to his own case . . . In a word, in whatever way, however, slightly plausible it may be he can defend himself by appealing to the letter of the law, when his case is amply supported by abstract justice, he will profit greatly, because if he can remove the foundation on which his opponents' case rests, he will lessen and mitigate all its force and effectiveness.[10]

Here Cicero suggests that the advocate of the intent should use something in the written document itself to argue against adherence to the letter of the law. Paul's claim that "whatever the law says it speaks to those who are under the law" is an indication that this is precisely what he intends to do.

The second indication in 3:19-20 that Paul is arguing for the intent is contained in his statement that "through the law comes the knowledge of sin." This rather negative assessment of the law should be viewed in light of Cicero's suggestion that "one who is speaking against the letter ought always to adduce some principle of equity. For it would be the height of impudence for one who wishes to gain approval for some act contrary to the letter of the law, not to attempt to gain his point with the help of equity."[11]

We have already seen in Aristotle's discussion of the unwritten law that the written law does not do "the work of the law" which is the administration of true justice or equity. Aristotle sheds further light on the concept of equity in the following passage:

> We have said that there are two kinds of just and unjust actions (for some are written, but others are unwritten), and have spoken of those concerning which the laws are explicit; of those that are unwritten there are two kinds. One kind arises from an excess of virtue or vice which is followed by praise or blame, honour or dishonour, and rewards; for instance, to be grateful to a benefactor, to render good for good, to help

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[10]Cicero, *De Inventione*, 2.48.142-43.

[11]Cicero, *De Inventione*, 2.46.136.

> one's friends, and the like; the other kind contains what is omitted in the special written law. For that which is equitable seems to be just, and equity is justice that goes beyond the written law.[12]

The written law cannot produce equity which is the type of justice which most nearly equates to virtue.[13] In comparison to the unwritten law, then, the written law is a lesser good. Paul's statement that "through the law comes the knowledge of sin" reflects this understanding of the Mosaic law and serves as another indication that Paul is arguing for the intent over the letter of the law.

The final indications that Paul is arguing for the intent are to be found in the conclusion of the partition in 3:27-31 which reads:

> Then what becomes of boasting? It is excluded. By what law? By that of works? No, but by the law of faith. For we hold that a person is justified by faith apart from works prescribed by the law. Or is God the God of Jews only? Is he not the God of Gentiles also? Yes, of Gentiles also, since God is one; and he will justify the circumcised on the ground of faith and the uncircumcised through that same faith. Do we then overthrow the law by this faith? By no means! On the contrary, we uphold the law (νόμον ἱστάνομεν).

In light of the topic in which the advocate of the intent is expected to set "forth the true nature of law, that it may be shown to consist of meanings, not of words, and that the judge who follows the meaning may seem to comply with law more than one who follows the letter,"[14] Paul's claim that the law of faith actually upholds rather than overthrows law is a clear indication that he is arguing for the intent over the letter. And his pronouncement that this law excludes boasting points to the primary purpose of his persuasive speech: to persuade the Jewish converts in the church at Rome who still advocate observance of the letter of the Mosaic law to stop judging and boasting over the Gentile converts who adhere to the intent through faith.

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[12]Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric*, 1.13.11-13.

[13]The gradations of justice may be seen in the following definition of justice as virtue from the *De Inventione* (2.53.160):

> Justice is a habit of mind which gives every man his desert while preserving the common advantage. Its first principles proceed from nature, then certain rules of conduct became customary by reason of their advantage; later still both the principles that proceeded from nature and those that had been approved by custom received the support of religion and the fear of the law.

[14]Cicero, *De Inventione*, 2.48.141. Paul exploits this topic fully in Romans 12-14.

The Honor and Advantage of Following the Intent of the Law

We have seen that in 3:10-20 Paul indicates that he will use the letter of the Mosaic law against itself in support of following the true intent of God. In 4:1-8:39 he performs this strategic maneuver through the use of quotations from and allusions to several passages in the Septuagint. In order to comprehend the overall coherence of this section and to follow the logic of its complex subsidiary arguments, however, we must first recognize that Paul's strategy here involves yet another line of reasoning under the heading of common topics for the advocate of the intent over the letter. For Cicero suggests that this one may choose to use "the principles of advantage and honour" to "show how inexpedient and base is the course of conduct which the opponents say we were or are bound to follow, and how advantageous and honourable is our act or request."[15]

An understanding of how this topic figures in the argument of 4:1-8:39 requires more precise definitions of the principles of honor and advantage. Cicero identifies three categories of things to be sought because they are inherently honorable or advantageous. The first category of things to be sought he calls honorable, the second advantageous, and the third also honorable with the understanding that this category contains aspects of both the honorable and the advantageous. With regard to the first category he writes:

> We shall call honourable anything that is sought wholly or partly for its own sake. Now since it has two divisions, one simple and the other complex, let us consider the simple first. Everything in this class is embraced in one meaning and under one name, virtue. Virtue may be defined as a habit of mind in harmony with reason and the order of nature. Therefore when we have become acquainted with all its parts we shall have considered the full scope of honour, pure and simple. It has four parts: wisdom, justice, courage, temperance.[16]

Concerning the second category of things to be sought Cicero states that

> there seem to be two parts of advantage--security and power. Security is a reasoned and unbroken maintenance of safety. Power is the possession of resources sufficient for preserving one's self and weakening another.[17]

And in discussing the third category Cicero writes:

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[15]Cicero, *De Inventione*, 2.48.141.
[16]Cicero, *De Inventione*, 2.53.159.
[17]Cicero, *De Inventione*, 2.56.169.

> Now I think I should speak of that which is also coupled with advantage; which, nevertheless, we call honourable. There are then many things that attract us not only by their intrinsic worth but also by the advantage to be derived from them; this class includes glory, rank, influence, and friendship. Glory consists in a person's having a widespread reputation accompanied by praise. Rank is the possession of a distinguished office which merits respect, honour, and reverence. Influence is a fullness of power, dignity, or resources of some sort. Friendship is a desire to do good to some one simply for the benefit of the person whom one loves, with a requital of the feeling on his part.[18]

These, then, are the honorable and advantageous things to be sought. Cicero did not need to state the obvious that the opposites of these things are the dishonorable and disadvantageous things which are to be avoided such as vice, disharmony, shame, low rank and weakness.

Throughout chapters 4-8 Paul uses quotations from and allusions to verses and passages in the Septuagint to argue that following the true intent of God by faith results in honorable and advantageous things for both Jews and Gentiles whereas adherence to the letter of the law brought only dishonor and disadvantage to Israel. He begins by posing the question, "What then are we to say was gained by Abraham, our ancestor according to the flesh?" In 4:2-3 he provides an answer to his own question from Genesis 15:6 in the letter of the law. "For if Abraham was justified by works, he has something to boast about, but not before God. For what does the scripture say? 'Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness' (Ἐπιστευσεν δὲ Αβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην)." What Abraham gained, therefore, was δικαιοσύνη.

The full implications of Abraham's acquisition of δικαιοσύνη begin to emerge when we recall that in the definition of honorable things above Cicero stated that "everything in this class is embraced in one meaning and under one name, virtue." This statement reflects several Stoic views about the nature of virtue. First, by definition "virtue is a consistent character, choiceworthy for its own sake and not from fear or hope of anything external."[19] Furthermore, while virtue as a whole consists of the four individual virtues of wisdom (φρόνησις), justice (δικαιοσύνη), courage (ἀνδρεία), and temperance (σωφροσύνη), it is essentially one so that when a person possesses any one of the virtues, he or she possesses the others as

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[18]Cicero, *De Inventione*, 2.55.166.

[19]Diogenes Laertius 7.89 (SVF 3.39).

well. And the attainment of virtue puts one in harmony with one's self, with nature, and with the Divine Reason which guides the universe.[20]

In the fourth chapter of Romans Paul exploits the Stoic connotations of the term δικαιοσύνη which he finds available to him in the Septuagint version of the Hebrew Bible to show how Abraham attained a state of virtue and harmony with God by following the intent rather than the letter of the law. It is this state of virtue and harmony which Paul refers to in 4:6-8 as "the blessedness" (ὁ μακαρισμός) of having one's sins forgiven.

And this blessedness brings with it at least two other honorable and advantageous rewards. Paul identifies the first of these rewards in 4:13-15 in which he states:

> For the promise that he would inherit the world did not come to Abraham or to his descendants through the law but through the righteousness of faith. If it is the adherents of the law who are to be the heirs, faith is null and the promise is void. For the law brings wrath; but where there is no law, neither is there violation.

Here Paul calls Abraham "heir of the world." Abraham is not referred to in this way either in the Septuagint or in the Hebrew Bible. The designation heir anticipates Paul's argument in 8:12-17 in which he calls those who have received the "spirit of adoption" children and heirs of God who will eventually be glorified with Christ. Paul's terminology here has affinities with the definitions of two of the things which combine qualities of honor and advantage. For we recall that "glory consists in a person's having a widespread reputation accompanied by praise," and "rank is the possession of a distinguished office which merits respect, honour, and reverence." By referring to Abraham as "heir of the world" Paul is showing how he was the first to be elevated to the exalted position of child of God and father of the children who would also be justified by faith (4:11-12; 16-18) and glorified by God.

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[20]Diogenes Laertius explains this process as follows:

> Therefore Zeno in his book *On the nature of man* was the first to say that living in agreement with nature is the end (τέλος εἶπε τὸ ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν), which is living in accordance with virtue (ὅπερ ἐστι κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν). For nature leads us towards virtue. . . . Therefore, living in agreement with nature comes to be the end, which is in accordance with the nature of oneself and that of the whole, engaging in no activity wont to be forbidden by the universal law, which is right reason pervading everything and identical to Zeus, who is the director of the administration of existing things. (7.87-89 [SVF 3.178]).

In 4:19-22 we see the final advantage which Abraham gained for following the intent of the law. For here Paul writes:

> Hoping against hope, he believed that he would become "the father of many nations," according to what was said, "So numerous shall your descendants be." He did not weaken in faith (καὶ μὴ ἀσθενήσας τῇ πίστει) when he considered his own body, which was already as good as dead (νενεκρωμένον) (for he was about a hundred years old), or when he considered the barrenness (τὴν νέκρωσιν) of Sarah's womb. No distrust made him waver concerning the promise of God but he grew strong (ἐνεδυναμώθη) in his faith as he gave glory to God, being fully convinced that God was able (δυνατός) to do what he had promised. Therefore his faith "was reckoned to him as righteousness."

The verb ἐνδυναμόω in verse 20, the participle of the verb ἀσθενέω negated by μή in verse 19 and the adjective δυνατός in verse 21 call to mind Cicero's definition of "power," one of the two parts of advantage, as "the possession of resources sufficient for preserving one's self and weakening another."

In the context of Paul's argument here through faith Abraham gained the power of procreation when he and Sarah were both well past the ages when normal human reproduction is possible. On the surface, then, Abraham did not seem to gain "resources sufficient for preserving one's self and weakening another." On closer analysis, however, we observe that Paul uses the perfect passive participial form of the verb νεκρόω to refer to Abraham's body and the noun νέκρωσις to refer to Sarah's body. In so doing he strongly implies that by following the intent of God through faith Abraham received from the one "who gives life to the dead and calls into existence the things that do not exist" the power to weaken and overcome the effects of death itself.

The transition statements in 4:22-25 indicate that this advantage and all the other honorable and advantageous things which God bestowed upon Abraham also accrued to those in Paul's audience who were justified by following the intent of God by faith in the one who raised Jesus from the dead. For here he writes: "Now the words, 'it was reckoned to him,' were written not for his sake alone, but for ours also. It will be reckoned to us who believe in him who raised Jesus our Lord from the dead, who was handed over to death for our trespasses and was raised for our justification."

In chapters 5-8 Paul continues to show the advantage and honor of following the intent of the law and the dishonor and disadvantage of adhering

to the letter. In these chapters, however, he uses several allusions to the oracles in Ezekiel 36:16-32 and 37:1-14 to contrast Israel's dishonorable and disadvantageous past under the letter with the honorable and advantageous present state of the now justified descendants of Israel in the church at Rome.

In order to recognize these allusions and their functions in Romans we must first understand that the alluded to oracles were initially uttered in the period of the Babylonian exile. In Ezekiel 36:16-19 God himself interprets that event for Israel in this way:

> The word of the Lord came to me: Mortal, when the house of Israel lived on their own soil, they defiled it with their own ways and their deeds; their conduct in my sight was like the uncleanness of a woman in her menstrual period. So I poured out (ἐξέχεα) my wrath upon them for the blood that they shed upon the land, and for the idols with which they had defiled it. I scattered them among the nations, and they were dispersed through the countries; in accordance with their conduct and their deeds I judged them.

The scene depicted here is the trial of Israel for her sins of violence and idolatry. As a result of this trial God finds Israel guilty and executes the death penalty upon her.[21]

But, as we see in Ezekiel 36:22-27, the situation is not totally hopeless. For God commands the prophet to

> say to the house of Israel, Thus says the Lord God: It is not for your sake, O house of Israel, that I am about to act, but for the sake of my holy name, which you have profaned among the nations to which you came. I will sanctify my great name, which has been profaned among the nations, and which you have profaned among them; and the nations shall know that I am the Lord, says the Lord God, when through you I display my holiness before their eyes. I will take you from the nations, and gather you from all the countries, and bring you into your own land. I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleannesses and from all your idols I will cleanse you. A new heart I will give you (καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν καρδιαν καινὴν), and a new spirit I will put within you (καὶ πνεῦμα καινὸν δώσω ἐν

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[21]As Donald Gowen (*Theology of the Prophetic Books: The Death and Resurrection of Israel* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998], 121-22) explains the situation which Ezekiel describes: "His message moves from death to resurrection, and those terms are realistic assessments of what did happen in his generation and the generations that followed. At the beginning of his ministry he had to insist on the completeness of the death of the people of God, and to be a part of it."

> ὑμῖν); and I will remove from your body the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. I will put my spirit within you (καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα μου δώσω ἐν ὑμῖν), and make you follow my statutes (καὶ ποιήσω ἵνα ἐν τοῖς δικαιώμασίν μου πορεύησθε) and be careful to observe my ordinances.

Here God promises to bring about reconciliation between himself and Israel. This reconciliation will not be based on any good that Israel does, however, but for the sake of God's holy name. In other words, God will pardon, not acquit, Israel. As conditions of the pardon God promises to cleanse Israel from her sins by washing her with clean water, to give her a new heart and a new spirit with which she will be able to follow God's statutes and ordinances, and to return her to her ancestral land.

And, as we read in 36:31-32, God places only one condition upon Israel.

> Then you shall remember your evil ways, and your dealings that were not good; and you shall loathe yourselves for your iniquities and your abominable deeds. It is not for your sake that I will act, says the Lord God; let that be known to you. Be ashamed (αἰσχύνθητε) and dismayed for your ways, O house of Israel.

Israel, then, is not to boast when God pardons and reconciles her to himself but rather to be ashamed.

Israel's execution and the promise of her reconciliation are depicted in terms of the vision of the valley of dry bones in Ezekiel 37:1-14. In verse 11-14 God interprets this vision for the prophet.

> Then he said to me, "Mortal, these bones are the whole house of Israel. They say, 'Our bones are dried up, and our hope (ἡ ἐλπὶς) is lost; we are cut off completely.' Therefore prophesy, and say to them, Thus says the Lord God: I am going to open your graves, and bring you up from your graves, O my people; and I will bring you back to the land of Israel. And you shall know that I am the Lord, when I open your graves (τοὺς τάφους ὑμῶν), and bring you up from your graves (ἐκ τῶν τάφων), O my people. I will put my spirit within you, and you shall live (καὶ δώσω τὸ πνεῦμα μου εἰς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ζήσεσθε), and I will place you on your own soil; then you shall know that I, the Lord, have spoken and will act," says the Lord.

Once again, the dead house of Israel, who laments that her hope is gone, is given a promise of reconciliation. This time reconciliation will be evidenced by the opening of Israel's graves, the resurrection of her people through the

infusion of the life-giving spirit, and the return of these resurrected ones to their ancestral land.

In Romans 5:1-11 Paul creates a number of thematic and verbal allusions to the trial scene in Ezekiel 36 16-32 and the vision of the valley of the dry bones and its interpretation in 37:1-14.[22] The allusions begin in 5:1-5 in which Paul writes:

> Therefore, since we are justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have obtained access to this grace in which we stand; and we boast in our hope (καυχώμεθα ἐπ' ελπίδι) of the glory of God. And not only that, but we also boast (καυχώμεθα) in our sufferings, knowing that suffering produces endurance, and endurance produces character, and character produces hope, and hope does not disappoint us (ἡ δὲ ἐλπὶς οὐ καταισχύνει), because God's love has been poured (ἐκκέχυται) into our hearts through the Holy Spirit that has been given to us (ἐν ταῖς καρδίας ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου τοῦ δοθέντος ἡμῖν).

Paul implies that the theme of this section is reconciliation by using the Greek terms for peace and grace. He also uses several other words here which indicate that this reconciliation is the one promised in Ezekiel. First, in Ezekiel 36:18 God "poured out" (ἐξέχεα) his wrath upon Israel. In 5:5 Paul says that God's love "has been poured" (ἐκκέχυται) into the subjects' hearts. In Ezekiel 36:32 Israel is told to "be ashamed" (αἰσχύνθητε) when God finally acts. In Romans 5:5 Paul claims that hope does not "make ashamed"[23] (καταισχύνει).[24] In Ezekiel 37:11 the house of Israel laments that her hope (ἡ ἐλπὶς) is lost. In 5:2 Paul states that the subjects now boast

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[22]At least one other analyst sees allusions to the death and promised reconciliation of Israel in this section of Romans. Because Frank Thielman ("The Story of Israel and the Theology of Romans 5-8" in *Pauline Theology, Volume III Romans*, eds. David M. Hay and E. Elizabeth Johnson [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995], 178) observes that "Paul's use of these terms together and his use of them to characterize the eschatological hope of God's people recall the biblical hope that God's wrath toward disobedient Israel would one day cease and that the people of God would receive the covenantal promises of blessing."

[23]The NRSV rendering of the verb here as "disappoint" is misleading and obscures its allusive function.

[24]By using forms of the term καυχάομαι, the opposite of the shame related words, in 5:2,3 and later in 5:11 Paul indicates that the Jewish converts' ground for boasting lies in what God has done and not in their own achievements.

in the hope (ἐπ' ελπίδι) of the glory of God. Finally, in Ezekiel 36:26 God promised to give Israel a new heart and a new spirit. In Romans 5:5 Paul indicates that that promise has been fulfilled in his claim that "God's love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit which has been given to us (ἐν ταῖς καρδιαις ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου τοῦ δοθέντος ἡμῖν)."

Paul continues to create allusions to Israel's execution and promised reconciliation in Romans 5:6-11.

> For while we were still weak (ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι), at the right time Christ died for the ungodly. Indeed, rarely will anyone die for a righteous person--though perhaps for a good person someone might dare to die. But God proves his love for us in that while we were still sinners (ἔτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ὄντων ἡμῶν) Christ died for us. Much more surely then, now that we have been justified by his blood, will we be saved through him from the wrath of God. For if while we were enemies (ἐχθροὶ ὄντες), we were reconciled (κατηλλάγημεν) to God through the death of his Son, much more surely, having been reconciled (καταλλαγέντες), will we be saved by his life. But more than that, we even boast in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have now received reconciliation (καταλλαγὴν).

Here Paul makes the theme of reconciliation which was implicit in the previous section more explicit by using the verb καταλλάσσω and the noun ἡ καταλλαγή. Furthermore, the temporal constructions with the present participles of ἐιμί heighten the contrast between the period of estrangement when the people of Israel were condemned as weak sinners and enemies of God and the time of reconciliation which God brought about through the death of Jesus.

In chapters 6-8 of Romans Paul uses further allusions to Ezekiel 36:16-32 and 37:1-14 to argue that Israel's estrangement from God occurred when her people attempted to observe the letter of the Mosaic law and that the promise of reconciliation was fulfilled by those who followed the intent of the law through faith. The first of these allusions appears in 6:1-4 in which Paul writes:

> What then are we to say? Should we continue in sin in order that grace may abound? By no means! How can we who died to sin go on living in it? Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? Therefore we

> have been buried with (συνετάφημεν) him by baptism into death, so that, just as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we too might walk in newness of life (ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν).

Here, in the course of answering the most obvious objection to his argument for the intent over the letter, Paul simultaneously argues that the purification with "clean water" water which was one of the benefits of the promised reconciliation in Ezekiel 36:25 occurred when the Jewish converts were baptized into Christ.

And by using certain terms which are similar to those which appear in the Greek of Ezekiel 36 and 37 he also argues that something even more significant took place when the Jewish Christians were baptized. For by means of the compound verb συνθάπτω he alludes to God's promise in 37:13: "And you shall know that I am the Lord, when I open your graves (τοὺς τάφους ὑμῶν), and bring you up from your graves (ἐκ τῶν τάφων), O my people." And by using the expression ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς he alludes to the promises of the new heart and new spirit (36:26) and of life (37:14). Paul uses all these allusions to argue that in the resurrection of Jesus and the subsequent baptisms of the Jewish converts God has finally fulfilled the promise of raising Israel from the dead.

He emphasizes this point with further allusions in 6:12-14 in which he states:

> Therefore, do not let sin exercise dominion in your mortal bodies, to make you obey their passions. No longer present your members to sin as instruments of wickedness, but present yourselves to God as those who have been brought from death to life (ὡσεὶ ἐκ νεκρῶν ζῶντας), and present your members to God as instruments of righteousness. For sin will have no dominion over you, since you are not under law but under grace.

Here Paul's exhortation to the Jewish Christians to present themselves to God "as from dead ones living" supports his argument that these physical descendants of Israel were, like their ancestors in Ezekiel, dead prior to their resurrection in baptism. And in his pronouncement that "sin will have no dominion over you, since you are not under law but under grace" he strongly implies that the letter of the Mosaic law played a significant role in Israel's enslavement to sin which brought about her condemnation and death.

Paul makes this role more explicit in the remainder of chapter six and in the next chapter. In 6:20-23, for example, he writes:

> When you were slaves of sin, you were free in regard to righteousness. So what advantage did you then get from the things of which you now are ashamed (ἐφ' οἷς ἐπαισχύνεσθε)? The end of those things is death (τὸ γὰρ τέλος ἐκείνων θάνατος). But now that you have been freed from sin and enslaved to God, the end is eternal life (τὸ δὲ τέλος ζωὴν αἰώνιον). For the wages of sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Having reminded the Jewish Christians of the attitude Israel was to have when God fulfilled the promise of reconciliation by means of the shame-related verb, Paul then identifies the "ends" (τέλοι) of two different courses of action.

The concept of the τέλος held a crucial position in Stoic philosophy. Diogenes Laertius describes this concept as follows: "Therefore, living in agreement with nature comes to be the end (τέλος), which is in accordance with the nature of oneself and that of the whole, engaging in no activity wont to be forbidden by the universal law, which is the right reason pervading everything and identical to Zeus, who is the director of the administration of existing things."[25] The responsibility of the human being, then, is to harmonize one's individual τέλος with the universal τέλος, thus achieving a state of internal harmony in which the reasoning faculty rules over the bodily passions as the Divine Reason rules over the material universe which is its body.

A Jewish adaptation of the Stoic view of the τέλος as the mind ruling over the passions is found in 4 Maccabees 2:21-23 which reads:

> Now when God fashioned man, he planted in him emotions (τὰ πάθη) and inclinations, but at the same time he enthroned the mind among the senses as a sacred governor (τὸν ἱερὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν) over them all. To the mind he gave the law; and one who lives subject to this will rule a kingdom that is temperate, just, good, and courageous.[26]

In this work the author modifies the Stoic view by arguing that the Mosaic law provides the wisdom which enables the νοῦς to govern the passions to achieve the reward of virtue, eternal life (4 Mac 17:11-12).

As an advocate for the intent over the letter in Romans, however, Paul argues just the opposite. Because in 7:5-6 he claims that

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[25]Diogenes Laertius 7.87.

[26]4 Maccabees 2:21-23 (RSV).

> while we were living in the flesh, our sinful passions, aroused by the law were at work in our members to bear fruit for death (ὅτε γὰρ ἦμεν ἐν τῇ σαρκί, τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου ἐνηργεῖτο ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν, εἰς τὸ καρποφορῆσαι τῷ θανάτῳ). But now we are discharged from the law, dead to that which held us captive, so that we are slaves not under the old written code but in the new life of the Spirit (ὥστε δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος καὶ οὐ παλαιότητι γράμματος).

According to Paul, observing the "oldness of the letter" did not enable the Israelites to subject their passions to their minds, but actually activated these passions which resulted in enslavement to sin and the death of Israel as depicted in Ezekiel.

In Romans 7:7-25 Paul describes this process of enslavement in dramatic detail. He begins in 7:7-12 in which he writes:

> What then should we say? That the law is sin? By no means! Yet, if it had not been for the law, I would not have known sin. I would not have known what it is to covet if the law had not said, "You shall not covet (Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις)." But sin, seizing an opportunity in the commandment, produced in me all kinds of covetousness (πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν). Apart from the law sin lies dead. I was once alive apart from the law, but when the commandment came, sin revived and I died, and the very commandment that promised life proved to be death to me. For sin, seizing an opportunity in the commandment, deceived me and through it killed me. So the law is holy, and the commandment is holy and just and good (ὥστε ὁ μὲν νόμος ἅγιος καὶ ἡ ἐντολὴ ἁγία καὶ δικαία καὶ ἀγαθή).

It is likely that Paul chose the tenth commandment of the Decalogue in the Septuagint to exploit the Stoic connotations of the verb ἐπιθυμέω and its noun form ἐπιθυμία.

Philo sheds some light on these connotations in his commentary on the tenth commandment. He writes:

> The last commandment is against covetousness or desire which he knew to be a subversive and insidious enemy. For all the passions of the soul (τὰ ψυχῆς πάθη) which stir and shake it out of its proper nature and do not let it continue in sound health (κινοῦντα καὶ

σείοντα αὐτὴν παρὰ φύσιν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν οὐκ ἐῶντα) are hard to deal with, but desire (ἐπιθυμία) is hardest of all.[27]

From Philo's comments we learn that as one of the passions, ἐπιθυμία, or as we shall refer to it from this point on, desire, is a movement of the soul out of its proper nature and normal healthy condition.

Stobaeus sheds further light on this movement when he states that the Stoics

> say that passion is impulse which is excessive and disobedient to the dictates of reason (ἀπειθῆ τῷ αἱροῦντι λόγῳ), or a movement of soul which is irrational and contrary to nature (κίνησιν ψυχῆς ἄλογον παρὰ φύσιν); and that all passions belong to the soul's commanding-faculty (εἶναι δὲ πάθη πάντα τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς). Therefore every fluttering is also a passion, and likewise, every passion is a fluttering. Since passion is of this kind, one must suppose that some passions are primary and dominant, while others have these as their reference. The generically primary ones are these four: appetite (ἐπιθυμίαν), fear (φόβον), distress (λύπην), pleasure (ἡδονήν). Appetite and fear come first, the former in relation to what appears good (τὴν μὲν πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον ἀγαθόν), and the latter in relation to what appears bad (τὸν δὲ πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον κακόν). Pleasure and distress result from these: pleasure, whenever we get the objects of our appetite or avoid the objects of our fear; distress whenever we fail to get the objects of our appetite or experience the objects of our fear.[28]

From Stobaeus we see that as a passion desire is an "irrational" movement of the soul which is contrary to nature. It is irrational because it is a stretching of the soul towards something which is only "apparently" good.

The Stoics viewed this stretching toward the apparent good as creating a weakness in the "tension" of the soul. And they believed that the health of the soul was "equated with strength and right tension, sickness with weakness and wrong tension."[29] Stobaeus shows how wrong tension engenders disease when he gives the Stoic definition of "sickness" as "an appetitive opinion which has flowed into a tenor and hardened, signifying a belief that what

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[27]Philo, *The Decalogue*, 142.28.

[28]Stobaeus, 2.88, 8-90 (SVF 3.378).

[29]Rist, *Stoic Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge at the University Press, 1969), 88.

should not be pursued is intensely worth pursuing, such as the passion for women, wine and money."[30]

We see, then, how the Stoics arrived at the conclusion that the desire for what appears to be good brings about a diseased condition of the soul. But, as E. Vernon Arnold explains, this condition is not characterized merely by unsound health:

> Sin is ignorance; more accurately, it is that which appears to be knowledge, but is not knowledge; it is false judgment. . . . A too hasty assent to that which appears to be but is not is both an error and an offence; and most particularly so when it lies in the application of the general conceptions (προλήψεις) of 'good' and 'evil' to particular cases. In this way we quickly reach four sinful conditions, which come about by mistaking things indifferent, that is, advantages and disadvantages, for things good or evil.[31]

Arnold goes on to identify the four "sinful conditions" as fear (φόβος), greed (ἐπιθυμία), grief (λύπη) and pleasure (ἡδονή) which we recognize in the Greek as the four Stoic passions from Stobaeus. So then, to the Stoics sin (ἁμαρτία) was not an act but the condition of weakness and disease caused by desire or one of the other passions.

Furthermore, according to the Stoics, people who suffered from this condition were, regardless of socio-economic status, in the only real form of slavery. Because in their view a slave was not the person who was owned by another but the one who was ruled by passions through false impressions. And the only free person was the sage who had gained freedom from the tyranny of passion through the knowledge that virtue was the summum bonum and vice the only true evil.

The above insights into the Stoic conceptions of desire cast light on the process by which sin used the commandment "You shall not desire" (Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις) to enslave and kill Israel. The process begins to unfold when we recall that the only true knowledge is the knowledge that virtue is the summum bonum and the proper τέλος for all human beings. But even though "the law is holy, and the commandment holy and just and good," it does not contain this knowledge and therefore it is merely "the embodiment of knowledge and truth" (τὴν μόρφωσιν τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῆς ἀληθείᾳ; 2:20). In fact, the law actually defines vice, the opposite

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[30]Stobaeus, 2.93.1-13.

[31]E. Vernon Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge at the University Press, 1911), 331.

condition of virtue, since "through the law comes the knowledge of sin" (3:20).

Therefore, even though the Israelites demonstrate through their attempts to observe the letter of the law that they "have a zeal for God" (ζῆλον θεοῦ ἔχουσιν), they are pursuing an apparent rather than the true good because this zeal is not according to true knowledge (ἀλλ' οὐ κατ ' ἐπίγνωσιν). By stretching toward this apparent knowledge the Israelites unconsciously weaken the tension of their souls as they simultaneously transgress the commandment "You shall not desire." Further weakening occurs as they ignorantly take pleasure in (συνήδομαι; 7:22) the illusion that they are actually living up to the commandment and doing the good. In this weakened and diseased condition they are susceptible to "all kinds of desire" and, as Paul vividly demonstrates in 7:14-25, they become easy prey for sin which overcomes and enslaves them and rewards their efforts with death.

From a rhetorical perspective, in 7:14-25 Paul also argues that following the letter of the law produced only dishonorable and disadvantageous things such as disharmony, disease, weakness, ignorance, slavery and death for the Israelites. In chapter eight, however, he contrasts these things with the honors and advantages which belong to those Israelites who have been justified by following the intent of the law through faith. He begins with the pronouncement in 8:1-4 that

> There is therefore now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus (ὁ γὰρ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ) has set you free from the law of sin and death. For God has done what the law, weakened by the flesh, could not do (τὸ γὰρ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου ἐν ᾧ ἠσθένει διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς): by sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and to deal with sin, he condemned sin in the flesh, so that the just requirement of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit (ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα).

The obvious allusions to condemnation, life, the Spirit and "the just requirements of the law" (τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου) support Paul's claim that God has finally pardoned the descendants of Israel who "are in Christ Jesus," brought them from death to life, and given them the new heart and

new Spirit by which he would make them follow his statutes (ἵνα ἐν τοῖς δικαιώμασίν μου πορεύησθε; Ezekiel 36:27).

But Paul's use of the expression "Spirit of life" in verse two indicates that his argument here should also be viewed from the perspective of a fundamental Stoic doctrine involving the concept of πνεῦμα. As Arnold explains:

> Like fire, 'spirit' is to the Stoics a substance, stuff, or body akin to the element of air, but associated with warmth and elasticity; it is conceived as immanent in the universe and penetrating it as the deity; immanent in the human body and penetrating it as the soul. The elasticity of spirit is measured by its 'tension' (τόνος, *intentio*), by means of which its creative power pushes forward from the centre to the circumference: as for instance in the human body walking is effected by 'spirit exercising tension towards the feet.' The theory of 'tension' has an immediate application to ethics. When the soul has sufficient tension to perform its proper work, it operates according o the virtues of Wisdom, Justice, Courage, and Soberness; but when the tension is relaxed, the soul becomes disordered and is seized upon by the emotions.[32]

The Stoics, then, taught that the πνεῦμα is the property by which the ἡγεμονικόν or the "commanding-faculty" of the soul maintains control over the passions enabling it to achieve internal order in accordance with the τέλος of virtue and the universal law.

In Romans the Spirit performs a similar function.[33] This function is implicit in Paul's claim in 8:5 that "those who live according to the flesh set their minds on the things of the flesh (τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς φρονοῦσιν), but those who live according to the Spirit set their minds on the things of the Spirit." Paul shows even more explicitly how the Spirit functions to control the passions and bring about virtue in 8:12-13 in which he writes:

> So then, brothers and sisters, we are debtors, not to the flesh, to live according to the flesh--for if you live according to the flesh, you will die; but if by the Spirit you put to death the deeds of the body you will

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[32]Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 89.

[33]According to Arnold (*Roman Stoicism*, 420): "The 'spirit' of St Paul therefore corresponds closely to the 'principate' of the Stoics, and though the Christian apostle does not lay the same emphasis on its intellectual aspect, he fully recognises that the spiritual life is true wisdom, and its perversion folly and darkness."

> live (εἰ δὲ πνεύματι τὰς πράξεις τοῦ σώματος θανατοῦτε, ζήσεσθε).

To "put to death the deeds of the body" is to subject the bodily passions, which adherence to the letter of the law only served to activate (7:5), to the control of the mind restored to health, strength and proper tension by the indwelling Spirit.[34]

In this healthy and strong condition one is able to fulfill "the just requirements of the law" which is the attainment of true virtue. And while virtue is that which is honorable and sought for its own sake, it brings with it rewards which are both honorable and advantageous.

One of the advantageous rewards is "power" which, we recall, is "the possession of resources sufficient for preserving one's self and weakening another." We have already seen that the Spirit equates to the power to subdue the passions and lead a virtuous life. As we see in 8:11, it is another type of power as well. For here Paul states:

> If the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you (εἰ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγείραντος τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ νεκρῶν οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν), he who raised Christ from the dead will give life to your mortal bodies also through his Spirit that dwells in you (ὁ ἐγείρας Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ζῳοποιήσει καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ὑμῖν).

In this verse Paul refers to the Spirit's power to generate life after death in "mortal bodies." This type of power also has Stoic connotations, because to the Stoics the πνεῦμα was

> conceived as the breath of life and associated with breathing. For Chrysippus defined the soul as a *pneuma* penetrating the body as long as the breath of life is present, and he reasoned: "We breathe and live by one and the same thing. We breathe by the natural *pneuma* [*naturalis spiritus*]; therefore the natural *pneuma* is the soul" (SVF 2.879, cf. 792).[35]

For the Stoics, then, the πνεῦμα was not only the power to maintain the proper tension of the soul, it was also the activating force which generates life

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[34]Contrary to Stoic doctrine, the Spirit of Christ or God is not innate in the human soul nor is it replenished through the process of respiration. Rather, according to Paul's argument in Romans, it is "poured out" into the hearts of those who assent to the proposition that God raised Jesus from the dead (10:9-10) and infused in those who are "united with" (σύμφυτοι γεγόναμεν; 6:5) Christ in baptism.

[35]Hahm, *The Origins of Stoic Cosmology*, 163.

in the inert matter which they referred to as "body."[36] And for Paul in Romans the gospel is indeed the "power of God for salvation" (1:16) because it is the knowledge through which one acquires the Spirit which is the power both to live virtuously and to live eternally.

Another advantageous reward of following the intent is security, which, we recall, "is a reasoned and unbroken maintenance of safety." It is evident from Paul's statements in 8:31-39 that those in Christ are absolutely safe and secure. In the concluding two verses of that section he writes:

> For I am convinced that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor rulers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Obviously God gives those who follow the intent the reward of security in this life and into eternity.

And God also gives the honorable and advantageous rewards of glory and rank to those who follow the intent rather than the letter of the law. For glory "consists in a person's having a widespread reputation accompanied by praise," and rank "is the possession of a distinguished office which merits respect, honour, and reverence." And those who follow the intent through faith receive "a spirit of adoption" by which they cry "Abba! Father!" (8:15). And these adopted children of God wait patiently for their final glorification when even the creation itself will "obtain the freedom of the glory of the children of God" (8:21).

Conclusion

In the partition of Romans in 1:18-3:31 Paul gives several indications that he will argue for the intent of God over the letter of the Mosaic law in order to persuade the Jewish converts in the church to cease from judging and

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[36]Arnold also sees affinities between Paul's view of the resurrection and Stoic philosophy. He states that Paul

> accepts implicitly the fact of the resurrection, but as typical, not as abnormal. As Christ has risen, so will his followers rise. But Christ lives in the spirit; by their intrinsic nature neither the flesh-body nor the soul-body can become immortal. And in the spirit Christ's followers are joined with him, and will be more fully joined when they are rid of the burden of the flesh. This continued existence is no mere fancy; it is real, objective, and (in philosophical language) bodily. (*Roman Stoicism*, 420-21).

boasting over the Gentile Christians. In chapters 4-8 he presents arguments in which he combines quotations from and allusions to verses and passages in the Septuagint with concepts from Stoic philosophy to show the honor and advantage of following the intent and the dishonor and disadvantage of adhering to the letter.

Chapters 4-8 form only a part of the larger confirmation/refutation section of Romans which begins at 4:1 and ends at 14:23. In chapters 9-11 Paul answers the anticipated objections to his argument which he himself raises in 3:1-7.[37] In 12:1-13:14 he shows how following the intent actually "upholds the law" (3:31) by producing the virtuous condition in the transformed mind (12:2) in which true equity and justice are attained through love.

In 14:1-23 he brings the whole argument from the letter and intent to bear upon the specific problem of judging on the basis of the law. Judging on this basis is unacceptable primarily because the law engenders opinions about apparent knowledge of good and bad which only serve to weaken the soul and enslave it to sin. As Paul states in 14:23: "But those who have doubts are condemned if they eat, because they do not act from faith; for whatever does not proceed from faith is sin." For Paul faith is unwavering assent to the true knowledge that "Christ is the end of the law so that there may be righteousness for everyone who believes (τέλος γὰρ νόμου Χριστὸς εἰς δικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι)." Because Christ demonstrated justice beyond the written law and virtue by dying for his fellow Israelites when they were weak, ungodly and enemies of God (5:6-11). And it is this type of justice and virtue which God will reward with glory, honor and eternal life at the final judgement.

[37]He answers the objection of 3:8 in chapter six.

Geographical Marginality in the Matthean Journeys of Jesus

Paul Hertig
United Theological Seminary, Dayton, OH

Sociologists Robert E. Park and Everett Stonequist formulated important foundations for marginality within the framework of minority-majority relations within the immigrant context of the United States. Stonequist described the marginal person as one who experiences mental conflict and a dual self-consciousness on the margins of two cultures.[1] Park described the marginal person as "one whom fate has condemned to live in two societies and in two, not merely different but antagonistic, cultures."[2] In spite of their negative depictions, both described the potential of marginality as well. Stonequist surmised that the conflict of marginality may lead to "artistic expression or scientific investigation"[3] while Park described the marginal person as more cosmopolitan and civilized with a wider horizon and keener intelligence.[4] More recently, sociologists have shifted their outlook from marginal persons in dominant cultures to stable persons in marginal cultures.[5] Thus, marginal people are now seen as contributing to the dominant culture through the strengths of their cultural duality.[6]

The Gospel of Matthew depicts marginality in this dynamic sense. Fully engaged in Judaism and Christianity, the Gospel writer masterfully

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[1] Everett V. Stonequist, *The Marginal Man* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961) 146; Vincent N. Parillo, *Strangers to These Shores* (5th ed.; Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1997) 38.

[2] Robert E. Park, Introduction in *The Marginal Man* by Everett V. Stonequist (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961) xvii-xviii.:xv; Dennis C. Duling "Matthew and Marginality," *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 51 (June 1995) 359; Parillo, *Strangers to These Shores*, 106.

[3] Stonequist *The Marginal Man*, 208; see also Jung Young Lee, *Marginality: The Key to Multicultural Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995) 10-13.

[4] Robert E. Park, "Introduction" in Stonequist, *The Marginal Man*, xvii-xviii.

[5] Vincent N. Parillo, *Strangers to These Shores* (5th ed.; Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1997) 107.

[6] Parillo, *Strangers to These Shores*, 107. Jung Young Lee, for example, provides a less-fixed depiction of the marginal person as in-between and in-both (Lee, *Marginality*) 60.

synthesizes both groups.[7] Creatively reflecting its own context, the Matthean community retraces Jesus' journeys along the boundaries of Judaism. Composed in the 80's C.E. in an atmosphere of political uncertainty and amid clashes with formative Judaism, when boundaries were drawn and stakes were high, Matthew's Jesus embarks on a continuous journey across social and political barriers, from region to region, and from multiple margins to multiple centers.[8]

Geographical Journeys of Marginality

Considering that Jesus was born in Bethlehem, bred a Nazarean, and based in Capernaum for a mission ranging throughout Galilee, it is no coincidence that Jesus' journeys to Bethlehem, Nazareth, Galilee, and Capernaum are each justified by fulfillment quotations. The Gospel of Matthew is uniquely preoccupied with the justification of the geographical movement of Jesus in fulfillment of prophecy. By portraying Jesus as a continuation and extension of the journeys of ancient Israel (2:15; 4:1), Matthew challenges the settled in the land to move beyond territoriality and return to a mobile model of Israel in the wilderness.

For instance, when Jesus' family journeyed from Egypt to settle in the land of Israel and learned that Herod's son reigned over Judea, the exodus motif was suddenly reversed and they "withdrew to the district of Galilee, and lived in a town called Nazareth" (2:21-23). This withdrawal into a more tolerant atmosphere previews Jesus' discord with the political and religious elite highlighted in Matthew by withdrawals and heightened tensions.[9] Through Jesus' withdrawal into Galilee from the dangers in Judea, Matthew initially reverses the traditional association of Galilee with darkness and

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[7] Matthew is referred to as a "liberal conservative" who integrated competing traditions into an "inclusive synthesis" (Raymond E. Brown and John P. Meier, *Antioch and Rome: New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* [New York: Paulist Press, 1983] 51,57).

[8] "Marginality and centrality are so mutually inclusive and relative that it is imbalanced to stress one more than the other," comments Jung Young Lee (*Marginality: The Key to Multicultural Theology*) 30-31.

[9] See Matthew 4:12; 12:15; 15:21; 23:1-39; 26:62-64; 27:11-14.

death, and the Judean homeland with safety and security. Galilee is now safe;[10] Judea has become dangerous.

Matthew, who has a stake in Galilee, provides theological justification for the geographical relocation of Jesus' family to Nazareth. "So was fulfilled what was said through the prophet: "He will be called a Nazorean" (2:23). Although a small, agricultural community not even mentioned in historical literature outside of the New Testament, Nazareth's proximity to Sepphoris, described by Herod as "the ornament of all Galilee," and to Japha, provided access to urban settings of historical and political significance.[11]

Yet scholars remain puzzled by Matthew's text attributed to the prophets, "He will be called a Nazorean." There is no mention of Nazareth or Nazorean in the Old Testament. In other words, Jesus grew up in nowhereland near somewhereland, and even the prophetic text that predicts it is nowhere to be found but is quoted from somewhere by Matthew![12]

Jesus the Nazorean and the Nazorean Sect

"Nazorean" was a negative reference as indicated in Acts 24:5 when Paul is described as an "agitator among all the Jews through the world" and "a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes." This derogatory reference implies deliberate precedence of Jerusalem over Galilee (Acts 24:6-9). Like the term 'Nazarene,' (or 'Nazorean') the geographic term 'Nazareth' was one

[10] Galilee is not always a place of safety; John was beheaded there, and Jesus pronounces woes on specific Galilean cities due to their lack of repentance (11:21-24).

[11] Richard A. Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1995) 193; John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus* (2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1991) 1:268. From a hill in Nazareth, the village where he grew up, Jesus would have been able to see the nearby urban center, Sepphoris (Lucien Legrand, *Unity and Plurality: Mission in the Bible*, [trans. Robert R. Barr; Maryknoll: Orbis, 1990] 53).

[12] Although Matthew's fulfillment quotation, "He will be called a Nazarene" is not found in the OT, there have been many speculations such as "Nazirite" (*Nazir*) in Judges 13:5,7 or "*Neser*" (shoot or branch) in Isaiah 11:1. But Leon Morris is probably correct when he states that these passages are different in derivation and meaning; therefore the best explanation is Matthew's own, that Nazarene refers to Jesus' hometown of Nazareth (*The Gospel According to Matthew* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992] 49 n. 69).

of scorn as indicated in John 1:45-46 when Nathaniel's knee jerk response to Jesus is "Nazareth! Can anything good come from there?"

The Nazoreans, an early Jewish-Christian sect which favored the Gospel of Matthew,[13] omitted the reference to Galilee in the key Matthean phrase, "Galilee of the Gentiles" (Γαλιλαία τῶν ἐθνῶν), changing it to "boundary of the Gentiles" (ὅριον τῶν ἐθνῶν), by implication, "region of the Gentiles."[14] Apparently, the Nazoreans viewed Matthew's Galilee as a Gentile frontier. Freyne interprets that the reading sought to remove "the heavy yoke of Jewish tradition from the land of Zebulun and Naphtali" and was mindful of Paul bringing the gospel "to the borders of the Gentiles."[15]

Josephus, a priest representing the Jerusalem aristocracy, readily distinguished "Galileans" from "Judeans" and referred to Galileans as a

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[13]Among its few fragments, the Gospel of the Nazareans contains a quote from Matthew 2:23, "For he shall be called a Nazaraean" by the early Jewish-Christian Nazarean sect. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* (revised, 2 vols.; Louisville: Westminster/Knox, 1991) 1:160. This sect may have in some way evolved from the Matthean community indicated by its dependence on a Hebrew version of the Gospel of Matthew, and its endorsement of Gentile mission. It may have encountered the relatives of Jesus from the Jewish villages of Kokhaba and Nazareth, who were characterized by mobility through extensive missionary travels. See R.J. Bauckham "Relatives of Jesus" in *Dictionary of the Later New Testament* (eds. Ralph P. Martin and Peter H. Davids; Downers Grove, InterVarsity, 1997) 1005-1006; P. Hertig, "Galilean Christianity," in *Dictionary of the Later New Testament* (eds. Ralph P. Martin and Peter H. Davids; Downers Grove, InterVarsity, 1997) 387. A.F.J. Kiljn concluded that "the origin of the Gospel of Matthew cannot be disassociated from that of the Gospel according to the Nazoraeans. They represent two separate developments of the same basic community" (*Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition* [The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1992] 42). The self-identity of the "Nazareans" reveals deep and enduring historical roots and suggests that these Jewish-Christians, located in Pella, Kokhaba and Beroia according to Epiphanius, originally came from Nazareth. The Nazareans flourished at Pella in the Transjordan after the pre-70 migration of Jewish-Christians from Jerusalem and endured on into the fourth century when they were marginalized and condemned as heretical by Epiphanius (Donald Hagner, "Jewish Christianity" in *Dictionary of the Later New Testament* [eds. Ralph P. Martin and Peter H. Davids; Downers Grove, InterVarsity, 1997] 585).

[14] A.F.J. Kiljn, "Jerome's Quotations from a Nazoraean Interpretation of Isaiah" in *Reserches de Science Religieuse* 60 (1972) 246. The Nazareans agree with Aquila and Symmachus in this reading (Ibid.).

[15]Sean Freyne, *Galilee, Jesus and the Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988) 78 n. 15.

distinct *ethnos* (*B.J.* 2.510, 4.105).[16] He described Upper and Lower Galilee as encompassed by many foreign nations (*B.J.* 3.41).

The Multi-Cultural Nature of Galilee

Galilee certainly was a "region of the Gentiles" as well as Jews in the first century. Matthew's unique NT phrase "Galilee of the Gentiles" (quoted from Isaiah 9:1) is indicative of the Assyrian deportation of the Jews of Galilee from the region of Zebulun and Naphtali, which opened the door for a large influx of foreigners, in particular, Canaanites and Sidonians. A long history of invasions and oppression from Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Macedonia, Egypt, along with the return of Jewish rule by the Hasmoneans (164-75 B.C.E.), and renewed oppression by the Romans in the first century C.E., created ethnic diversity in Galilee.[17] Matthew's reference to "Galilee of the Gentiles" (4:15) derives from the Hebrew *galil ha-goyim* (Isa 9:1) meaning "circle of the nations" and refers to the surrounding peoples and city-states which vied for political and economic power in the region.[18]

Galilee was a cosmopolitan crossroads of empires and cultures during the first century era of Jesus and Matthew. Major trade routes running through Galilee gave Galileans access to these surrounding nations.[19] In the first century, Galilee was populated by Phoenicians, Syrians, Samaritans, Arabians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and Jews.[20] Howard Clark Kee

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[16] This observation was made by Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People*, 49.

[17] Ibid. 28,41; W.D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, Jr., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Mathew*, (2 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark LTD, 1988) 1:383-384.

[18] Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People*, 20.

[19] Overman, surmising that "Galilee of the Gentiles" was ethnically mixed ever since the Isaiah 9 Assyrian invasion of the eighth century B.C.E., states that Galilee "would have been even more diverse and cosmopolitan" in Matthew's time due to "Rome's urbanization program and the vital commerce around the Galilee" (J. Andrew Overman, *Church and Community in Crisis: The Gospel According to Matthew* [Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996] 61).

[20] John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*, (2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1994), 2:768, n. 190; Anne Hennessy, *The Galilee of Jesus* (Roma: Editrice Pontificia Universita Gregoriana, 1994) 9; Davies and Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Mathew*, 1:384.

describes the Jesus movement as arising in a "bilingual, multicultural environment" in Galilee.[21]

The multi-cultural realities of first century Galilee explain Matthew's justification of Jesus' Galilean ministry through prophecy. Sean Freyne observes that Matthew utilizes the term "Galilee" to justify a messianic visitation to Israel "which is also to encompass all the nations, as the Isaianic prophecies had foretold."[22]

Marginality in Galilee

The diversity in Galilee of the Gentiles was likely not its forte. In an era when nations clung to homogeneity for their security and survival, regions of diversity represented compromise. The references to "the land of Zebulun and Naphtali", two of the six cursed tribes and to "the land beyond the Jordan" (4:15) imply metaphoric distance of Galilee from Judea, the center of Judaism.[23]

Although rooted in Israelite traditions, Galilee developed separately for more than eight centuries. Galilean ancestors rebelled against the monarchy of Solomon. Therefore, the Temple, its dues, and its hierarchy may have been suspect for many Galileans. Even Hasmonean rule would not have effected full or immediate conformity to Judean laws and traditions.[24] In fact, Galileans were in conflict with Jerusalem Temple authorities during the revolt of 66-67. This is implicit and explicit in accounts of Josephus' attempt to gain control of Galilee in 66 C.E. at a time when "the inhabitants of Galilean

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[21] Howard Clark Kee, "Early Christianity in the Galilee: Reassessing the Evidence from the Gospels," in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity* (ed. Lee I. Levine; Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992) 19,22. Galilee was an "intersection between continents and hemispheres" and an interplay between foreign and domestic cultures (Hennessy, *The Galilee of Jesus*) 18.

[22] Freyne, *Galilee, Jesus and the Gospels*, 90. Culturally, Hellenism dominated Galilee. Politically, the Romans ruled.

[23] Dhyanchand Carr, "A Biblical Basis for Dalit Theology" in *Indigenous People: Dalits. Dalit Issues in Today's Theological Debate* (ed. James Massey; Delhi: ISPCK, 1994) 241. Deuteronomy 27:13 refers to Zebulun and Naphtali as two of the cursed tribes. It is fitting that those first led into exile would be the ones first liberated (W.D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land* [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974] 226).

[24] Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People*, 51.

towns and villages were suspicious of the motives and agenda of representatives of the Jerusalem priestly government."[25]

Examples of widespread prejudice against Galileans in the first few centuries abound. For example, when Jerusalem Jews frowned on Jesus' Galilean identity (John 7:1-9,25,41-42), Nicodemus defended Jesus before the temple police, chief priests, Pharisees and crowds, who answered, "Are you from Galilee, too? Search and you will see that a prophet does not arise from Galilee" (John 7:52).

Due to periodic invasions, intrusions, and even robberies along its trade routes, Galileans were known to be fiercely independent. "The Galileans must have been tough and persistent to maintain their independent spirit through a seemingly never-ending series of outside rulers, from the early Canaanite cities to the Roman empire."[26] Josephus describes Galileans as always courageous, numerous and warlike (*B.J.* 3.41-43). Envious nations regularly attacked, raided the land, and sometimes exiled Galileans during the bountiful harvest season.[27]

Galilean Provenance of Matthew

Galilee thrived on farming and fishing industries that allowed a network of Galilean cities to prosper along international trade routes. Capernaum, for instance, had a highway running to Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia. This ministry home base of Jesus where Matthew was called from his tax-collector's booth (4:13; 9:1,9), Capernaum, served not only as a crossroads of cultures in the text, but also as an intersection between the *sitz im leben* of Matthew and the historical Jesus. The Matthean community had to increasingly face the Gentile question and context when the Jesus

[25] Ibid. 156-157. See *B.J.* 2.626-631; *Vita* 187-335.

[26] Richard A. Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996) 15.

[27] Galileans of the first century exported grain, olive oil, vegetables, salted fish, and ropemaking materials (Douglas Edwards, "The Socio-Economic and Cultural Ethos of the Lower Galilee in the First Century: Implications for the Nascent Jesus Movement" in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity* [ed. Lee I. Levine; Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992] 61).

movement, rooted in rural and urban settings, became increasingly cosmopolitan in the second half of the first century. Matthew quotes Isaiah 9:1-2 to justify Jesus' mission base in Capernaum (4:13-15) and declares Capernaum as "the centre of the messianic visitation which the text promises for Galilee of the gentiles."[28]

Since Matthew locates the center of Jesus and his movement in Capernaum, Overman postulates that this might have been the very location of the Matthean community. Overman points out that Matthew's distinct feature of not permitting Jesus to venture beyond Galilee is also suggestive of a Matthean social setting. Furthermore, Galilee was a base for the early stages of rabbinic Judaism, traces of which are found in Matthean opponents. Matthew highlights tensions between Jesus and the "scribes and Pharisees" who have authoritative and institutional roles (23:2-7) characteristic of formative Judaism in the Matthean context (e.g. 23:2,13,23).[29]

Jesus' Galilean Journey

Following Matthew's geographical justification of Jesus' ministry in Galilee, Matthew introduces the calling of Jesus' disciples along the Sea of Galilee. Peter and Andrew immediately leave their nets behind and follow Jesus (4:18-20). This provides a glimpse into the fiercely independent Galilean person. The Galilean context functions for Matthew as a symbol of the newness of Jesus' mission in contrast to the established forms of Judaism.[30] This newness is further described in the subsequent text, "Jesus went throughout Galilee" proclaiming and healing (4:23). Jesus, the man on a

[28] Freyne, *Galilee, Jesus and the Gospels*, 77.

[29] Overman, *Church and Community in Crisis*, 17; Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1990) 38,45-46. The term "rabbi" as an official term within Judaism first surfaces in Galilee, and the first authoritative work of rabbinic Judaism was edited in Galilee. In Matthew, the term "rabbi" is a negative term (23:8); only Judas addresses Jesus with the term (26:25,49). See Overman, *Church and Community in Crisis*, 17-18; Overman *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism,* 47.

[30] Freyne, *Galilee, Jesus and the Gospels*, 272.

continual journey, personified the sojourning people of God who were accompanied and guided by God in their wilderness journeys.[31]

While Jesus journeyed throughout Galilee, those in regions beyond journeyed to meet him. Large crowds followed Jesus from Galilee, the Decapolis, Jerusalem, Judea, and from across the Jordan (4:23-25). Jerusalem, the traditional center of God's redeeming work, discovered its need for mobility; Jerusalem crowds journeyed to the margin to participate in the coming kingdom. Jerusalem was traditionally considered the center of the Holy Land with a series of sacred regions radiating outward from the temple in Jerusalem to the city perimeters, to the wider region of Judea, and alas, to the outermost region of Galilee.[32]

Jesus' mission base in Galilee appears to confirm Jung Young Lee's argument that true liberation occurs when "the norm shifts from the center to the margin." For Lee, liberation occurs when the centralists move to the margin rather than when the marginalized move to the center. Once everyone becomes marginal, egalitarianism reigns and marginality overcomes marginality.[33] The Matthean journeys of Jesus, however, portray continual mobility. In a world in which positioned status carries more weight than action, Matthew utilizes action or mobility to indicate the imminence of change. This action motif serves to invalidate established positions of the system.[34]

In response to Jesus' Galilean journey, the centralists must journey to the margins for their salvation (4:24-25); likewise the marginalized Galilean disciples must eventually journey to the center at Jerusalem where their presence awakens the positioned ones to the reality that change is truly imminent. Amy-Jill Levine has meticulously demonstrated that throughout

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[31] Gioacchino Campese, "Walk Humbly with Your God! Notes on a Spirituality for Missionaries" *Missiology* 25 (1997) 134.

[32] Ben Witherington III, *The Jesus Quest: the Third Search for the Jew of Nazareth* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1995) 38.

[33] Jung Young Lee, *Marginality,* 151. While Lee admits that the margin may never become a new center replacing the previous center, he idealizes marginality.

[34] Amy-Jill Levine, *The Social and Ethnic Dimensions of Matthean Salvation History* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1988) 8.

the Gospel, Matthew contrasts faithfulness and mobility with faithlessness and stasis.[35] The disciples, for instance, are limited in their holdings, perpetually mobile and metaphorically associated with sheep.[36]

Jesus Encounters Marginality and the Marginalized

In the midst of the geographical journeys of Jesus in Galilee, Jesus experiences marginality and encounters marginalized persons. For instance, early in his ministry in Capernaum, Jesus is approached by a **Centurion**. Possibly journeying on an inter-regional highway, he meets the journeying Jesus and seeks the healing of his paralyzed servant. Jesus dialogues with this military leader who represents the occupying Roman forces, agrees to heal the servant, declares that his faith is greater than anyone in Israel, then interprets the event eschatologically. Jesus states that "many will come from the east and west and will take their places at the feast with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven" (8:11). Matthew has mapped out the geographical movement of outsiders of Israel who journey from east and west to join in the feast of the kingdom. Jesus' surprise contrast of the centurion's faith to Israel's lack of faith negatively depicts the elite group at the center of Judaism in Palestine.[37]

The centurion account parallels the later reference to the "queen of the South" whom Jesus says will rise at the judgment and condemn this generation "for she came from the ends of the earth to listen to the wisdom of Solomon, and behold, someone much greater than Solomon is here" (12:42). The journey of the Queen of Sheba "from the ends of the earth" to listen to Solomon's wisdom becomes metaphoric for the journey of Gentiles to Jesus and the model for mobility over stability.

Jesus travels across the Sea of Galilee to "the Gadarenes" where Gentile presence is indicated by a herd of pigs into which Jesus drives the demons. In spite of the healing of two notorious and violent demon-

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[35] Ibid. 7,274

[36] Ibid. 48.

[37] Ibid. 115. Jesus has provided a way in which "the marginal and the oppressed can obtain the privileges which the Jewish leadership considers officially theirs" (Ibid.).

possessed men, the whole town denounces the supernatural event and the loss of their pigs by begging Jesus to leave the region (8:28-34).

At the further margins from Galilee, in a land where Rabbis would not have typically ventured, Jesus is rejected by the entire town after accomplishing a spectacular miracle of compassion. Matthew has dramatically depicted Jesus' marginalization both in his travels to the center and margins. His own marginality was the essence of his mission. "Jesus chose to be a stranger, to move at the margins of his society," not merely to acquire an outsider's perspective but also to became marginalized himself.[38] Jesus both embraced the marginalized and experienced marginality alongside the marginalized.

This is evident in the account of **Matthew** the tax collector from Capernaum who encounters Jesus and responds immediately to Jesus' call (9:9-11). Matthew was marginalized in three ways: (1) He was a Jew employed by the Roman-occupied government and would have been despised as a traitor by fellow Jews. (2) He was likely accustomed to scorn by poor and rich alike since tax collectors often collected taxes excessively for their own gain (cf. Luke 19:8). (3) Matthew was a Galilean Jew. The unusual Matthean phrase "Galilee of the Gentiles" was originally a "pejorative phrase" of which Matthew gives newer and positive connotations, according to Davies and Allison.[39] Matthew "stands between two cultures" and "stands between the old and new" (13:52).[40]

Jesus defends his practice of dining at Matthew's house among tax collectors and sinners, declaring to questioning Pharisees that he has "not come to call the righteous, but sinners" (9:13). The story of Matthew's calling is the story of Jesus embracing a marginalized person and calling him into his ministry. Matthew's own marginality is an underlying theme in the

[38] Campese "Walk Humbly with Your God!," 135.
[39] Davies and Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Mathew*, 1:383.
[40] Duling, "Matthew and Marginality," 378.

Gospel. It is no irony that Matthew emphasizes Jesus' acceptance of the unacceptable in the story of his own calling (9:12-13).[41]

Jesus later declares that if the miracles performed in Capernaum would have been performed in Sodom, it would remain to this day (11:23-24). Capernaum, Jesus' home base at the margin, is neither a place of privilege nor a new center at the margin. Jesus appears to be more concerned about people's response to his presence than who sponsors his presence.[42] Tyre and Sidon, Gentile nations along the Phoenician coast, are affirmed as more bearable on judgment day than the Galilean cities of Korazin and Bethsaida (11:21). The prophets had denounced Tyre and Sidon as unruly and unrighteous (Isa 23, Ezek 26).

Jesus and the disciples experience shared marginality while on a journey of mission (12:1-8). The leaders of the religious establishment charge the disciples with violating the Sabbath through the plucking and eating of heads of grain. Jesus defends the disciples' mini-harvest through the illustration of David and his companions who, hungry on a journey of mission, entered God's house to eat the bread of the Presence which was lawful only for priests to eat (12:4). In the passage referred to by Jesus, David convinced the priest to give him the bread by explaining that he was "on an expedition" and that the bread remains holy on a "common journey" (1 Sam 21:5-6).

Jesus and his disciples were likewise on a journey of mission, on their way to the synagogue, where Jesus would heal a man with a withered hand (12:9-10). Jesus describes the priests in the temple as breaking the law by their actions and points beyond the confines of the temple to what is greater, himself (12: 5-6), the man on the mercy-journey (12:12). Jesus states that he desires mercy rather than sacrifice. In other words, the loving action that he is about to demonstrate (12:10) supercedes temple duties. The priestly

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[41] Not unlike the other New Testament Gospels, the Gospel of Matthew is an anonymous manuscript. However, scholars tend to believe that Matthew the apostle is at the least a key source of much of the material found in the Gospel (Donald Hagner, *Word Biblical Commentary: Matthew 1-13* [Dallas: Word, 1993] lxxvi-lxxvii).

[42] Frederick Dale Bruner, *The Christbook* (Waco: Word, 1987) 425.

privileges have been widened to include all people and "the category of 'priest' with its elitist implications is rendered meaningless."[43]

A symbolic turn of events occurs in the succeeding narrative. The Pharisees went out (ἐξελθόντες) from the synagogue to deliberate on how they might destroy Jesus (12:14). They are now on the outside and Jesus is on the inside. Then Jesus withdraws (ἀνεχώρησεν) and "many crowds followed him" (12:15). While the religious elites are trapped in their own quagmire, bent on destroying whatever does not fit their theology, the journey of Jesus continues. Matthew specifies of the many crowds that "he cured all of them" which Levine observes, "separates the crowd even more from the interests of the religious elite."[44]

The Canaanite Woman

Jesus ventures into the region of Tyre and Sidon which he had previously affirmed as more bearable on judgment day than the Galilean cities of Korazin and Bethsaida. A Canaanite woman approaches, shouting and begging him to heal her demon-possessed daughter. Surprisingly, Jesus does not answer. The disciples urge him to send her away, and then Jesus answers, even more surprisingly, "I was sent only to the lost sheep of Israel" (15:21-23). Jesus has harshly but accurately stated his initial phase of mission. But the woman kneels before him and pleads, "Lord, help me" (15:25).

At this point Jesus appears quite in sync with the disciples' reluctance to deal with this shouting woman. The woman, however, insists on inclusion

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[43] Levine, *The Social and Ethnic Dimensions of Matthean Salvation History,* 248.

[44] Ibid. 250. A further contrast with the crowds is exhibited in 12:46-50 when Jesus' own mother and brothers were standing outside, seeking to speak to him. But Jesus points to his disciples and proclaims, "Here are my mother and my brothers." It is those who "do the will" of God who are family members of Jesus. Once again, "Matthew contrasts a static group who could claim special leadership privileges because of their relationship to Jesus, the family members who 'stood outside' . . . both symbolically and literally, with a spiritual family united by service to the deity" (Ibid. 254). Those who do the will of God are equal members of the family of God. Jesus, eradicating patriarchal structures, identifies those who do the will of God as "my brother and sister and mother"; no one is referred to as "father" according to 23:9 (Ibid. 254).

rather than bicker about her exclusion because she knows the compelling connection between her dilemma and Jesus' power.[45]

When she knelt before him, she halted his movement and held her ground, Levine points out. This leaves Jesus with the choice of responding or walking around her.[46] In Matthew, people of the margin tend to be capable of taking decisive actions of faith at critical moments in time. This Canaanite woman becomes a Matthean prototype of faith in action. She sharply contrasts the faithlessness and inaction of the disciples and of the Pharisees and scribes (15:1). She has pleaded for mercy and has called Jesus, "Lord, Son of David."

But Jesus again gives a surprising reply to her repeated pleas: "It is not right to take the children's bread and toss it to their dogs" (15:26). Levine notes that "his insult is in part a commentary on her physical position: kneeling, or heeling—begging like a dog—is not the proper position for someone about to receive the master's food."[47]

In fact, the tone of the dialogue, in the midst of this critical moment becomes surprisingly playful. Giving highest honor to Jesus with, "Yes, Lord" the desperate woman somehow affirms Jesus' words and wittingly continues her plea, "for even the dogs eat the crumbs that fall from the master's table" (15:27). Although she is not allowed access to the children's bread, "she claims oneness with Jesus by laying claim to the 'crumbs.'"[48]

The Canaanite woman has responded to Jesus' remark about her inferiority and has turned it to her own advantage, says Levine:

> This is the role of the trickster, the person without power, the colonized subject. This is the role of the Cynic, the social critic who calls householders to accountability. Cynics take their name

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[45]Cheryl J. Sanders, *Ministry at the Margins: The Prophetic Mission of Women, Youth and the Poor* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1997) 89.

[46]This reference is from a draft with the following working title and publication information, forthcoming in the year 2000: Amy-Jill Levine, "Matthew's Advice to a Divided Readership" in *The Gospel of Matthew in Current Study: Essays in Honor of William J. Thompson* (ed. David Aune; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, forthcoming).

[47] Ibid.

[48] Sanders, *Ministry at the Margins,* 89.

from the Greek for "dog"; that the woman's retort also plays on the aural connection between "Canaanite" (*Xananai/a*) and "dogs" (*kuna/ria*) may be more than happy accident."[49]

When all is said and done, Jesus has granted this woman an opportunity to express her marginality and has offered a compassionate response. A fundamental frustration on the margin is a dehumanization that leaves people voiceless in official decision-making. The violation of their rights "just happens."[50] Jesus ultimately forbids injustice to follow its blind course and reverses the dehumanization of the Canaanite woman through dialogue and a proactive response.

Cheryl Sanders concludes that the story of the Canaanite woman powerfully illustrates "how ministry at the margins challenges and transforms the outlook of those at the center."[51] By initially denying the woman access, Jesus powerfully enacted a lesson that those at the margins do have a right and access to the center. Jesus provided that access and congratulated her for her faith. Jesus validated this Gentile woman at the borderlands and healed her daughter. His last words to her in the Greek text are literally, "let it be to you as you desire" (15:28). The surprise reversal is that the woman gets her wish and the disciples do not get theirs.

The centurion and the Canaanite, the only two Gentiles found within the healing narratives "are positively portrayed, engage in dialogue with Jesus, and have their requests granted."[52]

Galilean Marginality in Jerusalem

This margin-center reversal becomes even clearer when Jesus enters Jerusalem. Once Jesus concludes his public ministry in Galilee, Matthew explicitly states that he departed from Galilee and traveled to the region of Judea (19:1). Yet even in Judea, Matthew continues to make key narrative

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[49]Levine, "Matthew's Advice to a Divided Readership."

[50]Leonardo Boff, *Faith on the Edge: Religion and Marginalized Existence* (trans. Robert R. Barr. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989) 43, 54.

[51]Sanders, *Ministry at the Margins,* 90.

[52]Levine, *The Social and Ethnic Dimensions of Matthean Salvation History,* 131

references to Galilee and Galileans. Just prior to his death, while on the Mount of Olives, Jesus warns his disciples that every one of them will fall away. He then adds, "But after I have risen, I will go ahead of you into Galilee" (26:31-32). Here, again, at a crucial juncture in Jesus' mission, the traditional suppositions of Jerusalem and Galilee are reversed: Jerusalem rapidly darkens with the approaching death of Jesus while Galilee brightens with the anticipated presence of the resurrected Jesus.

During the crucifixion of Jesus, many women who had followed Jesus from Galilee are present (27:55). Coming from a distance and watching from a distance, these Galilean women, who depict the marginal of the marginalized, remain faithfully devoted to the bitter end. Their actions of care for Jesus (27:55) starkly contrast the religious and political elite of Jerusalem who have struck, stripped, and condemned Jesus to death (26:66-67; 27:31).

Following the crucifixion, the two Mary's visit the tomb on Sunday morning and discover that it is empty. An angel declares that they should "go quickly and tell his disciples: 'He has risen from the dead and is going ahead of you into Galilee. There you will see him'" (28:7). Galilee is anticipated as the site for celebrating the monumental event of human history, the resurrection. In Galilee, the unworthy ones who had abandoned Jesus at his death can again be graced by the presence of the worthy one who has suffered and was raised on their behalf.

As the women rush away in fear and joy to tell the disciples, Jesus himself greets them along the way and affirms their mission, declaring, "Do not be afraid. Go and tell my brothers to go to Galilee; there they will see me" (28:10). Women of the margins are given the first mission from the resurrected Jesus, and that mission is to declare the resurrection to men. In a man's world, the role of these Galilean women has been radically affirmed.

The long-anticipated meeting between Jesus and the eleven disciples finally takes place on a mountain in Galilee (28:16). This historic meeting echoes Matthew's initial words which introduced Jesus' ministry, "Galilee of the Gentiles--the people sitting in darkness have seen a great light; on those sitting in the region of the shadow of death a light has dawned" (4:15-16).

Jesus reaffirms Galilee, the outermost region of Judea. This crossroads of nations and cultures becomes the sending base for mission to all nations. The circle of the nations has widened.[53]

Conclusion

It is not the purpose of this paper to idealize the margin. Had Jesus created a fixed center in Galilee, marginality would have simply become a new form of centrality. While the margin of Galilee was the starting and ending point of Jesus' mission in Matthew, Jesus was on a never-ending journey. This is not a static depiction of marginality. Jung Young Lee correctly stated that the centralist impulsion to seek the center, with its comfort, stability, and seclusion, is "the carnal sin that enslaves us, oppresses us, and marginalizes us."[54]

Jesus toured the edges of life; he encountered the marginalized and experienced marginality wherever he journeyed. Jesus journeyed widely to and from such regions as Nazareth, Capernaum, Korazin, Bethsaida and to the Jew-Gentile borderlands of Tyre, Sidon, Gennesaret, and the Gadarenes. Jesus never visited the famous Herodian cities of high society, Tiberias or Sepphoris. Archaeology and Josephus attest to the historical and political importance of these two cities. But it appears that Jesus eluded these cities: "Jesus was a stranger to the world of the royal court and politics which Josephus was to frequent, the world of business that wove its webs at Sephoris, Ptolemais, Tiberias, or Maritime Caesarea."[55]

When comparing the places of importance in Matthew and in Josephus, "one might as well be looking at two entirely different maps."[56] Through his journeys, Jesus subverted the codes that directed the patterns of thought and behavior in his day:

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[53] This widening includes a continuation, not an annexation, of mission to the Jews. The Great Commission phrase πάντα τὰ ἔθνη also found in the parable of the sheep and the goats, in both cases, includes all ethnic groups.

[54] Lee, *Marginality,* 150.

[55] Legrand, *Unity and Plurality,* 53.

[56] Ibid.

> He overturned the geographical code in situating the center of gravity of his activity not in Judea but in Galilee, not at the Temple or in the synagogues but in fishing boats or town streets. He shattered the religious code by causing the divine activity to appear not in the framework of sacrifices and festivals, but in the misery and the life of the poor. He upset the social code when he chose sinners, the common people . . . instead of the religious elite.[57]

Matthean Christianity did not align itself with the established order or with just any movement of counter establishment. It discovered itself on the way to both center and margins, on the way from both, and in between both, as it retraced the journeys of Jesus across social, religious and political boundaries. A stranger to the world of the political and religious elite, Jesus provided a fresh paradigm for transformation of margins and centers through the model of the continuous journey from region to region and person to person.

[57] Ibid. 48.

Creation in Ezekiel: Methodological Perspectives and Theological Prospects

David L. Petersen
Iliff School of Theology

In this paper devoted to the topic, "Creation in Ezekiel," I want to do several things. First, I shall offer some reflections about the sorts of methods that scholars have used (often implicitly) to make claims about role of "creation" in the book of Ezekiel. Second, I want to review several recent proposals about the presence of creation language and/or traditions in Ezekiel. In this regard, I will assay proposed correlations between creation texts and Ezekiel. Third, I want to offer at least one reason why creation traditions may not have been particularly appealing to Ezekiel, as he formulated both his rationale for the defeat of Israel and his case on behalf of its restoration.

I

First, claims about Ezekiel knowing or alluding to Israelite creation traditions are fraught with difficulty. What does it mean to claim that "creation" might be present in or important for a biblical book? Such difficulty is exemplified by the various analytical vocabularies that one encounters in such a discussion. In pursuing this issue, I have encountered scholars who talk about creation as a tradition, motif, theme, imagery, concept, story, account, myth, and belief. Such terminological variation bespeaks analytical difficulties. For example, a motif is quite different from a tradition. Each of these terms involves a different sort of claim; they belong to different discourses. What does it take for a text to attest an identifiable tradition (e.g., the Zion tradition)? In a related vein, what constitutes a tradition? Similarly, what is a motif? How is a motif similar to

or different from a tradition? If Ezekiel uses the verb bara', would that be sufficient reason to think that he knew a tradition about creation similar to Genesis 1? Or would that attest to a shared motif? Or might one want to argue that Ezekiel knew the text (whether oral or written) of Genesis 1 or 2? In this case, would one want to mount an intertextual argument on behalf of a literary allusion?

These questions raise an issue fundamental to biblical studies, namely, the necessity of articulating appropriate clarity of method or critical perspective. [1] Two types of argument appear with some frequency, those involving appeals to tradition and to the existence of allusion, stances that bespeak tradition history and literary criticism.

1. Tradition

The word "tradition" figures prominently in discussions of creation in Ezekiel. What is a tradition? The question is surprisingly difficult to answer.[2] Some seem to think of it as a theme, others an idea, still others a text. These usages are diverse. For example, it is one thing to speak of the Zion tradition, and quite another to speak of the priestly tradition. Both have common currency in Hebrew bible studies and yet the referents are very different. The Zion tradition as such is a much more discrete entity, whereas the priestly tradition is used to describe the tetrateuch source P, religious traditions associated with priesthood, ritual, temple and the like. Were one

[1] It is informative to observe someone address the issue of method when attempting to clarify possible Babylonian influence on the book of Ezekiel, D. Bodi, The Book of Ezekiel and the Poem of Erra (OBO 104; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg, 1991) 35-51.

[2] For a recent discussion, see D. Knight, "Tradition History," ABD, Vol. 6, 633-638. For a good example of a traditio-historical argument, see F. Cross, "The Song of the Sea and Canaanite Myth," Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1973) 112-144.

to speak of a creation tradition, one would, I think, be making a claim more like that on behalf of the Zion tradition than that of a priestly tradition. For the purposes of this paper, the so-called Zion tradition will exemplify what I mean by tradition.

However, does it make sense to speak of "a" creation tradition, since we know that Israelites viewed Yahweh's creative activity in diverse ways? From a traditio-historical perspective, one might, therefore, expect to ask, which, if any, Israelite or non-Israelite creation tradition, is perceptible in the book of Ezekiel? Potential answers would include the Yahwistic picture, the priestly version, the imagery attested in Psalm 104, something akin to the picture in the Enuma elish or Atra-hasis, and so forth. To speak of creation and tradition is to speak of multiple traditions.

In a related vein, and with specific reference to the topic of creation, one must address another basic question. When one analyzes a text such as Genesis 2-3, which is often labeled "the Yahwistic account of creation," what in these verses count as the Yahwistic creation tradition? To be sure, one may read Genesis 2-3 as a unified piece of literature. However, as Westermann, among others has argued, there are really two distinct elements present in these chapters: a narrative of creation and a story about Eden or paradise (on which see below). Put another way, not all portions of a so-called creation text may reflect a tradition about creation. An allusion to some element in Genesis 2 or 3 does not necessarily involve an attestation of a creation tradition.

2. Allusion

One might, of course, offer a less "intense" claim, namely, that the author of a text was aware of an earlier tradition or text and alluded to it without attempting to include all the important elements of that text or tradition. For example, one might imagine a text that read " the heavens and

the earth quaked" (cf. Joel 3:16). A reader familiar with theophanic texts in the Hebrew bible might recognize this as the second of two elements normally found in description of a theophany. And that reader would read the text with the knowledge that God's presence was that which often caused the heavens and the earth to quake. That is what I take to be an allusion, an incomplete reference to a larger literary entity. Genette talks about allusion as "an enunciation whose full meaning presupposes the perception of a relationship between it and another text, to which it necessarily refers by some inflections that would otherwise remain unintelligible."[3] The description seems apt, though I would want to affirm that "text" here can mean something which could be "texualized," viz., an oral tradition, even if it were not actually in textual form. Allusion, in this mode, is the subject quite simply of literary studies, often more specifically characterized as intertextuality (One must at this point note that "intertextuality" can refer to various reading strategies.) [4]

Were one to think about Ezekiel alluding to "creation," one might imagine the presence of certain vocabulary characteristic of and peculiar to one or another account of creation, whether biblical or extra-biblical. I imagine that if the phrase "the image of God" appeared in Ezekiel, someone might cite it as an allusion to the priestly account of creation. Similarly, were a phrase like ni©mat hayyTm (Gen 2:7) to appear in Ezekiel, I would not be surprised to see a claim that Ezekiel was alluding to the Yahwistic view of creation.

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[3] G. Genette. Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1997) 2.

[4] See, for example, G. O'Day, "Intertextuality," A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation, ed. J. Hayes (Nashville: Abingdon, 1999) 546-548; D. Fewell, ed. Reading Between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible (LCBI; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox) 1992; G. Aichele & G. Phillips, eds. Intertextuality and the Bible (SEMEIA 69/70).

Claims about the existence of allusions obviously depend upon the relative age of the texts in which a "copresence" has been identified. In the case of Homer's Odyssey and Joyce's Ulysses, there can be no question about the direction of the influence. However, in the case of biblical literature, one may not so easily assume that the tetrateuch or its constituent parts predate Ezekiel. So, to identify copresence is one thing. To claim that Ezekiel is alluding to the priestly tradition, or that the priestly tradition is alluding to Ezekiel, or that both are appealing to yet another "text," requires establishing a relative typology of the texts that offer a copresence.

To speak of traditions and allusions is not, of course, to exhaust the full range of claims that might be made about the relation of Ezekiel and matters involving creation. For example, one might contend that Ezekiel were quoting (in reverse order) a text involving creation, e.g., Ezek 36:11, "they shall increase and be fruitful" // Gen 1:28 "be fruitful and increase." Quotation achieves an effect different from an allusion. Some would maintain that the strategies for intertextual reading would help us articulate the ways in which such a quotation might work.

In sum, scholars have used diverse vocabulary to speak about the relation of creation and Ezekiel. In order to bring appropriate clarity to the conversation, one should recognize that, at a minimum, two different methods have been deployed in these discussions, tradition history and literary criticism.

II

A number of scholars have argued Ezekiel seems to refer to or know traditions from the primeval history, even the creation traditions themselves. In particular, the dissertations by John Strong and, more recently, John Kutsko push in this direction. On the one hand, Strong, whose dissertation treated the oracles against the nations in Ezekiel, maintained that one central

perspective in those texts was "the affirmation of YHWH as the Great King of Israel."[5] Strong contends that this affirmation stems from the Zion tradition, which, for him, involves elements like the river of Paradise and the temple. In this web of traditions, "the Hebrew creation myth was used in connection with the Jerusalem temple and Zion tradition."[6] More particularly, Strong contends that Ezekiel 28 exemplifies the creation tradition, since it overtly refers to the garden, the sin of hubris, and the expulsion. At one point, he writes, "Ezekiel chose the creation account because it was a story centered around hubris, the sin of the prince of Tyre as stated in 28:1-10."[7]

Several questions come to mind: 1) if traditions work in the way Strong postulates, can one imagine that any important religious motif in Judah would not have been part of the Zion/Jerusalem/temple complex. 2) is creation as such truly important in Ezekiel? It is one thing to point to a motif of expulsion a la Genesis 3. But does the notion of creation of humanity or the cosmos play an important role in Ezekiel's rhetoric? In my judgment, the evidence is not overwhelming. As I indicated earlier, it is necessary to distinguish between creation traditions as such and other primeval traditions, such as that involving paradise lost.

On the other hand, John Kutsko, too, has maintained that Ezekiel knew and used creation traditions in a significant way ("the prophet is interacting with the independent but interrelated creation traditions from Genesis").[8] For example, he has claimed that Ezekiel knew and used the priestly tradition involving the selem `l∩hTm, even though the phrase

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[5] J. Strong, Ezekiel's Oracles against the Nations within the Context of his Message (Ph.D. Dissertation, Union Theological Seminary [Richmond] 1993) 26.

[6] Strong, Ezekiel's Oracles 228.

[7] Strong, Ezekiel's Oracles 232.

[8] J. Kutsko, The Presence and Absence of God in Ezekiel (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1997) 222, n. 129.

itself does not appear in Ezekiel.[9] He bases his argument primarily upon the use of the phrase salam ili/il~ni and its use to refer to divine cult statues and kings in the ancient Near East. Kutsko deems the presence of the word d mϕt, in Gen 1:16 and Ezek 1:26-28 to provide important evidence for the presence of a selem `l∩hTm notion in Ezekiel. In this regard, he appeals to Barr's judgments that there are strong similarities between P and Deutero-Isaiah. To be sure, Barr correctly observes that both P and Deutero-Isaiah share an "emphasis on creation."[10] However, it is not clear that Ezekiel shares this same emphasis. As a result, I cannot accept Kutsko's claim that "Ezekiel chooses the terms dmϕt and mar'eh with knowledge of the Priestly selem and d mϕt."[11] Elsewhere Kutsko thinks that Ezekiel knew the Eden traditions (36:34-35) and, more generally, regarding Ezek 36:9-11, he claims "the larger setting as well as the immediate context suggests creation concepts from Genesis 1 and 2."[12] Finally, he maintains that Ezek 37:1-8 reflects the creation of humanity as depicted in Genesis 2.[13] Ezekiel 36-37 has pride of place in this analysis.

If Strong's arguments are traditio-historical, Kutsko's are more "intertextual." The former appeals to traditio-historical complexes, whereas Kutsko appeals to similarity in diction and thought. Both want to claim that creation is important in Ezekiel, though they mount their arguments in quite different ways.

In order to focus the discussion, I will at this point offer a roster of representative claims that scholars have offered (or might offer) about the

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[9] Kutsko, The Presence 102.

[10] J. Barr, "The Image of God in the Book of Genesis—A Study in Terminology," BJRL 51 (1968) 12-14.

[11] Kutsko, The Presence 122.

[12] Kutsko, The Presence 221.

[13] Kutsko, The Presence 223-225.

relation of creation texts in Genesis to the book of Ezekiel. According to their order in Genesis, the similarities are:

B~r~'--Genesis 1 // Ezek 28:13, 15
T h⊥m--Gen 2:2 //Ezek 31:4
TannTn--Gen 1:21 // Ezek 29:3
Command to multiply—Gen 1:28 // Ezek 36:11 (LXX)
Breath of life--Gen 2:7//Ezek 37:8 (different vocabulary!)
Eden/primeval human--Genesis 2-3 // Ezek 28:11-19
The paradisal river(s)--Gen 2:10-14//Ezek 47:1-12
Gemstones--Gen 2:11-12//Ezek 28:13
Cosmic tree--Gen 2:9//Ezek 17:22-24; 31
The sword--Gen 3:24//Ezek 21:13.14
The cherub (im)--Gen 3:24//Ezek 28:14, 16

This list prompts a number of observations. First, the preponderance of apparent similarities occurs between Ezekiel and the so-called Yahwistic version. Second, the absence of connection between Ezekiel and the priestly account of creation is striking, especially given the number of instances elsewhere in Ezekiel where that book is directly related to priestly or ritual concerns. Third, most of the similarities involve isolated vocabulary, not the narrative flow of either biblical account of creation. Fourth, one text (Ezekiel 28) presents the greatest number of putative parallels to the Genesis material.

Not all of the putative similarities are equally significant. Hence, it is appropriate to determine if they involve either an allusion or an appeal to a tradition. In this regard, we may benefit from the use of tradition history, especially as that method has been used to examine Genesis 2-3. Claus Westermann has argued, convincingly in my judgment, that Genesis 2-3 derives from several different traditions, creation of humanity and the paradise/expulsion. More particularly, he contends that Gen 2:9-17 belongs

to the paradise/expulsion tradition, not to the creation tradition.[14] If one follows Westermann's lead, it seems clear that virtually all the similarities between the Yahwistic tradition and Ezekiel occur in the paradise/expulsion story. As a result, from a traditio-historical perspective, it is licit to claim that Ezekiel did not use creation traditions attested either in Genesis 1 or 2 in consequential ways.

To make this argument is not, of course, to claim that Ezekiel was unaware of biblical and/or ancient Near Eastern primeval traditions. As John Van Seters has compelling argued, Ezekiel's use of the tradition involving a primal man in the garden and his expulsion suggests strongly that Ezekiel knew ancient Near Eastern traditions otherwise unattested in ancient Israel. However, especially given the current flux in pentateuchal studies, one must be careful about assuming that Genesis influenced Ezekiel. For example, Van Seters maintains that Ezekiel 28 influenced the Yahwist, not the other way round.[15]

At this point, I need to integrate the analysis in this section of the paper with the methodological clarifications offered in the first section. We have discovered that Ezekiel has used the tradition of the primal human/king-expulsion tradition. This tradition is attested elsewhere in a Neo-Babylonian text. Moreover, we have found no evidence that Ezekiel has used biblical creation traditions in his rhetoric. There do appear to be allusions to creation texts, e.g., the references to a vivifying breath/spirit, though the vocabulary in Ezekiel 37:5 is different from that in Genesis 2. Nonetheless, apart from these allusions, the larger creation traditions, along with their attending theological implications, are absent from Ezekiel.

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[14] C. Westermann. Genesis 1-11 (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984) 190-196.

[15] J. Van Seters, "The Creation of Man and the Creation of the King," ZAW 101 (1989) 340.

III

Creation traditions are not important for Ezekiel's theological argument. Ezekiel did not use creation traditions in a way comparable to Deutero-Isaiah (e.g., Isaiah 42) or Trito-Isaiah (Isa 66:22), major prophetic voices in the articulation of Israel's convictions about creation. Even when Ezekiel does incorporate vocabulary of creation, such language occurs primarily in contexts of judgment. It is, therefore, no accident that Ezekiel shares the diction of several verses in Genesis 2-3, since this is a story in which the utterly human character of the earth creature is underscored. Ezekiel has no real stake in identifying humans as created in the image of God or in viewing everything that God had made as "very good." Moreover, he does not invest time in talking about the wonders of the cosmos. The heavens and the earth are not, for him, of great theological consequence. For Ezekiel, humans are essentially corrupt, hence his version of Israel's history as an Unheilsgeschichte (Ezekiel 20). Similarly, when Ezekiel anticipates a better future, humanity will need to be reconstituted, perhaps even recreated. Ezekiel addresses this issue in various ways, but Ezek 36:26 may serve as a case in point: "A new heart I will give you, and a new spirit I will put within you; and I will remove from your body the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh." Ezekiel's conviction is clear. Humans as originally created are defective. They have a heart of stone and breath that is insufficient to engender proper life. (The necessity of a new spirit is also emphasized in the vision of the valley of dry bones {Ezek 37:1-14] as well as in the oracle of weal [Ezek 39:29]) Such a position presumes that the original form of the earth creature was radically deficient, a claim similar to Ezekiel's perception that Israel, from its very beginnings, was fundamentally flawed (so, e.g., Ezek 16:3-4). Such a prophet would have had a difficult time proclaiming the goodness and significance of the created order. And Ezekiel does not try.

We should not be surprised about the absence of creation traditions in Ezekiel. He avoided other traditions as well. Von Rad observed many years ago, "He is strangely unable to expound the David tradition."[16] No prophet, no prophetic book incorporates in equal measure all the major religious traditions in ancient Israel. The book of Isaiah probably offers the greatest variety, though this may be more a function of the time span during which the book was created than a function of Isaiah of Jerusalem's rhetorical arsenal. Some traditions were indeed important for Ezekiel, namely, those involving the presence of the deity, ritual requirements and defilement, priestly behavior, sacral law, the history of Israel, et al.[17]

IV

Let me summarize. Various claims have been proffered about the presence of creation traditions, motifs, and the like in Ezekiel. These claims derive from the deployment of diverse methods, primarily tradition history and literary criticism. It does appear that Ezekiel alluded to texts such as Genesis 1-3, or perhaps an earlier form of them. In this regard, the Yahwistic tradition is more prominent than the priestly tradition. Moreover, Ezekiel is familiar with non-biblical primeval traditions, viz., the king in the garden. However, such data do not provide evidence that creation traditions play a prominent role in Ezekiel. Unlike Deutero-Isaiah, the theologies of creation are relatively unimportant in the overall theological construction of Ezekiel.

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[16] G. von Rad. Old Testament Theology Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1965) 236. W. Zimmerli, Ezekiel 1 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979) 41, contends that Ezekiel did know the David tradition. However, its presence does not automatically translate to importance.

[17] Zimmerli, Ezekiel 1 41-52.

Ezekiel, the Exile and the Torah

Risa Levitt Kohn, San Diego State University

Ezekiel lived and prophesied during the most traumatic period in Israelite history, when, in an attempt to comprehend the destruction of 587, all of Israel's previous history and theology were called into question.[1] Like the other great prophets of this epoch—Jeremiah and Second Isaiah—Ezekiel heroically strove to create a new faith from the sherds of the old.

Scholars have long grappled with the difficulty and complexity of Ezekiel's prophetic message, reaching varied conclusions regarding the unity and authorship of this material. In the early part of this century, much of the book was attributed to later editors; most recent studies, however, have reassigned the majority to the prophet himself.[2] As for literary-theological affinities, scholars agree that the language and content of Ezekiel bear striking resemblance to that of the Priestly Source (P) of the Torah.[3]

Because the book of Ezekiel is representative of Israelite theology at a crossroads—between pre-exilic and post-exilic Israel— and since the dating of P remains controversial, the extent and direction of the relationship between the two sources remains an intriguing line of investigation. Some have sought to prove that both were written by the same author or authors.[4] Others have tried to demonstrate that similarities between P and Ezekiel are the result of a common earlier source.[5] It has also been argued that since P emphasizes priestly matters and Ezekiel is reportedly a priest, their common language reflects nothing more than a shared heritage.[6] Recently, a number of linguistic investigations have compared P and Ezekiel in an attempt to determine the chronological priority of one text over the other and the approximate dates of their composition.[7]

It is less frequently noted that the book of Ezekiel contains language and concepts associated with the book of Deuteronomy (D) and the Deuteronomistic History (Dtr).[8] The influence of D/Dtr on Ezekiel has never been fully investigated. That a Deuteronomistic

School reworked and edited the book of Ezekiel remains the most common explanation, yet it is not entirely satisfactory.[9] The simpler scenario, whereby the prophet relied directly upon Deuteronomistic literature, has received insufficient consideration.[10]

This paper summarizes the results of a detailed examination of ninety-seven terms, expressions and idioms common to Ezekiel and P and twenty-one terms common to Ezekiel and D/Dtr in an effort to determine the specific use, context and understanding of this vocabulary in each text.[11] This analysis was conducted in order to answer three questions: 1. What is the nature of the relationship between Ezekiel and the Priestly Source?[12] 2. What is the nature of the relationship between Ezekiel, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History? 3. Where does the book of Ezekiel stand in the evolution of Israelite history, theology and literature—specifically, what can Ezekiel teach us about the composition of the Torah?

Ezekiel and the Priestly Source

Establishing the direction of literary borrowing is admittedly treacherous. But consideration of identical terms used by both P and Ezekiel suggests that the same word or expression used by different sources in disparate, antithetical or even unrelated contexts can help to answer questions of priority. The following examples are illustrative:[13]

A. Reversals

There are several examples of terms or expressions used with a specific meaning in P which appear antithetically in Ezekiel.

1. In P, אֶרֶץ מְגוּרֵיהֶם "the land of their sojourning" refers solely to the land of Canaan, the land of the covenant as promised by Yahweh to Abraham and his offspring. In Ezekiel 20, the prophet forecasts a "Second Exodus," where the lands to which the people are scattered in exile and from which they will be gathered are called אֶרֶץ מְגוּרֵיהֶם. Here, the land of the covenant and the land of the people's sojourn are two distinct and antithetical entities. In P, they are one and the same.[14]

2. In P, the Israelite slaves in Egypt cry or groan (נאק) under their burden. Yahweh, hearing their cry, remembers his covenant with them and is spurred into action. In Ezek 30:24, it is the king of Egypt who cries out (נאק) under the weight of Babylonian domination.[15]

3. In P, it is the Israelites who spend forty years wandering in Exile. In Ezekiel, it is the Egyptians.[16]

4. In P, Pharaoh's heart is "hardened" (קשׁה לֵב), an idiom describing a strong resolve. As a result, he refuses to respond to Moses' pleas to release the people. In Ezekiel, it is Israel whose heart is hardened so that they cannot listen to the words of Yahweh.[17]

5. In P, בֵּינִי וּבֵינֵיכֶם describes Yahweh's special relationship with the Israelites. In Ezek 43:8, it describes a wall that separates Yahweh from the people.[18]

6. In P, the verb נזר is used in the context of a Nazirite "separating" himself or herself from various acts (the consumption of fermented drink, contact with corpses, haircuts). Through abstinence a special relationship with Yahweh is achieved, thus the expression לְהַזִּיר לַיהוה "to separate to Yahweh." In Ezek 14:7, the verb describes Israel's separation from Yahweh as a result of idolatry.[19]

7. In P, רֵיחַ נִיחוֹחַ "a pleasing odor" is the result of various types of sacrifice offered to Yahweh. In Ezekiel the expression describes pagan practices.[20]

8. In P, the expression בִּמְאֹד מְאֹד "greatly" refers to Israel's fruitfulness, the fulfillment of Yahweh's covenant with Abraham. In Ezekiel, this expression refers to the enormity of Israel's sins.[21]

9. In P, Aaron's rod sprouts (מַטֶּה פרח) almond buds symbolizing the special status of the tribe of Levi, of which he is the leader. In Ezekiel, a staff "sprouts" pride and lawlessness (מַטֶּה פרח).[22]

B. Legal Citations

There are numerous examples in Ezekiel where the prophet seems to make explicit reference to Israelite laws in order to illustrate how these prescriptions have been disregarded by the community of exiles. For example:

1. In Lev 19:30, the Israelites are commanded to observe the Sabbath and revere Yahweh's sanctuary. Ezek 23:38 decries the people's failure to follow either direction.

2. In Lev 18:20; 20:10, Israelite males are prohibited from having relations with their "neighbor's wife" (אֵשֶׁת רֵעַ). Similarly, in P's Decalogue Israelites are warned against coveting the wife of a fellow Israelite. In Ezekiel, the prophet indicts the "princes of Israel" for defiling their neighbors' wives.[23]

3. In P, it is the duty of the Priests to separate and distinguish between the holy and the profane (לְהַבְדִּיל בֵּין הַקֹּדֶשׁ וּבֵין הַחֹל). Ezekiel castigates his priestly contemporaries for failing to fulfill this task.[24]

4. P commands reverence for Yahweh's sanctuary (מִקְדָּשִׁי). Ezekiel repeatedly lambastes Israel for defiling Yahweh's sanctuary (מִקְדָּשִׁי).[25]

5. Num 33:52 lists various Canaanite practices that must be discontinued once the Israelites return to inhabit Israel. Among them is the worship of "carved images" (אֶבֶן מַשְׂכִּית). Ezekiel finds the elders of Jerusalem worshiping in a חֲדַר מַשְׂכִּית.[26]

6. In Leviticus, dietary restrictions are placed upon the Israelites. They are forbidden to consume the flesh of animals who have died natural deaths, animals which have been torn or gored and sacrificial meat which has remained over three days (נְבֵלָה, טְרֵפָה, פִּגּוּל). In Ezekiel 4, the prophet is commanded by Yahweh to consume barley cakes baked on human dung. Ezekiel demurs by stating that he has never defiled himself and that from his youth he has never eaten נְבֵלָה, טְרֵפָה or פִּגּוּל.[27]

7. P prohibits the mistreatment of one's fellow Israelite with the terms רדה and פָּרֶךְ.[28] In Ezekiel 34:4, Yahweh charges that the Israelites have oppressed the underprivileged using identical terminology.

8. P warns the Israelites against the profanation of Yahweh's "holy name" (שֵׁם קָדְשִׁי).[29] According to Ezekiel, the Israelites are guilty of having profaned Yahweh's "holy name" continuously throughout their history.[30]

C. The Exodus and the Restoration

P employs various terms and expressions to describe the Israelites' experiences during the Exodus and Wilderness periods. In Ezekiel, identical terminology is applied to Israel's future restoration.

1. In P, after the incident at Peor, Yahweh grants a "covenant of peace" (בְּרִית שָׁלוֹם) to Aaron's grandson, Phineas (Num 25:12). This covenant guarantees perpetual priesthood to the Aaronide line through Phineas. In Ezek 34:25, Yahweh grants a בְּרִית שָׁלוֹם to all Israel in the future restoration.[31]

2. In P, Yahweh reveals himself through his rescue of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage (וְיָדְעוּ כִּי אֲנִי יהוה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם). In Ezekiel, Yahweh will reveal himself when, after sending the people into exile, he gathers them back to Israel leaving no one behind.[32]

3. In P, the Israelites are assured of security in the land of the covenant in return for their obedience to the commandments of Yahweh (יְשַׁבְתֶּם לָבֶטַח). In Ezekiel, this same security will be achieved after Yahweh's restoration of Israel from exile.[33]

4. In P, Yahweh's deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt occurs "in the sight of the foreign nations" (לְעֵינֵי הַגּוֹיִם). In Ezekiel, the future restoration of Israel is described in an identical manner.[34]

5. While the Israelites trek through the wilderness, P portrays Yahweh as "dwelling among them" (שכן בְּתוֹכָם). He is present in the sanctuary, the Tent and the Israelites' camp, and he will one day abide in Canaan itself. Throughout much of Ezekiel, Yahweh is portrayed as having abandoned Jerusalem and Israel. However, in Ezek 43:7,9, the prophet foretells Yahweh's return to the Temple where he will once again dwell among his people (שכן בְּתוֹכָם).[35]

D. Tabernacle to Temple?

P and Ezekiel share over one hundred terms and expressions, of which more than half are not found anywhere else in the Hebrew Bible.[36] Surprisingly, of all P's terminology for the construction and contents of the Tabernacle, Ezekiel uses only one lexeme in his vision of the restored temple.[37] Ezekiel is the only prophet to envisage vividly a restored Jerusalem Temple, yet virtually none of the materials or specifications of P's Tabernacle appear in Ezekiel's blueprint. The bulk of P's Tabernacle vocabulary appears in Ezekiel in contexts far removed from that of Tabernacle or Temple.

1. In P, "coals of fire" (גַּחֲלֵי-אֵשׁ) are to be used as a part of the purification offering on Yom Kippur (Lev 16:12). In Ezek 10:2, these coals are found "under the cherubim," perhaps referring to the throne vision of Ezekiel 1, and are to be scattered about Jerusalem.

2. In Exod 26:3, חִבְּרֹת אִשָּׁה אֶל-אֲחֹתָהּ "joined woman to her sister" describes the manner in which the Tabernacle curtains are to be joined. The wings of the four creatures in the vision of Ezekiel 1 are described in the same manner.

3. In P, מַחֲבַת, a "pan" or "griddle," is used for cereal offerings. Ezekiel symbolically lays siege to Jerusalem by placing a מַחֲבַת between himself and an incised brick.[38]

4. In P, מִלְמָעְלָה "from above" describes the location of the coverings to be placed on the Ark and Tent. In Ezek 1:11, the term describes the faces and wings of the cherubim.[39]

5. In P, the priestly head piece is called a "turban" (מִצְנֶפֶת). In Ezekiel the turban is to be worn by the Prince of Israel.[40]

6. P's Tabernacle is constructed using long wooden קְרָשִׁים "planks." In Ezek 27:6, these "planks" are on the Tyrian ship.[41]

7. Fine linen (שֵׁשׁ) is a fabric that appears frequently and exclusively in P in connection with the Tent and the priests' clothing. In Ezekiel, Yahweh clothes his bride Jerusalem with this fabric. It is also the material from which the sails of the Tyrian ship are constructed.[42]

8. In P, "fine leather" (תַּחַשׁ) covers the Tent, the Ark, the table, the menorah and various other Tabernacle utensils. In Ezekiel, Yahweh shoes his bride Jerusalem with sandals of "fine leather."[43]

9. P lists blue and purple (תְּכֵלֶת וְאַרְגָּמָן) as colors used exclusively in the materials of the Tabernacle. In Ezekiel, these colors appear exclusively in the materials on the Tyrian ship.[44]

Ezekiel and the Priestly Source Reconsidered

The contacts between P and Ezekiel are undeniable. The nature of the relationship between the two is puzzling. Perhaps the simplest explanation, that their common language reflects nothing more than a shared priestly heritage would be appealing had the two sources simply echoed each other's use and understanding of a given term or expression.[45] However, close analysis of the examples cited above suggests at least some level of literary dependency.

Numerous terms and expressions with positive connotations in P exhibit negative overtones in Ezekiel.[46] It is as if Ezekiel parodies P language by using terms antithetically. This is especially true of language describing P's Exodus. Alternately, one would have to imagine the Priestly Writer composing Israelite history by transforming images of Israel's apostasy and subsequent downfall into images conveying her exceptional covenant and unique relationship with Yahweh. It is difficult to conceive that the Priestly Writer could have turned Ezekiel's land of exile (אֶרֶץ מְגוּרֵיהֶם) into Israel's land of the promise and Israel's

abundant sin (בִּמְאֹד מְאֹד) into a sign of Yahweh's covenant. It is, however, plausible that Ezekiel, writing in exile, reevaluated P's portrayal of Israel's uniqueness, cynically inverting these images such that what was once a "pleasing odor to Yahweh" now symbolizes impiety and irreverence, or such that Pharaoh's recalcitrance now characterizes that of Israel.

Legal precepts commanded in P appear in Ezekiel where the prophet castigates his contemporaries for failing to follow Israelite law.[47] The Priestly Torah appears to be the standard by which Ezekiel evaluates Israel's successes and failures.[48] As a result, Ezekiel's indictments of the people are based precisely and directly on the words of the P text. The inverse scenario, that the Priestly Writer formulated law on the sole basis of Ezekiel's portrait of Israelite disobedience would be a unique phenomenon in the Torah. One would more logically expect to find a prophet quoting Torah than the reverse. Indeed, the laws of the Pentateuch never refer to the prophets.[49]

Ezekiel, like Jeremiah and Second Isaiah, envisions the future restoration of Israel as a "Second Exodus" where Yahweh, through various miracles and wondrous feats, will once again rescue the Israelites from oppression in exile.[50] Thus, terms and concepts found in reference to the first Exodus experience and Yahweh's original covenant with Israel are recycled in prophetic visions of the future. One of Ezekiel's sources for the Exodus/Wilderness event appears to be P. The prophet's recollection of these events and his subsequent hope for a "Second Exodus" must logically be based upon P's initial telling of the story. The reverse scenario, that P's account of the Israelite Exodus from Egypt is modeled primarily upon Ezekiel's prophecies of restoration, is plausible, but the preponderance of evidence examined above suggests otherwise.

Ezekiel appears to be familiar with the Priestly concept of the Tabernacle and its accouterments.[51] Yet the prophet situates Tabernacle terminology in various new and different contexts. In a sense, Ezekiel "disassembles" P's Tent, choosing instead to build his own unique model for restoration. Had P been influenced by and written after

Ezekiel, one would be forced to assume the reverse, namely, that the Priestly Writer culled assorted technical terms from throughout Ezekiel.[52]

Without the benefit of additional information or clues to guide us, determining the literary dependence of one text upon another remains difficult. Notwithstanding, the preponderance of evidence calls into question the scholarly contention that P is literarily dependent upon Ezekiel. Ezekiel seems to be familiar with at least some of the material that now comprises the Priestly Source, but, clearly, his writing is more than just a product of its influence or tradition.[53] The prophet appropriates P's terminology but feels comfortable situating it in new, different and even contradictory contexts. P language is not simply imitated in Ezekiel. It is skewed, poeticized, disarticulated and reconstituted. Ezekiel knows P, quotes P, but also modifies it at will, adding and deleting material as suits his personal agenda and the circumstances of his audience.

Ezekiel, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History

Despite his apparent affinities with P, Ezekiel was also influenced by the language and concepts of D.[54] Much of D, however, would have been anathema to the Priestly writer: general Levite priesthood; the importance of the king and of the prophet; the tradition of Aaron as sinner. Yet Ezekiel is not shy about deriving terminology and ideas from D.

Sometimes Ezekiel draws upon D terminology where no equivalent expression or concept exists in P—e.g., the power or office of the prophet (עַבָדֵי הַנְּבִיאִים),[55] the idea of repentance (שׁוּב מִדֶּרֶךְ הָרָעָה)[56] and specific forms of idolatry. On several occasions however, the prophet chooses D/Dtr phraseology over P—when he describes the Exile, child sacrifice, and that which is detestable.[57]

The parallels between D and Ezekiel go beyond the level of shared vocabulary. Throughout, Ezekiel places great stress on the "word of Yahweh" as the means by which prophetic revelations are given.[58] He is also portrayed as a prophet to whom the people come to inquire of Yahweh.[59] Both of these characteristics parallel D's portrayal

of Moses. Ezekiel recognizes only one legal sanctuary of Yahweh and seems familiar with D's idea of a single sacred site in the entire land. As is the case with P, however, Ezekiel adopts aspects of D's history while ignoring or even contradicting others.

The most illuminating aspect of Ezekiel's use of P and D is the way in which he combines these sources. Taken alone, P and D each embody a complex and consistent theology. They differ from each other in their concepts of religion, their interpretation of Israelite history and their language. Essentially, they propose two distinct ideologies.[60] Yet Ezekiel fuses P and D material to create a unique synthesis.[61]

For example, P (Lev 10:10-11) describes the priest as one who "separates between the holy and the profane and between the clean and the unclean" (וּלְהַבְדִּיל בֵּין הַקֹּדֶשׁ וּבֵין הַחֹל וּבֵין הַטָּמֵא וּבֵין הַטָּהוֹר). Deuteronomy, in contrast, assigns the priest judicial functions; the priest is one who makes decisions in cases of dispute and assault (Deut 17:8,9; 21:5). Ezek 44:23-24 describes the role of priests as follows: "They shall teach my people the difference between the holy and the profane and show them how to distinguish between the unclean and the clean. In a dispute they shall act to judge it according to my judgments..." Ezekiel's job description combines elements and language of both sources.[62]

Regarding individual responsibility, Deut 24:16 states that "fathers shall not be put to death for their sons, nor shall sons be put to death for their fathers; each man for his own sin shall be put to death." P's notion of karet, the extirpation of a lineage group, articulates quite the opposite view.[63] In Ezekiel 18:20, the content is clearly influenced by D. The three essential elements of Deut 24:16—fathers shall not be put to death for their sons; sons shall not be put to death for their fathers; each will die for his own sins— appear reversed in Ezekiel.[64] Yet the language of Ezek 18:20 is derived from P: "The soul that sins (הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַחֹטֵאת), it shall die. A son shall not bear the iniquity (יִשָּׂא בַּעֲוֹן) of the father, nor shall a father bear the iniquity (יִשָּׂא בַּעֲוֹן) of the son."[65]

In Ezek 34:4, the prophet condemns the "shepherds of Israel" for various negligent actions, including failing to restore stray sheep to the flock (וְאֶת-הַנִּדַּחַת לֹא הֲשֵׁבְתֶּם), directly commanded in Deut 22:1. In the same verse, the shepherds are accused of ruling over their flocks

with harshness (רָדִיתֶם אֹתָם וּבְפָרֶךְ); an expression used elsewhere exclusively by P describing the Egyptian oppression of the Israelites and abuse of slaves in general.

One of the most striking examples of the fusion of Priestly and Deuteronomic language and theology is Ezek 20:1-44, which recounts Israel's history from the Egyptian Exodus to the prophet's day. Ultimately, however, the prophet's account does not directly parallel either Pentateuchal source.[66]

Ezekiel's portrayal of Yahweh's nature exhibits a similar synthesis of P and D. In P, the altar and the priests function as the people's only channel to Yahweh; there is no room for a prophet such as Ezekiel. P makes no reference to the Israelite God as merciful. In fact, the words mercy, grace, faithfulness and repentance (רחם, חנן, חֶסֶד,שוב) never appear in P.[67] Ezekiel portrays Yahweh as jealous, but also merciful as in D (Ezek 39:25).[68] He is angry, but also forgiving (Ezek 5:13; 16:42). According to the prophet, faith in Yahweh could still be rewarded. Repentance, a Deuteronomic concept, remains an option.[69]

Conclusions

A. Ezekiel , Exile and Restoration: Moses and the "Second Exodus"

As a prophet of the Exile, Ezekiel was forced to confront, analyze and interpret Israel's past. In doing so, he looked back to Israel's written sources. Ezekiel's visions concerning the redemption and future restoration of Israel fuse Priestly and Deuteronomic concepts with many of the prophet's own ideas. The people will be redeemed by Yahweh who, "with an outstretched arm," will bring them to the land that was sworn to their forefathers (Ezek 20:33-42). These visions of Judah restored amount to nothing less than a "Second Exodus," this time not from Egypt but from Babylonia. Like Jeremiah, Ezekiel foresaw a new covenant assuring the people's future well-being and security.[70] While never mentioning Moses of old, Ezekiel in fact portrays himself as a new Moses.[71]

This depiction is a confluence of Priestly and Deuteronomic traditions. Moses functions as priest and prophet in P, while in D he is primarily a prophet.[72] In both sources, he is above all a legislator.

Ezekiel functions as prophet, priest and legislator; he is a prophet by calling, a priest by birthright. And Ezekiel 40-48 is the only body of legislation in the HB not placed in the mouth of Moses.[73] Like Moses in P, Ezekiel is warned by Yahweh before he sets out that his mission will fail due to the strong resolves and hardened hearts of others.[74] D foretells the coming of a prophet like Moses, who will be raised up "from among the Israelites" and in whose mouth Yahweh will place his words (Deut 18:18). Ezekiel's mission, regardless of its success or failure, will signify to Israel that there was "a prophet among them" (Ezek 2:5). Then Ezekiel eats a scroll containing Yahweh's words; i.e., the divine message is literally placed in his mouth (Ezek 2:10-3:1). Moses receives a design (תַּבְנִית) of the Tabernacle in P; Ezekiel similarly receives a detailed vision of the new Temple.[75] Before Ezekiel sees this vision, he is transported to a high mountain (Ezek 40:2) and shown the plan in a manner closely resembling Moses seeing the land of Israel from Mount Nebo (Deut 32:49-52).[76] Both Moses and Ezekiel receive laws relating to festivals and sacrifices.[77] Ezekiel hears Yahweh speaking directly to him from the restored Temple, just as God speaks to Moses inside the Tabernacle in P (Num 7:89).[78] Ezekiel consecrates the new altar, instructs the priests and oversees the cult, like Moses in P (Exod 29:36ff.; Lev 8:1,14ff.; 9:1ff.).[79] Ezekiel may only see in visions the land about which he has preached. Like Moses in P, he is not permitted to settle there (Num 27:12-13; cf. Deut 32:49-52).[80]

Ezekiel is familiar with Israelite history and law as presented in both P and D/Dtr. He is not, however, working furiously to preserve these traditions for posterity. He convolutes the past, turning history on its head and converting law into allegory.

In fact, much of Ezekiel differs markedly from both P and D. Ezekiel makes no mention of the great historical personalities or locations central to P's or D's histories. There is no Moses, Aaron or Sinai. Indeed, the laws and regulations presented in Ezekiel 40-48 are among the few in the Hebrew Bible not based upon the Sinai event. Moreover, these chapters contain laws that contradict those of P and D.[81] Ezekiel's design for the new temple contains none of the accouterments of P's Tabernacle: no ark, no cherubim. His description

of sacrifices does not follow P or D. Ezekiel portrays Yahweh appearing alongside various supernatural beings while P has no angels, seraphim or cherubim, except as decorative motifs.[82]

B. Ezekiel and the Torah

Scholars attempting to determine the relationship between Ezekiel and P continually wrestle with the fact that Ezekiel neither wholeheartedly adopts nor rejects P's language or content.[83] Most find it impossible to imagine that Ezekiel could have disregarded any part of P had the source existed in his day.[84] But this approach fails to appreciate the impact of the Exile upon Ezekiel's mission and visions.[85] What motivation would there have been to record or replicate a system of worship that had failed the test of time?

Ezekiel evaluates the people's past behavior using the legal standards of both P and D.[86] The punishment of Exile was, in his analysis, the direct result of Israel's failure to practice the legal precepts found in both Priestly and Deuteronomic traditions. Essentially, Ezekiel's contemporaries did not follow the precepts of *either* Torah. The disaster of 587 was Yahweh's just punishment for the absolute corruption of Ezekiel's generation.

Ezekiel expected his contemporaries to live by laws in both P and D that were still relevant. When it came to formulating a plan for the future, however, neither P nor D provided the ideal. The exclusivity evinced by each school was appraised by Ezekiel and deemed an unrealistic goal. The reality of the Exile called into question the unique vision of both schools and in fact all of Israel's history. The prophet instead envisioned Yahweh providing a restored Israel with "a new heart and a new soul" (לֵב חָדָשׁ וְרוּחַ חֲדָשָׁה) with which they would face the future.[87]

Where else in the Exilic period do we find a synthesis of older tradition with a strong priestly bias? Although traditional scholarship generally highlights Ezekiel's affinity to P, it is truly the Redactor of the Torah (R) he most resembles. Specifically, he represents a transition from P to R.

The circumstances that led to the assembly of the Torah—the combination of JE, D and P—remain murky. Inasmuch as the Priestly source dominates the redacted Torah and appears to serve as its framework, most assume that the editor or editors were in some way connected to the circle of Aaronide priests who produced P.[88] References in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah to "the Torah of Moses which Yahweh God of Israel gave" (Ezra 7:6; cf. Neh 8:1; 13:1), "Yahweh's Torah" (Ezra 7:10), and the "law of your God" (Ezra 7:14) have led to a scholarly consensus that the Aaronide priest-scribe Ezra returned to Judah with the full Torah, which he may in fact have redacted.[89] The most telling evidence in support of such contentions are apparent allusions to laws belonging to both P and D in Ezra and Nehemiah.[90] For example, society is centered around the Temple in proper Deuteronomic fashion (Deut 12:5). However, the Temple is presided over by a select group of Levites, a distinction unknown in Deuteronomy but evident throughout P. The tithe law in Nehemiah (10:32f.) appears to be a combination of D and P regulations, whereby the Deuteronomic provision for the release of debts (Deut 15:12) has been added to P's seven-year sabbatical (Exod 23:11; Lev 25:4-7). Nehemiah's renunciation of foreign marriages is based on Deut 23:3-6, while the idea that the land was defiled by foreigners recalls Lev 18:24f.[91]

Similarly, Chronicles, another post-exilic work,[92] depends upon both Priestly and Deuteronomic legislation.[93] For example, the sacrificial legislation in 2 Chr 2:3; 8:12-13; 31:3 depends on Num 28-29 and Lev 24:1-9, while the list of feasts when such offerings are to be made (2 Chr 8:13) follows Deut 16:1-16.[94] The Chronicler's description of the celebration of Sukkoth merges Priestly and Deuteronomic traditions: the feast is kept in Jerusalem for seven days (following Deut 16:13-15), while on the eighth day, instead of being sent back home (see 1 Kings 8), the people hold a solemn assembly in accordance with P (Lev 23:36, 39; Num 29:35).[95] The description of the celebration of Passover follows a similar pattern: during Josiah's Passover, the Chronicler reports that the victim is "boiled in the fire" (וַיְבַשְּׁלוּ הַפֶּסַח בָּאֵשׁ), possibly

combining P's requirement for roasting (Exod 12:8-9) and D's requirement for boiling (Deut 16:7).[96] Like Ezekiel, Chronicles cites legislation found in P and D, but also contains stipulations not present in either source.[97]

The redaction of the Torah, as evidenced in the books of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, is traditionally viewed as a unique response to the conditions of the Restoration. A century after the Babylonian destruction of Judah, the disputes reflected in the disparate ideologies of JE, D and P were rendered less visibly exclusive. A compromise was achieved between the adherents of D and those of P such that both works were preserved notwithstanding their differences.[98] The Redactor's synthesis laid to rest the exclusivity and competition so apparent when the sources are read on their own.[99] The composite Torah blends differing visions of God and his relationship with humanity: Yahweh is personal but also transcendent; angry but also just and merciful.[100]

The roots of this process are, however, to be found early in the Exile. Ezekiel, in particular, saw himself as a "new Moses." He assembled traditions and beliefs about the Mosaic age as if he believed that each contained some truth about God and Israel. Though partial to P, Ezekiel nonetheless endeavored to create a new theology that was neither independent of its sources nor a simple composite of them. In many ways, his work strikingly resembles the composite, though Priestly-oriented Torah.[101] Ezekiel's god is jealous but also merciful (Ezek 39:25); angry and forgiving at the same time (Ezek 5:13; 16:42). In short, Ezekiel is a precursor to the Redactor(s) who, some years later, would boldly combine these contradictory theologies by ingeniously merging four opposing sources.

Ezekiel does <u>not</u> know the entire Torah. Rather, Ezekiel <u>anticipates</u> the Torah's production. Ezekiel does not, as Wellhausen originally posited, serve as paradigm for P. But Wellhausen was correct to regard the prophet as a liminal figure.[102] The efforts of Ezekiel and of the later Pentateuchal Redactor, like the author(s) of the Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah literature, indicate that the priests in

Exile, with their Temple destroyed and their ideology discredited, had come to accept what were rival streams of thought in pre-exilic Israel. In the Restoration, radical exclusivity may have been rendered passé.[103]

Ezekiel's dream of a unified national theology would attain ultimate realization with the promulgation of the Torah. As we have seen, Ezekiel modeled himself on the ancient lawgiver Moses, issuing laws in anticipation of the "Second Exodus" and resettlement of the land. The anonymous Pentateuchal Redactor, no less than his precursor Ezekiel, was a "prophet like Moses;"[104] his work was almost immediately adapted as the charter for all Judaism.

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[1]I wish to thank William H. C. Propp and David P. Wright for their helpful criticism of earlier drafts of this paper.

[2]Contrast for example the findings of G. Hölscher, Hesekiel: der Dichter und das Buch (BZAW 39; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1924); C. C. Torrey, Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930) with those of L. Boadt, Ezekiel's Oracles against Egypt (BibOr 37; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1980); B. Lang, Kein Aufstand in Jerusalem: Die Politik des Propheten Ezechiel (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1981) and M. Greenberg, Ezekiel 1-20 (AB 22; New York: Doubleday, 1983) 18-27; "What Are Valid Criteria for Determining Inauthentic Matter in Ezekiel," in Ezekiel and His Book, ed. J. Lust (Leuven: University Press, 1986), 123-35; T. Collins, The Mantle of Elijah: The Redactional Criticism of the Prophetical Books (The Biblical Seminar 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993) 91-93. See also W. Zimmerli, "The Special Form- and Traditio-historical Character of Ezekiel's Prophecy," VT 15 (1965) 515-516; Ezekiel 1 (trans. R. E. Clements; Hermenia, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) 68-73 and E. F. Davis, Swallowing the Scroll: Textuality and the Dynamics of Discourse in Ezekiel's Prophecy (JSOTSup 78; Sheffield: Almond Press, 1989).

[3]The Priestly Source is the largest of the Pentateuchal sources. It is distinguished by its distinctive language and theological perspective. P is comprised of narrative, ethical, and ritual material as well as a tremendous body of law encompassing nearly thirty chapters in the books of Exodus and Numbers and the entire book of Leviticus. Proposals regarding P's date of composition range from the pre-exilic to the Persian periods. Similarly, there is some debate regarding the extent of the Priestly stratum; see F. M. Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973) 301-21; R. E. Friedman, Who Wrote the Bible? (New York: Harper & Row, 1987) 220-21; W. H. C. Propp, "The Priestly Source Recovered Intact?" VT 46 (1997) 458-78. My analysis confirms that P is an independent and continuous source. On P's concepts and vocabulary see S. R. Driver, An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1972; Original edition 1891) 130-137; Friedman Who Wrote the Bible?, 188-206;. On P's style see M. Paran, Forms of the Priestly Style in the Pentateuch

(Jerusalem: Magnes, 1989) (Hebrew); S. McEvenue, Narrative Style of the Priestly Writer (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1971). On the dating of P see n.7. On the differentiation between P and H see n.12.

[4]See K. H. Graf, Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments (Leipzig: Weigel, 1866) 81-83.

[5]See G. Fohrer, Die Hauptprobleme des Buches Ezechiel (BZAW 72; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1952) 144-48.

[6]See for example, M. Haran, "The Law Code of Ezekiel XL-XLVIII and Its Relation to the Priestly School," HUCA 50 (1979) 45-71; A. Hurvitz, A Linguistic Study of the Relationship Between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel (CahRB 20; Paris: Gabalda, 1982) 150.

[7]For linguistic studies on the dating of P see for example A. Hurvitz, "The Use of שֵׁשׁ and בּוּץ in the Bible and Its Implication for the Date of P," HTR 60 (1967) 117-21; "Linguistic Observations on the Biblical Usage of the Priestly Term עדה," Tarbiz 40 (1970/71) 261-67; "The Evidence of Language in the Dating of the Priestly Code—A Linguistic Study in Technical Idioms and Terminology," RB 81 (1974) 24-56; "The Language of the Priestly Source and Its Early Historical Setting—The Case for an Early Date," in Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1983) 90-93; "Dating the Priestly Source in Light of the Historical Study of Biblical Hebrew A Century After Wellhausen," ZAW 100 (1988) 88-100; Y. M. Grintz, "Archaic Terms in the Priestly Code," Les 39 (1974-75) 5-32; G. Rendsburg, "Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of P," JANES 12 (1980) 65-80; Z. Zevit "Converging Lines of Evidence Bearing on the Date of P," ZAW 94 (1982) 502-09; "Philology, Archaeology and a Terminus a Quo for P's חטאת Legislation," in Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish and Near Eastern Ritual, Law and Literature In Honor of Jacob Milgrom (eds. D. P . Wright, D. N. Freedman, and A. Hurvitz, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995) 29-38. For linguistic studies comparing P and Ezekiel see A. Hurvitz, A Linguistic Study; J. Milgrom, Studies in Levitical Terminology Vol. I (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970); Cult and Conscience: The ASHAM and the Priestly Doctrine of Repentance, (Leiden: Brill, 1976); "Priestly Terminology and the Political and Social Structure of Pre-Monarchic Israel," JQR 69 (1978) 65-81; R. Polzin, Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward a Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose, (HSM 12, Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976); M. F. Rooker, Biblical Hebrew in Transition: The Language of the Book of Ezekiel (JSOTSup 90, Sheffield: JSOT, 1990).

[8]On D's concepts and vocabulary see M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972) especially 320-365; D. N. Freedman, "The Deuteronomic History," IDB Sup (Nashville: Abingdon, 1976) 226-28; Friedman, Who Wrote the Bible?. Since the work of M. Noth (Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien (Tubingen: Max Neiymeyer, 1957) 1-110), scholars have recognized the editorial unity of the Deuteronomistic History, i.e.,

the books of Deuteronomy-2 Kings. On the theory that Dtr was composed in two stages, see Cross, Canaanite Myth, 274-90; R. E. Friedman, The Exile and Biblical Narrative (HSM 22; Chico: Scholars Press, 1981) 1-43; Who Wrote the Bible?, 104-10; B. Halpern, The First Historians (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988) 109-18; R. D. Nelson, The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History (JSOTSup 18; Sheffield: JSOT, 1981). See also the thorough survey of by S. L. McKenzie, "Deuteronomistic History," ABD II (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 160-168. In recent years, the Documentary Hypothesis has come under scholarly attack for various reasons, some cogent, some not. However, the existence of at least two specific and different literary entities within the Torah, namely P and D, is still accepted by scholarly consensus.

[9]See G. Hölscher, Hesekiel: Der Dichter und das Buch; S. Herrmann, Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im Alten Testament (BWANT 85; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1965); W. Thiel, "Erwägungen zum Alter des Heiligkeitsgesetzes," ZAW 81 (1969) 69-70; R. Liwak, "Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Probleme des Ezechielbuches: eine Studie zu postezechielischen Interpretationen und Kompositionen" (Ph.D. Dissertation; Bochum, 1976).

[10]See also M. Burrows, The Literary Relations of Ezekiel (Philadelphia: JPS, 1925) 19-28, 44-47; K. W. Carely, Ezekiel Among the Prophets (London: SCM, 1975) 8-12, 48-62.

[11]R. Levitt Kohn, "A New Heart and a New Soul: Ezekiel, the Exile and the Torah" (Ph.D. Dissertation; University of California, San Diego, 1997).

[12]The legal corpus of Leviticus 17-26 (the "Holiness Code" [H]) has customarily been distinguished from the rest of P due to its peculiar content and terminology. The designation was coined by A. Klostermann ("Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Pentateuchs," ZTK 38 [1877] 401-45). H is thought to contain an originally independent body of law which was later edited and incorporated into P. For a review of current scholarship on H see H. T. Sun, "Holiness Code," ABD III (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 254-57. An older survey is R. J. Thompson, Moses and the Law in a Century of Criticism (VTSup 19; Leiden: Brill, 1970). Most recently, I. Knohl has reasserted the independence of H, but his H extends beyond Leviticus 17-26 into material traditionally attributed to P (The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995]). The "Priestly Torah" (PT) and the "Holiness School" (HS) represent for Knohl the work of two independent priestly schools. Knohl's "HS" is also responsible for the redaction of the entire Torah (see also B. Schwartz, "Selected Chapters of the Holiness Code: A Literary Study of Leviticus 17-19," [Ph.D. Dissertation, Hebrew University, 1987]). My analysis indicates that Ezekiel's linguistic correspondence to "PT" is as pervasive as its correspondence to the "HS," if not more. In other words, the affinity between Ezekiel and Knohl's "Holiness School" is identical to that between Ezekiel and the whole of the "Priestly Torah." Ezekiel quotes, reverses, allegorizes and ignores "HS" language in the same manner he does "PT" language. There is similarly no

evidence to suggest that Ezekiel influenced the author of "HT." If we can indeed subdivide P into two separate entities, Ezekiel utilizes both without particular differentiation. Another scholar to partition P is Friedman (Exile and Biblical Narrative, 44-132), who distinguishes between P^1, the Priestly source proper and P^2, the redactional stratum of limited extent (R). In Who Wrote the Bible?, Friedman calls P^2 simply R (for Redactor). There is a clear affinity between R and Ezekiel, but it is ideological, not linguistic.

[13]All of the terms analyzed in this study appear exclusively in P and Ezekiel unless otherwise noted.

[14]Gen 17:8; 28:4; 36:7; 37:1; Exod 6:6; Ezek 20:38.

[15]Exod 2:24; 6:5; Ezek 30:24. In Judg 2:18, נאץ is used in reference to the Israelites. As in P, Yahweh is moved to designate a savior for the pained people. See also Job 24:12.

[16]Ezek 29:12,13. See also Ezek 4:6, where Ezekiel seems to suggest forty years of Judah's exile.

[17]Exod 7:3; Ezek 3:7. Ps 95:8 portrays the Israelites as behaving with "hardened hearts" as they did at Meribah and Massah in the wilderness (Exod 17-1-7; Num 20:13). In Prov 28:14, the expression generically describes an individual who exhibits excessive resolve.

[18]See Exod 31:13; Ezek 20:12,20; 43:8. In Josh 22:25,27,28, the trans-Jordanian tribes refer to the Jordan river as a boundary "between me and you."

[19]See Num 6:2,3,5,6,8; Ezek 14:7. It is not found elsewhere in the HB. The verb also occurs in Lev 22:2 (usually translated 'deal carefully' or 'be scrupulous') and in Num 25:3; Hos 9:10, where the meaning does not seem to be associated with separation.

[20]See Exod 29:18,25,41; Lev 1:9,13,17, 2:2,9,12; 3:5,16; 4:31; 6:8,14; 8:21,28; 17:16; 23:13,18; Num 15:7,10,13,14; 18:17; 28:6,8,24,27; 29:2,6,8,13,26; Ezek 6:13,19; 20:28,41. See also Gen 8:20-21. Hurvitz (A Linguistic Study, 53-58), notes that the anthropomorphic use of this expression in P is not present in Ezekiel.

[21]Gen 17:2,6,20; Exod 1:7 to Ezek 9:9.

[22]Num 17:20,23; Ezek 7:10.

[23]Exod 20:17; Ezek 18:6,11,15; 22:11; 33:26.

[24]Lev 10:10; Ezek 22:26; 42:40; 44:23.

[25]See Lev 19:30; 20:3; 26:2; Ezek 5:11; 8:6; 9:6; 23:38,39; 24:21; 25:3; 37:26,28; 44:7,8, 9,11,15,16; Isa 60:13.

[26]See Lev 26:1; Num 33:52; Ezek 8:12.

[27]See Lev 7:24; 7:18; 17:15; 19:7; 22:8; Ezek 4:14; 44:31.

[28]See Lev 25:43,46,53.

[29]See Lev 20:3; 22:2,32.

[30]Ezek 20:39; 36:20,21,22; 39:7,25; 43:7,8.

[31]See also Isa 54:10. The democratization of earlier exclusivist claims, whether of the monarchy or of the priesthood, is characteristic of Exilic literature. See G. Douglas, "Ezekiel's Temple," ET 9 (1897-8) 420; E. Margolioth, "The Laws of the Priests and of the Sacrifices in Ezekiel," Tarbiz 22 (1950) 21-27; Cross, Canaanite Myth, 346-46.

[32]Exod 29:46; Ezek 39:28. Contrast Deut 4:35,39; 7:9; Josh 2:11; 1 Kgs 8:60 for Deuteronomistic formulation of a similar concept.

[33]Lev 26:5; Ezek 28:26; 34:28; 39:6.

[34]See Lev 26:45; Ezek 5:8; 20:9,14,22,41; 28:25; 36:23; 38:23; 39:27.

[35]See Exod 25:8; 29:45,46; Lev 15:31; Num 5:3; 35:34; Ezek 15:31; 37:26,28; 43:7,9.

[36]Several scholars have compiled lists of these correspondences. See for example Driver, Introduction, 49-50, 146-47130-135; Burrows, Literary Relations, 35.

[37]The shared term, מִשְׁכָּנִי, appears only in Lev 15:31; 26:11; Ezek 37:27.

[38]See Lev 2:5; 6:14; 7:9; Ezek 4:3.

[39]See Exod 25:21; 26:14; 36:19; 39:31; 40:19,20; Num 4:6,25; Ezek 1:11.

[40]See Exod 28:4,37,39; 29:6; 39:28,31; Lev 8:9; 16:4; Ezek 21:31.

[41]This term occurs over fifty times in P. See especially Exodus 26 and 36; 39:33; 40:18; Num 3:6; 4:10,12,31 and Ezek 27:6.

[42]See for example, Exod 26:31,36; 27:9,16,18; 28:5,6,8; Ezek 16:10,13 (Qere); 27:7. See also Gen 41:42 (E) and Prov 31:22.

[43]See for example Exod 25:5; 26:14; 35:23; Num 4:6,8,10,12; Ezek 16:10.

[44]See for example 25:4; 26:1,31,36; 28:,6,8,15,33; Ezek 27:7. See also Jer 10:9; 2 Chr 3:14.

[45]Contra Haran, "The Law Code of Ezekiel XL-XLVIII and Its Relation to the Priestly School."

[46]See section A above.

[47]See section B above.

[48]Ezekiel on several other occasions refers back to תורה (see Ezek 7:26; 22:26; 43:11; 44:5,23. Ezekiel also evaluates Israel's behavior in accordance with the laws of D. They worship תַּבְנִית רֶמֶשׂ, (Deut 4:18; Ezek 8:10) and שִׁקּוּצִים, (Deut 29:16; Ezek 5:11; 7:20), they pass their children through fire (Deut 18:10; Ezek 20:31), and they worship on "every mountain height and under every leafy tree" (Deut 12:2; Ezek 6:13).

[49]First suggested by Y. Kaufmann, The Religion of Israel from Its Beginning to the Babylonian Exile (translated and abridged by M. Greenberg from תולדות האמונה הישראלית מימי קדם עד סוף בית שני, in four volumes [Tel Aviv: Mossad Bialik-Dvir, 1937-56]; New York: Schocken, 1972) 158. See also, Friedman, Exile and Biblical Narrative, 63; Weinfeld, Deuteronomy, 183. For additional examples see Friedman, Exile and Biblical Narrative, 61-64. Noting that one would expect a contract litigation to be based on a contract rather than the reverse, Friedman suggests that the covenant lawsuit of Ezekiel 5 and 6 is based upon the contract in P (Leviticus 26). See also Who Wrote the Bible?, 168-71. Similarly, M. Fishbane illustrates that the rhetorical questions posed by Ezekiel to the people concerning the consumption of blood, the worship of false gods and the pouring of blood libations (Ezek 33:25-26) recall the prohibitions of such behavior in Lev 17:4,9. Ezekiel's questions are followed by a series of divine punishments (33:27-29) which similarly echo the punishments for disobedience to the covenant in Lev 26:19,25,30-33 (Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel, [Oxford: Clarendon] 294).

[50]See section C above.

[51]See section D above.

[52]W. H. C. Propp (in conversation) suggests Ezekiel has a specific polemic against P's Tent as a model for restoration. Compare Fretheim's argument that P has a vendetta against Solomon's Temple ("The Priestly Document: Anti-Temple?" VT 18 [1968] 313-29).

[53]See also Fishbane, Biblical Interpretation, 138-40, 293-94.

[54]While scholars have recognized the extensive relationship between the language of the prophet Jeremiah and the Deuteronomistic History, very few have made such connections with Ezekiel. Indeed, the distinctions between Ezekiel and the Deuteronomistic History are most often emphasized in order to underscore the prophet's alliance with P (see for example, K. W. Carley, Ezekiel Among the Prophets [Sheffield: SCM, 1975]) 57-62. Zimmerli, in his massive two-volume commentary, devotes merely one paragraph to the matter. Noting the marked absence of such Deuteronomistic terms such as מִצְוָה in Ezekiel, he concludes that "Overall the smallness of the contact of Ezekiel with the language and ideas of the well-defined world of Deuteronomy is striking" (Ezekiel 1, 46).

[55]2 Kgs 9:7; 17:13,23; 21:10; 24:2; Jer 7:25; 25:4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15;

44:4; Ezek 38:17.

[56]1 Kgs 13:33; 2 Kgs 17:13; Jer 15:7; 18:11; 25:5; 26:3; 35:15; 36,3,7; 44:14;

Ezek 13:22; 33:9,11.

[57]On the Exile see the expressions הֲפִיץ בַּגּוֹיִם/הֲפִיץ בְּכָל-הָעַמִּים in Deut 4:27 [Dtr2]; 28:64 [Dtr2]; 30:3 [Dtr2]; Jer 9:15; Ezek 11:17; 12:15; 20:23,34,41; 22:15; 29:12; 30:23,26; 36:19; and בְּכָל-הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר הִדִּיחֲךָ שָׁמָּה/אֲדִיחֵם שָׁם in Deut 30:1 [Dtr2]; Ezek 4:13; on child sacrifice see the expression עבר בֵּן/בַּת בָּאֵשׁ in Deut 18:10; 2 Kgs 16:3; 17:17; 21:6; 23:10; Ezek 20:31. P uses its own phraseology in Lev 18:21: "From your seed you shall not pass over to Molech..." (וּמִזַּרְעֲךָ לֹא-תִתֵּן לְהַעֲבִיר לַמֹּלֶךְ). Ezekiel follows D's terminology over P's in a passage that compares Israel's current idolatrous activity to that of her ancestors. For the use of "detestable things" (שקץ/שִׁקּוּצִים) see Deut 29:16; 1 Kgs 11:5,7; 2 Kgs 23:13,24; Jer 4:1; 7:30; 13:27;16:18; 32:34; Ezek 5:11; 7:20; 11:18,21; 20:7,8,30; 37:23; Hos 9:10; Dan 9:27; 11:31; 12:11; 2 Chr 15:8. In Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History שקץ/שִׁקּוּצִים always refers to idolatry. In P, however, שקץ describes various creatures unfit for human consumption; it is never used in connection with idolatry (Lev 7:21; 11:10,11,12,13,20,23,41,42). Ezekiel adopts the Deuteronomic usage in connection with idolatry in the sanctuary. On two occasions Ezekiel pairs the Deuteronomic understanding of שקץ with the Priestly term תּוֹעֵבוֹת (Ezek 11:18,21).

[58]The Deuteronomistic expression "the word of Yahweh came to me" occurs forty-five times in Ezekiel (noted by Wilson, Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel, (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980) 283). See also W. Zimmerli, "The Special Form- and Traditio-historical Character of Ezekiel's Prophecy," 515-16.

[59]See Ezek 14:30; 20:1, where the Israelite elders come to Ezekiel to seek (דרשׁ) Yahweh (Wilson, Prophecy and Society, 283).

[60]For a thorough comparison of the two ideologies see Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School, 191-232, 307-319 and Friedman, Who Wrote the Bible?, 117-35; 188-206.

[61]See, provisionally, Wilson, Prophecy and Society, 284; G. H. Matties, Ezekiel 18 and the Rhetoric of Moral Discourse, (SBLDS 12; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 17; Milgrom, Leviticus 1-16, AB 3 (New York: Doubleday, 1991) 615; M. Greenberg, Ezekiel 1-20, 116.

[62]Also noted by Milgrom, Leviticus 1-16, 615.

[63]See Exod 12:15,19; 30:33,38; 31:14; Num 9:13; 18:3; 19:13-20; Lev 7:18,20-21,25,27; 17:4,9,10,14; 18:27-29; 19:8; 20:2-5,6; 23:29,30; 24:15. See Milgrom, Leviticus 1-16, 457-60; D. J. Wold, "The Biblical Penalty of Kareth" (Ph.D. Dissertation; University of California, Berkeley, 1978).

[64]Noted by Greenberg, Ezekiel 1-20, 333. Greenberg believes that such strict inversion provides clear evidence of Ezekiel's dependence on Deuteronomy. See

also J. S. Kaminsky, Corporate Responsibility in the Hebrew Bible (JSOTSup 196; Sheffield: JSOT, 1995) 165-168.

[65]See for example, Exod 28:38; Lev 5:1,17; 10:17; 16:22; 17:16; 19:8; 20:17; 22:16.

[66]See Levitt Kohn, "A New Heart and a New Soul," 138-145. The chapter contains twenty-two expressions exclusive to D/Dtr and nineteen exclusive to P. Several terms appear alongside one another in the same verse (see for example Ezek 20:5-8,13,15,28,41,44). Contextually, Ezekiel's notion that Israel is being punished for past sin echoes D. However, the role of the law recalls more P. That Israel's laws are construed as part of Yahweh's castigation of Israelite sin is an odd mixing of the two theologies. Ultimately, some laws are deemed as "no good" (Ezek 20:25), such that no one can live by them (לֹא יִחְיוּ בָּהֶם), a cynical reversal of Lev 18:5 and the Deuteronomic notion that laws provide life. There are, however, several conspicuous differences between Ezek 20:1-44, on the one hand, and P and D, on the other. Ezekiel does not mention the role of either Moses or Aaron. The book does not recount the plagues, Passover observance or the miracle at the sea. Ezekiel does not explicitly mention Yahweh's covenant with the Patriarchs. There is no reference to specific incidents of rebellion such as the golden calf or the spies. And, unlike Ezek 20:7, neither P nor D record instances of idolatry or punishment in Egypt. The divine appeal in the wilderness (20:18-20) is likewise absent from Priestly and Deuteronomic traditions.

[67]Friedman, Who Wrote the Bible?, 238

[68]"Now I will restore (אָשִׁיב) the fortunes of Jacob, and have mercy (וְרִחַמְתִּי) on the whole house of Israel; and I will be jealous (וְקִנֵּאתִי) for my holy name." For additional portrayals of Yahweh as jealous see: Exod 20:5; 34:14; Num 25:11,13; Deut 4:24; 5:9; 6:15; Ezek 5:13; 8:3,5; 16:38,42; 36:5,6; 38:19.

[69]The concept of repentance is found throughout Ezekiel. See for example Ezek 3:20; 13:22; 18:23,24,26,27; 33:9,11,12,18,19.

[70]See Ezek 16:59-63; 34:35-30; 37:26.

[71]H. McKeating, "Ezekiel the 'Prophet Like Moses'?" JSOT 61 (1994) 101; Ezekiel (Old Testament Guides; Sheffield: JSOT, 1993) 102; J. D. Levenson, Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40-48 (HSM 10; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976) 38.

[72]In P, Moses functions as a (high) priest when he consecrates Aaron as his sons (Lev 8:1-36). Aaron is to serve as Moses' prophet, while Moses is to be "like God to Pharaoh" (Exod 7:1).

[73]Levenson, Theology, 39. Thus, Ezekiel, unlike P, does not attempt to legitimize laws by locating them in a sacred past.

[74]Compare Ezek 2:4 and Exod 7:3; see J. L. Ska, "La sortie d'Egypte (Ex 7-14) dans le recit sacerdotal (Pg) et la tradition prophetique," Bib 60 (1979) 203. Ska

notes the similarities between Ezekiel's call (Ezek 2:1-3:11) and the commissioning of Moses in Exod 7:1-5, where the roots חזק and קשה are found in conjunction with לֵב.

[75]Kaufmann believes the Temple vision in Ezekiel is based upon Exodus 29:9,40 (The Religion of Israel, 524). Both the Targum and Vulgate read תַּבְנִית for תָּכְנִית in Ezek 43:10.

[76]Levenson, Theology, 42.

[77]McKeating, "Ezekiel the 'Prophet Like Moses'?" 101. Levenson (Theology, 43) adds that much of the P material in Numbers 27-36 bears striking similarity to Ezekiel 40-48, discussing the liturgical calendar and rules of sacrifice (Numbers 28; 29; Ezek 45:18-25; 46:1-15), the allocation of land (Numbers 32; 33:50-56; Ezek 47:13-48:29, boundaries of the land (Num 34:1-15; Ezek 47:13-20), special land arrangements for the Levites (Numbers 35; Ezek 45:1-6; 48:13-14), and inheritance laws (Numbers 36; Ezek 46:16-18).

[78]G. C. M. Douglas, "Ezekiel's Temple," ET 9 (1897/98) 421.

[79]Levenson, Theology, 38; W. Zimmerli, Ezekiel 2, (trans. R. E. Clements; Hermenia, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) 1106; O. Procksch, "Fürst und Priester bei Hesekiel," ZAW 58 (1941) 125.

[80]McKeating takes this even further, observing that Ezekiel, like Moses in Deuteronomy 34, is not reported as descending the mountain after his final vision ("Ezekiel the 'Prophet Like Moses'?" 103).

[81]Indeed, these contradictions were so striking that scholars of the Rabbinic period are said to have questioned the book's canonical value (b. Menah. 45a; b. Sabb. 13b). See S. Leiman, The Canonization of the Hebrew Scripture: The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 47 (1976) 72-73.

[82]For additional divergencies between Ezekiel and P, see Kaufmann, The Religion of Israel, 429; 432.

[83]So Kuenen, Cornill, Driver and others.

[84]An exception is D. N. Freedman who argues that the literary connection between major prophetic books and the Torah, i.e., Jeremiah and D, Ezekiel and P, may indicate that each of these prophets "was claimed by the related group as authority and spokesman for that group and its literature." In essence then, the group responsible for the production and promulgation of P, whom Freedman believes to be the exiled high priestly family in Babylon, enlisted Ezekiel to assist them in their efforts. See D. N. Freedman, The Unity of the Hebrew Bible (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991) 46-48.

[85]See also E. F. Davis, "Swallowing Hard: Reflections on Ezekiel's Dumbness," in Signs and Wonders: Biblical Texts in Literary Focus (ed. J. Exum; Semia Studies; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 217-237. Davis highlights the way in

which the Exile heightened the need on the part of Ezekiel to interpret present events in the context of Israel's sacred traditions (217).

[86]In Ezekiel, the Israelites are portrayed as having violated several prohibitions which appear exclusively in Deuteronomy. They worship תַּבְנִית רֶמֶשׂ, (see Deut 4:18; Ezek 8:10) and שִׁקּוּצִים, (see Deut 29:16; Ezek 5:11; 7:20; 11:18,21), they pass their children through fire (see Deut 18:10; Ezek 20:31), and they worship on "every mountain height and under every leafy tree" (see Deut 12:2; Ezek 6:13).

[87]Ezek 36:26.

[88]Friedman cites the following evidence: the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers all begin with P texts; the Book of Generations (Toledoth), a P document, serves as the framework for Genesis; P structures the first fifteen chapters of Exodus and Numbers with the priestly itinerary document found in Numbers 33 (Who Wrote the Bible?, 218-20). Cross finds P so dominant in the redacted Torah, he concludes P and R are one and the same. That is, the Redactor(s) literally wrote the Priestly portions of the Torah into JE (Canaanite Myth, 306-20). See also R. Rendtorff, Das überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch (BZAW 17; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977); E. Blum, Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch (BZAW 189; Berlin; de Gruyter, 1990) 221-85; J. Van Seters, Abraham in History and Tradition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975) 279-95.

[89]For a summary of such views see R. Klein, "Ezra-Nehemiah, Books of" ABD II, 737. See also J. Wellhausen, Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel ([trans. J. S. Black and A. Menzies from the 1883 edition of Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels]; New York: Meridian, 1957), 496; Kaufmann, The Religion of Israel, 209; W. F. Albright, The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra (New York: Harper & Row, 1963) 94-96; S. Mowinckel, Studien zu dem Buche Ezra-Nehemiah III (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1965) 124-41; J. M. Myers, Ezra Nehemiah (AB 14; New York: Doubleday, 1965) lix; H. G. M. Williamson, Ezra and Nehemiah (Sheffield: JSOT, 1987) 91. See also D. N. Freedman, "The Formation of the Canon of the Old Testament," in Religion and Law (eds. E. Firmage, B. Weiss, J. Welch; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 315-33; Friedman Who Wrote the Bible?, 223-25. Friedman notes even Jerome, in the fourth century C.E., identifies Ezra as the author of the Pentateuch, in agreement with some Rabbinic traditions. For views to the contrary, see summary in Klein, "Ezra-Nehemiah," 737.

[90]See Klein, "Ezra-Nehemiah," 737; Kaufmann, The Religion of Israel, 209; Myers, Ezra Nehemiah, lix-lxii; Friedman Who Wrote the Bible?, 221-23; Williamson, Ezra and Nehemiah, 91.

[91]See Kaufmann, The Religion of Israel, 209 and Myers, Ezra Nehemiah, lix-lxii; J. Shaver, Torah and the Chronicler's History Work (Brown Judaic Studies 196; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 87-90 for further parallels.

[92]Some consider Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah a single work or the product of a common author. See Williamson, Ezra and Nehemiah, 37; Shaver, Torah and the

Chronicler's History Work, 44-65; J. M. Myers, I Chronicles (AB 12; Garden City: Doubleday, 1965) xviii; S. Japhet, I & II Chronicles (OTL; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993) 3-7.

[93]See Shaver, Torah and the Chronicler's History Work, 87.

[94]See Shaver, Torah and the Chronicler's History Work, 98.

[95]See Shaver, Torah and the Chronicler's History Work, 99.

[96]2 Chr 35:13. Suggested by J. M. Myers, II Chronicles (AB 13; Garden City: Doubleday, 1965) 211. See also Fishbane, Biblical Interpretation, 136; H. G. M. Williamson, 1 and 2 Chronicles (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) 407; I. L. Seeligmann, "Die Auffassung von der Prophetie in der deuteronomistischen und chronistischen geschichtsschreibung," Congress Volume Göttingen (VTSup 29; Leiden: Brill, 1977) 254-84. Von Rad is the first to suggest that the Chronicler's Passover was influenced by both P and D. See G. von Rad, Das Geschichtsbild des Chronistischen Werkes (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1930) 38-63. For additional examples see Shaver, Torah and the Chronicler's History Work, 104-17.

[97]See Shaver, Torah and the Chronicler's History Work, 128.

[98]See Freedman, Unity of the Hebrew Bible, 48.

[99]See Friedman Exile and Biblical Narrative, 20.

[100]Friedman, Exile and Biblical Narrative, 123. See also "Sacred History and Theology: The Redaction of the Torah," The Creation of Sacred Literature (ed. R. E. Friedman; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981) 25-28; Who Wrote the Bible?, 239-40.

[101]We may also compare Second Isaiah, who no less than Ezekiel synthesizes and reworks older traditions, yet completely lacks Ezekiel's Zadokite bias.

[102]Wellhausen, Prolegomena, 403-404.

[103]Or rather, lines were redrawn. Jews became more concerned with democratizing Israel proper, and less with establishing the grades of privilege within the community. At the same time, the distinction between Jew and Gentile was sharpened. See H. G. M. Williamson, Israel in the Books of Chronicles (New York : Cambridge University Press, 1977).

[104]Compare Franz Rosenzweig's famous quip that the symbol "R" stands not for "Redactor" but for רַבֵּנוּ "our Teacher," a title traditional Judaism often applies to Moses ("The Unity of the Bible: A Position Paper Vis-À-Vis Orthodoxy and Liberalism," in Scripture and Translation: Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig (trans. L. Rosenwald with E. Fox; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994) 23).

The Ideology of Rule in the Narrative Frame of Daniel (Dan 1-6)

Matthias Henze, Rice University

The Book of Daniel falls into two parts, the tales of Daniel and his three companions in the first six chapters and the apocalyptic visions in the latter half of the book.[1] The two parts are distinct from each other on several counts. Whereas the tales refer to Daniel in the third person, the eschatological part is cast in the form of a first-person account in which Daniel relates the visions he receives. The ostensible setting of the tales is the Babylonian court, whereas the setting of the visions is less clearly specified. Another difference concerns the historical reality each part reflects. Chapters 7-12 are suffused with language of violence and doom. It is held by consensus that the apocalyptic visions stem from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (168-164 B.C.E.), a period marked by persecution and war. Clearly the author of the visions was aware of, and composed his eschatological accounts in response to these traumatic events. The tales, by contrast, show now signs of hostility toward the monarch, of persecution or of war. To the contrary, the first half of the book surprises with its positive attitude towards the gentile rulers at whose courts Daniel serves.

Whereas we can thus establish with some confidence that the apocalyptic visions were written during the Antiochan persecutions (see the contribution by Harrington in this volume), the background of the tales now collected in the narrative frame of the biblical book is less clear. The tales themselves yield little information indeed about their original setting. What is more, there is good reason to believe that the stories about Daniel and his three companions have been repeatedly recontextualized. There can be little doubt that they are pre-Maccabean, i.e., older than the visions. Originally

[1] This division into a "historical" and an "eschatological" part is conventional among so-called "historical apocalypses" of which Daniel is an example, see J.J. Collins, ed., *Apcalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (*Semeia* 14; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979) 1-19; and idem, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998 [first ed., 1984]) 1-42, 85-115.

they circulated independently and were collected at some later point. Finally, they were combined with the vision chapters to create the book as we know it.[2] The link between the tales and the visions is secondary.

The textual history of Daniel mandates that our investigations into the social background of each of the two parts of the book be kept separate. Since the eschatological part provides more information about the identity of its authors than the first part, however, it has been tempting to search this evidence for clues about the provenance of the tales as well. In a series of major publications, John J. Collins has construed an argument based on an apocalyptic group referred to in Daniel's final vision report (10:1-12:4) where they appear under the epithet "the wise" (*maśkîlîm*). The group is mentioned in 11:33-35 where they are said to instruct the common people; some of them will fall during the oppression which is to purify "the wise," for the time of the end has not yet come. "The wise" are then mentioned again in the epilogue in 12:3 where they are singled out in the resurrection of the dead: they will shine like the firmament, and their function will be to make the common people righteous. According to Collins, "there can be little doubt that the Book of Daniel was composed in the circles of these *maśkîlîm*."[3]

Collins then takes his argument one step further and claims that "the most natural place to look for the pre-history of the *maśkîlîm* of Dan 11 is in the tales which make up the first half of the book."[4] Support for his claim comes from 1:4 which introduces Daniel and his friends as "proficient in all wisdom" (*maśkîlîm bəḵol-ḥoḵmāh*). The proposed thesis that

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[2] Among the first to propose that Daniel is the result of continuous growth was J. Meinhold, *Die Composition des Buches Daniel* (Greifswald: Abel, 1884); and idem, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Buches Daniel: Heft 1. Daniel 3-6* (Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1888).

[3] J.J. Collins, "Daniel and His Social World," *Interpretation* 39/1 (1985) 131-43, 132; see M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974) 1:175-80, and O. Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology* (Richmond: John Knox, 1968) 22-25, who both argue that the *maśkîlîm* in Daniel are identical with the Hasidim.

[4] "Daniel and His Social World," 134; a little later, Collins modifies his claim and concedes that the legends should not be taken "as a direct account of the predecessors" of the wise (p. 135).

the tales stem from the predecessors of the eschatological conventicles behind Dan 7-12 is attractive indeed. It is immediately conceded, too, that the verbal parallel with 1:4 describing the young Jewish elite from among whom Daniel and his friends are selected is suggestive. But Collins' proposal is of limited help when it comes to identify the social background of the tales. For one, if there was a group called "the wise" who was behind the characterization of Daniel and his friends as "proficient in all wisdom" in 1:4, then all this would indicate is that this group claimed Daniel and his companions as their literary ancestors; it yields no information about the origin of the tales, let alone about the circles behind them. And secondly, the key term "the wise" (*maśkîlîm*) is attested in the narrative frame only in chapter 1. According to a wide consensus, this chapter is a secondary addition to the tales, added perhaps as late as during the time of the book's final composition.[5] The mentioning of "the wise" in 1:4 possibly connects this chapter with "the wise" in chs. 7-12; however, no such reference can be found in the main body of the tales (chs. 2-6).

At any rate, while it is easy to see why the heroes of the Antiochan persecutions referred to in the text simply as "the wise" would have had a vested interest to claim the wisest of the Jews, survivors of the fiery furnace and of the lions' den as their literary ancestors by using their stories as the prelude to their own apocalyptic visions, the visions yield no information about the social background of the narratives. The original setting of the tales remains an open question.

I. The State of Scholarship

A significant step forward in the debate over the nature of the tales has been made with the much celebrated article by W. Lee Humphreys on the

[5] While there can be little doubt that ch. 1 was added at a later point, is remains unclear whether it was originally composed in Aramaic, added to the collection of Aramaic tales (Dan 2-6) and later translated into Hebrew or, what appears more plausible, was written in Hebrew and intended to be an introductory chapter to the entire book; cf. K. Koch, *Daniel 1,1-21* (BKAT 22; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1986) 16-18; A.S. van der

genre of the tales in Esther and Daniel.[6] In his article, Humphreys is building on the double-insight that (a) the tales of Joseph, Esther, Daniel and Ahikar show certain similarities and connections and in fact constitute a common literary genre which enjoyed widespread popularity throughout the ancient Near East, the "tale of the courtier," and that (b) these tales are replete with wisdom elements.[7] Humphreys' interest is to arrive at a better understanding of this genre through a sociological study of the texts. He thus proposes that the court tales fall into two distinct groups, tales of court contest (Dan. 4 and 5, and also Gen 40-41), and tales of court conflict (in chs. 3 and 6, as well as in Esther and Ahikar). In the tales of contest, a wise person of lower status unexpectedly makes a wise decision by interpreting a dream or omen which had proven too difficult for the other courtiers; consequently, the person is promoted. The story relates the ensuing conflict and ends with the hero receiving a reward. In the more dramatic tales of conflict, the wise courtier operates in a promoted position to begin with; the other courtiers persecute or conspire against him and he appears to be defeated, but in the end is vindicated before the monarch, with the antagonists receiving their due punishment. In addition to their entertainment value, the tales propagate, so Humphreys, a "life-style for Diaspora." "One could, as a Jew, overcome adversity and find a life both rewarding and creative within the pagan setting and as a part of this foreign world."[8]

The distinction between "contest" and "conflict" was met favorably and carried on by numerous scholars, including John J. Collins. In an article published two years after Humphreys' work, Collins seeks to explain how a

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Woude, "Die Doppelsprachigkeit des Buches Daniel, in A.S. van der Woude, ed., *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings* (Leuven: Peeters, 1993) 3-12.

[6] W.L. Humphreys, "A Life-Style for Diaspora: A Study of the Tales of Esther and Daniel," *JBL* 92 (1973) 211-23.

[7] The wisdom connection had previously been underscored by G. von Rad, "The Joseph Narrative and Ancient Wisdom," in idem, *The Problem of the Pentateuch and Other Essays* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1966) 292-300; and S. Talmon, "Wisdom in the Book of Esther," *VT* 13 (1963) 419-55.

[8] "Life-Style," 223; in fact, Humphreys argues that the peaceful attitude toward the foreign society is diametrically opposed to the violent attitude reflected in the visions.

collection of Diaspora tales became the basis for the Book of Daniel.[9] He argues that the latter half of the book "was a product of the same group, or the descendants of the group, which produced Daniel 1-6." Behind both the tales and the visions Collins detects the Jewish "wise men" who, while in the Diaspora, composed their tales in which they emphasized their superior wisdom given to them by God. At some point during the early second century they returned to Palestine and, under the impact of the persecutions of Antiochus, used their own court-tales as the basis for their apocalyptic visions. In an article published exactly a decade later Collins offers a remarkably precise definition of this group. Following Humphreys' lead that the purpose of the tales is to outline a style of life for the Jew in the Diaspora, Collins takes the setting of the tales to be a self-description of the group which composed them and concludes, "[w]e may infer tentatively that the authors and tradents of the tales were, like Daniel, upper-class, well-educated Jews, who found careers in government service in the eastern Diaspora. They were successful in the gentile world and stood to gain by maintaining the status quo."[10]

The most thorough discussion of the Jewish court legends to date is that by Larry M. Wills.[11] Following a review of pertinent scholarship, Wills offers a detailed analysis of the wisdom court tales as found primarily in Daniel and Esther.

II. Tales of Harmony and Conflict

Within their present context, the tales serve to extol Daniel's virtues and unwavering faith and thereby introduce him as uniquely qualified to be the recipient of the secret lore communicated in the latter half of the book.

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[9] J.J. Collins, "The Court-Tales in Daniel and the Development of Apocalyptic," *JBL* 94/2 (1975) 218-34. For an analysis of the court legends in the context of folklore studies, see S. Niditch and R. Doran, "The Success Story of the Wise Courtier: A Formal Approach," *JBL* 96 (1977) 179-93.

[10] "Daniel and his Social World," 136. Similarly, R.R. Wilson, "From Prophecy to Apocalyptic: Reflections on the Shape of Israelite Religion," *Semeia* 21 (1982) 79-95, 88.

[11] L.M. Wills, *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King: Ancient Jewish Court Legends* (HDR 26; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990).

Despite their current employment in the apocalypse, however, the tales themselves are surprising void of any eschatological or apocalyptic elements. Their concern is entirely with this world, with no speculations about future expectations, let alone the eschaton. Also, there are no signs of hostilities towards the emperor, of persecution or of war which so dominate the latter half of the book. To the contrary, one of the most astonishing aspects of the tales is their complete failure to condemn the heathen monarchs at whose courts Daniel serves. Neither Nebuchadnezzar, nor Belshazzar or Darius ever become subject of criticism. The encounter between the Jewish sage and his mundane rulers occurs in an atmosphere which is best characterized as cordial, if not supportive. This is most surprising in the case of Nebuchadnezzar, the destroyer of the Jerusalem Temple and architect of the Babylonian Exile (Dan 1:1-2), who is criticized fiercely by other voices in the Hebrew Bible.

In the Book of Daniel, by contrast, the atmosphere of harmony is propelled to an extreme and almost borders on the absurd. Upon learning from Daniel that he is about to be ousted from the throne and his kingdom to be erased, for example, Nebuchadnezzar spontaneously exclaims in jubilation, praises Daniel's exceptional divinatory qualities, worships both him and his God and promotes Daniel and his three companions to advanced administrative positions in the Babylonian kingdom (Dan 2:46-49). In chapter 4 the amicable relation between Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel is underscored even further. This time, the emphasis is on Daniel who shows affection for the well-being of the king. Greatly distressed by the oracle of doom of which he is the messenger, Daniel begins his dream interpretation on an apologetic note, "My lord, may the dream be for your enemies and its interpretation for your adversaries!" (Dan 4:16) As soon as the interpretation is pronounced, Daniel proceeds to offer advice on how Nebuchadnezzar can postpone, if not avert altogether, the swift implementation of the already decreed punishment, "Therefore, O king, may my counsel please you, to atone for your sins by almsgiving and for your iniquity by mercy to the poor. Perhaps your leisure will be prolonged." (Dan 4:24)

The surprisingly benevolent tenor in the encounter between the Jewish sage and the Babylonian tyrant, especially in chapter 4, did not go unnoticed among ancient interpreters. While both early Jewish and early Christian exegetes were in accord that the phenomenon as such required comment, their exegetical treatments differ dramatically. Hippolytus of Rome, composing his *Commentary on Daniel* at the onset of the third century, goes into considerable detail in his exposition of the relationship between the monarch and the sage. The reason for Daniel's hesitation, according to Hippolytus, was Daniel's sincere concern for Nebuchadnezzar's welfare. "The blessed Daniel has become his adviser," writes Hippolytus, "who, like a good physician, wishes to heal his wounds." Hippolytus then goes on to describe Daniel's distress about having to relate a message which he abhors. "For about an hour he was without reason, and his thoughts confused him (Dan 4:16). He did not want a single word to come out of his mouth. Thus he showed the love he had for the king, so that the king might humble himself and be saved, doing what the prophet was telling him."[12]

For the rabbis, by contrast, nothing seemed more troublesome than the thought that Daniel could have felt true compassion for the notorious tyrant. In an attempt to vindicate the prophet's problematic role at the Babylonian court the rabbis were anxious to demonstrate that Daniel's concern for the king was purely theatrical or, to be precise, calculated rather than heartfelt. Daniel speculated that while Nebuchadnezzar's exile was postponed, the king would show mercy on the Israelites and relieve them of their distress, knowing that ultimately the king's doom was sealed. "Do not believe for a moment that the righteous Daniel would have offered such advice to Nebuchadnezzar, who hated the Omnipotent One, if he had not known that Israel was wasting away from hunger as it wandered about in exile. Hence he gave this advice to him because of his concern for them, and because he knew that ultimately Nebuchadnezzar's soul would suffer."[13]

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[12] G. Bardy and M. Lefèvre, *Hippolyte: Commentaire sur Daniel* (SC 14; Paris: Cerf, 1947) III.7:4-5.

[13] *Tanhuma, Mishpatim* 4. The translation is that of S.A. Berman, *Midrash Tanhuma-Yelammedenu: An English Translation of Genesis and Exodus from the Printed Version of Tanhuma-Yelammedenu with an Introduction, Notes, and Indexes* (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV

The friendly relationship Daniel entertains with the foreign monarchs stands in stark contrast with the consistent antagonism he faces from the kings' advisers. The motif of persistent hostility between the protagonist and the foreign courtiers is a common element in the court legends, as shown by Humphreys and others. The Jewish hero, or heroine, rises to some prominence and stands in close and friendly rapport with the foreign monarch. It is with the courtiers, however, the personal advisers to the king and hence the closest rivals of the ascending Jews that tension arises. The evolving conflict is, in the words of Wills, "the meeting of virtue of the protagonist and the mirror-image vice of the antagonist."[14] The malice of the courtiers underscores the moral quality of the protagonist; likewise, the amicable encounter between the monarch and the hero serves as a foil against which the conflict with the courtiers looms especially dark.[15] The tolerant and positive attitude towards the gentile rulers and the perpetual conflict with the courtiers are thus two sides of the same coin. Feeding on each other, both are integral parts of the literary genre.

In light of this highly conventionalized style of writing the question immediately arises to what extend the ostensible setting of the tales and their social milieu can be seen as a direct reflection of the author's own social reality. Should we assume that these narrative fictions -- and there can be little doubt that they are fictitious -- provide us with clues about the social reality of their authors? Is there, in other words, a direct relationship between the social world constructed by these narratives and the social system from which they stem? Humphreys and Collins would undoubtedly argue in favor of this assumption: the tales are a direct mirror-image of the

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Publishing House, 1995) 479. The vehemence with which the plain reading of the text is refuted according to which Daniel acted out of genuine concern for the monarch makes one wonder whether rabbinic opinion was as unanimous as the midrash wants us to believe.

[14] Ibid., 11.

[15] The Book of Esther deviates from the pattern, one might argue, in that king Ahasuerus does not come across as a particularly strong character. He is more the object of the action than its subject. Nevertheless, the opposition between Ahasuerus and Haman is clear and plays itself out in favor of the Jews. See J.D. Levenson, *Esther: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997).

circles in which they originated; they are, in fact, an idealized self-description of the Jewish elite in the Diaspora.

It is worth noting that another scholar, Hans-Peter Müller who operates on very similar assumptions, comes to the exact opposite conclusion. In his reading of Daniel, Müller points to the gross exaggerations in the often fanciful description of the Babylonian court: for his banquet, the king invites "a thousand nobles" (5:1) who are served the wine previously enjoyed by the alumni of the court's own academy (1:5). Of royal proportions are also the gifts offered to the minions (2:6.48; 5:7.16.29). The king's orders are grotesquely arbitrary (2:2ff.; one might add 3:19), and both his appetite for parties (5:1) and his hysterical distrust (2:8ff.) have grave consequences. The king's rage, finally, is both excessive and cruel (1:10; 2:5.12f.). The fact that Daniel is promoted to a better social status, according to Müller, is a wishful projection of the disenfranchised and reflects the social misery of those who seek comfort in such fantasies. The legends, hardly the product of the Jews well familiar with the Babylonian court first circulated "in ärmeren Diasporakreisen Mesopotamiens."[16]

The methodological reflection is important, as P.R. Davies explains, "because there is an inbuilt tendency in the discipline of biblical studies to take biblical statements about social reality as if they are reliable descriptions of a objective state of affairs."[17] The claim that there has to be an immediate correlation between the court tales and their ostensible social setting seems dubious. Take, for example, the story of Ahikar. Wills has pointed out that the presence of Ahikar at the Jewish military colony of Elephantine casts into doubt whether wisdom court legends circulated in the court and, indeed, whether they were composed there. Wills continues to cite another example, the case of Onkhsheshonq who is not a courtier but a

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[16] H.-P. Müller, "Märchen, Legende und Enderwartung: Zum Verständnis des Buches Daniel," *VT* 26/3 (1976) 338-50, 341; also, "Die weisheitliche Lehrerzählung im Alten Testament und seiner Umwelt," *Die Welt des Orients* 9 (1977-78) 77-98.

[17] P.R. Davies, "Reading Daniel Sociologically," in A.S. van der Woude, ed., *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings* (Leuven: Peeters, 1993) 345-61, 347. See also idem, "The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings," in R.E. Clements, ed., *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 251-71.

farmer, and whose "Instructions" reflect "a considerable lower social landscape" than the elite class of administrators.[18] Court tales do not have to originate at the court.

Besides, it seems doubtful that the tales of Daniel and his three friends would have been extraordinarily successful as a guide for the young Jewish elite in the Diaspora to a successful career in the Babylonian society. After all, Daniel finds his most vehement opponents precisely in the ranks of the Babylonian intellectuals into which the aspiring Jewish elite seeks to advance. It appears unlikely indeed that such a "life-style for the Diaspora" would have been met with overwhelming enthusiasm, to say the least, for what awaits the ambitious Jews, at least according to our tales, is first and foremost *not* a stellar career at the foreign court, but the lions' den.

III. A Conflict of Authority

The message of the tales, then, is one of conflict. I would like to propose that the description of this conflict can serve as a lens through which the modern reader is able to catch a glimpse of the (mostly theological) self-understanding of the group behind the tales. In conclusion, I offer three theses about the nature of this conflict which are meant to suggest fruitful avenues toward the identification of the group behind the tales. First, the conflict is exclusively concerned with theological disputes and not with sociological or political divisions. The former may very well -- and most likely will -- lead to the latter, but the texts are silent at this point. Second, the role played by Daniel and his three companions in the development of these conflicts is kept to a minimum. Far from providing the reader with an idealized portrait of the Jewish elite in the Diaspora, our author is deliberately sparse in his description of the key characters and furnishes but a few details about his protagonists, apparently in an effort to place all the emphasis on the glory of his God rather than on that of his characters. And third, the role assigned to Daniel is that of "a holy man" or, in modern critical terms, a prophet.

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[18] *The Jew*, 195.

First, the tales revolve around two forms of authority which are *in principle* incompatible with each other and which consistently clash in the stories: the authority of the foreign monarch who is "at ease" (4:1) in his complacency, and the authority of Daniel which is grounded in his divine appointment (2:28). The tales which follow a certain stereotypical structure consistently result in the king's acknowledgment of the supremacy of Daniel's God. The monarch thus repeatedly recognizes at the end of each chapter "that the Most High is sovereign over human dominion and gives it to whomever He wishes" (4:29). The theological nature of the dispute is played out in various ways and pronounced by both Daniel and the heathen king. Note, for example, Nebuchadnezzar's reaction to Daniel's first dream interpretation. "Then King Nebuchadnezzar fell prostrate and worshipped Daniel and ordered that sacrifice and incense be offered to him" (2:46). The king's reaction is rather dramatic and its religious character, underlined by the mention of sacrifice and incense, pushed to an extreme. In fact, Daniel's acceptance of these honors was felt to be a source of embarrassment by both Jewish and Christian commentators.[19] In short, in contrast to the Book of Esther which results in the survival and subsequently political autonomy of the Jews, any political ambition is disowned in the narrative frame of Daniel. "The goal of the tales is ultimately not the advancement of the wise men but the glorification of their God."[20]

Secondly, the stories surprise with their economy of style in which the heroes are portrayed. The only exception is the first chapter in which the reader learns about the education and even diet of the young men who are to be considered for service at the Babylonian court. As we have had occasion to note earlier, however, this chapter is most likely an addition to an already existing cycle of tales. Indeed, it is difficult to avoid the impression that the detailed account of the youths' life-style in ch. 1 is meant to fill in the details missing in the remainder of the tales. In any event, Humphreys' suggestion that Daniel and his three friends are idealized

[19] Cf. J.J. Collins, *Daniel* (*Hermeneia*; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993) 171-72.
[20] "Daniel and his Social World," 137; *contra* Davies, "Reading Daniel Sociologically," 355.

representatives of the circles among which the tales originated cannot go unchallenged. Humphreys thus states, "[t]he heroes are successful and high ranking courtiers at the end of each tale."[21] But this is hardly so. In ch. 4 the last we hear of Daniel is that he offers advice to Nebuchadnezzar on how to postpone punishment (4:24). Daniel then disappears from the scene and the story is entirely Nebuchadnezzar's. This is in contrast to the Prayer of Nabonidus (4QPrNab), a related text discovered among the fragments of Qumran, in which the anonymous Jewish seer does not enter the scene until the seven years of Nabonidus' affliction are over![22] His sole function is to inform the monarch that his cure which at this point has already happened was brought about by the God of the Jews.

Thirdly, the *absence* of Daniel from much of the story line in the Biblical book deserves a fuller treatment than can be offered here. His absence from the pivotal scenes in ch. 4 in particular was felt to be a major flaw by early interpreters. They "rectified" this omission by re-inserting Daniel back into the narrative. In one example, the *Lives of the Prophets*, the Jewish sage becomes a saint, a "holy man" who prayed constantly on behalf of the Babylonian king, accompanied him throughout his ordeal and even shortened for him the time of his exile from seven years to seven months.[23] This line of interpretation is suggested already by the Biblical text. There Daniel is portrayed in a way which can be compared with that of the Biblical prophets; his qualities include the art of divination (chs. 2, 4 and 5)

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[21] "Life-Style," 221.

[22] J.T. Milik, "'Prière de Nabonide' et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel," *RB* 63 (1956) 407-15; J.J. Collins, "Prayer of Nabonidus," in G. Brooke et al., ed., *Qumran Cave 4-XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 83-93.

[23] D. Satran, *Biblical Prophets in Byzantine Palestine: Reassessing the* Lives of the Prophets (SVTP 11; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 124: "Daniel prayed greatly on behalf of Nebuchadnezzar, after Beltasar, his son, summoned him, when he became a wild animal and a beast, in order that he might not perish. [...] Many were going out of the city and observed him. Daniel alone did not desire to see him, for he was in prayer on his behalf during the entire period of his transformation. He said that Nebuchadnezzar would again become a man, but they did not believe him. Daniel caused the seven years, which he called 'seven seasons,' to become seven months. The mystery of the 'seven seasons' was fulfilled in his regard, since he was restored in seven months." See also *Chronicle of Jerahmeel* 46; and L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909-38) 4.334, 6.423.

and the prediction of the future (ch. 9).[24] The prophet of pre-exilic times has become the sage of the post-exilic period. In any event, whether the "holy man" of the *Lives* or the prophet in the description of modern scholars, this characterization of Daniel which focusses on his religious qualities and places him outside of society, rather than in the middle of it, does justice to the tales in the narrative frame of the Biblical book.

[24] See J.C. VanderKam, "The Prophetic-Sapiential Origins of Apocalyptic Thought," in J.D. Martin and P.R. Davies, ed., *A Word in Season* (JSOTSupp 42; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1986) 163-76, who argues convincingly that there is no "sharp distinction between mantic wisdom and biblical prophecy as candidates for the leading influences on apocalyptic thought and procedure" (p. 174).

The Ideology of Rule in Daniel 7--12

Daniel J. Harrington

The second half of the book of Daniel features three visions narrated by Daniel in the first-person singular. They concern the Ancient One and the One like a Human Being (chap. 7), the Ram and the Male-Goat (chap. 8), and the Outline of History from the Persian Period to the Death of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (chaps. 10--12). Also included is Daniel's Lament over Israel's Sins (chap. 9). These texts encouraged second-century B.C. Jews to hold on to their practices and beliefs, since they purport to reveal what the end of the Seleucid empire will be like and even hint at when this might happen. This paper will examine these texts with particular attention to what they might tell us about the ultimate rule of God and about the religious assumptions and hopes of those people for whom the book of Daniel was originally composed. It will consider what is involved in the fundamental claim of Daniel 7--12 that the dominion of the Ancient One and the One like a Human Being is "an everlasting dominion that shall not pass away" (Dan 7:14).

In Daniel 7--12 the ideology of rule is in fact the theology of rule. There was no doubt for the author(s) that the God of Israel is the real ruler over creation and history. The problem was that the people of this God in Judea around 165 B.C. were suffering. They were not only subject to foreign rulers as they had been for several centuries, but also the foundations of their religious and national life--the temple and the Torah--were being abolished and those who tried to remain loyal to the traditions were being persecuted for doing so. Thus the theology of rule in Daniel 7--12 was really the theodicy of rule. How could the powerful and just God of Israel allow his people to

suffer in these ways? The solution to the problem regarding the ideology of rule was found in apocalyptic theology in general and in the idea of justice deferred until God's (imminent) intervention in particular.

Historical and Literary Context

The book of Daniel was composed around 165 B.C. to respond to a very specific crisis in the land of Israel: the substitution of a pagan cult for the worship of the God of Israel in the Jerusalem temple. This development raised important theological questions for some within the Jewish people: How could God allow this to happen? Why were good and righteous Jews suffering for trying to remain faithful to God's covenant? Why were the evildoers appearing to triumph over the righteous?

This crisis had a background in Greek and Near Eastern history. By the time of the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C. the land of Israel along with neighboring lands had become part of Alexander's Hellenistic empire. From Alexander's death to 200 B.C. Judea was administered by the Egyptian or Ptolemaic branch of Alexander's successors. But around 200 B.C. Judea became subject to the Syrian or Seleucid branch. At first the Judeans were allowed to observe their traditional rituals, laws, and customs. With the accession of Antiochus IV Epiphanes to the Seleucid throne in 175 B.C. there was a change in policy toward Judea.

There is a longstanding debate about Antiochus' precise motives and about the extent to which he received encouragement and support from some within the local Judean community (see 1 Macc 1:11-15). Whatever the historical motives and responsibilities may have been, the ancient Jewish sources present the people's suffering as the result of a decree from Antiochus prohibiting the observance of the Torah as the law for Jews and of his

establishment of the cult of "the Most High God" in the Jerusalem temple (see 1 Macc 1:41-61). From the perspective of some in Judea (including the circle behind the book of Daniel) the pagan cult amounted to "a desolating sacrilege" or as it is traditionally rendered "the abomination of desolation."

The crisis was resolved to some extent when Judas Maccabeus and his supporters captured the temple area in 164 B.C. and restored the traditional worship of the God of Israel. This resolution seems to have occurred after the composition of the book of Daniel, and so it appears that it was composed around 165 B.C. Rather than expecting the Maccabees to solve the problem, the author of the book of Daniel looked forward to the coming of "God's kingdom"--a more direct divine intervention and to a more definitive resolution in favor of those in Israel who had remained faithful to God's covenant.

While the book of Daniel was composed in Judea around 165 B.C., the stories and visions that constitute it are set in the courts of the Babylonian and Persian kings of the sixth century B.C. Daniel, along with his companions, appears as a Jewish courtier who issues prophecies about the course of world history from the sixth century to the second century B.C. Some of the traditions in the book may well antedate its composition around 165 B.C. Nevertheless, almost everything in the book has been adapted to illumine the crisis percipitated by Antiochus and his Jewish collaborators.

The text appears in two languages. Chapters 1 and 8--12 are in Hebrew, while chapters 2--7 are in Aramaic. The first six chapters are stories about Daniel in the form of conflicts and contests that are presented in the third person ("he"). The last six chapters are visions that Daniel narrates in the first person ("I"). The book emerged from and spoke to a Jewish group that in this crisis looked for deliverance from God alone.

It is customary to classify the book of Daniel as an "apocalypse" (deriving from the Greek term for "revelation"). Apocalypses present revelations about the future or about the heavenly realm. Since these topics transcend ordinary human knowledge, there is need for special revelations from God about them. Since many parts of the book convey revelations about the future and about the heavenly court, it is appropriate to classify the whole book as an apocalypse.

The word "apocalyptic" is often used to describe the kind of thinking that is found in apocalypses. And so it is appropriate to describe the approach to the problem of suffering in the book of Daniel as the apocalyptic solution.

The book was composed to address the suffering among God's people in Judea around 165 B.C. The central institutions of biblical Israel--the Torah, the Temple, and the Land--were now all in the wrong hands. And faithful Jews were suffering, even to the point of death. The apocalyptic solution holds together the suffering of righteous Jews, the omnipotence of God, and the justice of God. It does so by deferring the full display of God's power and justice to the future (the kingdom of God). This (imminent) display of God's rule will mark the vindication of the suffering righteous ones and the punishment of their evil opponents. That God will remain faithful to his promises is certain. In the meantime, the message of the book of Daniel is to hold firm in fidelity since the suffering is only temporary.

The first six chapters are stories about Daniel and his fellow Jewish courtiers. There are conflicts about food (chap. 1), worship (3), and prayer (6). There are contests about interpreting the king's dreams (2, 4) and the handwriting on the wall (5). While set in the courts of sixth century Babylonian and Persian kings, these stories spoke eloquently to the Judean situation in the second century B.C.

Their general message was simple: God is in control of human history; the power of the evildoers and the suffering that they inflict are temporary; and so it is necessary to remain faithful in the present. The messages of the six individual episodes were also clear to Judeans in the second century: (1) Remain faithful to Jewish food laws and customs, and you will not perish. (2) The reign of foreigners over Judea is only temporary and will soon yield to the kingdom of God. (3) Refuse to worship idols, and you will not be harmed. (4) The evil king will soon be brought down, and so hold firm in the present. (5) The evil empire will end soon, and so hold firm in the present. (6) Refrain from emperor worship, and God will protect you from harm.

Taken together these stories about conflicts and contests spoke to the crisis in Judea in the second century B.C. They affirm the sovereignty of the God of Israel and portray the power of the foreign kings as temporary and subject to the God of Israel. The present sufferings of God's people will soon be ended by the direct intervention of God, and the divine justice will be made manifest. In the meantime remain faithful to the God of Israel and resist the worship of false gods.

Three Visions and a Lament (7--12).

In the second half of the book Daniel narrates in the first-person singular ("I") three visions about the future (chaps. 7, 8, 10--12) and laments over Israel's sinfulness as the cause of the present suffering (chap. 9). He affirms the sovereignty of the God of Israel and promises that God's justice will soon be visible to all.

The first vision (chap. 7) concerns four beasts coming up from the sea. The first three look like a lion (with eagle's wings), a bear, and a leopard, respectively. They symbolize (as in chap. 2) the first three empires: Babylon, Media, and Persia. The fourth beast who is "terrifying and dreadful and

exceedingly strong" (7:7) symbolizes the Hellenistic empire begun by Alexander the Great. The progeny of the fourth beast is a little horn with "a mouth speaking arrogantly" (7:8)--clearly a reference to Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

The scene shifts to the heavenly court where "an Ancient One" presides over the judgment of the beasts: "The court sat in judgment, and the books were opened" (7:10). The result is the destruction of the last beast (Antiochus) and the end of the power of all the other empires ("their dominion was taken away," 7:12). The vision ends with a transfer of power from the Ancient One to the One like a Human Being: "to him was given dominion and glory and kingship ... an everlasting dominion that shall not pass away" (7:14).

The interpretation given by Daniel in 7:15-28 generally confirms what is already obvious from the vision. The great exception concerns the identification of the One like a Human Being. Whereas one might suppose this figure to be an angel (most likely Michael), in the interpretation he is identified collectively as "the holy ones of the Most High" (7:18, 27). Whether "the holy ones" are angels, members of a Jewish sect, a mixture of the two, or "all Israel" understood collectively is matter of longstanding exegetical dispute.

Behind the vision and its interpretation is the conviction that the God of Israel is the real ruler and that the power of the four great empires is temporary and subject to this God's direction. This God will exact punishment from the wicked King Antiochus and will give everlasting power to "the holy ones of the Most High" who represent the people of God. Nothing is said in chapter 7 about any wrongdoing on Israel's part. Rather, the elevation of the holy ones is presented as the natural outcome of God's plan.

The second vision (chap. 8) follows the pattern of vision and interpretation. In the third year of the Babylonian King Belshazzar's reign, Daniel is granted a vision of a ram with two horns (the empires of the Medes and the Persians) and of a male goat "from the west" (Alexander). The male goat easily defeats the ram. But "at the height of its power the great horn was broken" (8:8)--clearly a reference to Alexander's early death. In its place (see 8:8-9) there came up "four prominent horns" (Alexander's successors), and out of them came "another horn, a little one" (Antiochus). As in chapters 2 and 7, the course of world history is portrayed in terms of the four empire" schema. This schema antedated the book of Daniel, a fact supported by the artificiality of its imposition in this book (which has to make the Medes and Persians into two successive and separate empires).

The arrogance of the little horn (Antiochus) reaches its height in his taking away the daily sacrifice from the Jerusalem temple and "overturning the sanctuary." But Antiochus' triumph is only temporary; that is, for 2300 evenings and mornings = 1150 days = 3½ years (see 8:14).

Again the interpretation (8:15-27) generally confirms what is obvious from the vision. There are, however, three elements that contribute to the distinctively apocalyptic approach to suffering. The emphasis on the "end" (8:17, 19) suggests a definitive change in the course of world history. Also there is in 8:23 the idea of the end of the dominion of the four empires as coinciding with the time "when the transgressions have reached their full measure" in the rise of the arrogant King Antiochus. Finally his power will be broken "not by human hands" (8:25); that is, it will be broken by God's hand. The motifs of the end-time, the full measure or quota of transgressions, and divine agency in bringing about the new kingdom become part of the apocalyptic solution to the present sufferings of God's faithful people. The

power and justice of the God of Israel will be made manifest to all creation in God's own time (which is expected to be soon, see 8:14).

Daniel's lament (chap. 9) explains that Israel is suffering as a punishment for its sins. The chapter concludes with a timetable for when the suffering will cease. Whereas the narratives in the first half of the book and the visions in the second half blame the people's distress on the arrogance of foreign kings (all of them pointing toward Antiochus IV), Daniel's lament in 9:4-19 is a communal confession of sins: "we have sinned and done wrong ... we have rebelled ... we have disobeyed his voice ... we have done wickedly." The capture and destruction of Jerusalem in the sixth century (which amounts to recent history in the book's narrative setting) is interpreted (as elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible) as the just punishment for Israel's sins: "because of our sins and the iniquities of our ancestors, Jerusalem and your people have become a disgrace among all our neighbors" (9:16). In the context of the book's composition in the second century B.C. the implication is that the current dire state of Jerusalem and its temple is likewise just punishment for the people's sins. Thus Daniel's lament inserts the law of retribution--present suffering as just punishment for sins--into the framework of the apocalyptic approach. His hope is that God will "let your face shine upon your desolated sanctuary" (9:17). His hope is based not "on the ground of our righteousness, but on the ground of your great mercies" (9:18).

The angel Gabriel assures Daniel that the people will be able "to put an end to sin and to atone for iniquity" (9:24). He goes on to offer a timetable of seventy weeks. After seven weeks (see Jer 25:11; 29:10) the city of Jerusalem will be rebuilt and will remain standing "but in a troubled time" (9:25) for sixty-two weeks--roughly to the time of Antiochus IV. The first half of the one remaining week--roughly the time of the book's composition--will

be dominated by "the desolator" (Antiochus IV), who will set up "an abomination that desolates" (9:27). So the time is short. According to this timetable (see 12:7, 11, 12), Israel will soon have atoned for its sins and the power of the arrogant king will soon be broken. Then the power and justice of the God of Israel will be manifest to all creation.

The third vision (chaps. 10--12) presents a survey of history from the sixth century to around 165 B.C. The first phase concerns the Persian kings, Alexander, the Ptolemies and Seleucids, and the Third Syrian War of 246-241 B.C. The angel narrates these events as the unfolding of the divine plan. However, when he comes to Antiochus III (223-187 B.C.), he emphasizes that king's arrogance and insolence. This judgment prepares for the extended portrait of Antiochus IV in 11:20-39 as one who outdid all his predecessors in arrogance and evildoing.

The description of Antiochus IV's dealings with Judea calls attention to a split among Judeans between those who forsake "the holy covenant" and those who remain faithful to it (11:30; see 1 Macc 1:11-15). While the former will be seduced into participating in "the abomination that makes desolate" (11:31), the "wise" shall stand firm even in the face of suffering. The way of active military resistance advocated by the Maccabees seem to be dismissed as at best "a little help" (11:34). Rather, the positive ideal for the "wise" is patient endurance until God's definitive intervention: "Some of the wise shall fall, so that they may be refined, purified, and cleansed, until the time of the end, for there is still an interval until the time appointed" (11:36).

The arrogance of Antiochus IV is highlighted in 11:36-39: "He shall exalt himself and consider himself greater than any god, and shall speak horrendous things against the God of gods" (11:36). He is accused of religious innovation in promoting the cult of "the god of the fortresses"

(11:38). Nevertheless, his apparent triumph is only temporary--"until the period of wrath is completed" (11:36). Despite appearances, the God of Israel is neither powerless nor unjust. Rather, very soon Antiochus IV will brought down, and the righteous wise will be vindicated (see 12:1-3).

In 11:40-45 the vision proceeds to imagine Antiochus IV as the victim of his own overreaching arrogance: "he shall come to his end, with no one to help him" (11:45; compare 1 Macc 6:12-17; 2 Macc 1:11-17; 9:1-29). The "wise," however, are to be vindicated after "a time of anguish" (12:1) in which Michael shall act as the protector of God's people. Those who have died before the great tribulation will be awakened from the sleep of death, with the righteous wise ones rising "to everlasting life" and the wicked ones "to shame and everlasting contempt" (12:2). The goal and end of this grand vision of history is the vindication of those within Judea who have remained faithful: "Those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of sky, and those who lead many to righteousness, like the stars forever and ever" (12:3). The suffering of God's people is only temporary, and their vindication is very near.

How near? The question "How long?" receives several answers in 12:5-12, each expressing confidence in the imminence of the end and each pushing the precise time further into the future. There are three timetables: "a time, two times, and a half a time" (12:7; see 8:14; 9:26-27) = three and a half years; 1290 days (12:11); and 1335 days (12:12). The book ends with a promise of resurrection and vindication for Daniel himself: "you shall rise for your reward at the end of the days" (12:12).

The third vision affirms the various aspects of the apocalyptic approach to the mystery of suffering: The God of Israel exercises sovereignty over the course of history; the sufferings of the righteous are only temporary; and at

the proper time, God's justice will be made manifest in the punishment of the wicked and the vindication of the righteous who have remained faithful.

The Ideology of Rule

Examination of Daniel 7--12 reveals that the ideology of rule is in fact the theology of rule, which in turn is the theodicy of rule. The ways of God with his people are justified by apocalyptic thinking. Soon God's rule and justice will be manifest, and then the righteous will be vindicated and the wicked will be punished.

It has been said (by S. O'Leary in Arguing the Apocalypse. A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric [New York--Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994]) that apocalyptic thinking concerns three issues: authority, evil, and time. To the question, "who is in charge?" Daniel 7--12 answers that the God of Israel is in charge of all creation and history, and that the dominion of foreign rulers (especially Antiochus IV) is more apparent than real. To the question "Why is there evil now?" Daniel 7--12 answers that the present evil is due in part to the mysterious unfolding of God's plan and in part to Israel's sins (see chap. 9). To the question "What time is it now?" Daniel 7--12 answers that the end of the Seleucid rule is very near as is the powerful and definitive display of God's rule with its dramatic vindication of the righteous among God's people and its confirmation of God's reputation for justice.

Writing as a modern historian of antiquity, Professor Gruen states: "Insofar as Jewish historiography, apocalyptic pronouncements, and wisdom literature reflect the cataclysmic experiences of the 160s, they are not directed against the standard principles, professed or practiced, of the Seleucid monarchy." Of course, the early Jewish apocalyptic mindset of Daniel 7--12 is very different from that of modern historiography. In the apocalyptic

visions, however, there are some indications of what Gruen calls "highly unusual, aberrant, and probably unique" behavior on the part of Antiochus IV (see 7:24; 8:23-24; 9:26-27; 11:36-39). Yet there seems to be an even stronger tendency to portray Antiochus as the climax in a long line of arrogant and cruel foreign rulers, including Alexander the Great. Rather than honoring Alexander, the book of Daniel presents him mainly as the evil root out of which Antiochus IV grew.

Connected by Marriage, Adultery and Violence: The Prophetic Marriage Metaphor in the Book of the Twelve and in the Major Prophets

by Gerlinde Baumann,
Philipps-Universität Marburg

Introduction

The book of the Twelve (XII) is a unique composition in the Old Testament.[1] It is unique in the way that it contains writings which are introduced by different headings and are related to different (although sometimes fictional) persons and periods of Israel's history.[2] The XII probably underwent a long and complex redactional process until it reached the stage we now find in the Hebrew Bible. Diverging opinions are held on how this process worked. It is possible that we can still find traces of the redactional process in the use of catchwords, motifs, themes or traditions. First of all, this can be expected as these books occur side by side, or, as well, in books which form the frame of the XII in its final stage.

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[1] I would like to thank Aaron Schart for his discussion on the subject of this paper. For an overview of current research see, e.g., his articles: Zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Zwölfprophetenbuchs (Verkündigung und Forschung, 43, 1998), pp. 13-33; idem, Redactional Models: Comparisons, Contrasts, Agreements, Disagreements (SBL Seminar Papers, 1998, pp. 893-908).

[2] In this respect, it can only be compared to the book of Psalms and to the book of Proverbs, both of which belong to the "Writings" (כתובים).

I do not want to discuss redactional details of the XII. Rather, I would like to draw attention to a many faceted metaphor with which the XII opens in Hosea 1-3. This metaphor is the prophetic marriage metaphor in which Israel or Zion / Jerusalem is portrayed as YHWH's wife. The prophetic marriage metaphor is not only used in the opening of the XII, but also in the rest of the book and even more elaborately, in the three major prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel). Feminist scholars in particular have examined this metaphor.[3] The theme of this research has been focused on Hosea, Jeremiah and Ezekiel.[4]

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[3] I can only mention a few titles here (in chronological order): T. Drorah Setel, Prophets and Pornography, in: Letty M. Russell (Ed.), Feminist Interpretation of the Bible (New York / Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), pp. 86-95; Phyllis Bird, "To Play the Harlot": An Inquiry into an Old Testament Metaphor, in Peggy L. Day (Ed.), Gender and Difference in Ancient Israel (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), pp. 75-94; the articles in: Carol A. Newsom / Sharon H Ringe (Eds.), The Women's Bible Commentary (Louisville: Westminster / John Knox Press, 1992); Julie Galambush, Jerusalem in the Book of Ezekiel. The City as Yahweh's Wife (SBL Diss. Series, 130, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992); Athalya Brenner / Fokkelien van Dijk-Hemmes, On Gendering Texts. Female and Male Voices in the Hebrew Bible (Biblical Interpretation Series, 1, Leiden: Brill, 1993); Athalya Brenner (Ed.), A Feminist Companion to the Latter Prophets (The Feminist Companion to the Bible, 8, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995); Renita J. Weems, Battered Love. Marriage, Sex, and Violence in the Hebrew Prophets (Overtures to Biblical Theology, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995); Marie-Theres Wacker, Figurationen des Weiblichen im Hosea-Buch (Herders Biblische Studien, 8, Freiburg: Herder, 1996); Elke Seifert, Tochter und Vater im Alten Testament. Eine ideologiegeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Verfügungsgewalt von Vätern über ihre Töchter (Neukirchener Theologische Dissertationen und Habilitationen, 9, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1997); Angela Bauer, Gender in the Book of Jeremiah: A Feminist-Literary Reading (Studies in Biblical Literature, 5, New York / Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1999); the articles in: Luise Schottroff / Marie-Theres Wacker (Eds.), Kompendium Feministische Bibelauslegung (Gütersloh: Christian Kaiser / Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2nd edition, 1999).

[4] In short, one of the concluding questions is if the implications of this metaphor are so disastrous that it should be left aside in preaching and teaching, or if it should only be interpreted by "resisting the metaphors". This means to reading the texts in a

Although I find it urgent and necessary to start with today's hermeneutical questions, I will not consider them in this paper. As previously noted, these questions have been asked and answered by many other scholars. I will now take a different approach, starting with the texts where the prophetic marriage metaphor is used. This includes all the occurrences of the metaphor in the prophetic books.[5] My viewpoint on the XII is therefore a more distanced one. I hope this distance will allow me to contribute some further observations to the discussion which may be helpful with regards to the question of the formation of the XII.

What I would like to discuss in this paper is the following: What does it mean that the XII starts with *female imagery*? I will take a look at the book of Proverbs which serves, in this respect, as comparison (I). To start my observations of the prophetic marriage metaphor, I wish to explain *the metaphor's semantic content*. Which words, motifs and texts are characteristics of this (II)? Since the metaphor is used *differently* in the prophetic books, I would like to point out the parallels and differences between the ways it is used, and offer an initial summary of this theme (III). Finally (IV), is it correct to speak of the prophetic marriage metaphor as a framing metaphor for the XII? If not, what else can we conclude from the use of this metaphor in the XII?

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metaphorical context, but rather as writings about the suffering and pain of the non-metaphorical women, who exist behind the metaphor.

[5] By focusing on the prophetic books in the Hebrew Bible's נביאים, I leave aside two books: One is the – partly prophetic – book of Daniel, which in the Hebrew Bible is part of the "Writings" (כתובים). Also a part of the כתובים is the book of Lamentations, although it is closely related to Jeremiah; the prophetic marriage metaphor is used in Lam 1*.

I. Female Metaphors Used for Framing Other Biblical Books

Metaphors attract our attention on more than just one level. Their appeal to our imagination is stronger than to our intellect. We do not only read and realize them, we are approached with our emotions as well. Sometimes we have to add our own elements to fragmented metaphors or need to complete aspects of a metaphor which has not been fully worked out. We are personally envolved when we read and perceive metaphors. They find their way deeper into our minds than, for example, texts which only offer arguments.

Metaphors, therefore, have been given special functions in Old Testament literature. In the field of wisdom literature, this has been noticed for some time. [6] In the book of Proverbs, female figures function as a framework for the whole book. Furthermore, in the introduction to Proverbs 1-9, the book provides the female Wisdom Figure as a hermeneutical guide. The reader is introduced to the book and its heterogeneous proverbs by Wisdom herself. In Prov 31:10-31, the book closes with another female figure, the "Worthy Woman". In the Siracide, the female Wisdom Figure makes an outstanding contribution in structuring the whole book. She is found not only at the

[6] See, e.g., Claudia V. Camp, Wisdom and the Feminine in the Book of Proverbs (Bible and Literature Series, 11, Decatur: The Almond Press, 1985); Gerlinde Baumann, A Figure with Many Facets: The Literary and Theological Function of Personified Wisdom in Proverbs 1-9, in: Athalya Brenner / Carole Fontaine (Eds.), Wisdom and Psalms (A Feminist Companion to the Bible [Second Series], 2, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998, pp. 44-78), esp. 46-56; and for Sirach: Gerald T. Sheppard, Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct. A Study in the Sapientializing of the Old Testament (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 151, Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980).

beginning (Sir 1) and in the closing chapter (51), but also right in the middle of the book (24).

In this way, metaphors allow us to read these sapiential books – which consist of many single proverbs or sentences – not just as a collection of thematically heterogeneous and diverse material, but as a homogeneous corpus. There is "someone" who introduces us to and guides us through this diverse material.

Like the book of Proverbs, the XII opens with a metaphor: Israel is introduced to us as YHWH's wife. This metaphor is also mentioned in other parts of the XII, but with some changes. Let us keep in mind that it *might* have a hermeneutical function for the book's readers, and take a look back at this theory at the end of this paper. The next step we will take is to see what the prophetic marriage metaphor is and where we can find it.

II. The Prophetic Marriage Metaphor

The word "love" is by no means the term which most of the texts about YHWH's marriage to Israel / Jerusalem have in common. This surprising result can be achieved by searching for texts about YHWH's "wife" in the prophetic books. Far more important as an indicator of the marriage metaphor is the word זנה, "to whore", and its derivatives.[7] זנה can be seen as a kind of "Leitwort" for the prophetic marriage metaphor. Together with זנה, נאף is often used as the term for "committing adultery". Besides זנה and נאף,

[7] For discussion of the meaning of זנה, see e.g. Setel and Bird (see note 3 above).

terms of sexual violence are important indicators for the texts in question. The punishment of the „wife" is often described with words which seem to indicate scenes of sexual violence – at least for today's readers.[8] Her "private parts" (ערבה, מער, נבלת, שׂבל or שׂול) are "uncovered" (גלה), so that everyone can see (ראה) her "shame" or " disgrace" (קלון or חרפה).

Only a few texts give us a "normal" marriage vocabulary. A man[9] "marries" (בעל or just לקח) a woman and is her "husband" (בעל) then, but he can also end the relationship by sending her away (שׁלח) and / or giving to her a "certificate of divorce" (ספר כריתות).

The prophetic marriage metaphor can be found in the following texts: Isa 1:21; 50:1; 54:1-6; 57:6-13; 62:4f; Jer 2:1-3:13; 4*; 13:20-27; (Lam 1*)[10] Ezek 16.23; Hos 2:4-25; 9:1; Mic 1:6f; Zeph 3:14-17. There are also a number of texts which do not use this vocabulary and do not always address the "wife" explicitly, but which also have the prophetic marriage metaphor in the background; these are, e.g., Isa 51:17-52:2; Jer 30f; Mic 1.4.

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[8] This has been pointed out mainly by feminist scholars (see note 3 above). Although I agree with this position concerning readers of the present day, it does not seem clear to me if this was the same with readers in the Ancient Near East (ANE). Both textual and iconographic parallels exist in the ANE, but it has not been confirmed that they were seen as texts or pictures about a certain "abuse" of "sexuality" the way we see it today. What sexuality meant in the ANE, how readers felt about it and responded to such scenes of "sexual violence", is a question still unsolved. Further, biblical narratives about rape or sexual violence (e.g., Judg 19 or 2 Sam 13) use different words than in the punishment scenes in the prophetic marriage metaphor. However, I will refer to such scenes in this paper as scenes of "sexual violence".

[9] It is not mentioned in the Old Testament that a woman marries a man, neither that she has the right to divorce herself from him.

[10] See note 5 above.

One result of the examination of the above mentioned texts is that a kind of "story" of the wife of YHWH can be reconstructed. It consists of five motifs: First, the marriage of YHWH and his "wife" Israel is reported in combination with her "harlotry". Second, YHWH's reaction to her behavior is punishment – often portrayed as a scene of sexual violence – or divorce. Third, YHWH is also married to Zion / Jerusalem (or Judah); like Israel, she also plays the harlot. Fourth, like Israel, Zion / Jerusalem is also punished or divorced by him. And fifth, after some time of punishment or suffering of the "wife", who is now seen as one figure, (Israel / Jerusalem) YHWH forgives and restores her.

In the wider range of the prophetic marriage metaphor, there are also other related motifs which do not refer to a "wife" of YHWH, but rather to female personifications. On one hand, we find the punishment of foreign "women" or "daughters". This is also expressed in the vocabulary of sexual violence (Isa 47; Nah 3:4-7). On the other hand, we find the figure of the "daughter Zion / Jerusalem" or the "daughter of My people", who is not the "wife" of YHWH, but totally dependent on YHWH – like a daughter is dependent on her father (e.g., Jer 4*.6*.8*.9*14*; Zech 2:10-17*; 9:9).

By examining the use of the prophetic marriage metaphor, we can already see which purpose it mainly serves. It characterizes YHWH clinging to the relationship to Israel / Jerusalem in spite of her behavior. In most of the longer texts the metaphor occurs in the context of Israel's or Jerusalem's adultery: "She" has other lovers aside from YHWH, which means that the Israelites worship other gods. The punishment by YHWH is related to the fall of Samaria (722 B.C.) or to the Babylonian exile of the people of Judah /

Jerusalem (586-538 B.C.). Texts which speak about YHWH's repentance or restoration of his "wife" have been written in exilic or postexilic times.

We can now take a look at the Hebrew Bible's four prophetic books and their use of the different elements of the prophetic marriage metaphor.

III. The Image and Story of "YHWH's Wife" in the Different Prophetic Books

There are different versions of the story of YHWH's wife in each of the prophetic books. I will give a short overview of these, following their canonical order (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the XII). The question is to find out if there are significant parallels or differences between the versions, and especially between the XII's version and the others. Can we say with Bosshard-Nepustil[11], for example that the XII's marriage metaphor cannot be fully understood without the knowledge of one (or all?) of the major prophets – which is, in his opinion, Isaiah – or do we have to draw other conclusions from the results?

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[11] Erich Bosshard-Nepustil, Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39 im Zwölfprophetenbuch. Untersuchungen zur literarischen Verbindung von Prophetenbüchern in babylonischer und persischer Zeit (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, 154, Fribourg: Universitätsverlag / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), p. 402: „Die Babel-Red.^{XII} ist von *II Jes abhängig, weil sich mehr als ein Sachverhalt der Babel-Red.^{XII}, dessen Vorkommen und Inhalt aus dem Nahkontext kaum wirklich zu begründen ist, von *II Jes her klärt: Die Thematik Frau Zion/Frau Babel in *Mi, *Nah und *Sach läßt sich aus dem Zwölfprophetenbuch nicht hinreichend plausibel machen, auch wenn בת ציון [עפל] Mi 1,13; 4,8 und Frau Ninive 1,1a-11; 2,2 (etc.) dafür einigen Anhalt bieten. Erst wenn man – literarischen – Einfluß von *II Jes (vgl. Frau Babel/Frau Zion, Jerusalem Jes 47/Jes *49-54) annimmt, wird diese Thematik in *Mi, *Nah und *Sach verständlich."

Isaiah, read in its canonical form, allows us a unique view of YHWH's relationship to his "wife" Jerusalem / Zion. In the first part of the book there are only a few passages where the "woman" is mentioned. In the most probably redactional verse Isa 1:21, Jerusalem is addressed as the "whore", without being introduced or further explained. Isa 22:4 announces the destruction to the "daughter of My people". This figure should be interpreted as being closely related to the "daughter Zion / Jerusalem", who in 37:21-29 mocks at the Assyrians and their king Sanherib. Neither of them belong to the prophetic marriage metaphor, but rather to the wider range of female personifications. The metaphor of the "wife" of YHWH is more elaborate in the Second (Isa 40-55) and Third Isaiah (Isa 56-66). Significantly different from the other prophetic books, we find positive announcements of the "daughter Zion / Jerusalem" in chap. 40; 50-52; 54; 60 and 62. The "woman" or city is to be joyful, because YHWH leads her children back to Israel from the Babylonian exile. In Isa 50:1; 54:1-6, and 62:1-5, "she" is addressed as his "wife". Isa 57:6-13 has a critical tone; it charges the "wife" with adultery "on the mountains" and thereby adopts Deuteronomistic language. In the end, we get the impression that YHWH has forgiven his "wife" – but we have hardly been told her sins. Their marital relationship is reestablished by YHWH's forgiveness, but the danger of adultery remains within the perspective of Third Isaiah.

Jeremiah sets a different accent in his version of the prophetic marriage metaphor. This accent should be seen together with the book's specific use of metaphors: Often "Israel" or the parallel figures change their grammatical gender. In this paragraph I will mainly refer to the *female* Israel or Jerusalem. From the view of Jer 2:1-3:5, in her youth Jerusalem was YHWH's bride. But she acts as a harlot, worshipping other deities, so that

YHWH thinks about divorcing her like he did with Israel after her adultery (3:6-10). The picture of the "first love" and the "harlot" is probably taken from the Hosean tradition.[12] Although the Deuteronomic law does not allow the re-marriage of a divorced couple (Dtn 24,1-4, reconsidered in Jer 3:1), YHWH proclaims his forgiveness to a "faithless Israel" (3:11-13). The "daughter of My people", now to be seen as Jerusalem, is pictured as not willing to change (שוב) her ways. Finally, YHWH's anger culminates in a scene of sexual violence against her in Jer 13:20-27. It is not written whether she survives his attack or not. The textual parallels referring to the fate of the population of Jerusalem (13:24) point to the exile as a picture for destruction and death. Nevertheless, in 22:20-23 Jerusalem is again addressed, and now the destruction of her former lovers is described. In Jer 30f she is restored. In these chapters (which probably were added to the book later) Israel and Juda are seen together (30:3), and restoration is proclaimed to them. The verses 30:12-17 point back to the passages in 13 and 22, but in the end offer the hope of healing and new life. In Jer 31, the "gender-bender" of the metaphorical figures which is typical for Jeremiah occurs again. The "virgin Israel" will be rebuilt (31:4), but Ephraim / Jakob is referred to as a male figure. Restoration is proclaimed not so much to the metaphorical "woman" as to Israel / Juda as a *people*. YHWH wants to be the Israelites' בעל, which can mean "Lord" as well as "husband" (31:31-34). So marriage is no longer

[12] Martin Schulz-Rauch, Hosea und Jeremia. Zur Wirkungsgeschichte des Hoseabuches (Calwer Theologische Monographien, 16 , Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1996): „Man kann Jer 3,20 als direkte Parallele zu Hos 3,1 verstehen, während Jer 3,1 als eine kreative Weiterentwicklung des hoseanischen Vorbildes zu deuten ist ... Die jeremianische Verwendung der Eheanalogie knüpft mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit an hoseanische Vorbilder, insbesondere an den Ehevergleich Hos 3,1 an und entwickelt deren Einsichten weiter." (p. 194) Schulz-Rauch also claims that Jeremiah does not know or cite a – written – "book" of Hosea, but more likely is acquainted with the essence and direction of Hosea's proclamation / preaching (p. 237).

a picture for the relationship of YHWH to his land or a personified people or city, but rather for the relationship to the individual inhabitants of Israel / Jerusalem. In the rest of the book, no further prophetic marriage metaphors are used; but there are several foreign nations referred to as "daughters", on whom judgment is pronounced (Jer 46-51).

Ezekiel has the most elaborate and sophisticated version of the prophetic marriage metaphor in the Old Testament. Strictly speaking, he does not give us one version of it, but two. In Ezek 16, we hear the story of the foundling Jerusalem being adopted by YHWH. This can be seen as another play on Hosea's motif of YHWH's love for Israel in the wilderness, meaning the exodus from Egypt, but now referring to a young girl and not to a mature woman. YHWH adopts her as the child of foreign nations. She matures and he marries her[13] after having given fine garments and jewelry to her. She, in turn, is not at all thankful, but takes on lovers, who are here symbols for foreign nations. YHWH punishes her by means of sexual violence. In Ezek 16:44-52, her sisters are mentioned: Samaria and Sodom also have "played the harlot" on YHWH before, but not as severely as Jerusalem does now. In the end (Ezek 16:53), however, YHWH remembers his covenant with the "women" and commits to changing their destiny. No more punishment is to follow, but the "women" shall be mute because of their shame. Ezek 23 tells a somewhat different story: Right from the beginning there are two sisters: Samaria, called "Ohola", and Jerusalem, called "Oholiba". Even before getting married, they abused their sexual attraction, having relationships with

[13] Feminist scholars have pointed out that this setting resembles the sexual abuse of a daughter by her father; see, e.g., Seifert (pp. 259-263) or van Dijk-Hemmes (in Brenner / van Dijk-Hemmes, pp. 167-176); see note 3 above.

Egypt, Assyria and other "handsome young men".[14] Samaria / Ohola is given the death penalty for her harlotry (23:5-10). Jerusalem / Ohola did even worse; she also took Babylonians as lovers. Her destiny is the same as her sister's (23:22-30). Although both women are dead now according to the text, their and their children's punishment is recounted, now for the purpose of warning all *corporeal* (not metaphorical!) women (23,31-49; esp. 48). At the end of this chapter, there is no restoration proclaimed. Similar to Jer 31:31-34, there will be a new covenant between YHWH and his people and a new heart for them in Ezek 36. Ezek 40-48 then describes restoration for the city of Jerusalem, but not in the image of a woman.[15] As such, there is no salvation of the "wives" of YHWH in the book of Ezekiel – they remain dead.

In the XII, the use of the prophetic marriage metaphor is much more diverse than in the major prophets. The book opens with the parallel between the prophet Hosea's marriage to the "whore" Gomer and YHWH's marriage to Israel. Israel is "whoring" with "Baal", who is now treated like a god.[16] A divorce of YHWH and Israel as the people's mother is proclaimed in Hos 2:4a. Israel is punished, also expressed in a scene of sexual violence (2:12). But afterwards, YHWH tries to win her back, and the relationship is reestablished (2:21f). In 9:1, she is once again called a "whore". In Hos 11,

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[14] Again, feminist critique remarks that this setting can be understood as an allusion to the sexual abuse of girls and also in the line of argument which puts the blame on the victim: The abused girl / daughter is seen as the one who provoked or stimulated sexual acts, and not the adult who should be seen as being responsible for this (see Seifert, pp. 268-272; note 3 above).

[15] I do not agree with Galambush (see note 3 above) who sees female imagery in the versions of the restored temple and land in Ezek 40-48.

[16] In Isa 54:5; 62:4f, בעל points to YHWH as Jerusalem's husband and not to a god like in Hosea.

YHWH's love to Israel is newly described; but Israel now is a male figure. So the writing in its present form ends with the restoration of the male Israel, but YHWH does not forgive his "wife". Amos only mentiones the "virgin Israel" in 5:2, but not as YHWH's "wife"; she has fallen and does not rise again. This refers to the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. and can be seen as an allusion to Hos 2:12 as well.

The next writing in the XII in which prophetic marriage metaphor is used is Micah. Only a passing mention is given to Samaria who is accused of having been a "whore", loving other gods (Mic 1:5-7). She has already been punished. In Mic 1:13, the "daughter Zion" enters the stage of the XII, but she is not yet seen as YHWH's wife. This first occurs in Mic 4 where punishment is announced together with restoration. In Mic 7:8-10, the "woman" lets us know of her plans of revenge against her – female! – enemy. In the present text of the XII, another scene of punishment of a female personification follows: In Nah 3:4-7, Ninive will be punished by means of sexual violence. In this instance, we also find in the XII the kind of language which is otherwise mainly used to describe the punishment of YHWH's "wife". A foreign nation's punishment is described in this way only in Nah 3:4-7 and in Isa 47. At this point in the XII, the suffering and punishment of "women" now is coming to an end. Zeph 3:14-17 tells us about the joy and restoration of the "daughter Zion / Jerusalem". YHWH falls in love with her again, which alludes to her as his "wife". Similarly to Zephania, Zech 2:14 and 9:9 let us know about the joy and restoration of the "daughter Zion". In Zech 5:5-11 there is a negative personification corresponding to this positive female image: The "wickedness" (רִשְׁעָה), personified as the woman in the basket, is transported to Babylonia and therefore no longer lives in Israel / Jerusalem. In Malachi, only the statement

of the enduring love of YHWH to his people remains. At the very beginning of this last writing of the XII, YHWH's love is expressed in plain words (Mal 1,2a). The Israelites' difficulty with loving YHWH, however, is also mentioned. The passage in Mal 2:10-16 about "mixed marriages" is in some ways transparent with regard to YHWH's love and marriage to his "wife" Israel / Jerusalem: It cannot only be read as a parenetic text for the post-exilic community, but also as a statement of YHWH, who did not leave the "wife of the youth". So the motif of YHWH's love is used as a framework around the XII.[17] The objects of his love, however, differ: First it is Israel; in the end she lost YHWH's love. Jerusalem did not behave any better, but her punishment allows restoration later. After the highs and lows of divine love, the Israelites now depicted as individuals are recognized as the objects of YHWH's love – as in chap. 31 of the book of Jeremiah.

In summary, we can see that each of the prophetic books gives us its own version of the prophetic marriage metaphor. None of them, however, really explain its background.[18]

Compared to the use of the prophetic marriage metaphor in Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the XII's use has the widest range of motifs: It contains all the elements mentioned above in paragraph II. Isaiah only tells us about the "daughter Jerusalem / Zion", and mainly about her restoration and her enemy's punishment. Jeremiah speaks about Israel and Judah, and also about the different "daughters", but not as YHWH's "wives". Ezekiel gives a biography of three sisters – Israel / Samaria, Sodom and Jerusalem –, but

[17] This has already been pointed out by John D.W. Watts, A Frame for the Book of the Twelve. Hosea 1-3 and Malachi (SBL Seminar Papers, 1997).

[18] In this point, I disagree with Bosshard-Nepustil's opinion mentioned in note 11 above.

they are not called "daughters", and there is no restoration at the very end of Ezekiel's version. Only in the XII do we come to know the *complete* stories of the female personifications of Israel and Jerusalem / Zion in relation to YHWH: We are first told the whole story of Israel als YHWH's wife beginning with the love in the wilderness (Hos 2:17) and ending with her fall (Am 5:2; Mic 1:6f). Then follows the story of Jerusalem / Zion, personified as the "daughter" (Mic 1.4) and later as YHWH's restored and once more beloved wife (Zeph 3:14-17; Zech 3:14; 9:9). In between the two stories, the motif of the punishment of the foreign "woman" is mentioned (Nah 3:4-7; Zech 5:5-11). In the Hebrew Bible's נביאים, only in the XII do we find *all* the elements of the prophetic marriage metaphor: YHWH's relationship to Israel / Samaria, her "playing the harlot" and her punishment; the "daughter Zion / Jerusalem", suffering; again, Jerusalem / Zion as YHWH's beloved wife as a picture for the restored city. Additionally, we find two motifs from a wider range of female personifications, specifically the punishment of a foreign nation and the "daughter Zion / Jerusalem", in this case not seen as YHWH's wife.

IV. Conclusions and Outlook

I would now like to go back to the questions raised at the beginning of this paper. Does the XII use female imagery as its framework? With regard to the prophetic marriage metaphor which I have examined here, the answer is no. The XII is not *framed* with these kinds of female metaphors, as the book of Proverbs is. The XII opens with the prophetic marriage metaphor, but at its end we do not find the metaphor again.

There are many reasons why the prophetic marriage metaphor does not frame the XII. Unlike the book of Proverbs, the XII does not consist of heterogeneous sentences or proverbs.[19] The individual writings of the XII have been given their own contexts, even if they are fictional. They are related to certain prophets and times, so the need for a framing metaphor of the XII has probably not been as strong as with the book of Proverbs, or it has, at least, been different.

What we can observe at the end of the XII is a kind of allusion to the prophetic marriage metaphor at the book's beginning. As mentioned above, Mal 2:10-16 can be understood this way. The passage refers to the individual Israelite's behaviour as the focus where her or his relationship to YHWH has to be proved. The example given is a marital one – not by chance, I would assume. The language vaguely recalls terms of the prophetic marriage metaphor although this metaphor is not used. There is no framing *metaphor* for the XII as with the book of Proverbs, but there is a framing *theme*: the love of God and the response from the Israelites. Was the prophetic marriage metaphor no longer suitable at the end of the XII? In Malachi, we find admonitions to the Israelites which give us the impression that there are significantly different groups which exist among this people. This would have made a personification with just *one* metaphor or figure inadequate. This could be a reason why the metaphor is not used at the end of the XII.

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[19] In the book of Proverbs, we also find seven headings which contextualize parts of the book and relate it to a more or less known person: Solomon in Prov 1:1; 10:1 and 25:1; "the wise" in 22:17; 24,23; Agur in 30,1 and Lemuel in 31;1. For further study on this matter cf. Gerlinde Baumann, Die Weisheitsgestalt in Proverbien 1-9. Traditions-geschichtliche und theologische Studien (Forschungen zum Alten Testament, 16, Tübingen: Mohr, 1996), pp. 205-207; 260-268; 275-288.

That the XII does not end with this metaphor might have another basis. Given that the readers of the XII expected the metaphor at the beginning of the XII to return at its conclusion, they would have been disappointed. This frustration, however, could lead to further questions: It directs the reader's attention to a significant shift which is made in Israel's prophecy in the late post-exilic period. In short, ethics and the questions of religion in everyday life (e.g., religion, cult, social relations) have become more important. Considering the metaphorical level, YHWH's main relationship is not the one to his "wife" Israel any more. We observe that YHWH has established a new kind of relationship which appears to replace the former one: He addresses the Israelites themselves, the men and women. This assumed shift can also be observed in the major prophets: In Jeremiah and Ezekiel, where we do not find any restoration of YHWH's "wife", there actually is a new relationship between YHWH and the *corporeal* Israelites. In Jeremiah 31:31-33, YHWH promises a new covenant with the Israelites, where he is now seen in the role of their husband. In Ezekiel, YHWH gives a "new heart" to the Israelites (36:26) and establishes a new relationship with them, as there is no healing for his relationship with his former "wives". The Third Isaiah tells us of YHWH's new motherlike relationship to Jerusalem and the Israelites, now being expressed in terms of care and love (Isa 66:13).

Unlike the major prophets, the XII's message of YHWH's love of the Israelites is explained in phrases which are more closely connected to the prophetic marriage metaphor. At the end of the נביאים, in the XII we find a complete "report" on the prophetic marriage metaphor together with its growth into another stage of Israel's belief in YHWH: from God's love of a personification to God's love of individual human beings. Perhaps we can observe this process in the use of the prophetic marriage metaphor in the

XII: It again allows us to let the metaphor pass by in all its forms and with all its changes. And we may see that, at the end of the נביאים where it has continually been used, that it is transformed into a different kind of relationship between YHWH and the members of his people.

THE PLACE AND FUNCTION OF JOEL IN THE BOOK OF THE TWELVE

Marvin A. Sweeney
Claremont School of Theology and
Claremont Graduate University

I

Recent scholarly discussion of the so-called "Minor Prophets" has begun to recognize that these twelve prophetic compositions can no longer be treated exclusively as twelve discrete prophetic works. Their consistent appearance as a single book in all canonical forms of the Jewish and Christian Bibles where they are known respectively as תרי עשר or "Dodekapropheton," as well as in three distinct manuscripts from the Judean wilderness (MurXII; 4QXII[a]; 8HevXIIgr), and finally their collective citation in several apocryphal and pseudepigraphical sources (Sirach 49:10; 4 Ezra 1:39-40; Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah 4:22; Lives of the Prophets) demonstrate that ancient readers from as early as the second century B.C.E. understood them as a single unit or collection. Although the bulk of modern critical treatment of the Twelve Prophets focuses on their interpretation as individual compositions, scholars increasingly address both the literary form and compositional history of the Book of the Twelve as a whole.[1]

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[1]For discussion of the issue, see Karl Budde, "Eine folgenschwere Redaktion des Zwölfprophetenbuchs," ZAW 39 (1921) 218-229; Roland Emerson Wolfe, "The Editing of the Book of the Twelve," ZAW 53 (1935) 90-129; Peter Weimar, "Obadja. Eine redaktionskritische Analyse," BN 27 (1985) 35-99; Erich Bosshard, "Beobachtungen zum Zwölfprophetenbuch," BN 40 (1987) 30-62; Paul R. House, The Unity of the Twelve (JSOTSup 97; BLS 27; Sheffield: Almond, 1990); Erich Bosshard and Reinhold Gregor Kratz, "Maleachi im Zwölfprophetenbuch," BN 52 (1990) 27-46; Odil Hannes Steck, Der Abschluss der Prophetie im alten Testament. Ein Versuch zur Frage der Vorgeschichte des Kanons (BibThSt 17; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1991); Terence Collins, The Mantle of Elijah: The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetical Books (BibSem 20; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993) 59-87; James Nogalski, Literary Precursors to the

Especially noteworthy are the attempts to employ inter-textual references as well as generic and thematic similarities within the Twelve and with Isaiah to reconstruct a multi-staged redactional history of the book. Steck and Bosshard-Nepustil, for example, argue that the Book of the Twelve appears to have been deliberately composed in stages in relation to the basic theological outlook, chronological progression, and compositional history of the book of Isaiah.[2] Nogalski and Schart note the similarities in form and outlook of several sub-collections within the Book of the Twelve, i.e., Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah; Nahum and Habakkuk; and Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, as well as other features of materials within the Twelve, such as the lack of historical specificity in Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah and the numerous inter-textual citations in Joel, particularly of the other books of the Twelve. On this basis, they attempt to reconstruct the redactional development of the Twelve through several stages as the collections are formed and redactionally expanded into the present form of the book. Although the details of their respective models differ, both posit early collections in Hosea/Amos/Micah/Zephaniah; Nahum/Habakkuk; and Haggai/Zechariah that are brought together and organized by a late redaction based upon a collection that includes Joel and Obadiah and other writings, such as Jonah; Zechariah 9-14; and

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Book of the Twelve (BZAW 217; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1993); idem, Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve (BZAW 218; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1993); R. J. Coggins, "The Minor Prophets--One Book or Twelve?" Crossing the Boundaries (BibInt 8; Fest. M. D. Goulder; ed., S. E. Porter, P. Joyce, and D. E. Orton; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994) 57-68; Barry Alan Jones, The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Study of Text and Canon (SBLDS 149; Atlanta: Scholars, 1995); John Barton, "The Canonical Meaning of the Book of the Twelve," After the Exile (Fest. R. Mason; ed., J. Barton and D. J. Reimer; Macon, GA; Mercer University Press, 1996); James W. Watts and Paul R. House, editors, Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts (JSOTSup 235; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996); Erich Bosshard-Nepustil, Rezeptionen von Jesaia 1-39 im Zwölfprophetenbuch (OBO 154; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997); Burkhard M. Zapff, Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Michabuch im Kontext des Dodekapropheton (BZAW 256; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997); Aaron Schart, Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs (BZAW 260; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1998).

[2]Steck, Der Abschluss der Prophetie; Bosshard-Nepustil, Rezeptionen von Jesaia 1-39.

Malachi.[3]

For the most part, these studies presuppose the priority of the Masoretic text, which presents the books of the Twelve according to the order Hosea; Joel; Amos; Obadiah; Jonah; Micah; Nahum; Habakkuk; Zephaniah; Haggai; Zechariah; and Malachi. Other orders are extant, however, such as the LXX (Hosea; Amos; Micah; Joel; Obadiah; Jonah; Nahum; Habakkuk; Zephaniah; Haggai; Zechariah; and Malachi) and 4QXII^{a} (Hosea; Joel; Amos; Obadiah; Micah; Nahum; Habakkuk; Zephaniah; Haggai; Zechariah; Malachi; and Jonah). B. Jones notes that the differing orders of these versions of the individual prophets contained within the Twelve may have some bearing on the compositional history of the book as a whole.[4] Based upon his assessment of the differing orders of books in the MT; LXX; and 4QXII^{a}, he likewise argues that Joel and Obadiah entered the book of the Twelve at a relatively late stage (but prior to Jonah), and play a constitutive role in shaping the final form of the book in all three of these textual versions. He further contends that the original order of books within the Twelve is that of 4QXII^{a}, which is in turn a variation of the LXX. Jones' position is based especially in the observations that Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah appear in different positions within the respective orders of these three versions of the book of the Twelve, that Joel and Obadiah provide little indication of their historical setting, and that Joel contains a large number of intertextual references to other books among the Twelve.

Jones' work in particular points to the need for an assessment of the overall form or arrangement of book in each version of the Book of the Twelve, both as a means to understand the hermeneutical perspective of each and as a basis for reconstructing the compositional history of the book. Indeed, he makes some pertinent observations concerning the overall form of the various versions of the Twelve, particularly when he notes that Joel introduces a concern with foreign nations that is carried through in Obadiah, Jonah, and Nahum in the LXX version of the Twelve, but he does not provide a full analysis of the rationale underlying the sequence of books in any version of the Twelve. The present writer has made a

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[3]Nogalski, Literary Precursors; idem, Redactional Processes; Schart, Entstehung.

[4]Jones, The Formation.

preliminary attempt for the MT and LXX versions of the book in a paper that is not yet published.[5] It argues that the LXX version of the Twelve is based in a concern to demonstrate that the experience of the northern kingdom of Israel in the Assyrian period provides the paradigm for the experience of Jerusalem and Judah in the Babylonian period and beyond. This is evident in the first three books, Hosea, Amos, and Micah, all three of which provide the rationale for the punishment of northern Israel prior to addressing the future of Jerusalem, Judah, and the nations in Micah. Joel then focuses on the fate of Jerusalem in relation to the nations that occupies the attention of the balance of the book. In contrast, the MT introduces Joel immediately after Hosea and places Micah after Jonah so that concern with Jerusalem, Judah, and the nations appears throughout the Twelve. Nevertheless, the paper provides only an overview, and a more detailed analysis is needed.

This paper attempts to meet the need for such detailed analysis in relation to Joel. Clearly, the book of Joel plays a key role in the overall form and compositional history of the Book of the Twelve,[6] but a full assessment of Joel in relation to the overall form of both the LXX and MT versions of the Twelve is necessary. Several aspects require treatment. First is an assessment of the overall form of the book of Joel, including its literary structure and generic characteristics in order to determine its intention as a discrete unit within the Twelve. Second is an assessment of its intertextual relationships, particularly with other books from the Twelve, in order to define its interrelationships with the other individual units that form the Twelve and to determine further its intention. Third is an assessment of the place and function of Joel within the sequence of books in each version of the Twelve in order to determine the distinctive outlook of each. Fourth is a reconstruction of the setting in which each version of the Twelve must have

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[5]Marvin A. Sweeney, "Sequence and Interpretation in the Book of the Twelve," paper presented at the Society of Biblical Literature International Meeting, Lausanne, Switzerland, July 27-30, 1997. A revised version of this paper will appear in a collection of essays on the Book of the Twelve to be edited by James Nogalski.

[6]See James D. Nogalski, "Joel as `Literary Anchor' for the Book of the Twelve," paper presented at the Society of Biblical Literature International Meeting, Lausanne, Switzerland, July 27-30, 1997. This paper was not available to me at the time that I wrote the present essay.

developed and functioned.

II

Scholarly assessment of the overall form and function of the book of Joel has been unduly influenced by concern with establishing the compositional history of the text and the socio-historical setting or settings in which the book or its major components were composed.[7] It has also been heavily influenced by the theological presupposition that authentic prophets must somehow speak a message of judgment against the people of Israel and that messages of restoration or divine favor for Israel must be the work of later priestly or apocalyptic writers who sought to transform the prophetic message of judgment into one of salvation. As a result, scholars have generally followed the early works of Rothstein and Duhm who argued that the key to the structure of the book lies in the distinction between the authentic words of prophetic judgment in Joel 1-2 and later "apocalyptic" additions in Joel 3-4.[8] Indeed, Duhm argues that the shift actually takes place in Joel 2:18, which turns to YHWH's jealousy on behalf of Israel and marks the beginning of the second half of the book. Although many later scholars have argued for the unity of the book on various grounds, particularly in relation to its cultic or liturgical character, the shift from judgment to salvation in Joel 2:18 continues to serve as the basis for claims that Joel comprises two basic structural components, i.e., prophetic or liturgical calls to lamentation and repentance in Joel 1:2-2:17 and apocalyptic oracles predicting salvation in Joel 2:18-4:21.[9] The contention that the book of Joel

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[7]See the overviews of research on Joel in Theodore Hiebert, "Joel, Book of," ABD III 873-880; Rex Mason, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Joel (OT Guides; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), esp. 103-112.

[8]For discussion of Rothstein's position in his 1896 annotated German translation of S. R. Driver's Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, see Mason, Joel 105; B. Duhm, "Anmerkungen zu den Zwölf Propheten," ZAW 31 (1911) 1-43, 81-110, 161-204, esp. 184-188.

[9]E.g., Arvid S. Kapelrud, Joel Studies (UUÅ 4; Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequist; Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1948); Hans Walter Wolff, Joel and Amos (Hermeneia; trans. W. Janzen et al; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 6-12.

is, at least in part, an apocalyptically-oriented composition that looks beyond the concerns of the historical present to posit eschatological salvation has frequently resulted in dismissal of the book's significance.[10] Such an evaluation of the book is no doubt fueled in part by the difficulties in establishing its historical setting.

Nevertheless, there are grounds to question this assessment of the book of Joel as scholars increasingly point to the need for a systematic synchronic analysis of texts as communicative entities which provides the necessary prerequisite for diachronic literary analysis.[11] The standard two-part division of Joel is not based on a full assessment of its synchronic textual linguistic form, including its syntactic and semantic forms of expression; rather, it is based largely upon the book's most basic thematic motifs, i.e., judgment and restoration, which are conveyed by its linguistic form. Indeed, such motifs likely play a role in the so-called "deep" or "conceptual" structure of the book, but they do not define the formal literary structure of the text as presented to the reader. The proposed transition between Joel 2:17 and Joel 2:18, for example, is marked by a waw-consecutive formation, wayĕqannē' yhwh lĕ'arṣô, "and YHWH is jealous for his land," which indicates a syntactical relationship with the preceding material that must be taken into account. Other linguistic features, such as the commands to "hear this, O elders" (šimĕû-zō't hazzĕqēnîm) in Joel 1:2 or to "blow the shofar in Zion" (tiq`û šôpār bĕṣîyôn) in Joel 2:1 and 2:15, indicate an effort to address a listening or reading audience from the outset of the book that must also be considered. Such features point to a need to consider the rhetorical function of this text, i.e., is it designed merely to convey an expectation of salvation in some distant, undefined future that can be safely ignored by its contemporary audience, or is it designed to have an impact on the perspectives of its audience that will prompt them to some sort of decision or

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[10]See, e.g., the assessment of Joel by Wilhelm Rudolph, Joel--Amos--Obadja--Jona (KAT XIII/2; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1971) 24-29.

[11]Rolf Knierim, "Criticism of Literary Features, Form, Tradition, and Redaction," The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters (ed. D. A. Knight and G. M. Tucker; Chico: Scholars Press, 1985) 123-165; Marvin A. Sweeney, "Formation and Form in Prophetic Literature," Old Testament Interpretation: Past Present and Future. Essays in Honor of Gene M. Tucker (ed. J. L. Mays, D. L. Petersen, K. H. Richards; Nashville: Abingdon, 1995) 113-126.

action?[12]

In considering the formal literary structure of the text,[13] the first observation concerns demarcation. The book of Joel is clearly identified within the book of the Twelve by its initial superscription in Joel 1:1, "The word of YHWH which was unto Joel ben Pethuel," which introduces and identifies the following material.[14] No other superscription appears until the following book, Amos 1:1 in the sequence of the MT and Obadiah 1a in the sequence of the LXX. The superscription marks the book of Joel as a discrete unit within the book of the Twelve.

The second observation concerns the generic character and function of the superscription in relation to the rest of the book. The objective third person form of the superscription clearly indicates that the narrator of the book is the speaker, and its reference to the word of YHWH that was unto Joel ben Pethuel clearly indicates that the following material must be identified as that word. At no point in the rest of the book is there a clear indication that the narrator of the book appears once again. Consequently, the superscription is generically distinct from the following material. It stands apart from Joel 1:2-4:21 in that it introduces and identifies that material as the word of YHWH that was unto Joel ben Pethuel. The superscription in Joel 1:1 therefore constitutes the first major structural component of the book, and the word of YHWH that was unto Joel ben Pethuel in Joel 1:2-4:21 then constitutes the second major component.

In assessing the literary structure of Joel 1:2-4:21, it must be observed at the outset that this text is formulated as an imperative address to its audience. This is clear from the initial commands in Joel 1:2, "Hear this, O elders, and give ear, all

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[12]See the recent analysis of Joel by Stephen L. Cook, Prophecy and Apocalypticisim: The Post-Exilic Social Setting (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995) 167-209, who argues that Joel is designed to mobilize the Judean community to support the programs of the Zadokite priesthood.

[13]For full discussion of the formal literary structure of Joel, see my forthcoming commentary, The Book of the Twelve Prophets (Berit Olam: Studies in Hebrew Narrative and Poetry; Collegeville: Liturgical/Michael Glazier).

[14]For discussion of the formal character and role of superscriptions, see Gene M. Tucker, "Prophetic Superscriptions and the Growth of the Canon," Canon and Authority (ed., G. W. Coats and B. O. Long; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 56-70.

inhabitants of the land." This command then introduces statements throughout Joel 1:3-20 that are concerned with a plague of locusts that threaten the land and that identify that threat as a manifestation of the "Day of YHWH" (verse 15). Indeed, a series of imperatives in verses 2, 5, 8, 11, and 13 appear to define the basic literary structure of this text. Joel 1:2-4 introduces the basic premise of the entire passage, i.e., that a plague of locusts threatens the land and that the audience must tell their children and future generations about it. Joel 1:5-7 addresses the audience as drunkards who must weep because an enemy nation has invaded the land and laid waste to vines, fig trees, etc., of the land. Inherent in this section is the metaphorical portrayal of the enemy as locusts who would strip the land bare of its agricultural growth. Joel 1:8-10 calls upon the audience to lament like a young woman who has lost her husband, because this disaster threatens the grain and drink offerings of the Temple and indeed the entire crop of grain, wine, and oil, that support life in the land. Joel 1:11-12 then calls upon the farmers and vintners to wail over the loss of the grain and fruit crops. Finally, Joel 1:13-20 culminates in a call to the priests to declare a fast and solemn assembly in the Temple to mourn and to petition YHWH concerning the disaster that the land has suffered. It is clear that the text presupposes the disaster to have come from YHWH as verses 15-18 identify it as "the Day of YHWH," which brings destruction and famine as food is cut off from the land. Verses 19-20 specify that the fast is designed to appeal to YHWH to put a stop to such suffering. In short, Joel 1:2-20 constitutes a distinct literary sub-unit that must be identified as "a call to communal complaint concerning the threat of the locust plague on the Day of YHWH."

Imperative formulations appear to play key roles in the balance of the book as well. Joel 2:1, "Blow the shofar in Zion, and raise a shout on my holy mountain," introduces a second address that also warns of the coming "Day of YHWH" (verse 1b), but it employs theophanic language to characterize the threat to the land as a military invasion that is led by YHWH. Joel 2:1-14 calls upon the people to return to YHWH (verse 12) so that the threat might cease. It therefore builds upon Joel 1:5-7 that metaphorically compares the locust plague to the invasion of an enemy nation, but it drops the metaphor entirely. The passage therefore presents military invasion as the human counterpart to the locust plague

described in Joel 1:2-20. The structure of the passage appears to be defined by the presence of quotations by YHWH in verses 1a, "blow the shofar in Zion, raise a shout on my holy mountain," and 12-13aα, "`And also now,' utterance of YHWH, `return to me with all your heart and with fasting and with weeping and with mourning, and tear your heart and not your garments,'" which then serve as the basis for the prophet's own statements that build upon YHWH's words. Thus, Joel 2:1-11 constitutes the prophet's theophanic portrayal of the threat against the land posed by YHWH's invading army on the "Day of YHWH." Joel 2:12-14 the comprises the prophet's call to the people to appeal to YHWH for relief, particularly as he reiterates YHWH's own appeal for return in verse 13aβ-b, "and return to YHWH, your G-d, because he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger and full of loyalty, and he relents concerning evil." To a certain extent, Joel 2:1-14 is parallel to Joel 1:2-20 in that it calls upon the audience to appeal to YHWH for deliverance from threat of military invasion on the Day of YHWH. Joel 2:1-14 must therefore be identified as "a call to communal complaint concerning the threat of invasion on the Day of YHWH."

A third major imperative appears in Joel 2:15 that is initially parallel to that in Joel 2:1, "Blow the shofar in Zion, sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly." Verses 15-17 then build upon this command by calling upon the entire people to gather for a cultic assembly in which the priests will appeal to YHWH to spare the people from YHWH's threat. This call culminates in a rhetorical question, "Why should they say among the nations, `Where is their G-d?'" that is obviously designed to provoke YHWH's response. The report of that response begins in Joel 2:18 and continues throughout the balance of the book.

Most interpreters view the structure of this sub-unit quite differently.[15] Joel 2:15-17 is frequently viewed as the conclusion to the previous material because it calls upon the people to gather at the Temple to appeal to YHWH for deliverance, much like Joel 1:19-20 and 2:15-17 that also call for the people to cry out to YHWH. Joel 2:18-4:21, however, focuses specifically on YHWH's response and

[15]For an overview of discussion, see most recently James L. Crenshaw, Joel (AB 24C; New York: Doubleday, 1995) 29-39.

promises to deliver the people. Several factors call for a reconsideration of this view. First, the initial imperatives in Joel 2:15-17, "blow the shofar in Zion," "sanctify a fast," "gather the people," etc., take up not only the initial call of Joel 2:1, "blow the shofar in Zion," but language from Joel 1:2-20 as well, i.e., "hear this, O elders, give ear, all inhabitants of the land" (1:2) and "sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly. Gather the elders and all the inhabitants of the land" (1:14). Joel 2:15-17 does not simply provide a rhetorical inclusio for Joel 2:1-14, but it recapitulates the major concerns of Joel 1:2-20. Second, in recalling elements from the previous units of the book, Joel 2:15-17 does not simply sum up the preceding text, but it also looks forward so that it constitutes an introduction to the following material. It does not call the people together for the purpose of lamentation; that has already been accomplished in Joel 1:2-20 and 2:1-14. Rather, it calls the people together so that they may hear YHWH's answer to their complaint in Joel 2:18-4:21. Whereas Joel 2:1-14 announced the "Day of YHWH" as a day of coming threat to the people, the question posed to YHWH in Joel 2:15-17 points to YHWH's anticipated action to deliver the people from that threat, viz., "spare your people, O YHWH, and do not make your heritage a mockery, a byword among the nations. Why should they say among the nations, `Where is their G-d?'" Furthermore, the beginning of the announcement of YHWH's response in Joel 2:18 is linked syntactically to Joel 2:15-17 by a waw-consecutive formulation, "then YHWH became jealous for his land and had pity on his people. . ." The material beginning in Joel 2:18 is meant to be read together with Joel 2:15-17, whereas the disjunctive imperatives in Joel 2:15-17 indicate that it is the beginning of a new unit. Finally, Joel 2:1-14 concludes with the call to "return" to YHWH and the speculation that YHWH will show mercy for such a request. Joel 2:15-4:21 comprises precisely such an attempt to appeal to YHWH for mercy together with YHWH's answer.

The structure of Joel 2:15-4:21 is defined by the succession of syntactically disjunctive introductory imperatives in Joel 2:15-16, "Blow a shofar in Zion. . ."; 2:21-22, "Do not fear, O land, celebrate and rejoice because YHWH has prepared to act. Do not fear, O beasts of the field, for the pastures of the wilderness are green; for the tree bears its fruit, the fig tree and vine give their yield"; 4:9-11, "Proclaim this among the nations, sanctify/prepare for war, rouse the warriors, . .

." Joel 2:15-20 therefore begins the sub-unit with the prophet's presentation of YHWH's response to the people's appeal for mercy in which YHWH promises to send grain, wine, and oil, and to remove the northern threat against the people, i.e., the army that had threatened them.[16] Joel 2:21-4:8 conveys YHWH's reassurance to restore the natural world of creation and to deliver the nation from its oppressors. Indeed, this passage is tied together by syntactical conjunctives in 3:1 (wĕhāyâ 'aḥărê-kēn, "and it shall come to pass afterwards") and 4:1 (kî hinnēh bayyāmîm hāhēmâ ûbā`ēt hahî' 'ăšer, "for behold, in those days and at that time when . . ."), and specifies that YHWH will restore the fortunes of Judah and Jerusalem (4:1). Finally, Joel 4:9-21 presents the prophet's call to the nations to assemble themselves at the Valley of Jehoshaphat for YHWH's judgment, which in turn will lead to the restoration of fertility in the natural world together with Judah's and Jerusalem's eternal security. Altogether, Joel 2:15-4:21 constitutes "the prophet's announcement of YHWH's response to protect the people from threats."

The structure of the passage may be outlined as follows:

The Book of Joel: YHWH's Response to Judah's Appeals for Relief from Threat — Joel 1:1-4:21

I. Superscription — 1:1

II. Body of Book: YHWH's Response to Judah's Appeals for Relief from Threat — 1:2-4:21

A. Prophet's Call to Communal Complaint concerning the Threat of the Locust Plague — 1:2-20

1. The basic premise: threat posed by locusts — 1:2-4
2. The threat to the grape harvest and wine — 1:5-7
3. The threat to the people of the land and the offerings at the Temple — 1:8-10
4. The threat to the grain crop — 1:11-12
5. Appeal for fasting and mourning on the Day of YHWH — 1:13-20

B. Prophet's Call to Communal Complaint concerning the

[16]For discussion of the significance of YHWH's response to national lament in Joel, see Graham S. Ogden, "Joel 4 and Prophetic Responses to National Laments," JSOT 26 (1983) 97-106.

Threat of Invasion 2:1-14
1. Theophanic portrayal of the threat posed to the land by YHWH's army 2:1-11
2. The call to appeal to YHWH for mercy 2:12-14

C. Prophet's Announcement of YHWH's Response to Protect People from Threats 2:15-4:21
1. Presentation of YHWH's response to the people: deliverance from threat 2:15-20
2. Presentation of YHWH's reassurance to restore creation and deliver the nation from oppressors 2:21-4:8
3. Announcement concerning YHWH's response to protect the people from threats 4:9-21

Several conclusions may be drawn from this analysis of the literary structure and generic characteristics of Joel. First, the book is identified by the superscription as "the word of YHWH that was to Joel ben Pethuel," which lends it a certain truth claim to its status as divine revelation, even if Joel ben Pethuel is otherwise unknown. Second, the body of the book is identified as the prophet's presentation of YHWH's response to Judah's appeals from threat. Insofar as that response promises deliverance for Judah and Jerusalem and punishment of the nations that threaten Jerusalem/Judah, it must be taken as YHWH's pledge to undertake such action. Third, insofar as the response is delivered in relation to the prophet's calls to communal complaint to YHWH concerning the threat, YHWH is also viewed as responsible for bringing or allowing the threats in the first place. In this sense, YHWH is portrayed as exercising absolute control over the fate of Jerusalem, Judah, and the nations. Furthermore, the threat posed against Jerusalem/Judah and its agricultural produce is portrayed simultaneously as the armies of enemy nations and as locusts or sheaves of grain that are cut down. This suggests a certain mythological dimension in the conceptualization of the entire scenario in which events in the human world are also conceived as events in the natural world of creation and in the heavenly realm. The entire scenario is presented in relation to the Day of YHWH, as both a day of threat against Jerusalem/Judah and as a day of

deliverance for Jerusalem/Judah. Insofar as the Day of YHWH is portrayed elsewhere as a cultic event that portends both threat and deliverance for the people, Joel must be considered as an expression of the patterns of thought inherent in the ancient Jerusalemite/Judean cult and liturgy, i.e., threat and deliverance appear successively as a cyclical pattern much like the seasons of the year, and both stem from YHWH. In short, YHWH will take action to remove a threat to Jerusalem in response to the appeals of the people. Such a contention plays a major role in defining Jerusalem's/Judah's expectations of YHWH in time of crisis, i.e., YHWH may bring the crisis, but YHWH has the capacity to end it based upon the repentance and appeal of the people. Finally, Joel presents its scenario of threat and deliverance in anonymous terms; it therefore constitutes a basic pattern of threat and divine response to threat that can be read in relation to any particular historical situation in which the same patterns apply.

III

The second major facet of Joel to be treated is its intertextual relationships, particularly in relation to the other constituent books of the book of the Twelve. Several intertextual relationships require examination.[17] Apart from those pertaining to the book of the Twelve, they include first of all the use of the Exodus tradition, particularly the plagues of locusts in Exodus 10:1-20 and darkness in Exodus 10:21-29. The use of the Exodus tradition includes the Sharav or Hamsin, the dry desert wind that brings the locusts and perhaps the darkness to depict YHWH's defeat of threats against the people (Exodus 10:13, 19; cf. Exodus 14-15; Isaiah 11:11-16). Other traditions employed include the "Day of YHWH" tradition that depicts punishment against Israel's enemies as well as against Israel itself (Isaiah 2; 13; see also Amos 5:18-20; Obadiah; Zephaniah; Zechariah) and 2 Chronicles 20, which portrays King Jehoshaphat's defeat of the nations Ammon, Moab, and Edom that threatened Jerusalem. Intertextual references with the book of the Twelve include

[17]For a full study of the intertextual relationships in Joel, see Siegfried Bergler, Joel als Schriftinterpret (BEATAJ 16; Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1988).

the citation of Amos 1:2 and 9:13 in Joel 4:16, 18; the use of Micah 4:1-5 (cf. Isaiah 2:2-4) in Joel 4:10; and citations from the book of Obadiah that appear throughout Joel 3-4.

The use in Joel of the locust plague from Exodus 10:1-20 has already been noted by scholars. Bergler's recent dissertation studies the extensive intertextual relationships between Joel and the Exodus narrative, including parallels in Joel 1:3; 2:26-27 and Exodus 10:1, 2 concerning YHWH's self-identification and the instruction to the people to tell their children about YHWH's actions; Joel 2:19, 25 and Exodus 10:4 concerning the motif of "sending"; Joel 1:4; 2:25 and Exodus 10:5, 12, 15 concerning the devouring of the remnant or what is left over; Joel 1:2; 2:2 and Exodus 10:6, 14 concerning the threat posed by the locusts to houses that has not been seen since the days of the people's ancestors; Joel 2:20 and Exodus 10:17, 19 concerning YHWH's capacity to remove the threat from the land; and Joel 3:3-4 and the general pattern of signs and wonders in the Exodus.[18] Bergler's examination of these intertextual relationships stresses that Joel creates an Exodus typology in which the specific setting of the locust plague against Egypt in the Exodus account is removed so that the pattern of the locust plague may be applied to situation of threat that is articulated in Joel. It should be noted, however, that Joel does not present a particular situation of threat, i.e., no specific enemy is identified, rendering it impossible to tie Joel's depiction of threat to any specific historical situation or event. The presentation of the threat against Jerusalem and Judah in Joel is almost entirely anonymous. Apparently, this is deliberate in that the creation of such an Exodus typology enables the book of Joel to be read in relation to any threat, whether real or potential, that might be posed against Jerusalem and Judah. In this respect, Joel draws upon past tradition to assert that YHWH has the capacity to bring a threat against Jerusalem and Judah and to deliver Jerusalem and Judah from that threat, just as YHWH did at the time of the Exodus from Egyptian slavery.

It is noteworthy, therefore, that Joel 3:1-5 employs the motif of YHWH's "wind" or "spirit" that will be poured out over all flesh so that all the people, including the slaves and maidservants, will prophecy and Jerusalem and Judah will

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[18]Bergler, Joel als Schriftinterpret 247-294.

be saved. It is not insignificant that this passage follows immediately the reference in Joel 2:27 in which YHWH states, "and you shall know that I am in the midst of Israel; and I am YHWH your G-d and there is no other, and my people shall not be ashamed forever." As noted above, the motif of YHWH's self-identification and the instruction to tell the children constitutes one of the key intertextual connections between Joel and the Exodus narrative of the locust plague. Although many interpreters correctly read the reference to YHWH's pouring out of the divine "spirit" or "wind" (Hebrew, rûaḥ) on the people in relation to the following statements concerning their ability to prophesy (cf. Num 11:16-30; 1 Sam 10:6; 19:20-24), the statement also relates to the Exodus locust narrative in that the locusts are brought upon Egypt by an "east wind" (Exod 10:13) and later removed by a "west wind" that was changed by YHWH (Exod 10:19). The east wind in particular is a frequent motif in the Hebrew Bible that is to be identified with the Sharav (Hebrew) or Hamsin (Arabic), a strong dry desert wind, much like the Santa Ana winds of Southern California, that blow in from the desert at times of seasonal transition in Israel, either from the dry summer to the wet winter in October or from the wet winter to the dry summer in April. These winds can be very destructive as they reach high velocities, and they frequently blow in a great deal of dust and debris that blocks out the sun, thus darkening the land and causing the moon to appear as a deep red or blood-like color as described in Joel 3:3-5. In this respect, the imagery of Joel 3 also relates to that of the plague of darkness as described in Exodus 10:21-29, which is variously understood in relation to a solar eclipse or the Sharav/Hamsin that is common to the region.[19]

The use of the image of the Sharav/Hamsin once again speaks to a concern to portray YHWH's actions of threat and deliverance in relation to the cosmic patterns of nature, i.e., YHWH brings destruction as well as deliverance, and the cyclical nature of such events, i.e., just as YHWH brought about such actions at the time of the Exodus, so YHWH is capable of bringing them about once again. Indeed, the use of the Sharav/Hamsin as a symbol for YHWH's deliverance is

[19]For discussion of the Sharav or Hamsin, see "Israel, Land of (Geographical Survey)," Encyclopaedia Judaica (vol. 9; ed. C. Roth et al; Jerusalem: Keter, corrected edition, n.d.) cols. 189-193.

known in Exodus 14-15 and Isaiah 11:11-16 in which the wind divides the waters of the Red Sea or the river of Egypt, and enables Israel to return from exile in Assyria as well as in Egypt. Joel's images of the portents in heaven and earth, blood, fire, and columns of smoke are also noteworthy in that they combine the images of the natural phenomenon of creation in the Sharav/Hamsin with those of sacrifice at the Temple altar. Indeed, the cyclical pattern of threat and deliverance that is conveyed by the Sharav/Hamsin also appears in Temple sacrifice in which the images of blood, fire, and columns of smoke speak to the act of destruction in the killing and consumption of the sacrificial animal as well as the deliverance or the restoration of cosmic order that such an action embodies. The imagery of the Sharav/Hamsin and the Temple sacrifice are both transformative in that both mark the transition from threat to order or security that underlies the basic pattern of Joel.

Such a concern also underlies the use of the "Day of YHWH" motif in Joel. The "Day of YHWH" is mentioned explicitly in Joel 1:15; 2:1; and 4:14, and it appears to underlie the entire scenario of threat and deliverance in the book. Although the "Day of YHWH" is not well understood in that it is variously identified in relation to the holy war, cultic/Sukkot, royal, or eschatological/apocalyptic traditions,[20] it is clear that "Day of YHWH" elsewhere signifies both a day of threat against Israel and a day of deliverance for Israel from its enemies. Thus, Amos 5:18-20 indicates that the people of Israel might desire the Day of YHWH as a day of light or deliverance, in fact it is to be a day of darkness and threat. Isaiah 2:6-21 portrays it as a day of threat against all the arrogant of the earth or land; Isaiah 13 portrays it as a day in which YHWH's warriors will bring down Babylon; and Isaiah 34 presents it as a day of YHWH's vengeance against the nations, especially Edom. Ezekiel 30 presents it as a day of judgment against Egypt; Obadiah presents it as a day of judgment against Edom; and Zechariah 14 presents it as the day that YHWH will defeat the nations and bring them to Zion to worship YHWH at the festival of Sukkot. Like Amos, Zephaniah portrays it as a day of judgment against those in Jerusalem and Judah and the nations who resist YHWH's sovereignty. As the various images of the day demonstrate, it is present

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[20]See the discussion by K. J. Cathcart, "Day of YHWH," ABD II 84-85.

as a day of cultic sacrifice at the Temple (Zeph 1:7-9; Zech 14:20-21; cf. Isa 34:5-7) in which theophanic images of warfare, darkness, gloom, thick clouds, and shofar blast predominate (Ezek 30:3; Amos 5:18-20; Zeph 1:14-16; cf. Isa 13:10; 34:8-10). Insofar as the "Day of YHWH" motif permeates the entire book of Joel, it appears to define the entire scenario of threat against Jerusalem/Judah by the nations and deliverance from that threat throughout the book of Joel as a whole. Again, the general scenario is anonymous in that it can be applied to various nations.

The motif of the Day of YHWH especially appears to define the use in Joel 4:9-21 of the tradition concerning King Jehoshaphat's defeat of the Moabites, Ammonites, Meunites, and Edomites from 2 Chronicles 20. Scholars have already noted Joel's dependence upon some form of this tradition in that Jehoshaphat's defeat in the Valley of Berachah of the nations that threatened Jerusalem underlies Joel's call to prepare for war against the nations in the "Valley of Jehoshaphat" or the "Valley of Decision."[21] The reason for the use of this particular tradition in Joel is unclear, but it does seem to play on the name of the valley where Jehoshaphat won his victory in that the Valley of Berachah (Hebrew, `emeq bĕrākâ) means "valley of blessing," which of course calls to mind the motif of YHWH's deliverance in a time of threat. More importantly for the present purposes, the text in Joel initially renders the nations anonymous so that the scenario may be applied once again to any situation of threat against Jerusalem. Furthermore, Joel introduces both the motifs of the Day of YHWH and the cosmic transformation of the sun and the moon that darken, in keeping with the previously discussed use of the Sharav/Hamsin from the Exodus plague narratives. Again, the agricultural motifs from the first part of the book of Joel appear as YHWH's deliverance ensures the harvest of grain and wine that were previously threatened by the locusts. By the end of the passage, however, the general threat against the nations that threatened Jerusalem and Judah is directed specifically against Egypt and Edom. The basis for the mention of Egypt is clear since Joel makes such extensive use of the Exodus tradition. The mention of Edom likewise becomes clear when one considers the use of Obadiah, which is formulated as an oracle of judgment against Edom, throughout

[21]E.g., Nogalski, Redactional Processes 30-37.

Joel 3-4.

Indeed, scholars have long noted the extensive allusion to texts from Obadiah in Joel 3-4.[22] The allusions include Joel 3:5 and Obadiah 17-18 concerning the remnant for Jerusalem/Judah in Zion and the lack of one for Esau; Joel 4:17 and Obadiah 17, 11 concerning the foreigners who threaten YHWH's mountain in Zion; Joel 4:3 and Obadiah 11 concerning the lot cast against Jerusalem; Joel 4:3 and Obadiah 16 concerning the nations who drink at Zion; Joel 4:4, 7 and Obadiah 15 concerning recompense for deeds against YHWH/Zion; Joel 4:6 and Obadiah 18 concerning YHWH's speaking; Joel 4:19 and Obadiah 10 concerning Edom's slaughter of Judah or Jacob; Joel 4:9, 11 and Obadiah 1 (cf. Jer 49:14) concerning the call to war; Joel 4:11 and Obadiah 9 concerning warriors; Joel 4:14 and Obadiah 19-20 concerning the sale or exile of Jerusalem/Judah to Greece or Sepharad; and Joel 4:12, 17 and Obadiah 21 concerning YHWH's judgment against Esau and the nations. Based upon his analysis of the allusions to Obadiah in Joel 3-4, Bergler argues that Joel typologizes Edom so that it becomes a representative of the nations at large. This is in contrast to Obadiah, which condemns Edom specifically for wrongs done against Jacob and Jerusalem. He maintains that the typologization of Edom thereby provides the link in Joel between the initial locust plague of the book and its later judgment against the nations. This is apparent especially from Joel 4:19 where Egypt and Edom are placed together and condemned for the violence that they have done against Judah in shedding innocent blood. Clearly, Joel is dependent upon Obadiah, and employs Obadian texts to build its typological portrayal of YHWH's bringing nations against Jerusalem for judgment and then delivering Jerusalem from the threat when the people repent. The use of Obadiah is apparently linked to the use of 2 Chronicles 20 with its portrayal of Jehoshaphat's defeat of the nations, including Edom/Esau, that threatened Jerusalem. Whereas 2 Chronicles 20 depicts the defeat of Edom and the other nations, Obadiah provides a prophet's condemnation of Edom for its crimes against Jerusalem.

The concern with the threat against Jerusalem and YHWH's deliverance of the city from that threat also appears to motivate the use of Amos 1:2 and 9:13 in

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[22]See Bergler, Joel als Schriftinterpret 295-333.

Joel 4:16 and 18 respectively.[23] In portraying YHWH's actions against the nations, Joel 4:16 states, "and YHWH will roar from Zion, and from Jerusalem he will give his voice, and heaven and earth will tremble (wĕrā`āšû)," which draws directly from Amos 1:2, "YHWH will roar from Zion, and from Jerusalem he will give his voice," which appears immediately following the reference to the earthquake (hārā`aš) in Amos 1:1. Likewise in portraying the coming day of YHWH's deliverance, Joel 4:18 states, "and it shall come to pass in that day that the mountains will drip fresh wine, and the hills shall flow with milk," which draws upon the portrayal of Israel's fecundity in Amos 9:13, "and the mountains shall drip fresh wine, and all the hills shall flow (literally, `melt, dissolve') with it." The use of these verses clearly supports Joel's attempt to portray Jerusalem's deliverance from threat by YHWH as well as the overall portrayal of the threat against Jerusalem and its deliverance in cosmic imagery or natural terms. It must also be noted that these verses respectively introduce and conclude the words of Amos as presented in his book so that they encapsulate Amos' message of judgment against various nations and northern Israel and the restoration of Israel under Davidic kingship or Jerusalemite rule as the goal of that punishment. In short, Joel apparently reads Amos as an expression of its own scenario in which Jerusalem is under threat, this time from northern Israel, and YHWH takes action to remove that threat and to restore Jerusalem to its rightful state of existence.

Finally, scholars have also long noted the use of Micah 4:1-5 or Isaiah 2:2-4 in Joel 4:10.[24] As part of the general call to battle against the nations, Joel 4:10 states, "beat your plowshares into swords and your pruning hooks into spears (rĕmāhîm)," whereas Micah 4:3/Isaiah 2:4 state, "and they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears (hănîtōtêhem/hănîtôtêhem) into pruning hooks," as part of the overall scenario of world peace that will ensue when the nations recognize YHWH's sovereignty at Zion. Although the reference to spears differs slightly as hănît may refer to a lighter javelin whereas rōmah may refer to the heavier lance, the passage clearly draws upon some version of the text that appears

[23]Cf. Nogalski, Redactional Processes 42-48.

[24]E.g., Wolff, Joel and Amos 80.

in Micah or Isaiah. It is impossible to determine upon which text it is dependent, or even if it is dependent upon a third text. Nevertheless, it draws its power of expression from the reversal of the motif of world peace depicted in these texts, and thereby serves Joel's agenda of declaring YHWH's judgment against the nations that threaten the security of Jerusalem, the city of peace that stands at the center of the cosmos. Again, no specific nations are singled out, but they are treated as a whole to serve Joel's interests in depicting typologically the resolution of a threat to the cosmos.

IV

Clearly, Joel depends heavily upon other biblical texts, including texts from the Book of the Twelve as well as other biblical writings. Although Joel's use of other biblical texts has implications for establishing the date of Joel, Joel's use of other texts from the Book of the Twelve also has implications for understanding Joel's place or setting within the major versions of the Twelve. Insofar as the Twelve appears with different sequences of books in its MT and LXX versions, the sequence of Joel's appearance in relation to the other books that it cites appears to have some bearing in understanding the arrangement of the Twelve in both versions.

The use of Micah 4:3/Isaiah 2:4 in Joel 4:10 is particularly noteworthy. This citation appears at the outset of the last discrete sub-unit of the book in Joel 4:9-21 in which the prophet calls for the gathering of warriors who will enforce YHWH's judgment against the nations that threaten Jerusalem in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The reversal of this statement makes for a particularly powerful rhetorical impact upon the audience because the Mican/Isaian text was apparently very well known (see Zechariah 8:20-23; Isaiah 37:32/2 Kings 19:31; Isa 51:4, which presuppose the Mican/Isaian oracle) and because it conveyed a very compelling image of peace among the nations that is shattered in Joel. One can account for its function in Joel even if Joel appears prior to Micah in the sequence of the Twelve as is the case in the MT. If Joel is read first, then the reversal of the image actually occurs in Micah 4:1-5 as Joel's image of judgment among the nations is resolved when the nations voluntarily stream to Zion for YHWH's judgment and rework their weapons in the

Mican text. But this sequence does create problems in that Micah defines an ideal situation in the middle of the Twelve that is not resolved until nearly the end of the sequence. Zechariah 8:20-23 portrays the nations grasping onto the garments of Jews in Zechariah 8:20-23 so that they might come to Jerusalem and suffer YHWH's punishment before finally celebrating Sukkot in Zechariah 14. In such a sequence, it is not clear why the judgment should be mentioned near to the outset of the Twelve, only to point to an ideal in the middle of the sequence, and then to return once again to judgment and its resolution near the end of the sequence. The MT order highlights the experience of Jerusalem throughout, but it does not present a smoothly flowing sequence for the definition and realization of Jerusalem's ideal state of being in relation to the nations. The LXX order, which places Micah prior to Joel, appears to make much better sense. Insofar as the LXX sequence of the Twelve treats the experience of northern Israel as a paradigm for that of Jerusalem and Judah, Micah points to the ideal future of Jerusalem as the sequence makes the transition from Israel to Jerusalem. Joel then initiates the scenario of judgment against the nations with a typological portrayal that is specified with successive treatment of Edom (Obadiah), Assyria (Jonah; Nahum), Babylon (Habakkuk), and Jerusalem (Zephaniah) prior to the images of Jerusalem's restoration in the midst of the nations (Haggai; Zechariah) and a concluding book that calls for the realization of this scenario (Malachi). In short, the ideal is defined, and then the process by which that ideal is to be achieved follows in a logical progression.

Similar considerations apply to the citation of Amos 1:2 and 9:13. Once again, the citation of these texts appears in the concluding sub-unit of the book of Joel which portrays the prophet's summons of the warriors to the Valley of Jehoshaphat for YHWH's judgment against the nations. As noted above, these verses appear at the beginning and end of the book of Amos. Amos in turn presents its own scenario of YHWH's judgment against the nations and the northern kingdom of Israel that culminates in the call for the destruction of the Beth El altar and the restoration of Davidic kingship, and thus Jerusalem's central role, over all Israel. In this respect, Amos 1:2 and 9:13 encapsulate the message of the book of Amos as a whole, and thus provide Joel with an abbreviated reference to that message that points to YHWH's capacity for judgment from Zion and the resolution of that

judgment in a restored state of fecundity and order in creation. Naturally, this reference can be lost if Joel appears prior to Amos as it does in the MT. Although this problem might be resolved by the recognition that biblical books are intended to be read and reread,[25] the MT sequence nevertheless creates tension in that the book of Amos addresses a fundamental judgment and transformation of the northern kingdom of Israel which has an impact on Jerusalem, whereas Joel is concerned with Jerusalem and Judah throughout. If Amos is read first, as is the case in the LXX sequence of the book of the Twelve, then the situation of the northern kingdom of Israel is addressed first, with its implications for Jerusalem, and Joel subsequently treats the issue of Jerusalem as a next stage in the sequence. In this case, the citation of Amos 1:2 and 9:13 in Joel provides a cryptic reference to the scenario of judgment that recalls the experience of northern Israel just as Jerusalem and Judah undergo their own experience of judgment and transformation. Once again, the LXX sequence appears to make a great deal of sense whereas the MT sequence appears to create tension.

Finally, the use of Obadian passages in Joel also appears to make greater sense when read in the LXX sequence of the Twelve. As noted above, Obadiah apparently portrays the judgment against Edom as an actual historical situation whereas Joel employs Edom together with Egypt as a typological portrayal of the nations at large. In both the MT and LXX sequences of the Twelve, Joel appears before Obadiah so that in both cases, Joel presents the typology and Obadiah presents the realization of that typology. But Amos appears between Joel and Obadiah in the MT sequence, and this breaks the connection between the two books to a certain extent, i.e., the interrelationship between the two books is somewhat lost due to the appearance of the intervening book of Amos. This is addressed, in part, by the often noted reference to David's or Judah's possession of the remnant of Edom and all the nations in Amos 9:11-12. There are questions as to whether this reading is the result of redactional emendation because the LXX reads Hebrew

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[25]For discussion of the reading and rereading of prophetic books, see the forthcoming commentary on Micah by Ehud Ben Zvi, Micah (FOTL 21; Grand Rapids and Cambridge: William Eerdmans); idem, A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Obadiah (BZAW 242; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996) 3-6.

'ĕdôm, "Edom," as 'ādām or Greek tōn anthrōpōn, "humanity," so that the passage reads as a reference to David's/Judah's possession of the remnant of humanity and all the nations.[26] It is not entirely certain, however, that the LXX reading is original as the recovery of Edom would have been a major issue in Israel and Judah throughout the late-ninth and eighth centuries B.C.E.[27] Apart from this issue, the LXX sequence, which places Joel immediately prior to Obadiah, makes a great deal of sense because the references to Obadiah in Joel are immediately clear to the reader who encounters Obadiah after having just completed Joel. Edom then becomes the first of the nations mentioned in Joel's typological portrayal, and the other nations then follow as indicated earlier.

V

The preceding observations clearly indicate that Joel's place in the LXX sequence of the book of the Twelve provides for a far more logically consistent progression among the individual books that holds out the experience of northern Israel in Hosea, Amos, and Micah as a model or paradigm for that of Jerusalem. In addition, it places books concerned with the nations together as a block in Obadiah (Edom), Jonah (mercy for Assyria), Nahum (fall of Assyria), and Habakkuk (Babylon), prior to returning to concern with Jerusalem's judgment in Zephaniah, its restoration at the center of the nations in Haggai and Zechariah, and the projection that the entire process is about to begin (Malachi). Thus Joel, with its typological concern for the threat posed to Jerusalem by the nations and YHWH's pledge to deliver Jerusalem from that threat, provides an ideal transition between Hosea--Micah and Obadiah--Malachi. In the MT sequence, which focuses on Jerusalem throughout, tension appears among the various books as Joel provides a typological portrayal of

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[26]See the discussion in Nogalski, Literary Precursors 113-116.

[27]See 2 Kings 8:20-22, which notes Edom's revolt against Judah during the reign of Jehoram/Joram. Cf. 2 Kings 10:32-33, which notes the loss of the Trans-Jordan to Israel during the reign of Jehu. 2 Kings 14:25 refers to Jeroboam ben Joash's restoration of Israel and 2 Kings 14:7 refers to Amaziah's defeat of the Edomites, but it is not clear that Edom was ever brought entirely under Israelite/Judean control during this period.

Jerusalem's experience in relation to the nations, but the following sequence only highlights Jerusalem's idealization in the middle (Micah) prior to taking up the issue as to how that ideal will be realized in Zephaniah--Malachi.

This has some bearing on the historical setting in which the two forms of the Book of the Twelve were assembled insofar as they point to two very different concerns. The interest in comparing the experience of northern Israel, with its destruction and exile at the hands of the Assyrian empire in the late-eighth century B.C.E., would have been of paramount concern in the late-monarchic period as well as during the exile and the early-years of the Persian period. During these periods, Judean thinkers were attempting to come to terms with the destruction of the northern kingdom and its implications for Judah and Jerusalem. Such concern was inherent in the attempts by the southern kingdom of Judah to reestablish Davidic rule over the north, perhaps as early as the reigns of Ahaz or Hezekiah and as late as the reigns of Josiah and his successors. With the emergence of Babylon in the late-seventh and early-sixth centuries, concern would shift to understanding the implications of Israel's downfall in relation to the threat posed to Jerusalem and ultimately realized in the Babylonian exile. Certainly the composition of the Deuteronomistic History, with its posited Hezekian and Josianic editions and its final exilic or early post-exilic edition,[28] demonstrates considerable interest in the fate of the northern kingdom of Israel and the implications this had for Judah. In the case of the earlier editions, the presentation of ideal Davidic monarchs would support a program of reunification of all Israel under Davidic rule. In the case of the final edition, it would look toward the restoration of Israel.

Such concerns are also inherent in the early edition of Jeremiah, which apparently is to be identified with the Hebrew Vorlage of the present form of LXXJeremiah.[29] The book begins in chapters 2-3 by articulating the prophet's concern for judgment against Israel and then shifts to treatment of Judah and

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[28]See my forthcoming King Josiah of Judah: The Lost Messiah of Israel (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press) for full discussion of the redaction of the Deuteronomistic History.

[29]See Jack R. Lundbom, "Jeremiah, Book of," ABD III 706-721, esp. 707-708.

Jerusalem in chapters 3-25. Like the LXX form of the Book of the Twelve, LXXJeremiah places the oracles concerning the nations in the middle of the book (LXXJeremiah 25-32) prior to returning to its portrayal of Jerusalem's fall in LXXJeremiah 33-52. Similar patterns that point to a concern with understanding the fall of Israel in relation to Jerusalem's and Judah's experience appear in the book of Isaiah, in both its posited seventh and sixth century editions.[30] In the former instance, Isaiah 5-12 points to the fall of Israel as the impetus to a restored Davidic state prior to turning to the issue of judgment against the nations in Isaiah 13-23 and the judgment and restoration of Jerusalem in Isaiah 28-33. In the latter instance, the patterns of Isaiah 1-39 remain intact, and Isaiah 40-55 first treats the exile of Jacob in chapters 40-48 prior to the restoration of Zion in chapters 49-55. Indeed, the earliest edition of the Book of the Twelve posited by Nogalski and Schart, which includes early forms of Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah, demonstrate a similar concern for the fate of Israel as a model for that of Jerusalem and Judah.[31] Although there are no early manuscripts of the Book of the Twelve that order the books according to their sequence in the LXX, concern with the judgment of Israel as a model for the experience of Jerusalem and Judah would not have been a major issue in the late-Persian, Hellenistic, Hasmonean or Roman periods when Judean attention focused especially on Jerusalem.

The MT sequence of the Book of the Twelve, which focuses especially on Jerusalem throughout, appears to be the product of the later Persian period when concern shifted away from the north to focus especially on Jerusalem. This concern is particularly noticeable in the period of Ezra and Nehemiah when Jerusalem was truly restored as the center of Persian-period Yehud, and various conflicts arose between the Jerusalem-based exiles who returned with these figures and the Persian-appointed authorities in Samaria. The specific concern with Jerusalem is evident in both the books of Ezra-Nehemiah and in the books of Chronicles, which apparently excise materials from the DtrH that are concerned with the north to focus

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[30]See my Isaiah 1-39, with an Introduction to Prophetic Literature (FOTL 16; Grand Rapids and Cambridge: William Eerdmans, 1996).

[31]Nogalski, Redactional Processes 274-280; Schart, Entstehung 156-233.

entirely on Jerusalem and Judah. A similar agenda may be observed in the MT form of the book of Jeremiah, postulated by many to be an expanded and later edition of the book. Jeremiah 2:2, for example, expands this verse to indicate that Jeremiah's initial oracles concerning Israel are addressed to the people of Jerusalem. Likewise, the oracles concerning the nations are placed at the end of the book in chapters 46-51 so that chapters 1-45 are ultimately concerned with Jerusalem and Judah throughout. Even the posited fifth century edition of the book of Isaiah begins and ends in chapters 1 and 56-66 with oracles that take up the fate of Jerusalem.[32] Indeed, the earliest manuscripts of the Book of the Twelve, i.e., the MurXII and 8HevXIIgr, reflect the MT order of the books, but these manuscripts are apparently the products of the Hasmonean period when concern with the restoration of Jerusalem from foreign/Seleucid rule was paramount.

In conclusion, it appears that the book of Joel does indeed play a key role in the Book of the Twelve. Although the book was likely composed in a relatively late period,[33] its typological character, its place, and its function in both the MT and LXX versions of the book apparently defines the overall outlook of each. Joel's typological character and the difficulties in establishing its historical setting make it an eminently mobile text within the sequence of the Twelve, and that mobility enabled it to shape the sequence of the Twelve so that the book of the Twelve as a whole might address two very different hermeneutical agendas that originated ultimately in different historical periods.

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[32]Sweeney, Isaiah 1-39.

[33]Wolff, for example, places the composition of the book in the early-fourth century B.C.E. (Joel and Amos 5); cf. Mason, Joel 113-116, who points to the difficulties in dating the book.

The Perspective of the Nations in the Book of Micah as a "Systematization" of the Nations' Role in Joel, Jonah and Nahum? Reflections on a Context-Oriented Exegesis in the Book of the Twelve[1].

Burkard M.Zapff, University of Freiburg/Breisgau

1 Preliminary hermeneutical reflections on an exegesis of the Dodekapropheton

Anyone is engaged in research of the Book of the Twelve as a whole or some single books of the Dodekapropheton today, cannot do so - corresponding to the present discussion of discipline[2] - without elucidating certain hermeneutical principles.

If one reads a commentary by H.W.Wolff to partical books[3] in the Twelve it is generally noticed that the exegesis is handled nearly with the same criteria as in this commentary series (BKAT) as a book of the so called great prophets - e.g. Ezekiel[4]. Normally, they emphasize questions as to the person of the prophet, the historical background, the message, the literary unity and the history of the origin of the book. In short until the beginning of the 90s - apart from a few exceptions - the single books of the Twelve were considered like other prophetic writings of the OT, without taking the possibility into consideration, that each book perhaps should be read and understood in the context of the other books of the Dodekapropheton[5].

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1 I thank J.Nogalski for the correction of the English translation.

2 To the present discussion of the Dodekapropheton, cf. in particular: J.W.Watts/P.R.House, Forming Prophetic Literature. Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of J.D.W.Watts, JSOTS 235, Sheffield 1996, especially the essays on 86-302; J.Nogalski, Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve, BZAW 217, Berlin/New York 1993; J.Nogalski, Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve, BZAW 218, Berlin/New York 1993; B.A.Jones, The Formation of the Book of the Twelve. A Study in Text and Canon, SBL Dissertations Series 149, Atlanta 1995; B.M.Zapff, Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Michabuch im Kontext des Dodekapropheton, BZAW 256, Berlin/New York 1997, especially 241-247; A.Schart, Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs, BZAW 260, Berlin/New York 1998, with an extensive history of the research (6-21).

3 Cf. e.g. the 4th edition of the commentary to the Book of Hosea, Dodekapropheton 1, Hosea, BK XIV[1], Neukirchen-Vlyun 1990.

4 Cf. W.Zimmerli, Ezechiel 1-24, BK XIII[1], Neukirchen-Vluyn 1979 (2nd edition).

5 Indeed attempts in this direction were undertaken early, but there wasn't a great resonance in discipline, cf. K.Budde, Eine folgenschwere Redaktion des Zwölfprophetenbuches, ZAW 39, 1921, 218-229; R.E.Wolfe, The Editing of the Book of the Twelve, ZAW 53, 1935, 90-123.

The recently often quoted interpretation[6] concerning the sequence of Jonah and Nahum by Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer shows that a context-oriented lecture of the Book of the Twelve is not just a modern desideratum. According to his interpretation the repentance of the inhabitants of Nineveh based on the sermon of Jonah was only temporary, so that in the subsequent Book of Nahum the judgment of Yahweh befell Nineveh justly[7]. Indeed in his commentary on Obdiah and Jonah, H.W.Wolff reflects upon the respective canonical positions - Obadiah would complete Joel 4, whereas Jonah would correspond to the messenger in Obad 1, who was sent among the nations.[8] However, his consideration and interpretation does not extend beyond the boundary of the single book. One could possibly characterize this view as a blindness of the traditional research of the Book of the Twelve, if there weren't some indications, that the previous means of proceeding did have some justification. As E.Ben Zvi has recently emphasized[9] a survey of the individual books of the Twelve shows that - apart from the Book of Jonah - every book of the Dodekapropheton has a heading of its own similar to those of the Book Isaiah or Jeremiah. This diagnosis seems to support the assumption that the books of the Dodekapropheton should be read and interpreted as isolated units. On the other hand a part of the headings in the Book of the Twelves gives the evidence that some books of the Dodekapropheton were handed down at least as a chronologically arranged collection and should be understood in this way. The so-called D-Corpus (cf. A.Schart) composed of the Books Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah[10] belongs to this evidence. Corresponding to the well-founded presumption of A.Schart the common system of headings in Ho 1:1, Amos 1:1, Mic 1:1 and Zeph 1:1 was outlined for a collection of prophetic writings from the first[11]. This suggests the presumption that one also has to reckon with context-oriented revisions within the mentioned books.

The different sequences of the single books present a more serious objection, which seems to argue against a contextual reading of the Book of the

6 Zapff, Studien, 274, N.124; Schart, Entstehung, 27.
7 Cf. L.Ginsberg, The Legends of the Jews, Vol.IV, Philadelphia 1913, 252f.
8 H.W.Wolf, Dodekapropheton 3, Obadja, Jona, BK XIV^3, Neukirchen-Vlyun 1991 (2nd edition), 2.
9 E.Ben Zvi, Twelve Prophetic Books or 'Twelve': A Few Preliminary Considerations, in: JSOTS 235, 125-156, here 137: "The most significant and unequivocal internal evidence, namely that of the titles (incipits) of the prophetic books, set them on the same level with Isaiah or Jeremiah or Ezekiel, namely as separate prophetic books."
10 Schart, Entstehung, 218ff.
11 Schart, Entstehung, 45.

Twelve. One finds varying sequences in the MT, the LXX and a Qumran fragment of the Book of the Twelve - 4QXII[a][12]. This diagnosis seems to confirm the opinion, that there wasn't any obligatory sequence of the books in the Dodekapropheton and that consequently a task of a contextual exegesis is founded on uncertain ground. If one considers however the available evidence of the text more exactly, one will get the following results: 4QXII[a] (circa 150 BC) presents Jonah in final position, whereas 4QXII[g] (circa 50 BC), the Twelve Prophets scroll from the Wadi Nurabba'at (circa 50 BC) and the Greek written manuscript of the Dodekapropheton from Nahal Hever 8Hev XII (circa 50 BC) attest the position of the Book of Jonah corresponding to the sequence of MT before the Book of Micah. In his dissertation B.A.Jones has tried to give reasons for the originality of the sequence of 4 QXII[a] vis-a-vis LXX and MT. There is no space to enter into his argumentation. But if B.A.Jones says that Jonah has another position in each of the transmitted sequences, then a careful consideration turns out that both LXX and MT list the Book of Jonah in the position after Obadiah and before Nahum - though in MT Jonah is separated from Nahum by the Book of Micah. It is not the Book of Jonah but the Book of Micah that appears in a completely different context in both MT and LXX. Therefore one cannot simply say that the Book of Jonah is more loosely integrated in the Dodekapropheton than the other books and draw the conclusion that its position in the Dodekapropheton was determined relatively late[13]. In my opinion one has to oppose the stronger literary and thematic relationship between Jonah and the Books of Joel, Micah and Nahum to the literary relationship between Malachi and Jonah which B.A.Jones quotes (Eliah, positive view of the nations in view of the accusation of Israel because of the profanation of Yahweh's name, Mal 1:11-14). However I will enter into this later. In my opinion there are better reasons for the view that the sequence of 4 QXII[a] is in fact an exception[14], for which O.H.Steck just has quoted some arguments[15].

If one engages now in the remaining sequences of MT and LXX, it will be noticed, that it is possible to limit the problem on the different positions of

[12] For detailed representation, cf. Jones, Formation, 2-42, MT: Hosea-Joel-Amos-Obadiah-Jonah-Micah-Nahum; LXX: Hosea-Amos-Micah-Joel-Obadiah-Jonah-Nahum; 4QXII[a]: Malachi-Jonah.

[13] Jones, Formation, 222.

[14] Cf. Schart, Entstehung, 2.

[15] Cf. O.H.Steck, Mitteilungen: Zur Abfolge Maleachi - Jona in 4 Q76 [4QXII[a]], ZAW 108, 1996, 249-253.

the Book of Joel and Micah. Whereas in my view it is difficult to derive the sequence of MT from the one of LXX the reversed derivation is no problem. Obviously the sequence of LXX on the one hand oriented itself on the criterion of the common heading-system of the D-Corpus, on the other hand on some thematical criteria. On grounds of the heading and size the more appropriate position of the Book of Micah is after the Book of Amos, at which at the same time through the transposition the Book of Jonah comes to stay directly before the Book of Nahum. Because of the theme of Nineveh this seems to be an improvement compared with the sequence of MT. On the basis of the theme of Edom in Joel 4:19 a position of the Book of Joel before the Book of Obadiah also seems to be more appropriate. Therefore it seems that the sequence of MT as the "lectio difficilior" is the original sequence, since it is more difficult to explain the subsequent transposition of the Book of Micah from a former position between Amos and Joel in LXX to a later position between Jonah and Nahum in MT[16].

Even if one presumes that the sequence of MT is original when compared with LXX and 4QXII[a], one still has not explained wether or not one should understand the books of the Twelve solely as single and isolated units. It is quite imagineable, that only chronological and thematical criteria were responsible for the sequence of the books. For example H.W.Wolff tries to explain the position of the Book of Jonah before Micah. In relationship to 2Kgs 14:23-25 during the time of king Jerobeam II. there lived a prophet named Jona ben Amittai. This king is mentioned in the heading of Hosea and Amos as a contemporary of the king Uzziah of Judah. As successors of Uzziah the heading in Ho 1:1 mentions the kings of Judah Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah. Only these two last mentioned kings are found in the heading of the Book of Micah Mic 1:1, so that it is logical to conclude that Micah prophesized *after* Jonah[17]. B.A.Jones tries to explain the secondary sequence - in his view - of Jonah and Micah in MT with the similar career and message of both prophets: "(they) confronted a nation (Judah/Nineveh) with words of doom (Mic 3:12/Jon 3:4) that provokes the response of the king (Hezekiah/ king of Nineveh) and led to change of heart on the part of both the nation and the deity (Jer 26:19/ Jon 3:10)."[18]

16 So Jones, Formation, 232, is forced to admit: "The relationship between Jonah and its context in MT Book of the Twelve is less easily explained than the contexts of the Book of Joel and Obadiah."

17 Wolff, BK XIV[3], 53.

18 Jones, Formation, 233.

If one postulates a contextual reading of the Book of the Twelve there must be some book-internal criteria, which point to a deliberate connection of the single books. On principle there are two possibilities: an originally independent book was rewritten by a redactional process to be read as a part of a greater collection of prophetic books, or a book was specially written for this collection.

I don't want to deny the possibility of a circular logic, though not with the necessity recently stressed by E.Ben Zvi. In the context of the catchword-phenomenon between the opening- and closing-chapter of the books of the Dodekapropheton described by J.Nogalski E.Ben Zvi argues, that the assumption of the unity of the Twelve already underlies these observations, which should prove the unity of the Book of the Twelve[19]. With regard to the sequence of the books this could mean, that on the one hand I will find texts in the Book of Micah which I could interpret in respect to the MT-sequence Jonah-Micah-Nahum and on the other hand I prove with these texts a contextual reading of these books. But the problem is not solved if one simply does without contextual exegesis, for behind this renunciation there is a presupposition too, namely that every book of the Dodekapropheton arose independent of its context and therefore has to be understood irrespective of its context. Now this could mean that one doesn't understand some texts properly, since one doesn't see the whole coherence, which should be arranged by them. Therefore the return to a traditional single-book-oriented exegesis is not a solution. As a method to avoid the two described problems, the following proceeding is commendable. First a book oriented exegesis is to be carried through with the traditional methods of the literary- and redactional criticism. Based on these results one has to ask the question, whether there are thematical or literary phenomena which could serve as evidence for a context-oriented redactional revision. From there, one must once again ask what role this book as a whole plays. Or, one must ask what role this book plays based on the character given to it by redactional revisions in the context of the Dodekapropheton. This should ever be done in diachronic perspective, i.e. in the hypothetical history of the origin of the Book of the Twelve.

[19] Ben Zvi, JSOTS, 142, in respect to the catchword-phenomenon in the Book of the Twelve: "This discussion above strongly suggests that, rather than providing the unity of the Twelve, these observations and especially any interpretation of them that points to a unified understanding of the Twelve are based on a pre-ordinate conception of the unity of the Twelve. As such, these considerations fall under the category of 'providing what was already assumed, that is circular thinking."

Proceeding from the literary layers in the Book of Amos in his thesis to the origin of the Dodekapropheton quoted above A.Schart already has shown how effectively this method works.
I tested this method in a more limited way in respect to the "Redaktionsgeschichte" of the Book of Micah. In the following discussion I will refer to the result of both works several times.
The first extensive paper, which deals with the origin of the Book of the Twelve and that not only in the sense of a collection of former independent prophetical books, is the work of J.Nogalski, published in two volumes, in the year 1993. Proceeding from the striking phenomenon of the catchword-connections between the opening- and closing-chapters of the books of the Twelve Nogalski develops a theory about the redactional processes in the Dodekapropheton.
Some observations of J.Nogalski and his conclusion should be discussed, but with regard to the MT sequence Jonah-Micah-Nahum in question the thesis of J.Nogalski is important as far as he can make it sufficiently probable, that the sequence of LXX is secondary vis-a-vis that of MT. For J.Nogalski shows that there are strong thematical and lingual connections on the one hand between Joel and Amos[20] and on the other hand between Amos 9 and Obd 1-9[21]. Therewith one has an indirect confirmation for the position of the Book of Micah, not after the Book of Amos as in LXX, but corresponding to MT between Nahum and Jonah.

2 The Book of Jonah in the Twelve - Intertextuality between Jonah, Joel and Nahum

Among the numerous problems of the Book of Jonah, which are discussed in the discipline today[22], the question of the relationship between the Book of Jonah and the Dodekapropheton seems in my opinion to be of particular importance.

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[20] Nogalski, Processes, 42-48; Schart, Entstehung, 262f.
[21] Nogalski, Processes, 61-74; Schart, Entstehung, 271f.
[22] For the actual discussion, cf. E.Zenger, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, 399-405, Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln 1995 with literature; for a survey cf. Zapff, Studien, 252-255.

Based on the characterization of the Book Jonah as a satire[23] one normally concludes that it was inserted in the Book of the Twelve subsequently[24]. On the other hand there are some hints, which make one suppose, that the Book of Jonah implies its present context: a fact which needs to be explained.

Indeed there are no traces of a redactional revision of the Book of Jonah - perhaps apart from the disputed psalm in Jon 2:3-10[25] - but this observation is not absolutely crucial for the question, whether or how the Book of Jonah is connected with its context. It is conceivable, that the Book of Jonah was composed from the first for its present context and its context - especially the Books of Micah and Nahum - was redactionally revised during this process. A striking evidence for a contextual orientation is the fact that the Book of Jonah, in contrast to the other books of the Twelve, hasn't a heading. It starts with the sentence: ויהי דבר יהוה אל יונה בן אמתי לאמר. Normally this fact is interpreted to the effect, that the Book of Jonah was inserted after Obadiah, since it was considered as a continuation of Obad 1, where a messenger was sent to the nations[26]. Moreover after the destruction of Edom, it is suggested that one turn to the more powerful enemy Nineveh. As mentioned for the position of the Book of Jonah between Obadiah and Micah the name Jonah ben Amittai is held especially responsible. However the question is seldom asked, what the reason of such an idea could be. The etymological interpretation of H.W.Wolff Jonah = pigeon as a characterization of the prophet in his inconstancy ("nach Ninive soll er, nach Tarschisch will er")[27] is ingenious no doubt, but doesn't explain the identification with Jonah *ben Amittai*[28]. Isn't it conceivable, that it is a question of a deliberate fiction, since the Book of Jonah was composed for its position between Micah and the complex of Hosea-Joel-Amos-Obadiah from the first, so that choosing the name

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23 Cf. Wolff, BK XIV^3, 62-64; F.W.Golka, Jona, Calwer Bibelkommentare, Stuttgart 1991; J.Magonet, Form and Meaning. Studies in literary Techniques in the Book of Jonah, Sheffield 1983 (2nd edition, reprint).

24 This is as far as I can see the *consensus communis* in the discipline, cf. Schart, Entstehung, 289.

25 Recently Golka advocates for the originality of the psalm, Jona, 72; K.M.Craig, A poetic of Jonah, Columbia 1993, and Th.Lescow, Die Komposition des Buches Jona, BN 65, 1992, 29-34; grave counter-arguments one finds in Wolff, BK XIV^3, 104ff. and Nogalski, Processes, 254.

26 Cf. Schart, Entstehung, 290

27 Wolff, BK XIV^3, 76

28 Wolff, BK XIV^3, 76, means, that the author intended to choose a prophet of salvation from the 8th century of whom only little is known.

"Jonah ben Amittai" as a prophet of the 8th. century B.C. was suggested because of the chronological schema?

But first of all these are suppositions. Much more important are the observations of A.Schart, who has pointed to some relations between the Book of Jonah and the Book of Joel[29]. For example there is the correspondence between Jonah 3:9 and Joel 2:14: מי יודע ישוב ונחם "who knows perhaps he turns back, and he repents of it?" In the Book of Joel this sentence is found in the mouth of the prophet, who calls his people to repentance, whereas in the Book of Jonah the king of Nineveh speaks these words. Likewise the correspondence between Joel 2:13 and Jonah 4:3 based on the grace-formula of Ex 34:6 is impressing[30]. On the one hand, it functions as a reason, to motivate Israel to return to Yahweh, while on the other hand it functions as a reproach to Yahweh because of his patience with Nineveh put in the mouth of Jonah with satirical intention. The fact that both equivalents are put close to each other in the respective books shows that it couldn't be an accident. The strong connection of these verses to the context of the two books dissuades the presumption of a subsequent redactional revision of the Book of Jonah in respect to the Book of Joel or vice versa. The aim of the Book of Jonah in respect to the Book of Joel is - so A.Schart - to criticize satirically its position of a nationalistic-particularistic isolation[31]. Besides this verbal connections, other connections between the Book of Jonah and the Book of Nahum are remarkable. As to the Book of Nahum, I have to restrict myself to the question of possible intertextuality. I presume the consensus communis of the discipline, that the Book of Nahum arose between 664 and 614 BC[32]. During its insertion in the arising Book of the Twelve it was probably enlarged by the semi-acrostic psalm in Nah 1:2-8 to put it in connection with Ho 4:3, Amos 1:2, and Mic 1:3 by the theophany of Yahweh[33]. In any case one can reasonably assume that the Book of Jonah already presupposes the Book of Nahum. Beside the common theme "Nineveh" - in the Book of Jonah with

29 Schart, Entstehung, 287f.

30 For the usage of this formula in the final form of the Twelve cf. R.C. van Leeuwen, Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy in the Book of the Twelve, in: The Search of Wisdom, Westminster 1993, 31-49, here 33: "Exodus 34,6-7, in the final form of the Twelve, is used as the redactors' crucial commentary on the bitter eight-century prophets, Hosea, Amos, and Micah, thus combining judgment with theodicy and hope for the future."

31 Cf. Schart, Entstehung, 289.

32 For the current results of discipline cf. E.Zenger, Einleitung, 411-414; Zapff, Studien, 256-259 with literature.

33 So Nogalski, Processes, 115; Schart, Entstehung, 246.

the perspective of repentance, in the Book of Nahum with the perspective of total judgment - it is striking, that both books end with a question[34]. In the Book of Jonah: "Shouldn't I be in mourning for Nineveh?" on the contrary in the Book of Nahum: "Whom didn't your wickedness strike continually?" In Jonah 4:11, the mercy of YHWH concerning Nineveh is contrasted with the wickedness of Nineveh that overtook everyone על נינוה. Particularly striking however is the redactional insertion in the semiacrostic psalm Nah 1:2f., which extends the line א vis-a-vis the following lines disproportionately. It seems that the redactional insertion is found in VV 2b.3a[35]. These verses further illustrate the characterization of Yahweh by the application of the catchword נקם. With reference to the grace-formula in Ex 34:6 (ארך אפים) and Ex 34:7 (ונקה לא ינקה) it is made clear, that the opponents of Yahweh - Nineveh - should not expect mercy. Rather, they hould only expect total judgment. Vis-a-vis the reception of Ex 34:6 in the Book of Joel and Jonah Nahum not only changes רב חסד in גדול כח, which originates from the context of Exodus (cf. Ex 32:11; Deut 4:37; 9:29; 2 Kgs 17:36), but also includes Ex 34:7 in its argumentation, which announces the certain punishment of evil until the third generation of the sinners[36]. If one orients oneself on the rule in my opinion correctly stated by A.Schart, that the Book of the Twelve has to be read corresponding to the sequence of the single books[37], then the view of this redactional insertion the Book of Nahum should be understood as a correction of the perspective of the Book of Jonah[38], however without canceling its validity. For the restriction of the judgment only to opponents and enemies of Yahweh by the redactional insertion in Nah 1:2 with reference to Ex 34:6f. shows that here a universal undiscriminating judgment in the sense of Joel 4 is no longer at stake.

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34 Cf. T.F.Glasson, The Final Question - In Nahum and Jonah, Expository Times 81, 1969/70, 54f.

35 Nogalski, Processes, 106f.

36 Van Leeuwen, Wisdom, 49: "By using the full, bipolar contrast of mercy and justice from Exod 34:6-7, the redactor affirms, on the one hand, that YHWH is free to exercise his forgiveness and mercy toward *any* who repent, and, on the other, that he will not be held forever hostage to the evil of the wicked."

37 Schart, Entstehung, 26: "Ein Text muß sukzessive, von vorne nach hinten fortschreitend gelesen werden" und "Gilt diese Leserichtung 'von vorne sukzessiv nach hinten' für die einzelnen Prophetenschriften, so sollte das auch für das Zwölfprophetenbuch gelten, insbesondere deshalb, weil die Überschriften dem ganzen ein narratives Grundgerüst geben."

38 Cf. D.L.Christensen, The Book of Nahum: A History of Interpretation, in: JSOT 235, 187-194, here 187f.

If the Book of Jonah is a correction of the perspective of the Book of Joel (especially Joel 4:9-14) also extending the mercy and pardon of Yahweh to the city of Nineveh who functions as a symbol of the anti-Israel-nations, then the redactional revision of the semiacrostic psalm in the Book of Nahum responds to the view of the Book of Jonah by restricting the judgment to the enemies of Yahweh, among whom in distinction to the Book of Jonah however Nineveh is reckoned again.

How should these observations be interpreted with regard to the "Redaktionsgeschichte"? This question is not easy to answer. The correspondences between the Book of Jonah on the one side and the Books of Joel and Nahum on the other side suggest, that the Book of Jonah was deliberately composed for the Book of the Twelve[39]. But can one imagine, that the Book of Jonah was intentionaly composed on the background of the following Book of Nahum, so that the message of the Book of Jonah composed in satirical manner is immediately depreciated by the Book of Nahum and that the prophet Jonah, who announced the destruction of Nineveh maintains his point ultimately?

Therefore in my opinion one has to distinguish between the origin of the Book of Jonah and its insertion in the Book of the Twelve. I suppose that the latter is also responsible for the redactional insertion in Nah 1:2b.3a to explain why the judgment came over Nineveh not in spite of, but because of Ex 34:6f.

What function in this threefold-connection Joel-Jonah-Nahum does now have the Book of Micah, since Micah stands between Jonah and Nahum corresponding to the sequence of MT?

3 The Position of the Book of Micah in the Dodekapropheton

3.1 The Structure and the Message of the Book of Micah

One of the great problems of the research in the Book of Micah is the correct description of the structure of the book[40]. The proposed alternatives orient themselves partly on criteria of content and partly on criteria of the form. In this respect the call to hear plays a key-function: cf. Mic 1:2; 3:1 and 6:1, respectively the inclusion between Mic 1:2 and 5:14 שמעו

[39] So e.g. van Leeuwen, Wisdom, 44.
[40] For a detailed description of the alternatives cf. Zapff, Studien, 7-9.

הגוים אשר לא שמעו /עמים. A decision between these two depends upon where one places the emphasis. For example, J.T.Willis[41] advocates a three-fold structure but neglects the inclusio between Mic 1:2 and 5:14, on the other hand, J.Mays[42] advocates a two-fold structure, but neglects the call to hear (1:2; 3:1; 6:1) in favor of his model.

In my opinion one has to solve the problem diachronically. Accordingly, the structures in the book of Micah are superimposed upon another, with the two-fold structure being newer than the three-fold structure.

The most important argument for this assertion is, that in Mic 4/5 and 7 throughout one finds the latest texts of the Book[43], whereas the texts in Mic 1-3 and Mic 6 which are arranged by the calls to hear in Mic 3:1 and 6:1 (perhaps in Mic 1:2) number among the older core of a deuteronomistic version of the Book of Micah[44]. According to my research the two-fold structure is a product of a redactional rewriting, which revises an already existing Book of Micah[45]. It expresses itself in Mic 4/5 as a redactional revision, arranging a preexisting text with several redactional insertions and supplements. In Mic 7 it is seen on the contrary as an extensive "Fortschreibung" (Mic 7:4b.7-20). The resulting first cycle in Mic 1:2-5:14 thereby presents a sequence of judgment and salvation, which has as subjects not only the reconstruction of Zion, but also the inclusion of the nations in the salvation of Yahweh. The latter theme is extensively unfolded in Mic 4/5, which is very difficult for a diachronical analysis. Unlike A.Schart I think that in Mic 4/5 it is not the question of a documentation of contradicting theological positions[46]. If one pays attention to the redactionally placed textmarkers: עתה(ו) "(and) now", respectively "but now" (Mic 4:9.11.14) on the one hand and והיה (Mic 5:6.9), respectively והיה באחרית הימים (Mic 4:1) or ביום ההוא (Mic 4:6) on the other hand, which one can also find in Mic 7:4b.10 עתה - distress of Zion - and 7:11.12, there יום, respectively יום הוא - deliverance and reconstruction of Zion -, a structure will arise, which reminds one of the sequence of

41 J.T.Willis, The Structure, Setting and Interrelationship of the Pericopes in the Book of Micah, Diss. Abstracts 22, Vanderbilt Univ. 1966, 12.
42 J.L.Mays, Micah. A Commentary, Philadelphia 1976, 6; recently G.Metzner, Kompositionsgeschichte des Michabuches, Frankfurt a.o. 1998, 58.
43 For Mic 7:8-20 cf. recently Metzner, Kompositionsgeschichte, 163: "hellenistische Zeit".
44 Cf. Schart, Entstehung, 191-204, who numbers Mic 1-3*,6 to this dtr. Book of Micah, so also Nogalski
45 Cf. Zapff, Studien, 237-240.
46 Cf. Schart, Entstehung, 275f.

Zech 14[47], an observation which B.Renaud already made in the seventies regarding Mic 4/5.[48] Because of the sins of Israel the nations march against Zion which is devastated and humiliated (cf. Mic 1-3; 4:10f.14; respectively Mic 6:1-16; 7:1-7, especially 4b). But with the punishment of Zion Yahweh rises at the same time against the nations and destroys them (Mic 4:11-13; respectively Mic 7:10). The destruction has the consequence of the return home of the dispersed persons of Israel (Mic 4:6f.; Mic 7:11), which entails the pilgrimage of the nations to Mount Zion (Mic 4:1-3 respectively Mic 7:12.16f.). This brings about an acknowledgment of Yahweh by the nations. The nations however, who still show themselves hostile will be destroyed ultimately (Mic 5:7-14: respectively Mic 7:13). The quoted passages show that there are close thematical connections between Mic 4/5 and 7[49]. This argues for the assumption that the author of the "Fortschreibung" in Mic 7:4b.8-20 was the same as the redactor of the described shape of Mic 4/5.

In so doing, the two cycles do not merely narrate the same thing in diverse ways. Whereas in cycle A, Mic 1:2-5:14, the sequence of judgment and salvation is well to the fore (judgment over Israel - judgment over the nations, who march against the Zion - peaceful pilgrimage of the nations to Zion - final judgment over the nations, who do not obey), in cycle B (Mic 6:1-7:20) the question is well to the fore, how the distressed Zion can experience the world-changing power of Yahweh by the reception of the divine word and thus receive revival and forgiveness of its sins.

With that, a connection is formed to Mic 1:1-7, where the theme of guilt is already mentioned as a reason of the judgment of Yahweh[50].

3.2 The Relation of the Perspective of the Nations in the Book of Micah to the Books of Jonah, Joel and Nahum

If one considers this Zech 14-oriented-structure of the perspective of the nations in the Book of Micah with regard to the position of Micah between Jonah and Nahum the assumption will arise, that this is not an accident. Rather, strictly speaking the sequence of the different perspectives of the

47 Cf. Zapff, Studien, 124ff.
48 B.Renaud, La formation du livre de Michée. Tradition et Actualisation, EtB, Paris 1977, 26
49 In detail cf. Zapff, Studien, 231ff.
50 Cf. Zapff, Studien, 237ff.

nations is reflected in the Books of Joel, Jonah, and Nahum. The judgment of the nations in front of Mount Zion in the Book of Joel would find its equivalent in Mic 4:11-14, respectively 7:10. The prospect of the possibility of the repentance of the nations and of the readiness of Yahweh for forgiveness offered in the Book of Jonah would have its equivalent in the pilgrimage of the nations to Mount Zion 4:1-3 respectively Mic 7:12. One has to search the final judgment for all the nations, who "do not obey", i.e. who don't go on pilgrimage (Mic 5:14; 7:13) in Nah 1, where a distinction is made between the "enemies of Yahweh" (Nah 1:2b) and "those who take their refuge to Yahweh" (Nah 1:7).

The perspective of the nations in this view would be a kind of systematization of the different view of the nations in Joel, Jonah and Nahum. Since the three books have been dated differently according to the discipline, one has to reckon with a redactional "Fortschreibung", before which these three books existed already in the sequence testified by MT, respectively which inserted the Book of Jonah in the Book of the Twelve. The similarity with Zech 14 could point to a relatively late dating of this redactional layer, which would correspond well with the likewise late dating of Joel, Jonah and Nahum. So we would already have a logical total draft of the different perspectives of the nations in the Dodekapropheton before Zech 14[51], namely in the center of the Book of the Twelve, where the question arises how one can bridge the almost unbridgeable contrast between Jonah and Nahum and between Joel and Jonah too.

The crucial question for the verification of this hypothesis is, whether one can find redactionally conditioned connections between the layer of the "Fortschreibung" in the Book of Micah and the other three Books of Joel, Jonah and Nahum.

3.3 The Connection between the Book of Nahum and the Book of Micah

It is the merit of J.Nogalski, who has pointed to the striking connections between the semiacrostic psalm in Nah 1:2-8 and Mic 7[52]. Hence - so J.Nogalski - with regard to Mic 7 Nah 1 was revised and connected with this chapter through catchwords, whereby the semiacrostic schema was

51 Against Schart, Entstehung, 275ff.
52 Nogalski, Precursors, 103ff.

partly destroyed[53]: thus in line ד, ז, י and through the already mentioned insertion in V 2b.3a. Whereas J.Nogalski thinks, that this revision has been undertaken based on the already existing chapter 7 of the Book of Micah[54], one has in my opinion to consider this revision of the semiacrostic psalm in connection with the insertion of Mic 7:4b.8-20 as a redactional "Fortschreibung" of the Book of Micah. It is possible to show, that there exist catchword-connections between Mic 7 and the psalm of Nahum, which on the one hand are constitutive for the acrostic schema and on the other hand relate to verses of the semiacrostic psalm, where one cannot observe a subsequent revision[55]. Moreover Mic 7 anticipates the theme of Nineveh in Nah 1 through the humiliation of "the (female) enemy" of Zion. This redactional connection between Mic 7 and Nah 1 becomes particularly clear through the allusion on the grace-formula Ex 34:6f.[56], which one can also observe in Mic 7:18f. If the relatively free allusion on Ex 34,6f. in Mic 7:18 serves the intention to strengthen the confidence of Israel in the grace and the readiness of remission of Yahweh, who doesn't cling to his already executed wrath on Israel (!), then the relation to Ex 34:6f. in Nah 1,2f. expresses the certainty that in spite of the patience of Yahweh his judgment will be surely executed over his enemies[57]. With regard to Israel and perhaps to the nations, who are ready to repent, Ex 34:6f. is used as an argument for the readiness of Yahweh to forgive, whereas in Nah 1:2 Ex 34:6f. it is the reason for the judgment of Yahweh over his enemies. So Mic 7:18 binds together the interpretation of Ex 34:6 in the Book of Joel with regard to Israel and in the Book of Jonah with regard to Nineveh as a symbol for the nations, who are ready to repent. In contrast the Book of Nahum stresses the destruction of Nineveh by the same scribal allusion to

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53 Nogalski, Precursors, 104: "A notable phenomenon within these breaks in the acrostic must be born in mind, namely *all four* interruptions can be explained as deliberately alterations to an existing poem, and at least two of the remaining interruptions (possibly all three) can be tied directly to the redactional process of linkage to Micah 7."

54 Nogalski, Precursors, 110f.

55 So e.g. Mic 7:12/ Nah 1:4 ים; Mic 7:12/ Nah 1:4 נהר respectively נהרות; Mic 7:12/ Nah 1:4 הר respectively הרים; Mic 7:13/ Nah 1:5 ארץ and above all Mic 7:18/ Nah 1:2 אל.

56 Cf. the catchwords in 18 אל, נשׂא ענן, פּשׁע, אפו, חסד and 19 רחם, חטאה, אמת, חסד; nearby one can observe a very free usage of Ex 34:6f. corresponding to the situation of Mic 7. Like in Ex 34:6f. also here Yahweh carries the guilt, but he doesn't prolong his wrath (Ex 34:6b), rather he doesn't hold longer on his already executed wrath over Israel (Mic 7:18c). His grace is not only great (Ex 34:6b) rather it corresponds to the essence of Yahweh to be gracious.

57 Zapff, Studien, 270.

Ex 34:6f., but based on the insertion in Nah 1:2 Nineveh now is a symbol of the enemies of Yahweh. This intention finds its confirmation through another analogy between Mic 7 and Nah 1. The incomparability of Yahweh in his readiness to forgive in Mic 7:18 finds its equivalent in Nah 1:6 where nobody can stand the rage and the burning wrath of Yahweh.

3.4 The Connection of the Book of Jonah with the Book of Micah

If one searches for traces of a connection between the Book of Jonah and the Book of Micah, one meets with the psalm of Jonah in Jon 2:3-10. Already J.Nogalski has pointed to some catchwords, which connect this psalm with the first chapter of the Book of Micah[58]. However apart from היכל קדש (Mic 1:2; Jonah 2:8) these catchwords are everyday words, so that in my opinion they cannot support the thesis of an intentional connection by catchwords between the Book of Micah and the Book of Jonah corresponding to the model of the catchword-connections between Nah 1 and Mic 7. Besides that there are however several thematical connections between the Book of Jonah and the Book of Micah, which one can explain with a deliberate reference of a redactional "Fortschreibung" in the Book of Micah to an already existing Book of Jonah. Furthermore the observation is important, that one finds these references again especially in Mic 7, that chapter, which plays the crucial part for the connection between the Book of Micah and the Book of Nahum. Already J.Nogalski has pointed to the phrase in Mic 7:19b ותשליך במצלות and Jonah 2:4a ותשליכני מצולה. However, he wants to understand it as a subsequent, inserted gloss in Mic 7 to create a connection between both books[59]. But for this assumption there isn't any evidence. One can rather find some other connections between Mic 7 and the Book of Jonah[60]: e.g. the confidence of the prophet in Mic 7:7 that Yahweh will hear him has its equivalent in the confession of Jonah, that Yahweh heard him (Jonah 2:3). On the whole Jonah is characterized very positively in the psalm of Jonah similar to Zion in Mic 7:8ff, to the extent that both confess their total dependence on Yahweh. One can also observe this in the analogy between Mic 7:9 and Jonah 2:7, in so far as the confidence of Zion, that Yahweh will lead her to

58 Nogalski, Processes, 266.
59 Nogalski, Precursors, 153.
60 Cf. Zapff, Studien, 259f.

the light, has its equivalent in the confession of Jonah, that Yahweh has led him out of the grave. The designations of god in the psalm of Jonah - by the way in contrast to the designations of god in the rest of the Book of Jonah - find their equivalent in Mic 7:10.17, where the name Yahweh is connected with אלהים, which has a suffix. Thus Yahweh is emphasized as the god of Jonah, and respectively the god of Zion. Finally the confession of confidence of Zion in Mic 7:8f. has a similar function in its context as the psalm in the Book of Jonah. The confidence of Jonah in Yahweh and his subsequent deliverance is the precondition for the repentance and the subsequent spare of Ninveh, caused by the prophetic message of judgment. Something similar is true for the confession of confidence of Zion in Mic 7:8f and her expected deliverance by Yahweh. Ultimately this is the precondition of the confidence of the nations in Yahweh, indeed the deliverance of Zion is the signal through which the nations turn to Yahweh (Mic 7:16).

Thematically there are other relations between Mic 7 and the rest of the Book of Jonah. First there is the theme of remission of sins, which is found as well in Jonah 3f. as in Mic 7:18ff. I already pointed to the common relation to Ex 34:6. If Jona 1:16 tells us that the sailors "feared Yahweh with great fear" (ויראו האנשים יראה גדולה את יהוה) and made a sacrifice and many vows to him, this finds its equivalent in Mic 7:17, where with regard to Ho 3:5 (there with the subject "sons of Israel") a return of the nations to Yahweh in the sense of an acknowledgement of his godhead is expected: ויראו ממך ("and they will be afraid of you"). Finally regarding the expectation of Jonah to see the destruction of Nineveh the fulfillment of this expectation is opposed, namely in the certainty of Zion not only to see the humiliation of her enemy but also to see the miraculous deeds of Yahweh as in the days of the Exodus of Egypt. Consequently Mic 7 takes up different themes of the Book of Jonah, Zion even slips into the role of Jonah. Now however there is a destinction between the nations who are ready to return and the enemy of Zion who doesn't want to return, who - symbolized through Nineveh in the Book of Nahum - is finally destroyed. On this background one can also explain the call to hear to the nations in Mic 1:2, which is reflected in Mic 5:14, that all the nations who don't obey are at the mercy of Yahweh's wrath. Thus the Book of Jonah is understood as a paradigm for all nations. Like Nineveh, the judgment of Yahweh menaces them. But there is a possibility to avert this judgment, namely if the nations hear the message of the Book

of Micah, take the judgment of Yahweh over Israel to heart, turn back to Yahweh and don't close their mind to the call to hear. However if they persist in disobedience and become enemies of Zion and Yahweh, the fate of Nineveh in Nah 1 menaces them. In the alternative which the Book of Micah develops, Nineveh in the Book of Jonah and Nineveh in the Book of Nahum becomes a paradigm for the salvation or destruction of the nations. This bridging of the two books performs a redactional "Fortschreibung" in the Book of Micah, which in analogy to Zech 14 describes diverse temporally differentiated behaviors of the nations vis-a-vis Zion and aims at a final alternative: pilgrimage to Zion or judgment. This perspective however leads beyond the Books of Nahum and Jonah, which describe only the fundamental alternative for the nations: sparing or judgment. With regard to the question of the "Redaktionsgeschichte" in my view one has to interpret this observation in this way, that the redactional "Fortschreibung" in the Book of Micah already presupposes the Book of Jonah, whereby it is perhaps responsible for the insertion of the psalm of Jonah[61] into the Book together with its insertion into the Book of the Twelve.

3.5 Relations between the Book of Micah and the Book of Joel

A relation between the Book of Joel[62] and the Book of Micah is established by the pilgrimage of the nations to Mount Zion, which Joel 4:1-21 changes into an assembly of the nations initiated by Yahweh for judgment. H.W.Wolff writes: "Das große Wort von der Völkerwallfahrt, bei der die Völker in Jerusalem Heil und Frieden finden, ist in einen kriegerischen Aufmarsch umgedichtet, an dessen Ende der Untergang steht"[63]. One can

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61 Cf. Nogalski, Processes, 265ff., reckons with a subsequent insertion of the psalm of Jonah in the Book of Jonah; one finds observations which speak for a literary separation of the psalm from its context in Wolff, BK XIV^3, 104ff. and P.Weimar, Jona 2,1-11, Jonapsalm und Jonaerzählung, BZ NF 28, 1984, 43-68.

62 In respect to the literary unity of the Book of Joel there is no consensus in the discipline; cf. S.Bergler, Joël als Schriftinterpret, Frankfurt 1988; W.S.Prinsloo, The Unity of the Book of Joel, ZAW 104, 1992, 66-81; J.Nogalski, Processes, 1-57; E.Bosshard-Nepustil, Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39 im Zwölfprophetenbuch, OBO 154, Freiburg/Schweiz 1997; based on the relation between the Book of Joel and Jonah on the one hand and the described redactional relations between the Book of Micah and the Books of Jonah and Nahum on the other hand I assume that for the redactional "Fortschreibung" in the Book of Micah the Book of Joel was already a part of the Book of the Twelve.

63 H.W.Wolff, Dodekapropheton 2, Joel-Amos, BK XIV^2, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1985 (3rd edition), 96.

show this by means of Joel 4:10 לחרבות ומזמרתיכם לרמחים, which reverses the corresponding formulation in Isa 2:4/ Mic 4:3 וכתתו חרבתיהם לאתים וחניתתהם למזמרת. In research Isa 2:1-4/ Mic 4:1-4 usually is dated in 5th century BC., in the Persian period[64], whereas the Book of Joel is dated in the 4th century BC.[65], in the late-Persian respectively the early-Hellenistic period. Moreover corresponding to the majority of exegetes the text of Micah is not only the older version of the pilgrimage to Mount Zion, which the version of the Book Isaiah is dependent on[66], but also the text to which Joel 4:10 refers, while correcting the pilgrimage of the nations to an assembly of the nations for the judgment of Yahweh[67]. I opposed the first assumption in my study to Micah and recently I get support by E.Bosshard-Nepustil with similar observations[68]. Furthermore E.Bosshard-Nepustil points to the fact, that everything, "was in Mic 4,1-4 anders ist als in Jes 2,2-4 ..., seinen Anhalt zu einem großen Teil im Zwölfprophetenbuch (hat)"[69]. In this context the equivalents in the Book of Joel are striking: Mic 4:3a/ Joel 1:6 גוי + עצום; Mic 4:4/ Joel 1:7 גפן and תאנה: to the coming up assault of the locusts', which leads to the destruction of the *vine* and the *fig-tree*, the pilgrimage of the nations in Mic 4:1-3 opposes the coming of mighty nations to Mount Zion, which culminates in a paradisiacal state of a peaceful sitting under the *vine* and the *fig-tree* - a picture which was taken over nearly literally from 1 Kgs 5:5[70].
Based on these observations the question concerning the relation of both texts arises once more. If one applies the already quoted principle of

64 Recently again E.Bosshard-Nepustil, Rezeptionen, 253; U.Berges, Das Buch Jesaja, HBS 16, Freiburg/Breisg. a.o. 1998, 75, believes that Is 2:2-4 was taken over from the Book of Micah to the Book of Isaiah after 482 BC.

65 Nogalski, Processes, 57: "late Persian period".

66 E.g. J.T.Willis, Thought on a Redactional Analysis on the Book of Micah, SBL, 1978, 99; O.Kaiser, Das Buch des Propheten Jesaja, Kapitel 1-12, ATD 17, 5.völlig neubearbeitete Auflage, Göttingen 1981, 63; L.Schwienhorst-Schönberger, Zion - Ort der Tora. Überlegungen zu Mic 4,1-3, in: Zion - Ort der Begegnung, Festschrift für L.Klein zur Vollendung des 65.Lebensjahres, BBB 90, Bodenheim 1993, 109-125, here 110f.; recently again F.Sedlmeier, Die Universalisierung der Heilshoffnung nach Micha 4,1-5, TThZ 107, 1998, 62-81, here 66; Berges, Jesaja, 73.

67 E.Bosshard, Beobachtungen zum Zwölfprophetenbuch, BN 40, 1987, 42; Schart, Entstehung, 268.

68 Detailed cf. Zapff, Studien, 64-74; Bosshard-Nepustil, Rezeptionen, 416 n.1

69 Bosshard-Nepustil, Rezeptionen, 416 n.1, e.g. Mic 4:3a/ Joel 1:6 גוי + עצם, Mic 4:3a/ Hab 1:8; Sach 6:15 רחוק (עד); Mic 4:4a/ Joel 1:7.

70 Another relation to the Book of Joel with a similar tendency one finds in Mic 7:10: The question of the enemy of Zion "Where is your god?" איו יהוה אלהיך in the Book of Joel is used in the context of the complaint of the priests, who quote the nations: "Where is their god?" איה אלהיהם. Evidently from the perspective of the endured trouble Mic 7:10 looks back to Joel; cf. Metzner, Komposition, p.163.

A.Schart to this problem, according to which 1. the Book of the Twelve has to be read from the beginning to the end corresponding to the perspective of the reader and 2. for the interpretation of a particular text in the Book of the Twelve one can only presuppose the information the reader has already got until this passage, it won't be possible to uphold the hitherto assumption that the Book of Joel wants to correct the pilgrimage of the nations' found in the subsequent following Book of Micah.

Independent of the question, which of the two versions of the nations pilgrimage to Mount Zion is the older one, I presume that in this passage the Book of Joel, which also shows relations to the Book of Isaiah elsewhere, refers to the Isaianic version of the nations' pilgrimage and wants to correct the positive view of the nations there. The fact that after the nations' pilgrimage the judgment of Yahweh over the nations can follow as a correction is verified as a pattern for the Book of Isaiah by the means of the relation between Is 2:1-3 and Is 13[71]. By the way it should be mentioned that Joel 4 is closely connected with a redactional layer in the Book of Isaiah, the so called "Jes I - Fortschreibungsschicht" (O.H.Steck). Corresponding to O.H.Steck this "Fortschreibung" promises the revival and return home of Israel in Is 35 after a total judgment over the nations in Is 13[72].

In the present context of the Book of the Twelve, however, the version of the nations' pilgrimage in the Book of Micah seems to answer to the judgment of the nations in the Book of Joel. I.Fischer tries to describe the relation between this contradictory passages as follows: the nations, who make the pilgrimage to Mount Zion in Mic 4:1-3 are those people, who didn't march against Zion in Joel 4:10f. but recast their weapons to ploughs[73]. But I don't believe that this assumption could solve the tension between Joel 4:10ff. and Mic 4:1-3. Rather the Book of Micah itself gives us a hint. An assault of the nations against Mount Zion is also described in Mic 4:11-13, but Zion can prevent it with the help of god and the nations will sustain a defeat[74]. Based on ועתה this event is placed in the present time or in the near future. In contrast the pilgrimage of the nations will take place at the

[71] Cf. Zapff, Schriftgelehrte Prophetie - Jes 13 und die Komposition des Jesajabuches, FzB 74, 1995, 56

[72] O.H.Steck, Der Abschluß der Prophetie im Alten Testament, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1991, 37.197; Zapff, Schriftgelehrte Prophetie, 302ff.

[73] I.Fischer, Schwerter oder Pflugscharen? Versuch einer kanonischen Lektüre von Jes 2, Joël 4 und Micha 4, BiLi 69, 1996, 208-216.

[74] Already Wolff, BK XIV[2], 97 pointed to this relation; Schart, Entstehung, 269, says that Mic 4:11-13 "konzeptionell auf der Seite von Joel 4 steht".

end of the times והיה באחרית הימים and like in Mic 4:11 there are "many nations", who will make a pilgrimage to Mount Zion[75]. Hence they are the same nations who first march against Mount Zion with hostile intention and then want to profit from the benefits of the Tora.
Reading in this way Mic 4 bridges the tension between the nations' assault and the nations' pilgrimage, transferring the former in the near future, the latter however to the end of the time.
The mentioned observations of E.Bosshard-Nepustil and the integration of the nations' pilgrimage-version of the Book of Micah in the intention of the redactional revision in Mic 4/5 described above point to the fact that the pilgrimage of the nations was inserted as an answer to Joel 4 not before this redactional revision of the Book of Micah.
On the level of this redactional revision an interpretation arises, which tries to understand the sequence of the Books of Joel - Jonah - Nahum corresponding to the scheme of Zech 14. Joel 4:10ff. describes the assault of the nations against Mount Zion corresponding to Zech 14:1ff. (corresponding to Mic 4:11-13), which however Yahweh wards off. The Book of Jonah describes the possible conversion of the nations on the example of Nineveh corresponding to Zech 14:16 (corresponding to Mic 4:1-4) and at last Nahum depicts the final destruction of the nations on the example of Nineveh corresponding to Zech 14:17 (corresponding to Mic 5:6-14).

4 Conclusions for the "Redaktionsgeschichte"

Repeatedly some conclusions which - in my opinion - one has to draw from these results already have become apparent.
The assumption that the Book of Jonah presupposes the Book of Joel is somewhat sure[76]. Moreover there is the question whether the Book of Jonah

[75] In my opinion one cannot say that "der Beitrag Mic 4,11-13 als emphatisches Festhalten an der Konzeption von Joel 4,12-13 gelesen" (wird), Schart, Entstehung, 269.

[76] E.g. P.L.Redditt, Zechariah 9-14, Malachi and the Redaction of the Book of the Twelve, in: JSOTS 235, 245-268, here 257; Schart, Entstehung, 289, versus S.Bergler, Schriftinterpret, 230, who presupposes the reversed dependence: (A.Schart) "Macht man die Gegenprobe und spielt den Gedanken durch, was denn Joel bewegt haben könnte, Jona zu zitieren, so kommt man mit Bergler wohl darauf, daß Joel die Heiden gegenüber Israel als Vorbild hinstellen will, etwa in dem Sinn, daß Israel erst recht und vielleicht sogar besser leisten müßte, was die Heiden bereits vorgemacht haben. Diese Vorbildfunktion Ninives vertrüge sich aber kaum mit der Einschätzung der Völker in Joel 4. Dort wird ihre Bosheit als so groß gezeichnet

first existed as an independent scroll outside the developing Book of the Twelve albeit with knowledge of the Book of Joel or whether from the first it was composed for the Book of the Twelve. I don't believe that at present it is possible to answer this question definitely, because there are reasons for both possibilities.

The redactional revision of the Book of Micah (called FSM), which one has to see in close context with the psalm of Jonah and the redactional revision of Nah 1, bridges the opposing conceptions of the fate of Nineveh between Jonah and Nahum and integrated the Book of Jonah more closely into the Dodekapropheton. Based on the thematical relationship to Zech 14 it is possible that this redactional revision communicates with the so-called "Mehrprophetenbuch Fortschreibung III" postulated by O.H.Steck for Zech 14 and the end of the Book of the Twelve[77]. Moreover this redactional "Fortschreibung" shows close contacts to similar redactional processes in Trito-Isaiah. Even the existing contacts between FSM and the Book of Isaiah - particularly based on the pilgrimage of the nations to Mount Zion - seems to support this thesis.

However, in any case, it is an interesting attempt to integrate opposing conceptions of the OT into a system, though this attempt is connected with a leveling of the pointed message of the single books, especially of the Book of Jonah.

(Joel 4,13), daß Jahwe nur durch ihre Vernichtung dem Zion Ruhe vor seinen Bedrängern verschaffen kann."

[77] Steck, Abschluß, S.43-60

The Day(s) of YHWH in the Book of the Twelve

James D. Nogalski
Lombard, IL

Two years ago in this Seminar, Rolf Rendtorff presented a paper in which he argued that the concept of the day of YHWH showed significant promise as a unifying theme of the Book of the Twelve.[1] He also suggested that it was unwise to limit the concept merely to those texts which specifically use the construct chain יום יהוה. Twenty five years earlier, Joseph Everson and others carried on a rather lively debate about the extent to which the background of יום יהוה required that one study only those texts which contained this term.[2] Dissenters exist, but the majority of scholars concurred with Everson that other terms could refer to this day, and that the day in question could lie in the past as well as the future. This paper will attempt to investigate these suggestions systematically by asking two questions. First, if other expressions potentially evoke the concept of יום יהוה, how does one recognize which terms do and which do not? Second, how does one evaluate the possibility that this recurring concept provides an avenue into the unifying elements of the Twelve?

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[1]Rolff Rendtorff, "How to Read the Book of the Twelve as a Theological Unity," *SBLSP* (1997): 420-432.

[2]A Joseph Everson, "The Days of Yahweh," *JBL* 93 (1974): 329-337. Other works preceded Everson's article and responded to it. A selection of these writings are mentioned here: Gerhard von Rad, "Origin of the concept of the Day of Yahweh," *JSS* 4 (1959): 97-108; Klaus Dietrich Schunck, "Strukturlinien in der Entwicklung der Vorstellung vom Tag Jahwes," *VT* 14 (1964): 319-330; Paul Emile Langevin, "Sur l'origine du "Jour de Yahvé," Sciences Ecclésiastiques 18 (1966): 359-370; Patrick D. Miller, Jr., "Divine Council and the Prophetic Call to War," *VT* 18 (1968): 100-107; Klaus Dietrich Schunck, "Die Eschatologie der Propheten des Alten Testaments und ihre Wandlung in exilisch-nach-exilischer Zeit," in *Studies on Prophesy, VT.S 26* (Leiden: Brill, 1974) 116-132; C. van Leeuwen, "The Prophecy of the Yom YHWH in Amos v 18-20," in *Language and Meaning*, Oudtestamentische Studiën 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1974) 113-134; Douglas Stuart, "The Sovereign's Day of Conquest," *BASOR* 221 (1976): 159-164; Yair Hoffmann, "The Day of the Lord as a Concept and a Term in the Prophetic Literature," *ZAW* 93 (1981): 37-50; Hermann Spieckermann, "Dies irae: der alttestamentliche Befund und seine Vorgeschichte," *VT* 39 (1989): 194-208.

Once one opens the door to other terms, one must decide which terms to include. An attempt to investigate the literary cohesion must look at any text that could have been interpreted as a day of YHWH text by those compiling the Twelve. I therefore assessed those texts which refer to a day of divine intervention in the Twelve for reasons discussed below. This decision greatly increased the number of texts to be evaluated, and it forced a limitation of the discussion in two ways. First, the study was limited to the first four writings of the Twelve. Advantageously, this limitation includes two writings with superscriptions claiming 8th century settings (Hosea and Amos) and two non-dated writings (Joel and Obadiah), which the discipline generally dates later than Jerusalem's destruction. Second, I chose to focus the discussion upon passages where multiple terms were present. The volume of texts and the intricacy of the interrelationships made it impossible to treat every text.

Identifying Day of YHWH Texts

Any study of the day of YHWH must include more than the phrase יהוה יום. This construct chain appears 15 times in the Hebrew Bible, but this statistic only begins to tell the story.[3] All 15 references appear in the Latter Prophets, and 13 of 15 appear in the Twelve. In addition, a closely related expression, "the day of the wrath of YHWH," occurs three times, and two of these references appear in the Twelve.[4] A third syntactical variant contains the *lamed* preposition before YHWH, the day (belonging) to YHWH (יום ליהוה). This form appears exclusively in the Latter Prophets *when referring to the day of YHWH*, but a close parallel (היום ליהוה) appears elsewhere and refers to a day of ritual celebration.[5] In short, "day of YHWH" appears in variant forms,

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[3]Isa 13:6, 9; Ezek 13:5; Joel 1:15; 2:1, 11; 3:4; 4:14; Amos 5:18, 20; Obad 15; Zeph 1:7, 14 (twice); Mal 3:23.

[4]Zeph 2:2, 3; Lam 2:22.

[5]The phrase יום ליהוה, when referring to the day of YHWH, appears in Isa 2:12; Ezek 30:3; 46:13; Zech 14:1. This phrase appears five times (Exod 16:25; 32:29; Lev 23:34; Deut

and these forms demonstrate a remarkably consistent association with the Latter Prophets, and especially with the Twelve.

However, other formulas and idiomatic expressions can refer to the day of YHWH and its effects. Two formulas, "on that day" (ביום ההוא) and "in those days" (בימים ההם), manifest conceptual similarities. Prophetic usages of these phrases differ from their use in other parts of the canon. These phrases can refer to a day when YHWH acts or days which manifest the effects of YHWH's activity, and thus relate to the day of YHWH. The expression "in those days" appears 39 times in the Hebrew Bible, and the 25 instances outside the Latter Prophets always refer to the past.[6] By contrast, the phrase appears 14 times in the Latter Prophets, and all but two refer to the future when the effects of YHWH's action will be operative.[7] These formulaic phrases should be evaluated with the same criteria as other יום sayings.

The second formula, "on that day" (ביום ההוא), also functions distinctively in the Latter Prophets. The phrase occurs 206 times in the Hebrew Bible with a significant number (170) in the *Former and Latter Prophets*. The phrase occurs in the Latter Prophets 107 times where it overwhelmingly anticipates a future event. By contrast, outside the Latter Prophets, the phrase typically refers to past events. This phrase is far more prominent in Isaiah (45 times, with all but one appearing in Isa 1-31) and the Twelve (40 times) than in Jeremiah (10 times) or Ezekiel (12 times). With only a few exceptions, ההוא ביום refers to a past event in narrative literature and a future event in the Latter Prophets. Only six times (out of 107) does the formula not refer to the future.[8]

26:3; 1 Chr 29:5) in narrative texts, always with the definite article (היום ליהוה). This latter form refers to a particular day of ritual celebration.

[6]Gen 6:4; Exod 2:11; Deut 17:9; 19:17; 26:3; Josh 20:6; Judg 17:6; 18:1 (twice); 19:1; 20:27, 28; 21:25; 1 Sam 3:1; 28:1; 2 Sam 16:23; 2 Kgs 10:32; 15:37; 20:1; Esth 1:2; 2:21; Dan 10:2; Neh 6:17; 13:15, 23; 2 Chr 32:24.

[7]Isa 38:1; Jer 3:16, 18; 5:18; 31:29; 33:15, 16; 50:4, 20; Ezek 38:17; Joel 3:2; 4:1; Zech 8:6, 23. Isa 38:1 refers to the past, but it utilizes 2 Kgs 20:1 as its source. Zech 8:6 uses this expression to refer to the present. The remaining texts refer to future events.

[8]Jer 39:10 uses the phrase in a narrative account about a past event. Ezek 20:6; 23:38, 39 use the phrase in a divine speech to refer to a past event. Zech 6:10 implies the present

References outside the Latter Prophets are even more instructive. In the Torah, DtrH, and the *Ketubim*, only 10 of the 99 do not refer to past events.[9] Five of these 10 references occur in DtrH or Chronicles, and always in the mouth of a prophet. All five pentateuchal references occur in prophetic speeches by Moses. Conversely, several future references within the Latter Prophets occur in prophetic oracles within *narrative* contexts (e.g., Jer 39:16, 17; Hos 1:5). This phrase, when referring to future events, connotes prophetic activity. The two meanings of this phrase (past or future) do not vary because one predominates in narrative literature (versus poetic), but because the future references carry prophetic connotations.

In addition to the formulas, references to a day of YHWH's intervention using idiomatic expressions appear in over 100 texts.[10] These expressions include terms for YHWH's destructive activity (e.g. wrath, vengeance), the effect of that activity (your overthrow), or the name of the recipient (e.g. Egypt, Midian). The majority of these terms refer to contexts of judgment and

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day or the very near future. Isa 22:12 refers to the past action of YHWH.

[9]Exod 8:18; 13:8; 31:17 (2xs), 18; 1 Sam 3:12; 8:18 (2xs); 1 Kgs 22:25; 2 Chr 18:24.

[10]These idiomatic expressions include at least the following: the day (Mic 7:4, 12; Zech 14:1; Jer 30:7; 31:6; 47:4; Mal 3:19; Ezek 7:7, 12, 19; 12:23; 30:2, 18; 39:8; Zeph 2:2), your day (Ezek 22:4; Jer 50:31), one day (Isa 10:17; 47:9; Zech 3:9), the latter days (Isa 2:2; Jer 23:20; 49:39; Mic 4:1; Jer 30:24; 48:47). In addition, the following construct chains also refer to the "day of . . . x," where x = battle (Amos 1:14; Hos 10:14; Zech 14:3), bitterness (Amos 8:10), building your walls (Mic 7:11), calamity (Jer 12:3; 18:17; 46:21; Amos 6:3), clouds (Ezek 30:3; Joel 2:2; Zeph 1:15), darkness (Joel 2:2; Zeph 1:15), destruction (Obad 12; Zeph 1:15), disaster (Jer 17:17, 18; Obad 13), distress (Isa 37:3; Jer 16:19; Obad 14), Egypt (Ezek 30:9), his burning anger Isa 13:13; his coming (Mal 3:2), his disaster (Obad 13), his misfortune (Obad 12), his preparation (Nah 2:4), his rebellion (Ezek 33:12), his sin (Ezek 33:12), his turning from wickedness (Ezek 33:12), indignation (Ezek 22:24), its (Assyria) going to sheol (Ezek 31:15), Jezreel (Hos 2:2), light (Amos 8:9), Midian (Isa 9:3), my rising (Zeph 3:8), my visiting (Jer 27:22), panic (Isa 22:5), punishment (Isa 10:3), rebuke (Hos 5:9), salvation (Isa 49:8), sickliness (Isa 17:11), strangers carrying off his wealth (Obad 11), east wind (Isa 27:8), great slaughter (Isa 30:25), trouble (Nah 1:7; Zeph 1:15), trumpet and battle cry (Zeph 1:16), vengeance (Isa 34:8; 61:2; 63:4; Jer 46:10), woe (Jer 17:16), wrath (Zeph 1:15), YHWH's anger (Zeph 2; 2, 3), YHWH's sacrifice (Zeph 1:8), your fall (Ezek 26:18; 32:10), your brother (Obad 12), your overthrow (Ezek 27:27). Plural construct chains also appear that require examination, including phrases that are translated "the days of . . . " punishment (Hos 9:7), retribution (Hos 9:7), the Baals (Hos 2:15), your slaughter (Jer 25:34), and my dealing with you (Ezek 22:14).

punishment, but both the idiomatic expressions and the formulas also appear in contexts which speak of salvation or deliverance. To what extent are these phrases associated with the concept of the day of YHWH? In several cases, these phrases occur as parallel expressions for the day of YHWH, meaning that one cannot eliminate these terms without careful reasoning from a discussion of the day of YHWH.

How does one recognize references to the day of YHWH if one cannot isolate these references based solely on terminology?. All prophetic day of YHWH texts presume a point of divine intervention into human events. This intervention may be anticipated, recounted, or interpreted. The divine intervention may be direct or it may involve YHWH's use of some entity to accomplish a given task. By collating multiple qualities referring to a day when YHWH intervenes, one can develop a composite picture of the expectations and explanations of what will happen or has happened. These qualities include the following: the type of action, the recipients of the intervention, the reason for the intervention, the time of the intervention, and potential literary connectors.

Two basic types of action can be noted, positive and negative, but individual texts display a wide variation regarding how the desired action will be achieved. Negative actions essentially involve judgment, but the judgment can be framed as total annihilation, as a purification that will leave a remnant, or as punishment designed to last until specific behavior changes. Positive actions can be portrayed as salvation, deliverance, or restoration.

The recipients of the divine intervention also vary significantly. Not only can the day of YHWH be directed toward YHWH's people or toward foreign nations, but distinctions within these general categories carry different connotations. Intervention may be directed toward Israel or Judah for different reasons, at different points. Foreign nations may also be cited for specific reasons.

The time of the intervention can be past or future. Past references tend to be used as illustrations to coerce some type of change on the part of the current addressee. Future references may imply the distant future or the very near future.

Reasons for divine intervention usually relate to some transgression which YHWH will not tolerate. However, the accusations involve cultic, ethical, or military activities. Sorting through these rationale can provide insights into the theological and literary agendas associated with various texts.

Potential literary connectors also demand reflection. The passage's form and context affect how one interprets a reference. Other indicators may provide clues about the literary horizon of a given passage. Does one text quote or allude to another? Does a text refer to the day of intervention by using idiomatic or formulaic language? Do the anticipated events "recur" in another text?

Evaluating these characteristics can help to determine how the "day of YHWH" functions within the Twelve, where the proliferation of יום texts, when compared with other writings, suggests common transmission, or at least a shared orientation on the part of the tradents of these twelve writings. However, without additional validation, repetition of יום יהוה, the phrase or the concept, does not necessarily provide evidence of literary cohesion for the corpus. The remainder of this paper will investigate texts in Hosea through Obadiah that refer to a day of divine intervention as a step toward clarifying the role of the day of YHWH in the Twelve. Time and space dictate that several texts function as focal points of the investigation because they contain multiple references to a "day" of divine intervention.[11]

Hosea 2

Hosea 2 contains the second of three extended units which utilize a marriage metaphor to convey a message that moves from judgment to restoration. However, Hosea 2 depicts YHWH, not the prophet, as the husband.

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[11]Hos 2; 9; Joel 1-4; Amos 5:18-20; 8-9; and Obadiah. If space permitted, other passages meeting these criteria could be treated: Mic 4-5; 7:8-20; Zeph 1:2-2:3; Zeph 3; Zech 8; 12; 13; 14; Mal 3. In addition to texts containing multiple references to a day of divine intervention, isolated references to a day of divine intervention also occur (e.g., Mic 2:4, Hab 3:17; Zech 2:15, etc). A complete study would need to evaluate these texts as well.

It becomes increasingly clear that the wife is the land (of Israel) personified as mother and wife. This role parallels the role played by the personified Lady Zion in other prophetic texts, but Hosea 2 reflects its context.[12] Both the judgment sayings and the salvific promises of Hosea 2 draw upon the names of the children mentioned in Hos 1:1-9.

Hosea 2 illustrates how the aforementioned qualities can help to characterize days of divine intervention. "Day" appears eight times in the chapter (2:2, 5, 15, 17 [2xs], 18, 20, 23), but only four times (2:2, 18, 20, 23) does יום refer explicitly to a period of divine intervention. All four instances refer to the future. Three of these four texts explicitly anticipate divine intervention, while the fourth implies intervention by using an easily recognized allusion to the literary context. Hos 2:2 refers to a future time when Israel and Judah will be reunited under one king, hence a time of political restoration. This verse contains no *explicit* reference to divine intervention, but its concluding statement calls the time, the "day of Jezreel." This unique phrase alludes to the interpretation of the name of the first son in Hos 1:5: "And it will happen *on that day* that *I* will break the bow of Israel in the valley of *Jezreel*." Hos 1:5 thus interprets the name Jezreel as anticipating a day of divine judgment against Israel, while Hos 2:2 alludes to that action as the "day of Jezreel," but reinterprets the action as a promise of political restoration when Israel and Judah will be united under a single king.

Hos 2:18, 20, and 23 all refer to future intervention using the formula "on that day." Hos 2:18-19 anticipate a restoration of the relationship between YHWH and Israel "on that day." The restoration results from YHWH's

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[12]Several prophetic texts express Jerusalem's relationship to YHWH by personifying Lady Zion (e.g., Isa 60; Jer 30:12-17; Ezek 22; Mic 7:8-13; Zeph 3:14-19). Increasingly, the role of Lady Zion as the consort of YHWH and the mother of the children of Jerusalem has come into focus. For the background of this concept, see the writings of Aloysius Fitzgerald, "The Mythological Background for the Presentation of Jerusalem as a Queen and False Worship as Adultery in the OT." *CBQ* 34 (1972): 403-416; Mark E. Biddle, "The Figure of Lady Jerusalem: Identification, Deification and Personification of Cities in the Ancient Near East," in *The Biblical Canon in Comparative Perspective*. B. Batto and others, eds, Scripture in Context 4. (Lewiston, NY: Mellen Press, 1991) 173-194; Julie Galambush, *Jerusalem in the Book of Ezekiel: The City as Yahweh's Wife*, SBLDS 130 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992); John J. Schmitt, "The Motherhood of God and Zion as Mother." *RB* 92 (1985): 557-569.

intervention: "For *I* will remove the names of the Baals from her mouth so that they will no longer be mentioned by their names." This reference reflects its context, essentially contrasting the future restoration "on that day" with the past "days of the Baals" in 2:15.

Hos 2:20 uses the ביום ההוא formula to introduce a short promise of a restored relationship. The verse draws upon creation language (cf. Gen 1:30) to reverse the judgment pronounced in Hos 2:14. In the larger context, this creation imagery appears again in Hos 4:3; 7:12; and Zeph 1:2-3, within pronouncements of judgment against Ephraim and Judah respectively. In 2:20, YHWH restores the relationship between mother Israel and the animal realm, but YHWH serves as the mediator of the covenant, not one of the covenant partners.

Hos 2:23 introduces a promise (2:23-25) that has intra-textual connections and provides an added thematic dimension. YHWH's response will restore the course of nature for Israel: "It will happen *on that day* that I will respond to the heavens and they will respond to the earth, and the earth will respond to the grain, the new wine, and the oil, and they will respond to Jezreel" (Hos 2:23-24). As with the other promises, "that day" reverses judgments pronounced in the context. This promise restores elements from nature which YHWH had removed earlier in the chapter (2:10-11). The concluding reference to Jezreel in 2:24b not only refers back to the name of the first son, it also introduces word plays in 2:25 which reverse the judgment symbolized in the names of all three children: "I will sow (זרע) her for myself in the land, and I will have compassion (רחם) on her who had not obtained compassion (לא־רחמה), and I will say to those who were not my people (עמי־לא), you are my people." This promise also serves as the source text for a promise in Joel 2:19, following predictions of the day of YHWH against Zion.

In summary, references to a day of divine intervention in this chapter are contextually bound to Hosea as seen by their awareness of the names of the children and their reversal of earlier pronouncements of judgment. Hos 2:23 is cited in Joel. These texts expand restoration promises to the political, religious, and natural realms.

Hosea 9

Hosea 9 contains five references to יום (9:5 [2xs], 9:7 [2xs], 9:9), but only three refer to days of divine intervention, albeit to different events. Twice, Hos 9:7 refers to the immediate future as "the days of punishment" (ימי הפקדה) and "the days of retribution" (ימי השלם) for Ephraim. Both terms appear in similar forms in other prophetic literature.[13] The third term (the days of Gibeah) alludes to intervention in the distant past as narrated in Judges 18-21.[14] Hos 9:9 announces judgment upon Ephraim (cf. 9:3) for its "iniquity" like the "days of Gibeah." Hos 10:9 uses this same phrase to mark the length of time that the people of Israel had sinned while anticipating a future battle when YHWH will cause the nations to attack. Hos 9:6-8 refer to Ephraim, Israel, Samaria, and Bethel (*Aven*), indicating that this passage concerns the Northern Kingdom. Both the related passage in 10:9 and the allusion to Judges imply that the punishment will come in the form of an enemy attack, with the presupposition that YHWH will instigate the enemy to attack (cf. especially 10:10).

Hos 9:7-9 thus anticipates a period in the near future when YHWH will intervene for judgment against Israel. Hos 9:9 draws upon knowledge of traditions from Judg 19-21 (cf. especially 20:18-28) to affirm both the extent of Israel's guilt and YHWH's ability to accomplish the judgment. Hos 9:7-9 is linked to another text (Hos 10:9-10) by the unusual phrase "days of Gibeah" as well as the reaffirmation of YHWH's decision to chastise Israel by sending other nations against Israel (the Northern Kingdom) to punish it for its failure to worship YHWH properly. The remaining phrases in 9:7, "days of

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[13]Isa 10:3 uses the singular form "day of punishment" to refer to an attack commissioned by YHWH from which there is no escape. Jeremiah uses the phrases the "time of their punishment" (10:15; 48:44; 50:27; 51:18) and the "year of their punishment" (11:23; 23:12) to refer to YHWH's intervention against Judah and/or foreign nations. Isa 34:8 uses the term "year of retributions" in synonymous parallelism with "day of vengeance."

[14]The reference alludes to the account of the punishment of Gibeah and the sons of Benjamin in Judg 19-21 by the sons of Israel following the rape of the Levite's concubine. Note especially the successive consultations of YHWH over three *days* in Judg 20:18, 23, 26-28. See Wolff, *Hosea*, 158; Jeremias, *ATD* 24/1, 118; Rudolph, *KAT* 13/1, 179-180.

punishment" and "days of retribution," do not find direct citations elsewhere in the Book of the Twelve although very similar phrases occur in Isaiah and Jeremiah. The presence of the word pair punishment (פקדה) and retribution/recompense (שלם) appear in reverse order in Mic 7:3-4 in a judgment oracle against the people of Jerusalem.[15] Amos 3:14 uses a similar phrase, "on the day I punish Israel," to refer to YHWH's impending judgment on Israel. Amos 3:14 may represent one of several examples of knowledge of the message of Hosea appearing in Amos.[16] Hos 9:7-9 can function meaningfully within a coherent reading of the Twelve, but does not provide direct evidence that it plays a role in shaping the corpus literarily. This finding differs from the more direct citation of Hos 2:22 by Joel 2:19.

Joel

Joel contains eleven יום texts that referring specifically to divine intervention and use a significant variety of phrases: the day (1:15), the day of YHWH (1:15; 2:1, 11; 3:4; 4:14), day of darkness and gloom (2:2), day of clouds and thick darkness (2:2), in those days (3:2, 4:1), and on that day (4:18). More significant than the terms themselves, the type of action anticipated in these contexts reflects the movement of Joel from presumed judgment to a call for repentance, to promised restoration, to judgment on the nations who oppressed Judah and Jerusalem. This observation suggests that the meaning of similar terminology changes based upon the literary intention of the immediate and extended context (for Joel and the Twelve). The intended recipients of the

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[15]Mic 7:3-4 use the two terms in close proximity. Mic 7:3 uses the term שלום (meaning recompense in the sense of bribery) as an accusation and "your *punishment* (פקדתך) will come on a day of your posting a watchman." (Cf. Hab 2:1?).

[16]The use of the writing of Hosea in Amos occurs in virtually every level of the transmission of Amos. See Jörg Jeremias, "Die Anfänge des Dodekapropheton: Hosea und Amos," *VT.S.* 61 (Leiden: Brill, 1995) 87-106; also in *Hosea und Amos*, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 13 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1996) 34-54.

day of divine intervention also play a significant role in the changing terminology within Joel.

Joel 1 opens with an extended communal call to repentance. Various groups among the inhabitants are singled out and addressed directly (cf. 1:2, 5, 11, 13). These calls *presume* the guilt of these people and describe how the devastation of the land affects each group.[17] The first explicit mention of the day of YHWH comes in 1:15, which warns that a military attack on Jerusalem and Judah will follow the devastation of the land. Subsequent texts in Joel explicate the form of that judgment, especially 2:1-11, which describes the day of YHWH as the attack of an army of unprecedented strength. This army is depicted using the extended metaphorical imagery of a locust plague, but the recipients of the attack are people of the city, not the crops. The description also carries cosmic overtones.

This expectation that the devastation of nature will be followed by a divinely initiated military attack corresponds to the manifestation of divine intervention in the two יום texts from Hosea. Hosea 2 anticipates YHWH's removal of resources from Israel that can lead to a time of restoration while Hos 9:7-9 predicts a military attack against the Northern Kingdom by an army of nations whom YHWH assembles. Joel 1-2 mirrors the essential thematic movement of the day of divine intervention in Hosea with one exception. The recipients in Joel are the people of Judah and Jerusalem, not the Northern Kingdom. Could the compilation of Joel reflect its literary context? Joel's quotes of Hos 2:23 (Joel 2:19), Amos 1:2, and 9:14 (Joel 4:16, 18) point in that direction. Could the thematic similarity of the day of YHWH merely result from a limited number of ways that divine judgment was portrayed in these ancient texts? Perhaps, but the multiplicity of the links between Joel and its context in the Twelve must be taken into account. When one sees the extent of thematic development, the dovetailing of genres, the use of catchword connections, and direct citations in Joel, the probability of Joel's cognizance

[17]For a treatment of how Joel 1 presumes the accusations of guilt from Hosea, see my treatment of the context in BZAW 218, p. 17-18.

of its *literary* context between Hosea and Amos becomes more plausible than the presumption of coincidence piled upon coincidence.[18]

Joel uses several terms to announce days of divine intervention, a remarkable percentage of which appear elsewhere in the Twelve.[19] These parallels function as markers for Joel's paradigm of history that transcends, but does not replace, the chronological shape of the Twelve. This paradigm provides an eschatological perspective (reinforced by periodic notes to the reader of the Twelve) that Joel's predictions have occurred or are in the process of unfolding. The utilization of Joel imagery in the Twelve occurs with several motifs, not just the day of YHWH.[20]

The character of the days of divine intervention in Joel changes after 2:11, in keeping with this writing's literary movement. The remaining "day" texts promise intervention on Judah's behalf. These promises include the outpouring of YHWH's spirit, deliverance on the day of universal judgment, and judgment of the nations. All of these texts presume this positive intervention will come *if and when* the call to repentance in 1:2-2:17 is accepted (although Joel never states whether that repentance occurs). Joel 3:2 (with 3:1) promises the universal outpouring of YHWH's spirit at a point in the distant future. The outpouring of YHWH's spirit is chronologically more vague (cf. "afterward" in 3:1 and "in those days" in 3:2). The divine intervention is directed toward "all flesh," sons and daughters, the youth, the elderly, and even the slaves. No direct verbal connections tie this text to others within the

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[18]The distance between the two ideas in the day of divine intervention texts of Hosea 2 and 9:7-9, when compared with the interweaving of the ideas in Joel argues that Joel is combining ideas already present in Hosea.

[19]Ten of the eleven references appear in citations, close parallels, and verbal parallels elsewhere in the Twelve. Compare the following parallels: Joel 1:15 // Zeph 1:14; Joel 2:1 // Hos 9:7 (verbal combination); Joel 2:2 // Zeph 1:15; Joel 2:11 // Mal 3:23; Joel 3:4 // 2:10b and Mal 3:23; Joel 4:1 // Zeph 3:20; Joel 4:14 // Joel 1:15 and Zeph 1:14; Joel 4:18 // Amos 9:13. Only Joel 3:2 has no close parallel elsewhere in the Twelve. See the chart and my discussion of these parallels in "Joel as a Literary Anchor to the Book of the Twelve," presented at the International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in 1997. The paper is available upon request.

[20]See Nogalski, "Joel as a Literary Anchor to the Book of the Twelve." a paper presented to the Society of Biblical Literature International Meeting (1997).

Twelve, though thematic similarities to other texts exist. Zech 8:23 and Mal 1:11-14 offer similar positive orientations toward people beyond the borders, as does the book of Jonah, but one cannot establish these connections via the day of divine intervention.

The promissory nature of that time of divine intervention takes an ominous twist in 3:3-5 which anticipates a "great and terrible day of YHWH." The reference to the "great and terrible day of YHWH" in Joel 3:4 occurs in only one other place, at the conclusion of the Twelve, in Mal 3:23.[21] In addition, similar wording occurs in Zeph 1:14-15 which contains several terms from Joel concerning the imminent destruction of Judah and Jerusalem on the great day of YHWH.[22] Like 2:1-11, the day of YHWH anticipated in Joel 3:4 draws upon cosmic images, even quoting 2:10b. One may extrapolate the recipients of judgment as those *not* calling on YHWH's name, since 3:5 states that those who call on YHWH's name will be saved in a verse that appears to cite Obad 17.

Joel 4:1 again uses the phrase "in those days," formally linking it with 3:1-5. The divine intervention of 4:1-21 continues the dual focus of the restoration of Judah/Jerusalem and the punishment of the recalcitrant nations. The chronological formula and the promise in Joel 4:1 are cited in Zeph 3:19-20, the last verses which separate the "preexilic" portion of the Twelve from the postexilic section. Zeph 3:19-20 promise restoration to Judah and judgment upon the nations who took advantage of Judah by taking up the language of Mic 4:6-7 and Joel 4:1 respectively. Immediately thereafter, the Twelve presumes that YHWH's people are back in the land after the exile. In the larger context of the Twelve, Zeph 3:19-20 imply that Joel's promises of restoration and recompense were not immediately fulfilled. When one reads Joel as an eighth century prophetic voice, based on its context in the Twelve not the date of its composition, then the chronological markers of Joel 3:1, 2, 4; and 4:1 do

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[21]The word pair "great and terrible" occurs in eight other contexts, but refers to the wilderness (Deut 1:19; 8:15), God (Deut 7:21; Dan 9:4; Neh 1:5; 4:8), God's name (Ps 99:3), or God's actions (Deut 10:21).

[22]Zeph 1:2-2:3 demonstrates the same blending of images that combine a day of YHWH against Judah and Jerusalem on the one hand, and against all creation on the other.

not indicate the immediate repentance of the people following Joel 2:17. In other words, while an isolated reading of Joel often assumes that the people repent following 2:17, the Twelve does not narrate the repentance of YHWH's people prior to the generation of Haggai and Zechariah.[23]

Joel 4:14 mentions the day of YHWH as a day of judgment against the nations. It functions within a larger unit (4:9-17) that promises divine intervention. Joel 4:14-16 present a series of quotations which adapt judgment pronouncements against Judah into pronouncements against the nations. Joel 4:14 repeats the threat of the imminent day of YHWH from Joel 1:15 except Joel 4:14 portrays the nearness of the day of YHWH against the nations, not Judah. Joel 4:15 cites 2:10 with a similar change, and Joel 4:16a quotes Amos 1:2 thereby linking the upcoming oracles against the nations in Amos with the eschatological emphasis of Joel.[24] These quotes culminate in an explanation (4:17) that this divine intervention will demonstrate YHWH's beneficence toward Zion and Jerusalem.

Joel 4:18 contains the final specific reference to a day of divine intervention. It links Joel with the end of Amos by the citation of Amos 9:13. This citation introduces the final literary unit of Joel, a unit which reverses the devastation of Joel 1-2 by using catchwords to previously mentioned elements. The formula "on that day" places the expected time frame in conjunction with the promised judgment of the nations in the remainder of the chapter.

The images of days of divine intervention in Joel are diverse yet interwoven with the immediate and extended contexts. Joel's use of self-quotes helps move the reader from judgment against Judah to potential restoration and then to judgment against the nations. However, these references to days of divine intervention also provide threads of cohesion within the Twelve. By means of thematic combinations and direct citations, the days of divine intervention present a complex picture that picks up where Hosea leaves off

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[23]Not until Zech 1:2-6 does a prophetic text in the Twelve clearly indicate that the people repent. The superscription in Zech 1:1 precedes the date of the last messages in Haggai (see Hag 2:10, 20). Elsewhere only the Ninevites in Jonah repent.

[24]See Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuch*, BZAW 260 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998), 262-265.

and moves to Amos. References back to Joel's language associated with divine intervention also play a significant role in the Twelve at key points (cf. especially Zeph 1:14-15; 3:19-20; and Mal 3:23).

Amos

Amos 5:18-20, 8:4-14, and 9:11-15 anticipate days of divine intervention with more than a single reference to the day. *Amos 5:18-20* is often cited as the earliest text in the Hebrew Bible specifically using יום יהוה. The three uses of this phrase polemically contrast two different perceptions of the day of YHWH. Through a series of rhetorical questions, the voice of the prophet tells those who anticipate a day of divine intervention on their behalf that they are mistaken. The day of YHWH will bring darkness (חשך) and gloom (אפל) rather than light (אור) and brightness (נגה). These verses thus make two affirmations about the day of YHWH: 1) it will come as a day of judgment against the Northern Kingdom and 2) when the day comes, escape will be impossible.

Amos 5:18-20 existed within Amos long before Joel's composition, but at least two indicators suggest they should be read with Joel by the reader of the Twelve. Joel 4 (with its expectation of a day of divine judgment against the nations) contains quotations that link that chapter to the beginning and end of Amos. To this extent, one can say that Joel frames Amos. Moreover, Joel 2:2 links to Amos 5:18-20 via the explicit reference to the day of YHWH as a day of darkness (חשך) and gloom (אפלה). In fact, Amos 5:18-20 appears as the second of three texts in the Twelve which use this phrase.[25]

For the reader of the Twelve, the link between Amos 5:18-20 and Joel 2:2 provides evidence of deliberate association, but for what purpose? Does anything in the Amos context account for Joel's citation apart from the reference to the day of YHWH? One should not miss three intriguing associations. First, in Amos 5:16-17, the unit immediately preceding Amos

[25]See Zeph 1:15. See also the discussion in Schart, 220-222.

5:18-20, one finds several thematic and verbal links with the mourning of the farmers (cf. Joel 1:10-11), and the wailing "in all the streets" and "in all the vineyards" (cf. Joel 1:12; 2:12). Second, in the context preceding Amos 5:18-20, the chapter begins with the pronouncement of a dirge following a divine report of Israel's repeated refusals to return to YHWH using the refrain "yet you did not return to me," also used in Joel 2:12 as an admonition, "yet even now, return to me." Third, the context of Amos relates the dirge (5:1) and the proclamation of the imminence of the day of YHWH (5:18-20) to the destruction of the House of Israel with particular reference to Bethel and Gilgal (5:5).

When reading Hosea, Joel, and Amos sequentially, an interesting phenomenon occurs. Hosea ends with an open call to repentance to the Northern Kingdom, and Joel begins with a call to repentance for Judah and Jerusalem before the arrival of the day of YHWH. The day of YHWH in Amos 5:18-20 is again directed toward the Northern Kingdom, but it presumes the day of judgment will result from *Israel's* refusal to return to YHWH. By contrast, Zion receives a temporary reprieve (cf. Mic 7:8-20) before the day of YHWH pronouncement in Zeph 1:14-15 shows that Jerusalem will suffer the same fate on the day of YHWH just as Joel 2:2 had warned.

Amos 8 uses יום six times in the context of a day of divine intervention (8:3, 9 [2xs], 10, 11, 13). Amos 8:3 contains the formula "on that day," but it refers to a day of judgment rather than a promise. The phrase in 8:3 refers to the day of judgment which will bring an end to Israel. It appears within the explanation of the fourth vision. The verse is thus closely tied to its immediate context.

Amos 8:9-10 contains three references to יום. Amos 8:9-10 stands out as a small subunit by the introductory formula and the change of speaker to divine first person speech. While this speaker continues in 8:11-14, those verses signal a new paragraph by another introductory formula in 8:11. Amos 8:9 uses ביום ההוא as an introductory formula to refer to a day of divine intervention for judgment upon Israel. Day also appears in reference to YHWH's divine intervention that will make the sun grow dark in the middle of the day. Amos 8:10 refers to this coming day of judgment as a "day of

bitterness," a phrase which has its closest parallel in Zeph 1:14, a text which also played a role in the connection between Amos 5:18-20 and Joel.[26] Three things stand out about these verses. First, 8:9 uses ביום ההוא to introduce motifs already explicated within Amos 5:16-17, 18-20, 21-23. The darkening of the day sounds very much like 5:18, 20, and the festivals/songs turned to mourning in 8:10 recalls 5:21-23. Second, this association confirms a presumption noted at the beginning of this paper that the phrase "on that day" *can be* conceptually related to the concept of the day of YHWH. Third, the verbal links in this verse point to the larger context of Amos and to a lesser extent the (developing) Book of the Twelve. Amos 8:9-10 refers to the day of YHWH context of Amos five, but it also contains echoes of language from Hosea, Micah, and Zephaniah.[27] However, these images cannot be unambiguously labeled as direct citations.

Amos 8:11-12, 13-14 contain two additional formulas introducing a day of divine intervention. In 8:11, "Behold, the days are coming" offers a new introduction, but the images used in these verses do not explicitly link with the motifs of Amos 5 or to the broader context of the Twelve. Amos 8:11 refers to a famine in the *coming days*, but it is YHWH's word, not agricultural elements, that is lacking. Amos 8:13 contains another ביום ההוא formula which formally refers back to the time of the famine mentioned in 8:11. This verse does use images that appear in Amos 5. The verse refers to the *virgins* (בתולות) and the young men (הבחורים) who will faint from thirst. It leads to condemnation of those who swear by the guilt of Samaria . . . who will fall and not rise again." Similarly, Amos 5:2 refers to "the Virgin Israel (בתולת ישׂראל) who has fallen and will not rise."

In summary, the references to a day(s) of divine intervention in Amos 8 show a strong awareness of texts from Amos 5. This link is significant since

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[26]Zeph 1:14-18 contains several terms for the day of YHWH from elsewhere in the Twelve.

[27]In addition to the day of bitterness connection to Zeph 1:14, the "mourning for an only son" sounds much like YHWH's attitude toward Ephraim in Hos 11, although the term "only son" does not appear there. The term "baldness" appears only in Amos 8:10 and Mic 1:16 within the Book of the Twelve.

it correlates day of YHWH statements with ביום ההוא formulas. The "day" references in Amos 8 also contain images from the larger context of the Twelve, with links to Joel 2 and Zeph 1:14-15 being the strongest. As with the references to the day of YHWH in Amos 5, these verses also anticipate judgment upon the Northern Kingdom.

Amos 9:11-15 use יום twice to refer directly to divine intervention. Amos 9:11 contains two references to "day." One uses ביום ההוא to refer to YHWH's future restoration, and one compares this future day to the ideal "days of old." In its current form, this promise continues through 9:12 and vows to restore the kingdom under a single ruler. The promise in 9:11 links thematically with other royal restoration texts (e.g. Hos 2:2), although the link does not have strong verbal connections, making the question of deliberate association difficult. The image of restoration evoked by this promise functions on multiple levels. First, the promise presumes the destruction of Jerusalem, not just the split of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms, as can be seen from the language of rebuilding the city walls.[28] Since the setting of Amos is placed in the eighth century by the book's superscription, the promise of 9:11ff serves a metahistorical function.[29] Second, the anticipated restoration of the kingdom goes beyond the reunification of the two kingdoms since 9:12a also anticipates the retaking of "the remnant of Edom and all the nations who are called by my name." Amos 9:12 summarizes the message of Obadiah by announcing Edom's destruction (Obad 1-15) and the restoration of the Davidic kingdom by the combined house of Jacob and house of Joseph (Obad 18) as it (re)possesses Edom and the surrounding territory (Obad 19-21).[30] Again, ביום ההוא and יהוה יום are linked.

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[28]See discussion in Nogalski, *VT* 43 (1993): 411-418; and *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 217 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1993) 105-108.

[29]On the concept of metahistory, see Odil Hannes Steck, *Prophetenbücher und ihr theologisches Zeugnis* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1996) 50-54 (English translation forthcoming by Chalice Press).

[30]This association, when noted, was explained by the assumption that two completed works were placed side by side. Recent work suggests this association created redactionally by inserting part of this verse. See Nogalski, BZAW 217, 115-116, and Schart, 271-272.

Amos 9:13 contains a new introductory formula, "behold the days are coming," followed by a promise of astounding fertility (9:13) and restoration of the cities and crops (9:14-15). Several indicators point to editorial expansion of this short unit. The promise of continual agricultural abundance makes the promise of normalcy seem anti-climactic. Also, the explicit citation of Joel 4:18 in Amos 9:13b creates the suspicion that this reference has been added to establish the concluding link to Joel in Amos. By contrast, the promise of 9:14-15 presumes the devastation of the land and its cities will be restored with the return of "my people," the rebuilding of the cities, and a return to the land's ideal fertile state. The character of the divine intervention implied in these verses does not have the aggressive political overtones of 9:11-12. Apart from the direct link to Joel, the underlying promises in the two parts also have thematic links with the promises of Hos 2:1-25 where one finds the names of Hosea's children used to combine promises of political re-unification (2:2), devastation (2:14), exile to the wilderness (2:16), and restoration of the relationship that leads to normal agricultural patterns for "my people" (2:23-25).

The promises of divine intervention in Amos 9:11-15 connect thematically to the promises of Hos 2:2-25, but they also contain verbal links backward to Joel and forward to Obadiah. This multiplicity of connections gives Amos 9:11-15 the feel of a pastiche, combining several images of what will happen once YHWH intervenes on the people's behalf. This passage suggests that the day of divine intervention functioned as a stack pole for creating meaning across the multi-volume corpus as it developed.

Obadiah

The Hebrew word יום appears 12 times in Obadiah, and all twelve relate to a day of divine intervention. When one analyzes the events of those various days, one notes that the actual intervention combines more than one image. The terms begin with ביום ההוא (Obad 8) and end with a specific reference to the day of YHWH (Obad 15) on all the nations. The ביום ההוא formula

introduces a pronouncement of a divinely guided destruction of the wise and the mighty (Obad 9) on the mountain of Edom.

In the remaining instances, ten idiomatic expressions refer to the day of Jerusalem's destruction, accusations about Obadiah's role in that destruction, and the resulting punishment of Edom on the day of YHWH.[31] These idiomatic expressions can be noted in Obad 10-15, which address Edom directly:

[10]For the violence (done to) your brother Jacob, you will be covered
with shame.
And you will be cut off forever.
[11]*On the day* you stood far off,
On the day when strangers captured his wealth,
And foreigners entered his gates and cast lots over Jerusalem,
Moreover, you were like one of them.
[12]Do not look *on the day* of your brother, *on the day* of his calamity.
Do not rejoice about the sons of Judah *on the day* of their destruction.
And do not boast *on the day* of distress.
[13]Do not enter into the gate of my people *on the day* of their disaster.
Do not look, especially you, on his wickedness *on the day* of his disaster.
Do not loot his wealth *on the day* of his disaster.
[14]And do not stand in the crossroad to cut off his fugitives.
And do not deliver up his survivors *on the day* of distress,
[15]because the *day of YHWH* is near on account of all the nations.
Just as you have done it will be done to you.
Your recompense will return upon your own head.

Unlike Obad 8, the יום sayings in 11-15 allude to the destruction of Jerusalem as the day of divine intervention while warning Edom not to participate in Judah's punishment lest the same fate befall Edom on the day of YHWH for all nations. These verses convey this message using linguistic forms that display a bifurcated sense of time. On the one hand, the accusations against Edom presume knowledge about Edom's role in Jerusalem's destruction. On

[31]For a discussion of יום יהוה in Obadiah, see S. D. Snyman, "Yom (YHWH) in the Book of Obadiah," in *Goldene Äpfel in silbernen Schalen*, Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums 20 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1992) 81-91.

the other hand, most of the יום sayings use formulations which presume those events have not yet taken place. Obad 12-14 use the syntax of negative commands (אל + imperfect), whose chronological perspective assumes they are issued prior to an event. However, Obad 11 and 15 demonstrate knowledge that Edom *has already* done what 12-14 say not to do. This dichotomy is overcome when one understands the metahistorical perspective of Obadiah. Like Joel, Obadiah was aware of its literary location when it was compiled.[32] Obadiah's position among the 8th century prophets in the Twelve functions as a warning that justifies YHWH's punishment of Edom for indifference and/or its active participation in Jerusalem's destruction. The Jacob/Esau language of Obadiah implies Edom should have know better because of its lengthy relationship with YHWH's people. From the perspective of the Twelve, Edom receives a warning which paralleled the warning given to the Northern Kingdom.[33]

The יום sayings in Obadiah contain verbal and thematic ties to other Edom texts in the Latter Prophets, although it can be difficult to classify every link as idiom, parallel, allusion, or citation. One example of these idiomatic expressions illustrates the difficulty. The phrase "day of distress" occurs in Obad 12 and 14. This phrase occurs some 15 times in the Hebrew Bible.[34] The phrase appears almost as often in the Writings (6 times) as in the Prophets (8 times), even though the phrase occurs more often in the Twelve (5 times) than any other book.[35] The phrase could thus be a common idiom that has no definable role when reading the Twelve. However, it is striking that the phrase

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[32]See Nogalski, *Redactional Process in the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 218 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1993) 89-92.

[33]See my discussion of the parallel structure of Obadiah and Amos 9 in Nogalski, BZAW 218, 61-68; and "Jeremiah and the Twelve: Intertextual Observations and Postulations," a paper presented to the Society of Biblical Literature (1998).

[34]Gen 35:3; 2 Kgs 19:3 = Isa 37:3; Jer 16:19; Obad 12, 14; Nah 1:7; Hab 3:16; Zeph 1:15; Pss 20:2; 50:15; 77:3; 86:7; Prov 24:10; 25:19.

[35]In comparison, the phrase appears does not appear in Ezekiel and appears only once in Jeremiah (16:19). The only time it appears in Isaiah (37:3), it appears in the parallel to the Hezekiah story from 2 Kgs 19:3.

appears in texts with ties to the broader context of the Twelve and to the punishment of foreign nations in retaliation for their role in threatening Jerusalem. This contextual connection provides a certain cohesiveness to the recurring phrase as one reads the Twelve. However, despite the verbal similarity, one cannot say that the phrase was always originally used with the Twelve in mind. In Nah 1:7 the phrase already existed in the acrostic poem that was modified and incorporated into Nahum with an eye toward the context of the developing multi-volume corpus.[36] It was thus not written for the Twelve, but the phrase could have served a role in selecting the theophanic hymn to be placed at the start of Nahum. *In that context*, Nah 1:7 functions as the threat of a day of divinely delivered distress upon Assyria because they have threatened Judah. Similarly, the theophanic hymn in Hab 3:16 refers to the day of distress against Babylon *after* they attack Jerusalem.[37] However, in both instances, one would not *hear* these verses in the same way if these hymns appeared in Psalms (cf. Pss 20:2; 50:15; 77:3; 86:7) or Proverbs (24:10; 25:19). The odds are higher, however, that Obad 12, 14, and Zeph 1:15 were written specifically for a larger, developing corpus. In both contexts one finds the dual association of a threat to Jerusalem followed by a day of divine judgment against the nations. The fact that Zeph 1:14-18 contains links to Joel, Amos, and Obadiah makes it likely that these verses (along with other parts of Zeph 1:1-2:3) functioned as a collecting point for phrases related to the coming day of YHWH's intervention.

The greatest difference in these "day of distress" texts comes in the identity of the nation who threatens Jerusalem and who will subsequently be

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[36]Exactly when these hymns were incorporated into Nahum and Habakkuk is a matter of some debate. I have argued that they entered with the Joel-Related Layer (See BZAW 218) while Schart, 234-251, and Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaia 1-39 im Zwölfprophetenbuch: Untersuchungen zur literarischen Verbindung von Prophetenbüchern in babylonischer und persischer Zeit*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997) 269-432, raise significant arguments that (portions of) Nahum and Habakkuk entered the developing corpus prior to Joel.

[37]The prophetic first person response in Hab 3:16-19 to the theophanic description of 3:3-15 does not presume that the threat of the day of distress has been removed, only that God will provide strength and salvation. The context of the hymn in Habakkuk virtually demands that the reader should associate Babylon with the attacking enemy.

judged. Yet, even this difference makes sense when viewed within the metahistorical framework of the Twelve. The pronouncements against Edom, Assyria, and Babylon depend upon their location in the Twelve. Nahum and Habakkuk function within the chronological framework of the Twelve to anticipate YHWH's use of Assyria and Babylon to confront the people of Judah, while at the same time affirming that YHWH will remove these powers from the scene because they overstep the role which YHWH sent them to perform. Obadiah transcends the chronological framework by virtue of its location among the 8th century prophets, but its composition deliberately creates structural and thematic parallels to Amos 9, thereby comparing the ultimate fate of Edom with Israel (the Northern Kingdom) while still anticipating Jerusalem's punishment. The complexity of the "day of distress" applies to other phrases as well.

The day of YHWH saying in Obad 15 functions similarly. This verse transitions to a day of divine intervention on the nations (especially those of the Davidic Kingdom) that will play out *after* Edom has been judged (Obad 18) and possessed (Obad 19) by the "house of Jacob" and the "house of Joseph." The careful reader of the Twelve recognizes that the expression "the day of YHWH is near" has occurred in Joel. It reappears again in Zeph 1:7, 14.[38] Two observations raise questions about the function of the day of YHWH sayings in the Twelve. First, the particular form of "near" (קרוב) appears only in conjunction with day of YHWH texts (Joel 1:15; 2:1; 4:14; Obad 15; Zeph 1:7, 14 [twice]).[39] Second, this phrase does not appear in any of the writings that function as "postexilic"writings in the Twelve. In other words, this phrase does not appear in Haggai, Zechariah, or Malachi.[40]

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[38]The same formulation כי קרוב יום יהוה appears in 1:15; 4:14. See also the closely related formulation in 2:1.

[39]Compare the fact that this phrase appears elsewhere only three times in the Latter Prophets (Isa 13:6; Ezek 7:7; 30:3), while the adjective קרוב appears some 72 times in the Hebrew Bible.

[40]Those writings tend to portray a day of divine intervention differently, in a manner that suggests awareness of their postexilic function in the Twelve, but that is the subject of another paper.

The identity of those whom YHWH will use to destroy Edom in Obad 18 should not be overlooked. The combination of the house of Jacob and the house of Joseph denotes a reunified kingdom. The phrase "house of Joseph" is particularly instructive. It appears 17 times in the Hebrew Bible, but only three times in the Latter Prophets, and never in the Writings.[41] The Former Prophets identify the term with the territory of Ephraim and Manasseh (see Josh 17:17, 2 Kgs 11:28). All three uses of the term in the Latter Prophets appear in the Twelve. Amos 5:6 uses the same metaphor of the consuming fire to pronounce judgment upon the house of Joseph that Obad 18 uses to depict judgment upon Edom. The house of Jacob appears 21 times, most frequently in the Isaiah corpus (9 times) and in the Twelve (6 times).[42] In Isaiah and Micah the phrase refers to Judah, which makes the most sense in Obad 17-18 because of the combination of the house of Jacob/Joseph. The term appears twice in Amos with 3:3 referring to the Northern Kingdom as the house of Jacob while 9:8 refers to the remnant of the kingdom as the house of Jacob. The combination of these two entities appears only in Obad 18, and connotes restoration that reflects the reunification of the Davidic kingdom.

Obadiah's role in the literary context of the Twelve and the prophetic corpus should be noted. First, Obadiah was compiled for its position in the Twelve. Its careful structural, thematic, and verbal imitation of Amos 9 make this perspective plausible (an in my mind probable).[43] Second, Obadiah's three-fold movement of the day of divine intervention also plays a role in Malachi, the final writing in the Twelve. Obadiah anticipates a day of judgment on Jerusalem that will lead to a day of judgment on Edom as the first of the surrounding nations to be judged on the Day of YHWH against the nations. In the Twelve, Edom receives periodic mention in Joel and Amos, and is the

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[41]Gen 39:22; 43:17; 43:18, 19, 24; 44:14; 50:8; Josh 17:17; 18:5; Judg 1:22, 23, 35; 2 Sam 19:21; 1 Kgs 11:28; Amos 5:6; Obad 18; Zech 10:6.

[42]Gen 46:27; Exod 19:3; Isaiah 2:5, 6; 8:17; 10:20; 14:1; 29:22; 46:3; 48:1; 58:1; Jer 2:4, 20; Ezek 20:5; Amos 3:13; 9:8; Obad 17, 18; Mic 2:7; 3:9; Pss 114:1.

[43]See Nogalski BZAW 218, 61-68; and "Jeremiah and the Twelve: Intertextual Observations and Postulations."

subject of extensive treatment in Obadiah, but it is not mentioned again until Malachi.[44] More interestingly, the three-fold movement of the day of divine intervention in Obadiah is presumed to be in process in Malachi. Elsewhere I have demonstrated how Mal 1:2-5 displays knowledge of Obadiah, not just nebulous traditions about Edom, except both the judgment on Jerusalem and the desolation of Edom are now in the past.[45] Thus, two of the three "days of divine intervention" anticipated in Obadiah have come to pass, while the third movement is not mentioned in Mal 1:2-5. However, reference to the day of YHWH virtually concludes Malachi with the citation of Joel 3:4 in Mal 3:23: Behold I am going to send you Elijah the prophet before the *coming of the great and terrible day of YHWH*. The coming day of YHWH in Mal 3:23 will be directed at the wicked, not just the nations, but this alteration reflects the situation presented by Malachi where YHWH's people as a whole have returned to false worship practices just as at the beginning of the Twelve, while some of "the nations" have begun turning toward YHWH (cf. Mal 1:11-14). Thus, Jerusalem has been punished, Edom has been destroyed, and on the coming day of YHWH, the righteous will defeat the wicked (Mal 3:21). One sees a similar dynamic in the Isaiah corpus (cf. Isa 34:5-6, 63:1-6) where verbal links unite two widely separated texts in the expectation of the divine warrior's victory on the day of recompense against the nations (cf. Isa 34:8) that begins with Edom's destruction.

In summary, the day of divine intervention in Obadiah appears as a sequence of days of judgment with three recipients: Edom, Judah, and the nations. Judah's punishment (destruction and exile) is presumed (Obad 10-15, 20), even though the event is set in the future, and the reason for the punishment is never addressed. Edom's punishment is portrayed as as a future event that will occur *after* Jerusalem's destruction as a result of Edom's hostility toward Jerusalem.

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[44]The Twelve specifically mentions Edom in Joel 4:19; Amos 1:6, 9, 11; 2:1; 9:12; Obadiah; and Mal 1:4.

[45]Nogalski, BZAW 218, 190-191.

Conclusion

Significant verbal and thematic links show that the concept of a day of divine intervention provides literary cohesion to the writings of Hosea through Obadiah. These links suggest that the other writings of the Twelve are also involved. These links include more than the phrase יום יהוה. All four writings demonstrate thematic links, while the later writings (Joel and Obadiah) show more explicit signs of deliberate verbal links which combine references to days of divine intervention across the writings of the Twelve.