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Theodicy in the Book of the Twelve

James L. Crenshaw

Because some historic events defy rationality, they append a huge question mark to fixed belief, transforming a society accustomed to affirmation into one plagued with interrogatives. The twentieth century alone witnessed several such transformative events beginning with World War I and concluding with the AIDS epidemic that continues to claim millions of lives in the new millennium. For many historians, the singular event of a century captivated by ethnic consciousness took the lives of over six million Jews and others targeted for elimination or condemned by association. Response to the Shoah has varied from a type of muscular Judaism aimed at defeating Hitler's ultimate goal (Emil Fackenheim) to an abandoning of theism altogether in favor of voluntarism determined to establish a safe haven for the Jewish people in the modern state of Israel (Arthur A. Cohen). Between these extremes, others have given up the long-standing conviction that God works within history, rewarding virtue and punishing sin, and blessing a chosen people (Irving Greenberg); they have opted for cyclical repetitiveness of nature (Richard Rubenstein); or they have stressed ultimate mystery and, ironically, the necessity of silence in the face of the unspeakable (Elie Wiesel). Victims have been viewed as martyrs, their suffering construed as vicarious, or they have been considered the ugly consequence of freedom bestowed on humankind by a deity who has hidden the divine face.[1] Consequently, the relationship

[1] Steven T. Katz, "Holocaust: Judaic Theology and the," 406–20 in *The Encyclopedia of Judaism*, eds. Jacob Neusner, Alan Avery-Peck, and William Scott Green (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999). Perhaps one should distinguish between theodicies and responses to the sheer magnitude of evil encountered in the Holocaust such as mystery and silence (William Scott Green, "Facing the One God Together," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 26 (1999) 308. With few exceptions, Judaic responses have exonerated God or left the traditional conception of God intact, according to Green, who adds that "Post-Holocaust Jewish prayer is like pre-Holocaust prayer: same blessings, same petitions, same questions, same answers"

between creator and sentient creature, once thought crystal clear, has become clouded with mystery. Two previously held convictions have become problematic: that God controls history and is compassionate, just, and powerful. Perhaps a third assurance has also fallen by the way: that God *is*.

Christian theology, unexplainably less touched by the Shoah, has nonetheless taken a direct hit, particularly liberalism's optimism, its belief in progress, and its exalted view of human nature. Here, too, extreme responses occurred, ranging from Neo-Orthodoxy's ringing re-affirmation of traditional beliefs to the announcement that God is dead. The phenomenon of fundamentalism flourishes as believers refuse to be overwhelmed by the *anomie* that characterizes modern existence.[2] Divine favoritism, once widely extolled, has become an embarrassment, except to those who consider themselves God's chosen, and the historical paradigm associated with the idea of an elect people has lost its appeal in a global society where competing religious claims must be taken into account.[3] In

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(*ibid.*, 309). One is reminded of a story by Eli Wiesel about a trial of God by three Talmudic scholars at Auschwitz. They listened to witnesses and weighed evidence for several evenings, finally issuing a unanimous judgment. "The Lord God Almighty, Creator of Heaven and Earth, was found *guilty* of crimes against creation and humankind. And then, after what Weisel calls an infinity of silence, the Talmudic scholars looked at the sky and said, 'It's time for evening prayers,' and the members of the Tribunal recited Maariv, the evening service" (Robert McAfee Brown, introduction to E. Wiesel's play, *The Trial of God* [New York: Schocken, 1995]) 7.

[2] The single term, lawlessness, captures best the lack of rhyme or reason that has replaced an earlier view of an order governing the entire universe. The resurgence of religious intolerance represents the conservative response to a threatened collapse in theological orthodoxy. When individuals see cherished doctrine under attack, the natural inclination is to reaffirm it rather than explore the reasons others consider the belief no longer adequate. Aggressive reaffirmation thus undercuts any possible dialogue with persons who hold different religious views. For the term *anomie* and the social aspects of theodicy, see Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1969) 53–80. Walter Brueggemann, "Theodicy in a Social Dimension," *JSOT* 33 (1985) 3–24 faults Old Testament scholars for ignoring the social aspect of theodicy, but James L. Crenshaw, "The Sojourner Has Come to Play the Judge: Theodicy on Trial," 83–92 in *God in the Fray: A Tribute to Walter Brueggemann*, eds. Tod Linafelt and Timothy K. Beal (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), demurs.

[3] Clark M. Williamson, *Way of Blessing Way of Life: A Christian Theology* (St. Louis; Chalice Press, 1999) 67–72 deals helpfully with the question, "Is there one true religion, or are there many?" and discusses the possibility of inter-religious

such a context, the question of God's character has assumed center stage for theists, and with it, the issue of theodicy in its purest sense, specifically a defense of divine justice.[4] Eighteenth and nineteenth century understandings of theodicy as (1) attempts to show that belief in a deity can coincide with belief in a mechanistic universe and (2) to demonstrate the intellectual credibility of an infinite being or power have nothing to do with theodicy as manifest in the Bible and its ancient Near Eastern context. Such post-Enlightenment efforts to buttress faith have come under attack recently, for valid reasons,[5] but earlier discussions of divine

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dialogue. He examines five options to this question: (1) the exclusivist claim that Christianity is the only true religion and that salvation is granted only to Christians; (2) the inclusivist position that Christianity is the one true religion but one's ultimate salvation is a separate issue; (3) the pluralist option, in which all religions are equally true and salvation is granted to all; (4) a view that salvation does not adhere to a single religion, for other religions may be true; and (5) Christian claims are true but stand under the judgment of revelatory events that make Christians forgiven sinners.

[4] In the introduction to the journal referred to in note 1, David Nelson Duke conveniently specifies various types of theodicy at the turn of the twentieth century. He lists theodicies of: (1) fatalism, (2) accountability and calculation, (3) instrumental purpose, (4) expressivity, and (5) denial. Duke includes theodicies emphasizing God's impenetrable mystery in the first category, and he notes the magical dimensions of control underlying the second type, the human attempt to escape the consequence of evil through mental gymnastics such as prayer or positive thinking, akin to bootstrapism. In the third type he sees the danger of self-abuse encouraged by an abusive deity; in the fourth he recognizes a form of escapism from the real world; and in the fifth category he notices signs of trivializing evil through sloppy language and improper use of analogies. Other contributors to this volume of *Perspectives in Religious Studies* address the general problem of theodicy in the Hebrew Bible (Walter Brueggemann), the particular case of Job (Samuel E. Balentine), insights from Buddhism and the possibility of compassion as a practical theodicy (Wendy Farley), the problem of the white Christ from the perspective of Dietrich Bonhoeffer (Josiah Ulysses Young), and Dostoevsky on evil as a perversion of personhood (Ralph C. Wood). The editors, Duke and Balentine, conclude the issue with an impassioned plea that Jews and christians rethink the concept of God. The ramifications of bold rethinking can be seen in my forthcoming article entitled "The Reification of divine Evil" and in David Penchansky, *What Rough Beast? Images of God in the Hebrew Bible* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), as well as the various articles in *Shall Not the Judge of all the Earth Do What Is Right: Studies on the Nature of God in Tribute to James L. Crenshaw,* eds. David Penchansky and Paul L. Redditt (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000).

[5] Terrence W. Tilley, *The Evils of Theodicy* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2000) argues that theodicy creates evil by silencing powerful voices of

justice are not vulnerable to these criticisms. Biblical theodicy, remote from purely intellectual exercises, arises from the anomalies of existence and endeavors to make sense of reality in the light of the prevailing world view.[6]

Theodicy in the Bible and Parallel Literature

Wisdom and Apocalyptic

Within the Bible, theodicy finds its purest expression in the book of Job, usually linked with the wisdom books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Sirach, and Wisdom of Solomon.[7] The deutero-canonical Second Esdras, an apocalyptic masterpiece, rivals the biblical book of Job in posing the question of divine justice. Together these books raise the issue as it

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insight and healing (p. 1). On the basis of a theory of speech act, he considers the silencing of Job and the distortion of subsequent texts; specifically Augustine's *Enchiridion*, Boethius' *The Consolation of Philosophy*, Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*, and George Eliot's *Adam Bede*. Tilley dislikes the theoretical nature of Post-enlightenment theodicies and insists on the need for practical responses to evil, together with the use of spiritual texts such as Job, Boethius, Julian of Norwich, and Simone Weil. For Tilley, the most shocking feature of modern theodicies is the effacement of Job (p. 245), which may be true of theologians in general but does not apply to biblical scholars. *Theodicy in the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) which I edited will soon give way to a comprehensive *Handbook of Theodicy* in the ancient Near East to be edited by Antti Laato and Johannes C. de Moor and published by E. J. Brill and by a volume that I have given the provisional title *Deities on Trial: Questioning Divine Justice in the Bible*, to be published by Oxford University Press. The present essay should be supplemented by my contribution to the *Handbook of Theodicy*, specifically "Theodicy and Prophetic Literature."

[6] In a forthcoming article entitled "Theodicy, Theology, and Philosophy: Early Israel and Judaism," I describe the cultural assumptions in the ancient Near East that underlie discussions of evil (*Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press]).

[7] Classifying the book of Job as wisdom literature requires that one put more emphasis on content than style, as various critics have underscored. The prominence of lament does not override the dominant intellectual query about the adequacy of interpreting suffering on the basis of a rigid theory of act and consequence. The cognitive dimension almost equals the affective one in the powerful exploration of the right response to suffering and the possibility of disinterested virtue. Still, it must be conceded that the book of Job includes features otherwise absent from wisdom literature, most notably theophanic addresses.

pertains to an individual and to humanity at large. Whereas the book of Job focuses on divine abuse of a faithful servant, Second Esdras nationalizes the issue, indeed comes close to universalizing it. An exquisite Psalm, the seventy-third, transforms a personal experience of wrestling with theodicy into a communal occasion for openly facing doubt without loss of trust in divine goodness.[8] Parallels to these texts dealing with Yahweh's justice have much in common with them: a brief section in the Egyptian Admonition of Ipuwer, the Sumerian parallel to Job, the Babylonian I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom, and Theodicy. Less directly, but nonetheless related, are Ecclesiastes and its parallel, A Dialogue between a Master and his Slave, possibly also the Ugaritic Epics of Kirtu and Dan'el. The answers provided in this literature, less profound than the vetting of the issue, range from blaming the gods for creating perverse humans to condemning people as guilty, from acknowledging ignorance in the face of ultimate mystery to assurance that obedient worship will bring divine favor once more, from despair to hope. Because the sages responsible for this remarkable literature belonged to the intellectual elites[9] of society, their reflections on life's deepest mysteries occasion no surprise.

Popular Sentiment

Neither does the hue and cry of the less cerebral among the populace, ordinary women and men who faced adversity and were unable to accommodate calamity with ancestral beliefs transmitted over the

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[8] The interplay of realism and imagination turns this majestic psalm into what is arguably the theological center of the Psalter, despite unresolved questions about the exact scope of the union with the deity in the closing verses, or even the nature of the transforming experience in El's sacred place (v. 17). Both the literary artistry and theological profundity of this assessment of the belief that God is good to the pure in heart occupy pride of place in my discussion of this psalm in *The Psalms: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 109–27.

[9] Few investigators into the level of literacy in ancient Israel consider it high, given the agrarian economy and managed control by the elite scribes who profited from its scarcity. Analogies with the sophisticated cultures in Mesopotamia and Egypt cut both ways. The tiny percentage of literate people, perhaps approximating one percent, and the greater demand for scribes than in Israel point one way, even as the simplicity of Hebrew when compared with cuneiform and hieroglyphics points another way. On this complex issue, see James L. Crenshaw, *Education in Ancient Israel: Across the Deadening Silence* (New York: Doubleday, 1998).

generations.[10] Their openness to doubt, forced on them by episodic and rampant evil, grew out of the inadequacy of a religion founded on calculatable morality once individualism surged to dominance. In addition, the conviction that Israel and Judah enjoyed the status of a favored nation plunged precipitously as successive empires from Assyria and Babylon wreaked havoc on the two kingdoms. Judging from complaints within the Psalter, the loss of honor that accompanied these defeats and the painful mockery heaped on Yahwists evoked a profound theological crisis. The question "Where is your God?" yielded no easy answer. Religious pragmatism, encouraged by the dogma of reward and retribution, more often than not led to abandonment of traditional belief, particularly in a culture with no really dominant belief-system. With faith up for grabs, the prominence of theodicy in popular sentiment makes sense.

Prophecy

Where such questioning of divine justice seems out of place, however, is within biblical prophecy. By its very nature, prophecy conveys a divine message to society's leaders and ultimately to the populace in general, whom it also represents to the deity. This intermediary role implies a unique relationship between prophets and their divine commissioner, one based on a calling to service and implying affinity of intellect and affect. The titles associated with biblical prophets emphasize their unique relationship, a bond resulting from having been summoned, from the actual task of speaking on behalf of the deity (*nābîʾ*), or from possession (*ʾîš haʾelôhîm, ʾîš harûaḥ*). Alternatively, they stress either the prophet's access to divine secrets through special insight, usually called clairvoyance, or divinatory technique (*ḥôzeh, rôʾeh*). Given the bond linking prophet and deity, and the peculiar vocation of the former, one hardly expects theodicy to come into play. That seems the case in extra-biblical prophecy

[10] The investigation of popular belief, which captured my imagination over three decades ago (*Prophetic Conflict: Its Effect upon Israelite Religion* [BZAW, 124; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1971] and "Popular Questioning of the Justice of God in Ancient Israel," *ZAW* 82 [1970], 380–95) has begun to intrigue others who bring different questions to the table from those preoccupying me then. Without assuming that citations attributed to the people accurately reflect fact on one level, we may credibly imply verisimilitude; otherwise the literary fiction would have floundered. There is no evidence that readers rejected the attributions as unreliable descriptions of popular belief. Moshe Greenberg, *Biblical Prose Prayer as a Window to the Popular Religion of Ancient Israel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983) uses a similar argument to justify his treatment of fictional prayers as true to life.

as preserved in ancient Mari and in Neo-Assyrian texts from the seventh century, where ecstatics (*muḥḥum*), diviners (*šabru, šāilu, apilum*), and proclaimers (*raggimu*) communicate messages from various deities, especially Adad and Ishtar, to ruling authorities—Zimri-Lim at Mari, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal in Nineveh.[11]

Biblical prophets distance themselves from Yahweh long enough to ponder the anomalies of history and their impact on the divine character, particularly the aspect of justice. They do so from a sense of personal affront and from a perception that the forces of chaos have gained the upper hand. Yahweh's failure to honor his promises to a loyal prophet like Jeremiah and to Moses and King David in regard to Israel and Zion reflected negatively on the divine character, just as the argument about the natural order of things and the causal nexus of sin and its consequences grew increasingly more problematic. Above all, liturgical renderings of events in terms of instrumental purpose, even when that goal meant catastrophe for those who saw themselves as the elect, introduced theodicy into the act of worship itself. The inexplicable fall of Jerusalem despite belief in its inviolability and razing of Yahweh's residence demanded a prophetic response that answered the charge of divine impotence or malice.[12]

In Ezekiel's case, a persistent attack on divine justice by the people exacerbated the issue and resulted in a virtual shouting match venting more fury than insight. When calm prevailed, he caught a glimpse of a deeper meaning in Yahweh's departure to Babylon, symbolized by the *kabod*, and perceived the utter nothingness of idols.[13] His closing shout,

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[11] Recent interpreters of these prophetic texts have concentrated on their social context more than their theological content, with the exception of Simo Parpola, *Assyrian Prophecies* (SAA 9; Helsinki University Press, 1997), whose speculative description of a monotheistic religion involving Ishtar of Arbela argues for a continuity with later Graeco-Roman and Hellenistic philosophy. Martti Nissinen, *References to Prophecy in Neo-Assyrian Sources* (SAAS 7; Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1998) and "Spoken, Written, Quoted, and Invented: Orality and Writtenness in Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy," 235–71 in *Writings and Speech in Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy*, eds. Ehud Ben Zvi and Michael H. Floyd (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000) and Karel van der Toorn, "From the Oral to the Written: The Case of Old Babylonian Prophecy," 219–34 in *Writings and Speech in Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy* examine the phenomenon of prophecy—its institutional setting, official titles, mode of proclamation, and preservation in writing.

[12] These five occasions for theodicy are developed in my "Theodicy and Prophetic Literature."

[13] John F. Kutsko, *Between Heaven and Earth: Divine Presence and Absence in the Book of Ezekiel* (Biblical and Judaic Studies 7; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns,

reaffirming divine presence in a restored Zion, now made idyllic, stands in stark contrast to the lonely descent into despair attributed to Jeremiah in the so-called confessions. The empty affirmation of Yahweh's justice (12:1a) slipped precipitously when Jeremiah dared to direct charges against the deity (20:7). Innocence, the forensic meaning of *ṣaddîq*, quickly changed to its opposite, guilt.

The Minor Prophets

The Minor Prophets differ little from Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel in this regard. For some of them, Isaiah's near-silence about theodicy becomes normative; for others, the examples of Ezekiel and Jeremiah prevail. The only investigation into the problem of theodicy within the entire Book of the Twelve of which I have any knowledge advances the argument that the issue never surfaced in genuine prophecy but was inserted into the text by scribal editors who wished to shape the reading of prophetic literature in a desired direction.[14] This interpretation of the facts avoids the difficulty discussed above—the possibility that individuals commissioned by Yahweh could question the justice of the one in whose service they proclaimed a divine word—but misconstrues the actual religio-historical context of prophecy.[15]

2000) clarifies the importance of theodicy to the prophet Ezekiel, particularly in regard to idolatry. Kutsko emphasizes the means by which Ezekiel comes to Yahweh's defense, above all the relegation of idols to non-entities and the departure of the divine presence but ultimately its return and the restoration of a chastened people. Kutsko's argument, thoroughly philological, makes good use of literary features to illuminate the theological context in which Ezekiel moved.

[14] Raymond C. Van Leeuwen, "Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy in the Book of the Twelve," 31–49 in *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John Gammie*, eds. Leo G. Perdue, Bernard Brandon Scott, and William Johnston Wiseman (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993), Van Leeuwen traces allusions to Exod 34:6–7 in the Book of the Twelve, arguing that forerunners of Ben Sira introduced theodicy as an explanation for the catastrophic events in 722 and 587 BCE. He discusses Hos 14:10 (also 1:6, 9); Mic 2:7–8a; 7:18–20 via 4:5 and Ps 25:4–13; Joel 2:12–14; 4:21 [3:21]; Amos 4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6, Obad (the references to Yahweh's day); Jonah 3:5–10; 4:1–2, 3–11; Nah 1:2b–3a; and Habakkuk. Indeed, Van Leeuwen thinks Mic 6–7 comprises a miniature theodicy.

[15] By placing the controversy over Yahweh's justice in the circle of the wise, Van Leeuwen isolates biblical prophets from daily life in a way that flies in the face of their frequent readiness to wrestle with difficult theological questions. It is more probable that biblical prophets joined the fray and thus were not insulated from the challenges to traditional belief but experienced them both professionally and personally. Their concept of God and theology of election guaranteed the

Modalities of Thinking

In a given society some people continue to believe what they have been taught about the deity regardless of historical circumstances. Others abandon traditional teachings at the drop of a hat. However one explains these dispositions to question everything or to accept things without reservation, they introduce a distinct dynamic into a religious community. The resulting struggle for dominance frequently overlooks the positive contribution of such tension. Each view represents a partial truth. Many, if not most, traditional beliefs have stood the test of time and will probably survive the present crisis. Therefore, its detractors need a reminder that considerable time and energy have been invested in the teaching. Nevertheless, not all beliefs can pass muster when confronting major shifts in cultural assumptions.[16] The inadequacy of these features of the belief-system are thus exposed to full view, opening its adherents to mockery. Occasionally, the imperative mood carries the day as a result of subjecting the declarative to the interrogative, and authority-figures issue the great demands that, if obeyed, keep the tradition intact. We can see all three perspectives at work in the Book of the Twelve.

Denial

When this tension eases, a religious community tends to abandon the tradition altogether or to pretend that no problem exists. The latter approach occurs in Zeph 3:1–5, which denies the mere possibility of divine injustice.

> Ah, soiled, defiled, oppressing city!
> It has listened to no voice;
> it has accepted no correction.
> It has not trusted in the Lord;
> it has not drawn near to its God.
> The officials within it are roaring lions;
> its judges are evening wolves
> that leave nothing until the morning.

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emergence of theodicy. Nevertheless, Van Leeuwen's initial insight, that some of these texts that rush to defend divine justice are editorial glosses, can not be faulted. The issue, then, becomes one of origin, whether scribal or prophetic.

[16] The modern references to a shift in paradigm from history to literature indicate an awareness that the manner of interpreting texts for nearly two centuries has given way to a rival one that never really disappeared. Similarly, the furor over Post-Enlightenment views and the desire to replace them with older ways of viewing the world reveal the emotional involvement in cultural assumptions.

Its prophets are reckless, faithless persons;
its priests have profaned what is sacred,
they have done violence to the law.
The Lord within it is righteous (*ṣaddîq*);
he does no wrong (*ʿawlâ*).
Every morning he renders his judgment,
each dawn without fail;
but the unjust knows no shame.[17]

The exuberant confidence of the prophet Zephaniah matches that exemplified in Psalm 92, which envisions a just society with God unfailingly rewarding the righteous and finally crushing the wicked. The psalmist acknowledges the mystery of momentary success on the part of evildoers but attributes lack of understanding to human laziness and divine profundity (92:5–6). In this Lord who causes the righteous to flourish like a well watered palm the psalmist can detect no sign of injustice. The prophet Zephaniah suffers no delusions as to the extent of corruption in the holy city, but this moral laxity contrasts with the deity's perfection. Human leaders, without exception, are judged to be guilty—officials, judges, prophets, and priests. For them, the usual deterrent to ravenous conduct, a wish to avoid the slightest hint of shame, has lost its power, leaving them bereft of honor. Over against this perfidy stands a divine incapacity to do wrong, at least as the prophet sees things. Others may berate Yahweh for failing to keep times of judgment, but Zephaniah detects no such dereliction of duty.[18]

A similar passage in Ezek 22:23–31, an oracle attributed to the deity, lacks the assertion of divine justice but has the negative assessment of Judah's leaders. The behavior of its princes is likened to roaring lions; its priests have violated the teaching with respect to the sacred and the profane; its officials act like hungry wolves; its prophets invent visions and proclaim lies; and the people of the land commit extortion and robbery against the powerless. The expansionist nature of this text when compared with Zeph 3:1–5 makes it difficult to determine the precise relationship between the two, but the resemblances are too close to be accidental. Zephaniah's oracle about the defiled city and its leaders does

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[17] The translations in this article come from the NRSV.

[18] Ignoring the first half of verse 5, the assertion that the righteous Yahweh can do no wrong, Adele Berlin concentrates on the concluding half-verse and compares its single idea, in her view, to Psalm 19, which associates judgment and sunlight (*Zephaniah* [New York: Doubleday, 1994) 130. J. Schreiner, "*awel, ʿwla, ʿwl, ʿiwwal*," *TDOT* X (1999) 529 contrasts the biblical insistence on Yahweh's freedom from wrongdoing (e.g., in Ps 92:15 [16], Zeph 3:5; Deut 32:4) with the people's proclivity to sinful acts.

not stop with this negative assessment but shifts to divine speech announcing a purging of the citizens, leaving a few humble people incapable of wrongdoing (3:6–13). Ezekiel mentions nothing beyond the outpouring of divine indignation, although the prophet will have more to say later about the restoration of Israel and Judah. An eschatological dimension seems to hover over Zephaniah's words, with the gathering of nations for judgment and invocation of the Lord recalling Joel's remarkable look into the future.[19]

The gloss that concludes the book of Hosea also denies that divine injustice exists.

> Those who are wise understand these things;
> those who are discerning know them.
> For the ways of the Lord are right (*yešārîm*),
> and the upright (*ṣaddiqîm*) walk in them,
> but transgressors stumble on them
> (Hos 14:10).

The difference between this affirmation and Zephaniah's is noteworthy. Whereas Zephaniah characterizes Yahweh as *ṣaddîq*, indeed incapable of doing *ʿawlâ*, the gloss in Hosea refers to divine activity, rather than the deity's nature, uses a word indicating straight dealings, and reserves the adjective *ṣaddiqîm* for obedient people.[20]

Questioning the Traditional Affirmation that Virtuous People Prosper

The book of Malachi represents the opposite perspective from Zephaniah, for the issue of theodicy occupies a prominent place in the

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[19] For Joel's anticipation of a day when Yahweh will sit in judgment over the nations, see James L. Crenshaw, *Joel* (New York: Doubleday, 1995) 186–96. Historical events made it increasingly necessary to explain the dominance of foreigners over a covenant people, and the resulting sense of helplessness fueled eschatological hope that Yahweh would eventually punish the nations for their harsh treatment of his devotees. The fundamental basis for this optimism was the conviction that Yahweh's justice could not be compromised.

[20] The claim that the gloss in Hos 14:10 derives from sages rests on the dubious assumption that they held a monopoly on cognitive vocabulary. Were the prophets interested in being understood and in addressing discerning hearers? The answer to this question can only be a resounding "yes." It follows that the open expression of this wish to have astute hearers (and readers) does not necessarily indicate the interests of a different sociological group. The language consists of nothing that belongs exclusively in wisdom literature, for everything in the verse fits nicely within prophecy.

heated discussion between prophet and detractors.[21] Indeed, the divine character opens itself to a charge of favoritism at the very beginning (1:2–5), a preference for Jacob over Esau expressed in terms of love and hate. Like the gloss in Hos 14:10, Malachi's opponents concentrate on Yahweh's activity, or lack of it.

> You have wearied the Lord with your words.
> Yet you say, "How have we wearied him?" By saying, "All who do evil are good in the sight of the Lord, and he delights in them." Or by asking, "Where is the God of justice?"

The prophet prefers silence to the relentless pursuit of answers, relegating into oblivion the problem of delayed recompense for evil and reward for virtue. His detractors possess too much integrity to remain silent; their disappointment in Yahweh takes extreme form—the idea that the deity actually delights in wickedness. Small wonder they inquire about the whereabouts of a God who values *mišpaṭ*. The deity smarts from the intensity of attack.

> You have spoken harsh words against me, says the Lord. Yet you say, "How have we spoken against you?" You have said, "It is vain to serve God. What do we profit by keeping his command or by going about as mourners before the Lord of hosts? Now we count the arrogant happy; evildoers not only prosper, but when they put God to the test they escape."

Here we encounter the age-old problem of a misfit between the comforting belief that a principle of reward and retribution governs the universe and life as it is actually experienced. Here, too, the author sacrifices present reality by gazing into the future when, he thinks, a heavenly book[22] will reveal the names of those who have trusted Yahweh in spite of everything and when justice will finally dawn on earth.

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[21] Like the book of Jonah with its single oracle of five words, Malachi rests uneasily in the prophetic corpus. The prevailing tone is that of discussion, or even argument, with a wide range of issues from moral to ritual (Julia O'Brien, *Priest and Levite in Malachi* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990]).

[22] Shalom M. Paul, "Heavenly Tablets and the Book of Life," *JANESCU* 5 (1973) 345–53 discusses the scope of ancient Near Eastern speculation about the deity's active role in determining an individual's ultimate destiny by means of a written record. This early version of "Santa Claus lore" ("He's making a list and checking it twice; gonna find out whose naughty or nice") blossomed in later apocalyptic, bringing comfort to an oppressed people. Underlying the idea is a calculating morality, according to which one's fate depends entirely on a final weighing of good deeds against evil ones reminiscent of the Egyptian belief that one's virtues would be weighed against the goddess of justice, Maat.

The vexing disparity between virtue and its reward lies at the heart of the circumstances that elicited disquieting remarks attributed to Habakkuk in 1:2–4. An endless cry for help has fallen on deaf ears, or so it appears, and injustice prevails as perverse judgments favor the wicked. The prophet's language suggests the extent of his exasperation; intercession on his part has met with stony silence rather than expected deliverance. Neither persistence, implied by *ʿad-ʿānâ*, nor extreme duress, suggested by the combined verb *ʾezʿaq* and noun *ḥāmās*,[23] has moved Yahweh to ameliorate the situation. Furthermore, Habakkuk expresses resentment at being forced by Yahweh to observe such total overturning of society's values. On the surface, at least, the facts hardly support traditional belief that Yahweh cares deeply about justice.

The divine response in 1:5–11 uses a common prophetic motif, foreigners as instruments of Yahweh's punishment, to open Habakkuk's eyes to a deeper dimension of the problem. The idea is presented as if unprecedented, something the prophet would have difficulty believing. The observation that the Babylonians decide what constitutes justice (1:7) stands in perfect harmony with the final statement that might makes right (1:11).[24]

Yahweh's Character

Obviously unsatisfied by this troublesome response that has redefined justice and deity, Habakkuk presses further by exploring the matter of the divine character. Having first settled the question of Yahweh's eternality in language so shocking to later scribes that they altered its sense ("You shall not die" becomes "we shall not die"), Habakkuk wonders about the inconsistency between divine purity and an evil eye that seems to wink at the grossest malice possible.

> Your eyes are too pure to behold evil,
> and you cannot look on wrongdoings.
> Why do you look on the treacherous,

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[23] The language of lament, by nature raw, includes subtle indictment, for the champion of the oppressed should hasten to the rescue on hearing about bloodshed and violence. In this instance, the prophet has cried out repeatedly, without receiving any answer. This rare cluster of words (*ʿadʿānâ*, *ʾezʿaq*, and *ḥāmās*) pertaining to theodicy refutes any suggestion that the issue was merely an intellectual enterprise.

[24] Justice is always conflicted, as Ralph Waldo Emerson observed: "One man's justice is another man's injustice." A better articulation of the idea would substitute the word "tyranny" for "injustice." The struggle for justice often becomes a striving for power, which engenders rival theodicies, one for the group in control and another for the disenfranchised.

> and are silent when the wicked swallow
> those more righteous than they? (1:13).

This accusation of divine instability or hypocrisy illustrates the confusion resulting from continued belief in Yahweh's justice regardless of the evidence undercutting such conviction. The assertions, "You cannot" yet "you do" cancel each other out, although Habakkuk refuses to reach this obvious conclusion.

In another oracle Habakkuk receives a vision that instructs him to write the divine word as a testimony to its veracity and to proclaim it abroad, but also to trust it in the face of possible delay (2:1–4). This vision ends with the much-discussed word about the righteous living by their faith or faithfulness. The likely object of *be'emûnātô*, the prophetic vision, is described as truthful but directed toward a specific time.[25] Moreover, it possesses an internal contradiction; it may seem to tarry but will not delay. With this curious language the prophet endeavors to protect himself in the event that expectations generated by the vision are not met with immediate gratification. The closing hymn in chapter 3 acknowledges the uncertainty of grand promises, even when originating above, and conveys the prophet's determination to remain faithful in unpromising circumstances. These sentiments usher the reader into the company of others who cherish divine presence above presents, especially the unknown author of the majestic seventy-third psalm.

Although a putative historical event figures prominently in the book of Jonah, specifically the sparing of Nineveh, the issue of theodicy arises from reflection on the deity's nature as proclaimed to Moses in Exod 34:6–7.[26] Because Jonah understands Yahweh to be compassionate, he shrinks from carrying out the mission entrusted to him by the Lord, and when compelled by circumstances to finish the original task, Jonah explains his reluctance to become a pawn in the divine game of chess.

> O Lord! Is not this what I said while I was still in my own country? That is why I fled to Tarshish at the beginning; for I knew that you are a gracious

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[25] On the antecedent of the suffix attached to *'emûnâ*, with a prefixed preposition, see J. J. M. Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991) and Robert D. Haak, *Habakkuk* (VT Sup 44; Leiden: Brill, 1991). Donald E. Gowan, *The Triumph of Faith in Habakkuk* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1976) 20–50 raises the theological issue of divine justice.

[26] James L. Crenshaw, "Who Knows What Yahweh Will Do? The Character of God in the Book of Joel," 185–96 in *Fortunate the Eyes That See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman*, ed. Astrid Beck et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) and Terence E. Fretheim, "Jonah and Theodicy," *ZAW* 90 (1978) 227–37.

> God and merciful, slow to anger and abounding in steadfast love, and ready to relent from punishing (4:2).

Having experienced Yahweh's readiness to forgive even a wayward messenger, Jonah resents this same compassion being extended to a city guilty of horrific malice directed at his own people. Rather than unleashing divine wrath against a disobedient prophet, Yahweh demonstrates the patience announced in the ancient confession and provides an object lesson intended to persuade Jonah that truly repentant creatures deserve a second chance, regardless of their ethnicity or pedigree.

Jonah has a point. Should guilty individuals escape responsibility for the calamities they have brought to others? Should repentance, even if genuine, remove the punishment demanded by their atrocities?[27] Where is the justice in letting guilty people escape the recompense due them? Who wants to live in a world devoid of justice, one in which evildoers can sin with impunity? The operative word here is evildoers, not foreigners, for elsewhere the book describes foreign sailors in admirable terms. Readers of the book would probably have known that Nineveh eventually fell to Babylonian soldiers, making Jonah's objection a moot point. The overturning of the hated city, whether by repentance or by subsequent invasion,[28] served as a *māšal* of divine solicitude.

Jonah's legitimate objection therefore pales before the astonishing illustration of Yahweh's concern for the well-being of all creatures. Dogma, however revered, means less to the author of this book than divine compassion. After all, the belief in justice stands in tension with mercy, and when the two come into conflict mercy will prevail.[29] This message stands out in a conflicted medium, one freely employing irony, humor, and satire. Has the author faced theodicy and rendered it impotent? If so, Jonah's petulance in the open-ended tale must be judged

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[27] In trying to justify curses against enemies in the Psalter, C. S. Lewis reflects on the consequences of letting evildoers escape punishment. For him, anger over wickedness demonstrates a conscience, whereas tolerating cruelty indicates indifference. He also stresses the harm inflicted on the innocent by generating hatred within them (*Reflections on the Psalms* [New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1958] 20–33).

[28] Jack M. Sasson, Jonah (New York: Doubleday, 1990) 234–37 recognizes the ambiguity of the word *nehpaket*, its potential for both a threatening and a hopeful sense. Nineveh faced a choice, whether to be overturned through external force or to be turned around in repentance.

[29] On this dynamic, see James L. Crenshaw, "The Concept of God in Old Testament Wisdom," 1–18 in *In Search of Wisdom* (also 191–221 in Crenshaw, *Urgent Advice and Probing Questions: Collected Writings on Old Testament Wisdom* [Macon: Mercer University Press, 1995]; pp. 141–221 of this book deal with theodicy).

unseemly. His protest becomes even more telling when we move from fiction to stark reality long enough to ponder the fact that divine compassion was not sufficiently strong to spare that great city and its inhabitants. In the end, theoretical treatments of theodicy do not suffice, for concepts of God that do not accord with reality, however inspiring, amount to little more than proverbial whistling in the dark.

Jonah was not alone in trying to reconcile the characterization of Yahweh as preserved in Exod 34:6–7 with everyday experience. The prophets Joel, Nahum, and Micah join Jonah in this arduous endeavor. Affinities between the texts of Joel and Jonah go beyond coincidence, but lacking valid criteria for dating the two books we cannot detect the line of dependence. The problem confronting Joel differs profoundly from that of Jonah; no evidence of guilt on the part of an afflicted people surfaces in the biblical text, although modern interpreters, like Job's friends, have labored long and hard to indict the innocent.[30] To them it seems obvious that sin has brought punishment in the form of a plague of locusts and drought. Joel urges the community to turn to Yahweh in supplication, relying on the deity's character as specified in Exod 34:6. His confidence is rewarded and Yahweh has compassion on the people (Joel 2:12–27). Elsewhere Joel insists on an exact measure for measure when Yahweh finally gets around to punishing foreign kingdoms for implementing slave trade and other atrocities against Israel and Judah. Like Joel, the prophet Obadiah envisions an exact retribution against the Edomites (v. 15). The doxological conclusion to Micah reaffirms Yahweh's compassionate nature and views this readiness to exalt mercy over justice as unique (Mic 7:18–20)—like Nahum's application of the negative aspects of Yahweh's character to Nineveh (Nah 1:2–3). Without exception, the other uses of the credal affirmation in Exod 34:6–7 stop short of mentioning Yahweh's exacting punishment, for they appeal to the compassionate side, hoping for pity. Nahum, however, has revenge in mind, and he does not hesitate to recall Yahweh's penchant for justice. Like Jonah, Nahum insists on exact retribution against a hated enemy, for in Nineveh's collapse, here graphically depicted, he recognizes an act of divine justice.

Liturgy

The liturgical function of the confession about Yahweh's essential nature corresponds to specific texts in the book of Amos with destructive

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[30] James L. Crenshaw, "Joel's Silence and Interpreters' Readiness to Indict the Innocent," 255–59 in *"Lasset uns Brücken bauen . . .": Collected Communications to the XVth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Cambridge 1995* (BzE ATu AJ 42; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1998).

acts affecting an elect nation. The people's fondness for proclaiming Yahweh's salvific acts (*ṣidqôt*) prompts Amos to mimic such liturgical moments. Looking back over the remembered past, he calls to mind devastating events—famine, drought, infestation of crops, pestilence, unspecified calamity like that at Sodom and Gomorrah—and explains them as Yahweh's discipline (Amos 4:6–12). In effect, the prophet constructs a liturgy of wasted opportunity,[31] concluding each segment with Yahweh's haunting words, "Yet you did not return to me." The prophet offers a theodicy in which misfortune is viewed instrumentally; suffering comes from God to stimulate repentance. Its lack of success leads to an even more alarming tactic, which has been described as doxology of judgment. Three hymnic fragments, scattered throughout the book, announce destruction while lauding Yahweh's justice in sending such evil (Amos 4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6). The hymn celebrates Yahweh's creative accomplishments, his control over nature itself, and his use of torrential rain as judgment. The contexts of the fragments highlight human guilt, justifying a final act of destruction. In this theodicy, Yahweh's attempt to educate a rebellious people does not find expression; indeed, the time has come for retribution.[32]

Nature

The shift from history to the realm of nature figures prominently in Amos 3:3–8, where the prophet argues from cause to effect. A series of logical deductions relating to causal events culminates in the attribution of evil to Yahweh. Just as one can deduce from a lion's roar that it has captured prey and from the sound of alarm that fear has been generated in the populace, the incidence of misfortune indicates divine activity. In this theodicy Yahweh assumes full responsibility for evil, as in Deut 32:39 and Isa 45:7. The harshness of this type of theodicy is softened by a gloss in Amos 3:8 suggesting that Yahweh never acts destructively without alerting prophetic messengers, who will then, it is implied, make intercession for an endangered people.[33]

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[31] From a human perspective, the discipline amounts to a squandered opportunity, whereas from a divine viewpoint it represents a pedagogical failure (James L. Crenshaw, "A Liturgy of Wasted Opportunity: Am. 4:6–12; Isa. 9:7–10:4," *Semitics* 1 [1971] 27–37).

[32] James L. Crenshaw, *Hymnic Affirmation of Divine Justice* (SBLDS 24; Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1975).

[33] On this extraordinary instance of rational deduction within prophetic literature, see Jörg Jeremias, *The Book of Amos* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998) 51–55; Hans Walther Wolff, *Joel and Amos* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 179–88; and Shalom Paul, *Amos* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 104–14.

Conclusion

The Minor Prophets, like Jeremiah and Ezekiel, experienced an intolerable discrepancy between the anomalies of life and theological belief. They felt this defect most acutely as a result of historical events that threatened what they held most dear, as a consequence of personal interaction with Yahweh that constituted an affront, and as a challenge to their understanding of the deity's essential character. While some prophets denied the problem altogether, others acknowledged its persistence and tried to grasp its fundamental nature and to construct a valid response. Caught in the tension between justice and compassion, they refused to relinquish either one. Hosea's terrible announcement that compassion is hidden from Yahweh's eyes (13:14) alternates with a proclamation of divine courtship (2:14–15 [2:16–17]), but the prophet comes short of saying that Yahweh's abandonment is momentary whereas compassion lasts forever (cf. Isa 54:7–8; Ps 30:5). Like faithful believers today, Israel's prophets learned the hard fact that life has a way of forcing them to walk the razor's edge between doubt and trust. Their integrity demanded that they pose the issue of theodicy to the very one into whose service they had been called.

Futurism in the Preexilic Minor Prophets Compared with That of the Postexilic Minor Prophets

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I thank the Seminar on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve for an invitation to share with it some of the major results of my research as they bear on the futuristic ideology of the so-called minor prophets. A major finding has been that the preexilic minor prophets generally take the futuristic ideology of the three major prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel; and further that the redactors of Amos show special affinities with the Jeremianic redaction, though in general this early group of minor prophets speak with their own peculiar voices regarding Yahweh's sovereign work in hisory. In striking contrast to their immanentistic form of futurism is the dominant view of the postexilic minor prophets as a goup, for whom the punishment of the nations has become a prerequisite for Israel's full salvation. The assumption is that the imminent judgment that was once announced upon wayward Israel has been surpassed by a divine saving act, but that Israel's salvation has now, at the end of the age, been once again put in peril.

In what follows I shall abstract and summarize some materials germane to this subject that have appeared in my book, *From Old Revelation to New, A Tradition-Historical and Redaction-Critical Study of Temporal Transitions in Prophetic Prediction*, which appeared in 1995. The temporal transitions I examined in this book are אז, "then," עתה, "now," ביום ההוא (והיה), "(and it shall be) on that day," בימים ההם, "in those days," בעת ההיא, "at that time," הנה ימים באים, "behold days are coming," אחר and אחרי־כן, "afterwards," and באחרית הימים, "at the end of the ages." In studying the employment of these words and phrases, certain important distinctions become apparent. Some function as *integral* transitions (i.e., as an original

and structural element within a given pericope, whether original or redactional from a compositional point of view), while most function as *introductory* transitions (i.e., as formulas for attaching redactional appendages). The first two formulas appear exclsively as integral transitions. The formula הנה ימים באים belongs almost exclusively to the deuteronomistic and Jeremianic redactions, either as an integral or as an introductory transition, and the remaining expressions on this list are always redactional. Of special interest for this seminar is the fact that the preexilic minor prophets Hosea, Amos, Micah, Habakkuk, Nahum and Zephaniah exhibit the the first two formulas, always as integral temporal transitions, whereas the postexilic minor prophets as a group lack them almost entirely and exhibit integral temporal transitions only at Hag 2:23, Zeph 8:11, and Zeph 12:4. In contrast, ביום ההוא and והיה ביום ההוא appear in the preexilic group exclusively as introductory (i.e., redactional) formulas and in the postexilic group as introductory formulas in all but the three exceptions mentioned. This strong preference is a mark as well in the books of Isaiah and Ezekiel, although Jeremiah has his own rich and distinctive pattern of temporal formulas, both in integral and in introductory positions.

With this introduction, I shall proceed to survey as briefly as possible each prophet among the two distinct groups in order to show the most important redactional and ideological developments characterizing them.

The Preexilic Minor Prophets

1. Hosea

There are *integral* temporal transitions in the following verses of Hosea:

> 2:12 Now (יעתה) I will uncover her lewdness in the sight of her lovers, And no one shall rescue her out of my hand.
>
> 3:5 Afterward (אחר) the Israelites shall return and seek Yahweh their god [and David their king] and shall come in fear to Yahweh and to his goodness [in the latter days].
>
> 5:7b Now (עתה) the new moon shall devour them with their fields.
>
> 7:2b Now (עתה) their deeds encompass them, they are before my face.
>
> 13:2 And now (ועתה) they sin more and more, and make for themselves molten images.

Hosea also has *introductory* temporal formulas for the following passages:

1:5 And it will happen on that day (והיה ביום ההוא) that I will break the bow of Israel in the valley of Jezreel.

2:18 [E 16] And it will happen on that day (והיה ביום ההוא), oracle of Yahweh, that you will call me, "My husband" and no longer "My master."

2:23 [E 21] And it will happen on that day (והיה ביום ההוא), oracle of Yahweh, that I will answer the heavens and they shall answer the earth.

A brief scrutiny of the work of one of the very first writing prophets brings to light some important distinctions for all the others. We observe that the man Hosea occasionally introduced temporal transitions for the purpose of connecting Israel's sinful act to its consequent judgment (2:12 [E 10], 5:7, 7:2, 13:2) or of predicting an act of divine grace following judgment (3:5). The work of three successive redactors employing introductory rather than integral temporal transitions may be seen in the "biographical" section, chaps. 1–3. There was first a disciple who composed the prose account of 1:2–9. He did not employ temporal transitions, but a redactor from late in the seventh century did interject his own special interpretation of the Jezreel naming at 1:5, employing a synchronizing והיה ביום ההוא. Chronologically in between these two additions, very probably in close temporal proximity with the first, is the work of the disciple-redactor who expanded the faithless-wife poem of chap 2 in terms of Yahweh's eventual intention, again employing the transition, והיה ביום ההוא (2:18, 23 [E 16, 21], to introduce scenes of bliss following upon Gomer's eventual restoration. It cannot be gainsaid that the expansion in 1:5 is trivial while those of chap 2. are momentous in their respective reinterpretations of Yahweh's purpose. Neverthelsss, they all assume that the Deity may change his attitude toward Israel. For the redactor of chap. 2, this is posited on a prior repentance on the part of the guilty—an authentic biblical theme. For the later redactor of 1:5, on the contrary, the shift is arbitrary and unmotivated.

2. *Amos*

Amos has the following *integral* temporal transitions:

4:2 Adonay Yahweh has sworn by his holiness by his own holiness, "Behold the days are coming upon you (הנה ימים באים עליכם) when they shall take you away with hooks, even the last of you with fishhooks."

6:7 Therefore: And now (לכן עתה) they shall be the first of those who go into exile, and the revelry of those who stretch themselves shall pass away.

7:16 So then (ועתה) hear Yahweh's word: You say, "Do not prophesy against Israel and do not preach against the house of Isaac"; accordingly thus says Yahweh, "Your wife shall be a harlot in the city (etc.)."

Amos also has *introductory* temporal transitions in the following verses:

8:9 And it will happen on that day (והיה ביום ההוא), oracle of Adonay Yahweh, that I will make the sun go down at noon, and darken the earth in full daylight.

8:11 Behold, days are coming (הנה ימים באים), oracle of Adonay Yahweh, when I will send a famine on the land, not a famine of bread nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of Yahweh.

8:13 On that day (ביום ההוא) the fair virgins and young men shall faint for thirst —those who swear by Ashima of Samaria (etc.).

9:11 On that day (ביום ההוא) I will raise up the booth of David that is fallen and repair its breaches, and raise up its ruins, and rebuild itas in the days of yore.

9:13 Behold days are coming (הנה ימים באים), oracle of Yahweh, when the plowman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him who sows the seed.

Certain important features of the composition and redaction of Amos have been illuminated by my study of temporal transitions. Those found in the prophet's own oracles at 4:2, 6:7 and 7:16 are integral to their context and are fresh and natural in their styling. Each passage predicts imminent calamities for the unrepentant. The addressees are certain wayward groups or individuals within Israel whose doom foreshadows that of the entire nation.

On the contrary, the employment of temporal formulas in the two redactional series at 8:9–14 and 9:11–15 approaches a stereotype of form paralleling a notable monotony in theme. Here it is the nation, without distinction, that is consigned to judgment or promised a paradisaical bliss. Still, the three pericopes of 8:9–10, 11–12 and 13–14 refurbish recognizable themes from the authentic preaching of the prophet. It is 9:11–12 and 9:13–15 that introduce themes for which there is no direct parallel in the authentic sections of the book, the first being the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the conversion of foreign nations, the second being the motif of prolific nature. The appendages in chap. 8 served a disciple of Amos, possibly during his lifetime, to round off the preserved records of his preaching in the form of a permanent record. Those of chap 9. bear witness to the fact that soon after the destruction of the "booth of David" there were others who gave the book a one hundred-eighty degree spin, reinterpreting Amos's grim prophecies in terms of Yahweh's more ultimate purpose to save, now in application to Jerusalem rather than to Samaria.

Both in the employment of הנה ימים באים and in that of נאם יהוה, I have discovered a close formulaic connection between the deuteronomistic redaction, the redaction of Jeremiah, and the redaction of Amos. The affinity with the deuteronomistic school should come as no surprise, but that with the Jeremian redaction is rather striking. The fact that the

occurrence of introductory temporal transitions in Amos stand in anacrusis to poetry and introduce poety, whereas such transitions in Jeremiah introduce prose, may be a decisive clue that the direction of influence was from Amos toward the deuteronomistic history and then to the redaction of Jeremiah.

3. Micah

Integral temporal transitions appearing in Micah are the following:

3:4 Then (אז) they will cry to Yahweh but he will not answer them, but he will hide his face from them [at that time] because they have made their deeds evil.

4:9 Now (עתה)[1] why do you cry out loud? Is there no king in you? Has your counselor perished that pangs have seize you like a woman in travail?

4:10b For now (כי עתה) you shall go forth from the city and dwell in the open country, you shall go to Babylon.

4:11 And now (ועתה) many nations are assembled against you, saying, "Let her be profaned, and let our eyes gaze upon Zion."

4:14 [E 5:1] Now (עתה) you are walled about with a wall, siege is laid against us, with a rod they strike the ruler of Israel on the cheek.

Micah also has *introductory* temporal transitions in the following verses:

2:4 On that day (ביום ההוא) they shall take up a taunt song against you, and wail a bitter lamentation, and say (etc.).

4:1 And it shall happen in the sequel of days (והיה באחרית הימים) that the mountain of Yahweh's house shall be established as the highest of the mountains, and be raised up above the hills.

4:6 On that day (ביום ההוא), oracle of Yahweh, that I will assemble the lame, and gather those who have been driven away and those whom I have afflicted.

5:9 [E 10] And it shall happen on that day (והיה ביום ההוא), oracle of Yahweh, that I will cut off your horses from among you and destroy your cities.

The book of Micah is unique as a relatively short composition showing many levels of redaction. If it does anything, this testifies to the especially high regard in which the man Micah was held over two centuries and more. His own "eschatology" coming to expressing in the integral use of temporal transitions in 3:4 and 4:9, 10, 11, 14 was limited to matters of imminent concern, first Yahweh's refusal to be available to the oppressing class, and second the emergence of a new ruler in a new "now," terminating the perils of Assyrian siege. The futuristic ideology of his early redactors (2:4, 5:9) was rooted in present deficiencies and involved

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[1] LXX reads ועתה.

judgment for wayward groups or for Israel/Judah as a whole. That of his late and very late redactors (4:1, 6), on the other hand, assumed a return from exile already past and envisaged an ideal bliss for and through Jerusalem.

Micah himself used only the time-expressions אז and ועתה as integral transitions. Like the redactors of Isaiah, the redactors of Micah employed ביום ההוא (והיה) or והיה באחרית הימים (4:1; cf. Isa 2:2), either in anacrusis or in a formal rubric. In view of the fact that Isaiah's redactors used the same two formulas, and the first rather frequently—though almost always in prose expansions—it is noteworthy that Micah's redactors also stuck to poetry, with the temporal formula in anacrusis, for introducing such expansions. This is further evidence of a remarkable linguistic and formulaic tenacity among Micah's redactors.

In light of the fact that the prophet did not use the oracle formula, its attachment to temporal formulas in the redactional verses, Mic 4:6 and 5:9 [E 10], is especially important. The seventh-century redactor who added 5:9–14 [E 10–15] was calling attention to Yahweh's anger toward the continuing idolatry of hypocritical Judahites gloating because the menacing Assyrian empire had fallen. On the contrary, the late postexilic redactor who was responsible for inserting 4:6–7 was intent on counteracting the grand universalism of 4:1–4, identifying Jerusalem as a haven for returning Jewish exiles rather than as a goal of universal pilgrimage.

It seems ironic that these two impulses run directly counter to each other. Both aspirations are emphatically claimed, by the addition of the oracle formula, as God's more ultimate revelation. Nevertheless, they seem to reach out in opposite directions while expressing ideas that were of no special concern to the prophet Micah himself. The first expansion resists a chavinism that misinterprets divine justice when brought to bear on the foreign nations, excusing oneself of blame for unrepentant sin, while the other qualifies the notion that God may intend the well-being of all mankind by re-emphasizing his special purpose with regard to his much-injured people, Israel. Each is asserted as a more ultimate expression of the divine intention. Depending on one's vantage point, each is indeed true. This only points up the need for ongoing revelation and the continuous reapplication of that revelation.

4. Nahum and Habakkuk

There is no *introductory* temporal transition and a single *integral* temporary transition in each of these short books:

> Nah 1:13 And now (ועתה) I will break his yoke from off you, and will burst your bonds asunder.

> Hab 1:11 Then (אז) they shall sweep by like the wind and go on, guilty men whose own might is their god.

Neither Nahum nor Habakkuk has been expanded literarily through the use of the kind of redactional transitions that I have studied in my book. These compositions may not have enjoyed sufficient stature within the exilic and postexilic communities to have attracted significant redactional expansions of the sort we find in the previously discussed books. To put it otherwise, these two prophets probably did not enjoy the support of personal schools of adherents surviving over decades and centuries, as was the case with the three major prophets and and with those three minor prophets.

Nahum and Habakkuk each contain a single integral temporal transition. Nahum did not foresee the looming menace of a new threat to the nations's independence and well-being in the form of the Neo-Babylonian empire; he saw only the end of Judah's affliction under the Assyrians and rejoiced at a fleeting moment of liberation. It is understandable that this kind of "eschatology" did not invite redactional readjustment to a sitution of new and far more severe affliction.

Habakkuk's complaint is of a general perversion of justice under Jehoiakim's misrule (1:2–4), to which Yahweh responds by calling his attention to the Chaldeans, who are to serve Yahweh in bringing punishment on Judah for these wrongs (vv. 5–11). 1:11 is clmactic in this vision and points to what lies directly ahead within the proximate future. The Chaldeans are *just now* attacking Judah. This is the proximate future that looms. Nevertheless, Yahweh has a more ultimate purpose in the future that lies immediately beyond this crisis.

5. Zephaniah

An *integral* temporal transition is the following:

> 3:11b For then (כי אז) I will remove from your midst your proudly exultant ones, and you shall no longer be haughty in my holy mountain.

Zephaniah has also the following occurrences of *introductory* temporal formulas:

> 1:10 And it will happen on that day (והיה ביום ההוא), oracle of Yahweh, that a cry will be heard from the Fish Gate, a wail from the Second Quarter, a loud crash from the hills.
>
> 1:12 And it will happen at that time (והיה בעת ההיא) that I will search Jerusalem with lamps, and I will punish the men who are thickening upon their lees (etc.)

3:9 For then (כי אז) I will change the speech of the peoples to a pure speech, that all of them may call upon the name of Yahweh and serve him with one accord.

3:11a On that day (ביום ההוא) you shall not be put to shame because of the deeds by which you have rebelled against me (etc.)

3:16 On that day (ביום ההוא) it shall be said to Jerusalem, "Do not fear, O Zion; let not your hands become weak!

3:20 At that time (בעת ההיא) I will bring you home, even at the time when I gather you (etc.).

The temporal transitions in Zephaniah 1 differ from those of chap 3 in two respects: (1) they predict judgment for Israel/Judah under the imagery of the awesome "day of Yahweh" and not their salvation; and (2) they pertain to the proximate rather than remote future. With regard to futuristic ideology, Zephaniah himself stood with Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Like them, he could see only the imminent and ineluctable end. He placed the foreign peoples under a parallel judgment, yet his oracles against them did not produce ideological expansions introduced by temporal formulas of the type I have studied. Those in 1:10, 12 LXX, along with that in 1:8, authentically communicate Zephaniah's own expectation; they were composed either by him or by a close disciple. Any other disciples that he may have had during his own lifetime made no effort to amend his grim predictions. Nevertheless, his postexilic redactors believed that they were entitled to expand—even reverse—his prophecies. For them, the same Yahweh who had brought the exile intended the restoration.

Finally, it may be noted that the oracle formula, נאם יהוה, is attached to a temporal formula only in 1:10. As in the Yahweh speeches at 1:2, 1:3 and 2:9, it invokes a special level of revelational authority. Apparently because they were not at all anxious about the question of authority, the redactors who employed the temporal formulas in chap. 3 made no use of the oracle formula.

6. Eschatology and Redaction among the Preexilic Minor Prophets as a Group

Among the preexilic minor prophets, we have noted the virtual absence of the kind of prose expansions that use an introductory temporal formula, seen regularly in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but especially in Isaiah. The foregoing data may be summarized as follows:

(1) Original materials in the preexilic Minor Prophets have integral formulas and are always poetic; secondary materials having temporal formulas of transition are also in poeltry, but they have their temporal transitions either in anacrusis or in a liturgical rubric (Zeph 3:16).

(2) Original and early redactional materials always announce judgment, while exilic and postexilic materials always announce salvation.
(3) The exansions introduced in Hos 2:18, 23 [E 16, 21] alter Israel's judgment as Israel's salvation; this is also the case in Micah's composition in 4:9–14, in exilic Amos 9:11, and in postexilic Mic 4:1 and Zeph 3:9.
(4) Mic 5:9 [E 10] has a remarkable reversal of Israel's victory into Israel's (and the nations') punishment.
(5) The extension of Israel's salvation as further salvation is always postexilic (Amos 9:13, Mic 4:6, Zeph 3:11, 16, 20).

We are able to observe very little change in futuristic ideology from one preexilic minor prophet to another. They are steady in their prediction of looming calamity. Sometimes it is their early redactors, but mainly it is their late redactors, who have modified their grim prophecies in terms of the salvific events that will emerge from Israel's ordeal of purging.

In this respect the preexilic minor prophets take their stand with the three "great" prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. Micah and his redactors show especially strong affinities with the Isaiah school. The redactors of Amos show direct influence from, or have exerted influence upon, the Jeremianic redaction. Otherwise this early group of minor prophets speak with their own peculiar voice, giving witness out of their own special situations to Yahweh's sovereign work in history.

The Postexilic Minor Prophets

Jonah and Malachi

There are no *integral* or *introductory* temporal transitions in these books of the kinds that I have studied in my book, *From Old Revelation to New.* Nevertheless, the authors and/or redactors of these two books definitely had distinctive views of "eschatology." The futuristic affirmation of Jonah is a subtle rebuke of the prophet's caricature of divine justice and an affirmation of Yahweh's sovereign freedom in exercising clemency toward those who repent. The futurism of the book of Malachi apart from redactional expansions in chap. 4 is distinctly imminentistic; i.e., this-worldly, first in condemning current misbehavior (1:1–2:17, 3:13–15), second in correcting misconceptions of the Day of Yahweh (3:1–12), and third in reporting a quasi-ritual for Yahweh's acceptance of the repentant (3:16–18). Although both these books are directed against erroneous beliefs or misguided practices within the Jewish community, they both show a peculiar awareness of the salvability of peoples outside this community. Their affinities with Nahum, proto-Zechariah, and proto-Joel,

in strong contrast to second Joel and second Zechariah on this issue, clearly place them within the Persian era.

Joel

There are no *integral* temporal transitions in Joel, but there are three *introductory* transitions:

> 3:1 [E 2:28] And it shall happen afterwards (והיה אחרי־כן) that I will pour out my spirit on all flesh; your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams and your young men shall see visions; even upon the menservants and maidservants in those days, I will pour out my spirit.
>
> 4:1 [E 3:1] For behold, in those days and at that time (כי הנה בימים ההמה ובעת ההיא), when I restore the fortunes of Judah and Jerusalem, I will gather all nations and bring them down to the valley of Jehoshaphat, and I will enter into judgment with them there (etc.)."
>
> 4:18 [E3:18] And it will happen on that day (והיה ביום ההוא) that the mountains shall drip sweet wine and the hills shall flow with milk; and all the streambeds of Judah shall flow with water; and a fountain shall come forth from the house of Yahweh and water the valley of Shittim.

The authentic material in Joel involves a "here and now" futurism that stands in stark relief over against the highly developed cosmic eschatology of this book's redactors. Each of the temporal transitions created by these redactors points to conditions or situations of ultimate finality: the universal presence of the divine spirit, a calling of wrongdoers to retribution, and an idyllic transformation of nature, with Jerusalem at the center of all, as in Ezekiel 47 and Revelation 22.

The original book of Joel (chaps. 1–2) reflects an "eschatology" of imminent catastrophe, occasioning a public religious act to elicit Yahweh's beneficent response. Ideological as this may seem, it remains within the realm of the historically possible and the traditionally appropriate.

Perhaps the most profound difference between chaps. 1–2 and chaps. 3–4 is that those concerned with Yahweh's irruptive act in the redactional supplements are neither a famine-ridden community of postexilic Jews, nor the generation that first returned from Babylonian exile; rather, they are the ultimately faithful pious adherents of the one true religion, now separated decisively from the wicked. Their coming to Zion is cosmologically final rather than another "day" in the series of "days of Yahweh" that are equivalent to calamitous historical events.

Although all the materials in Joel 3–4 were added incrementally and indicate significant nuances in ideology, they show the clear marks of emerging apocalypticism. It is important to observe how drastically innovative 3:1–3 [E 2:28–29] is in comparison with the context into which

it has been inserted. It shifts the scene from "my people" and "Israel" in 2:26–27 to "all flesh"; in other words, from the context of the biblical covenant to that of religious anthropology. Even if the redactor's intent went no further than to universalize prophetic inspiration only within Judaism, it had a striking and elegant universalistic dimension in this laicizing of spiritual empowerment.

Finally, it is important to call attention to the innovative ideology of 4:1–3 [E 3:1–3], which interprets cosmic judgment as instrumental to the salvation and vindication of Yahweh's covenant people. As a motif that is seen elsewhere only in the early apocalyptic literature, it serves to reverse the incipient universalism of 3:1–3. This fact reminds us that we should not assume that all the apocalypticists held to identical visions of the future.

Haggai

Haggai has no *introductory* temporal transitions and a single *integral* temporal transition:

> 2:23 On that day (ביום ההוא), oracle of Yahweh Sebaoth, I will take you, Zerubbabel my servant, the son of Shealtiel, oracle of Yahweh, and I make you like a signet ring; for I have chosen you, oracle of Yahweh Sebaoth.

There can be no mistaking the crucial significance of sequences and durations in this small and very early postexilic book of prophecy. What one would infer from the fact that all the oracles are dated is confirmed by the special emphasis that is placed on the immediate future in 2:15, 18. Here is a twice-repeated command to take stock of the opportunities of the present moment: "Put your attention on what is to happen from this day forward." This corresponds to a similar, past-oriented command in 1:5, repeated redactionally in 1:7, "Put your attention on what have been your ways."

The immediate future of Yahweh's effectual action that will justify the people's faith and reward their obedience is forecast in 2:6–7 and 2:19b. Following the messenger formula in v. 6a is a peculiar expression that defines a short duration in the immediate future, "It is yet for one short moment." At the end of this brief moment, as it were, Yahweh will agitate the whole world in order also to agitate the nations, in effect shaking loose their treasures to be used for the benefit of the temple in Jerusalem. This is the assurance that nullifies the past and present devastation of the temple. A corresponding assurance eases the persistent evidence of poverty, fulfilling Yahweh's promise in 2:19b that "from this day onward" he will surely bless them.

On the very day of receiving this second assurance, Haggai received his fourth and climactic oracle, 2:20–23. The first two oracles had been

addressed to Zerubbabel and Joshua together, while the third had been for the priests and the people. This final oracle is for Zerubbabel alone. This descendant of David is designated as *paḥat*, "governor," but he is here addressed as a soon-to-be king. Yahweh repeats the announcement of v. 6 that he is shaking the heavens and the earth (2:21), but the purpose is no longer the provision of treasures for the temple, as in 2:7. Now it is for the specific purpose of undermining any and all political or military forces that might threaten to prevent Zerubbabel's investiture.

It is just here, in the last verse of Haggai's book, that we find its only futuristic transition. It is integral rather than introductory in function, appropriate to the fact that it is original and not redactional. Also it is climactic within the pericope and within the book. The formula ביום ההוא is an emphatic synchronizer between the imminently future events of vv. 21–22 and the intended effect of those events, Zerubbabel's investiture (v. 23). Yahweh's intention is revealed in the announcement of two actions in sequence, both of which are confirmed by further occurrences of the oracle formula. Yahweh announces that he will take (impf.) Zerubbabel, that is, separate him out from all potential candidates; this is affirmed by the immediately following *nᵉ'um YHWH*. The purpose of this, expressed by a *wâw*-consecutive perfect, is to effectuate the second action; that is, make him "like a signet ring." The use of the comparative indicates that this is a symbolic action or typological function distinct from an actual, public ceremony. The pericope is concluded by a grounding clause indicating Zerubbabel's special election, confirmed by a final oracle formula.

Thus Haggai's expectation was sharply focused upon events of the immediate future: the removal of ritual uncleanness, the end of the famine, the arrival of treasures for beautifying the restored temple, and the symbolic placing of a royal ring upon the finger of Zerubbabel. The last expectation is far from Messianic in the traditional sense. It is not predicted for a remote and ideal future, but for the situation of the very moment.

Thus this book ends with a sharply focused private oracle, whose prediction is underscored by the thrice-occurring oracle formula. It should be noted that Haggai's futuristic ideology conceives of Yahweh's action in the world at large, which is to be instrumental in salvific events on behalf of Israel, here as in 2:7–8 (cf. Isa 45:1ff.). Haggai insinuates, but does not directly state, that the nations who are thus involved in Israel's restoration are at the same time being punished. This is what distinguishes Haggai's "eschatology" from the apocalyptic ideology that was emerging at the same period, which placed special emphasis on the judgment of the nations as a precondition for Israel's full enjoyment of Yahweh's favor (cf. Isa 24:21–23, Ezekiel 38–39, Joel 4, Zechariah 12–14).

Zechariah

There are two *integral* temporal transitions in this book:

8:11 But now (ועתה) I will not deal with the remnant of this people as in the former days, oracle of Yahweh Sebaoth.

12:4 On that day (ביום ההוא), oracle of Yahweh, I will strike every horse with panic, and its rider with madness (etc.).

In addition, there are 15 *introductory* temporal transitions:

3:10 On that day (ביום ככוא), oracle of Yahweh Sebaoth, every one of you will invite his neighbor under his vine and under his fig tree.

8:23 In those days (בימים ההמה) ten men from the nations of every tongue shall take hold of the robe of a Jew, saying, "Let us go with you, for we have heard that God is with you."

12:3 And it will happen on that day (והיה ביום ההוא) that I will make Jerusalem a heavy stone for all the peoples; all who lift it shall grievously hurt themselves, and all the nations will come together against it.

12:6 On that day (ביום ההוא) I will make the clans of Judah like a blazing pot in the midst of wood, like a flaming torch among sheaves (etc.).

12:8(1) On that day (ביום ההוא) Yahweh will put a shield about the inhabitants of Jerusalem so that the feeblest among them on that day shall be like David (etc.).

12:9 And it will happen on that day (והיה ביום ההוא) that I will seek to destroy all the nations that come against Jerusalem.

12:11 On that day (ביום ההוא) the mourning in Jerusalem will be as great as the mourning for Hadad-rimmon on the plain of Megiddo.

13:1 On that day (ביום ההוא) there shall be a fountain opened for the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to cleanse them from sin and uncleanness.

13:2 And it will happen on that day (והיה ביום ההוא), oracle of Yahweh Sebaoth, that I will cut off the names of the idols from the land, so that they shall be remembered no more (etc.).

13:4 And it will happen on that day (והיה ביום ההוא) that every prophet will be ashamed of his vision when he prophesies; he will not put on a hairy mantle to deceive.

14:6 And it will happen on that day (והיה ביום ההוא) that there shall be neither cold nor frost, and there shall be continuous day (etc.).

14:8 And it will happen on that day (והיה ביום ההוא) that living waters shall flow out from Jerusalem, half of them to the eastern sea and half of them to the western sea; it shall continue in summer as in winter.

14:9b On that day (ביום ההוא) Yahweh will be one, and his name one.

> 14:13 And it will happen on that day (והיה ביום ההוא) that a great panic from Yahweh shall fall on them, so that each will lay hold on the hand of his fellow, and the hand of the one will be raised against the hand of the other.
>
> 14:20 On that day (ביום ההוא) there shall be inscribed on the bells of the horses, "Holy to Yahweh" (etc.).

First Zechariah, chaps. 1–8. The question of redactional continuity is especially acute in the book of Zechariah. It can scarcely be argued, as might be possible with respect to Isaiah, that late expansions still significantly articulate the essential ideology of the earlier part of the book. In matter of fact, the futuristic expection of Zechariah 1–8 and that of chaps. 9–14 are worlds apart. It must have been a purely editorial convention that attached these latter chapters to the others.

Not only do the dating formulas in chaps. 1–8 place the prophet Zechariah's activity in the same historical situation as Haggai; their frequency of occurrence indicates that here, too, sequences and durations play a major role in defining the intention of individual pericopes and of the composition as a whole. Unfortuntely, the insertion of epexetical comments and some rearranging have created confusion. Most scholars agree that Zech 6:9–14 has been reworked to eliminate an original reference to Zerubbabel. If Galling is correct in transferring 1:7 to this passage,[2] it is very tempting to interpret it in the light of Hag 2:21–23. The Haggai passage, predicting an imminent investiture for Zerubbabel, is dated to 24/IX in Darius's second year and Zech 6:9ff. would be dated to 24/XI, precisely two months later. The crowning with gold was for Zerubbabel rather than Joshua the high priest and may have been intended as an actualization of Hag 2:21ff., which as I have suggested above, may have been purely symbolic. In any event, we may be certain that Zechariah's own "eschatology" was for the "here and now." His futuristic ideology included no more than the return from the exile, the rebuilding of the temple, and probably the special recognition of Zerubbabel as the secular leader of the community.

The only integral temporal transition in these chapters is in the middle of the probably original passage, 8:9–13, an oracular exhortation closely similar to those of Haggai. Emphatic ועתה, situational "so now,"at the beginning of v. 11 provides the major turning point in this pericope. It is set in contrast to three expressions of time occurring in the preceding context, and to yet another in v. 11, each of which functions as a time identifier rather than as temporal transitions of the kind I have been studying. "In these days" in v. 9 marks an ongoing prsent, beginning with

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[2] Kurt Galling, "Die Exilswende in der Sicht des Propheten Sacharja," *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter* (Tübingen, 1964), p. 109.

the event ("since the foundation of the temple of Yahweh Sebaoth") that has led to the present situation. In order to give special prominence to this momentous present, another duration ("before those days" in v. 10) is also mentioned, a time of wagelessness, insecurity and strife. In contrast to all of this, a new and decisive present and an imminent future are defined in vv. 12–13. Negatively stated, this new day is not to be like the earlier days (כימים הראשנים). Positively stated, this will bring peace, increase, honor, and salvation.

This striking interplay of temporal durations and sequences is precisely what characterizes the time ideology of Haggai. These two prophets, with certain unidentified others (8:9), believed that they stood at the very climax of Yahweh's work in the history of Israel: "Let your hands be strong, you who in these days have been hearing these words from the mouth of the prophets . . . that the temple might be built."

It is otherwise with the two introductory—i.e., redactional—temporal transitions in this section. 3:10 is like Mic 4:4 in repeating an ancient saying (cf. 1 Kgs 4:25) about the amazing hospitality that goes with universal prosperity. It reinterprets a private oracle to Joshua concerning his and the community's *proximate* future in terms of his *remote* future. 8:23 reinterprets the intra-Israelite universalism of vv. 20–22 in terms of a multinational universalism in which the Jewish people rather than the covenant community as such are identified as the mediators of salvation to all mankind.

Second Zechariah, chaps. 9–14. In my book, *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (1975), I was able to identify היום in 9:12 as a time identifier within an identifying characterization, ביום ההוא in 9:16 as prt of a futuristic epitome, and ביום ההוא in 14:21 as part of another futuristic epitome. These conclusions are important for the exegesis of the passages in which they are found.

It will be seen that all the temporal transitions of Second Zechariah fall withn Zech 12:1–13:6 and Zechariah 14. The most important difference between the "eschatology" of Zechariah 9–11 and these chapters is that the former still refers to events of the historical present and imminent future, such as the returning king of 9:9–10 and the annulled covenant of 11:4–16, while the latter refer only to a remote—not specifically final—future. Chaps. 9–10 result from the process of continuous accretion and the two pericopes, 11:4–16 and 12:1b–13:6 arose independently until they were redactionally joined to chaps. 9–10 with the use of 11;1–3, 17, 12:1a and 13:7–9 as linking elements. The last mentioned verses provide the definitive redactional perspective of the entire complex. Chap. 14 must be seen as a still later addition to the book.

Utilizing the results of my work on the three major prophets in the light of the brilliant analysis of Magne Saebø,[3] I have been able to rationalize a place and function for each of the thirteen temporal transitions in Zechariah 12–14. First, the pericope, 12:1b–13:6. There was an original day-of-Yahweh oracle in 12:2–4 in which ביום ההוא נאם יהוה functions as an integral transiton with following oracle formula, and to which 2b and 4b have been added as glosses. Redactional expansions to this core concerned the themes of (1) victory for Jerusalem/Judah, vv. 3a, 5–8, (2) internal renewal, 12:9–13:1, and (3) religious purging, 13:2–6. Each of these included a Yahweh-speech (12:3a, 9–10, 13:2) commencing with והיה ביום ההוא (the last adds נאם יהוה) and shows secondary third-personal development. Furthermore, each terminates with epexegetical additions, one on Judah's fervor in 12:6, one on Jerusalem's shield in 12:8a, one on mourning in 12:11, one on cleansing in 13:1, and one on the termination of prophesy in 13:4–6. Evidently to make an emphatic synchronistic association with the preceding divine events, each of these epexegetical additions is introduced by a temporal formula. There were strong tensions within the community of Zechariah's redactors, and their "eschatology" addressed the resolution of these tensions rather than the usual postexilic problems of returning and rebuilding, the themes of chaps. 1–8. Yet the community itself would be called upon to participate in bringing Yahweh's action to its fullest potential. What needed to take place on their part would occur synchronously with Yahweh's primary deed of defeating Jerusalem's enemies.

In Zechariah 14 there is a somewhat similar pattern of redefining the nature of Yahweh's great day of self-revelation. Little of the emphasis on distinction and separation that comes to expression in 12:1–13:6 is to be found in chap. 14. On the contrary, it is this distinction and separation that provides the *premise* for this new and final addition. V. 2 makes only a separation between the Jerusalemites who are to be lost in the nations' attack, and those who survive it. The actual or potentilal animosity of the nations is thematic, but this is eventually resolved in favor of unity and universality. What is most strikig is that it develops even further the tendencies of proto-apocalypticism, proliferating the use of the two variants of ביום ההוא with as much apparent abandon as in the pericope to which it has been attached. There is another original day-of-Yahweh oracle in 1–3, 9a. An extraneous gloss commencing with ביום ההוא has been added in v. 9b. Again there are three complex expansions. The first elaborates a theophany motif (divine appearance on the mount of Olives, vv. 4–5a; a restoring river, introduced by והיה ביום ההוא, vv. 8, 10aα) and ends in the

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[3] *Sacharja 9–14, Untersuchungen von Text and Form,* Neukirchen, 1969.

gloss on Jerusalem's exaltation in v. 10aβb. The second elaboration follows a holy-war motif (vv. 6, 7b, an endless day, with introductory והיה ביום ההוא; vv. 13, 14b, panic and spoils of war, again introduced by והיה ביום ההוא; vv. 12, 15, epexegesis on the plague. The third expansion has a cult-ideological orientation and features two themes: the universal feast of booth, vv. 16–19, and comprehensive holiness, vv. 20–21, with introductory ביום ההוא and to be sure the mighty epitome at the end of v. 21, "And there shall no longer be a trader in the house of Yahweh Sebaoth on that day (ביום ההוא)."

Nothing could be more certain than that Zechariah 9–14 originated in an era quite different from that of chaps. 1–8. The lack of a redactional link between these two sections of the book beyond the word משא bespeaks the extremely tenuous connection that exists between the eschatological ideology of Second Zechariah and that of First Zechariah. The latter chapters of this book have certainly been more strongly influenced by themes from the great prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, than by themes from First Zechariah. The gap between the two sections of the book is wider, therefore, than that within the book of Isaiah, where at least the main thematic source for Deutero-Isaiah has clearly been proto-Isaiah itself.

Very little can be said with assurance about the historical background of Second Zechariah, and it is best to refrain from unwarranted speculation. It does seem likely that Alexander's conquest lies behind chap. 9, and a permanent divorce between Judah and Israel (11:14) possibly reflects the Samaritan schism, whenever that occurred. But who the sheep and the shepherds were remains obscure, as well as the identification of the saved remnant of chap. 11.

Those for whom Zechariah 9–14 were written were confronted by three unwelcome realities: (1) the imperial powers that hold them in subjugation are more of a threat than a source of help and relief; (2) the return from exile has not resulted in an ideal reunification of all Israel, and what unity does exist is constantly threatened by strife and estrangement within the covenant community; and (3) the temple cult has not cleansed the people of sin or given them spiritual renewal. The effect of these tenacious problems was, for the proto-apocalypticists of Second Zechariah, to cause them to despair about the possibilities of history and encourage them to look beyond the events they were experiencing to an ideal state of being in which (1) all external perils would be removed, (2) all that was truly Israel would be united, and (3) Yahwistic religion would finally be fully purged.

The scenario of such a future is certainly more sharply focused in Zechariah 14 than in chaps. 9–13, including 12:lff. Saebø explains that the redactor of chaps. 9–13 bound 12:2ff. into these chapters under the motif

of a severe coming judgment leading in the end to Israel's purging and reconversion, at the same time restoring a new sense of distinctive peoplehood within the covenant with Yahweh (13:8–9). Thus the great battle of 12:2ff. is not, in fact, the last event of history, but a battle that leads to the restoration of covenant living within history.

This is the answer which the redactor of chaps. 9–13 gives to the apocalypticist of 12:2–13:6. Nothing can be more final in an existential sense than a state of being in which Yahweh declares, "They are my people," and in which they respond, "Yahweh is my God" (13:9). This is in fact a reaffirmation of the eschatology of Hos 2:18–25 [E 16–23] as well as a prolepsis of 1 Pet 2:10.

Thus Zechariah 9–13 defines what is ultimate in a spiritual sense rather than final in chronological sequence. Chap 14, on the other hand, reconstructs the entire cosmos, making future attacks on Israel impossible by bringing the nations under allegiance to Yahweh as universal king, drastically rearranging the land and the city, and removing any and all distinction between what is holy and what is profane.

It should also be observed that Zechariah 14 goes beyond Ezekiel 38–39 in focusing futuristic expectation on Jerusalem and the temple rather than on the land of Israel. Both in the sections belonging to its original core (Ezek 38:8, 39:2, 4, 17) and in the redactional additions (38:11, 16, 18–19, 39:9, 12–15, 28), the Gog apocalyse is concerned with the imperilment of the land following Israel's return, while Jerusalem remains unmentioned.

The Gog apocalypse remains within the patriarchal tradition of the promise of land and peoplehood. That changes in Ezekiel 40–48, which is the major source for the imagery of Zechariah 14. With reminiscences of the Isaianic tradition of an inviolable Zion, the menace to Jerusalem rather than to the land of Israel becomes thematic in this chapter, as it has been in Zechariah 12:1–13:6. Hope for the land as such has been given up and everything has been concentrated in Jerusalem, now viewed less as a political entity than as the one cultic center for the entire cosmos. The apocalypticists of Zech 12:1ff., but especially those of chap. 14, have relativized all that is secular and historical within Israel's futuristic expectations, substituting an image that is at the same time narrowly particularistic and ideologically transhistorical.

Conclusions concerning the Postexilic Minor Prophets in Comparison with the Preexilic Minor Prophets as a Group

I shall briefly summarize my general observations concerning the postexilic *versus* the preexilic use of futuristic transitions and what they show about eschatological ideology and redactional processes.

I see that the *integral* temporal transitions that appear frequently in the preexilic minor prophets have become rare in the postexilic minor prophets. Of the passages that do contain them, two give strong expression to an imminentistic expectation (Hag 2:20–23, Zech 8:9–13), while the one that remains (Zech 12:2a, 3b–4a) employs the temporal formula to introduce the climax of a divine act that is scheduled for the present crisis to which it speaks.

Occurrences that *introduce* redactional expansions, on the other hand, are even more strongly in the ascendancy in the postexilic minor prophets than in the preexilic passages, and the variants, ביום ההוא and והיה ביום ההוא, now hold almost complete sway. The peculiar eschatological programme of the late additions to Joel seems to have occasioned a choice of formulas of transition not found elsewhere (כי הנה בימים ההמה ובעת ההיא, 4:1), while בימים ההמה in Zech 8:23 relates the naively idealistic expectation of ten gentiles seizing a Jew's robe to a whole series of sanguinary prognostications within the preceding context.

Within the book of Zechariah the formula, ביום ההוא (והיה) has come to special prominence. The influence of the additions to Isaiah and of the Gog apocalypse in Ezekiel is evident; but, as we have seen, these are found only in the proto-apocalyptic sections, 12:lff. and 14:lff. The word והיה, used in these pericopes also without a following ביום ההוא, seems especially appropriate for introducing drastically different and permanent conditions or states of being. This is to say that the eschatology of these sections is not concerned with unitary events, except when an event introduces a permanent change, as in 12:3.

Initial levels of redaction in Zech 12:lff. and 14:lff. are marked by the styling, והיה ביום ההוא, while the formula without והיה usually introduces late levels of redaction. It is especially remarkable that the epitome in 14:21b and several of the expansions introduced by a temporal transition (13:1, 14:9b, 20; also 14:6, 13 with foregoing והיה) have a form of היה, "be" or "become," as the main verb. Here the expectation has already moved beyond what historical event might produce—or even beyond what Yahweh's direct action in historical event might produce—to a transcendental state that has virtually independent existence.

It is significant that only Joel (3:1, 4:18) has a temporal formula in anacrusis—a construction prevalent among the preexilic minor prophets. This is the form best suited for attaching traditional materials, but Zechariah does entirely without anything of this sort. Thus the new material in Zechariah that is introduced by a temporal transition occurs exclusively in prose.

As elsewhere in the prophetic collection, this proes also to be the form that is best suited to the communication of speculative concepts. Though motifs from the past may be recalled in some of these prose expansions, they tend to be bold and innovative in imaging the future. This is one among several items of evidence that traditional prophecy is surely coming to an end and that oracular revelation is being supplanted by reflective interpretation and speculation.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that a predominant theme of the postexilic minor prophets is the punishment of the nations as a prerequisite to Israel's full salvation (Joel 4:1, Zech 12:lff., 14:lff.; cf. Hag 2:20–23). In this too the influence of Ezekiel 38–39 is evident—that is, the original Gog apocalypse with its early expansions, apart from 39:23–29, the original redactional conclusion. The assumption is that the return has already occurred, but restored Israel remains in peril. In the additions to Joel this problem is solved in terms of a final judgment upon the nations. In Second Zechariah it is solved in terms of Yahweh's victory over enemies attacking Jerusalem, leading to stringent reforms in 12:lff., and in 14:lff. to Yahweh's universal kingship and comprehensive holiness in his land and among his people.

I submit this discussion as one fruitful way of approaching the question of "the composition of the Book of the Twelve Prophets." In my judgment no method can surpass that of studying cold, hard data in the scriptural text as carefully, patiently, sympathetically, and imaginatively as possible, and then drawing inferences and broad conclusions such as the ones I have been able to make concerning the ideology of the individuals and groups that produced these writing and the processes of literary composition and redaction which they followed. More extensive analysis and argumentation underlie this summaring presentation in *From Old Revelation to New*, which those who wish more complete details are invited to consult.

The Ties that Bind: Intertextuality, the Identification of Verbal Parallels, and Reading Strategies in the Book of the Twelve

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I. Intertextuality and the Book of the Twelve

Less than a decade ago, Terence Collins claimed that "the sound literary reasons for treating *The Twelve* as a single work have not received much attention."[1] However, much recent study of the Minor Prophets has focused on the evidence for coherence within the Book of the Twelve.[2] Rather than simply listing and discussing various types of indicators of unity, scholarly attention has been directed in particular to their implications for how this canonical collection, despite being subdivided into twelve prophetic voices, is to be read as one book. In addition, numerous individual studies have offered suggestions regarding how the individual "books" are to be read in the light of their placement within and connection to the larger collection.[3]

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[1] Terence Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah: The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetical Books* (The Biblical Seminar 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 58.

[2] This newer emphasis is reflected in particular in two collections of essays, *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts* (ed. J. W. Watts and P. R. House; JSOTSup 235; Sheffield; Sheffield Academic Press, 1996); and *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve* (ed. J. D. Nogalski and M. A. Sweeney; SBL Symposium Series 15; Altanta: SBL, 2000).

[3] Examples in the volume edited by Nogalski and Sweeney mentioned in the previous footnote include the essays by James D. Nogalski, "Joel as 'Literary

In these studies several different kinds of indicators of coherence are cited, including similar thematic emphases, literary genres, or portrayals of the divine character. However, most frequently, scholars point to the hermeneutical significance of repeated words and phrases in linking texts. James Nogalski has subdivided the latter into subcategories, also offering helpful definitions: quotations, allusions, catchwords, and motifs.[4] Most studies subsume these types of repetition under the term "intertextuality," which Nogalski defines simply as "the interrelationship between two or more texts." However, an examination of precisely how this term is employed in identifying and interpreting these claimed "interrelationships" reveals much diversity in perspective and considerable methodological imprecision. The purpose of this essay is to point out the difficulties caused by too broad a definition of intertextuality in the study of the Book of the Twelve (as well as their relationship to the other prophetic books) and suggest how focusing on verbal parallels that offer a more extensive textual basis for positing an *intentional* interrelationship is a more viable approach to the "ties that bind."[5]

Intertextuality has been the object of much recent scholarly attention.[6] Since, as Donald Polansky has noted, the term "intertextuality"

Anchor' for the Book of the Twelve," 91–109, and Mark E. Biddle, "'Israel' and 'Jacob' in the Book of the Micah: Micah in the Context of the Twelve," 146–65.

[4] Nogalski, "Intertextuality and the Twelve," in *Forming Prophetic Literature*, 102–24. His fifth category, framing devices, admittedly broader and somewhat overlapping, includes superscriptions, genre similarities, structural parallels, juxtaposition of catchwords, and canonical allusions. Nogalski offers a fuller discussion and illustration of these devices in *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW 218; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993).

[5] The most extensive critique of the predominant approach to coherence in the Book of the Twelve has been offered by Ehud ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books or 'The Twelve': A Few Preliminary Considerations," in *Forming Prophetic Literature*, 125–56. See also Richard L. Schultz, *The Search for Quotation: Verbal Parallels in the Prophets* (JSOTSup 180; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, July 1999) chapter 2: "The Assessment of Prophetic Quotation."

[6] See especially *Semeia 69–70: Intertextuality and the Bible* (ed. G. Aichele and G. A. Philips; Atlanta: SBL, 1995); also the *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998* (ed. A. Lemaire and M. Saebø; SVT 80; Leiden: Brill, 2000), which includes essays on intertextuality by Kirsten Nielsen, John Barton, Michael Fishbane, Antoon Schoors, Jean Louis Ska, and Patricia K. Tull. Other important discussions of intertextuality and biblical studies include Sipke Draisma, ed., *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honor of Bas van Iersel* (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1989); Dana N. Fewell, ed., *Reading Between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible* (Louisville: Westminster / John Knox, 1992); and Benjamin D. Sommer, "Exegesis, Allusion

already "has accumulated a bewildering variety of definitions and uses,"[7] it is helpful at the outset, to distinguish three primary ways in which the term is employed. According to Peter Miscall, intertextuality is to be understood 1) as "a covering term for all the possible relations that can be established between texts. The relations can be based on anything from quotes and direct references to indirect allusions to common words and even letters to dependence on language itself."[8] As such, according to Ellen van Wolde, it can serve 2) as a trendy label for the traditional study of inner-biblical exegesis or inner-biblical allusion, "as a modern literary theoretical coat of veneer over the old comparative approach," such as that practiced by Michael Fishbane.[9] However, the volume edited by Dana Fewell, *Reading Between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible*, illustrates an understanding of the term which is similar to the usage of most literary critics. According to Benjamin Sommer, such intertextuality 3) "focuses on manifold linkages among texts or on connections between a text and commonplace phrases from the cultural systems in which the text exists. . . . [Thus] readers may notice links among many texts, whether the authors of the texts knew each other or not."[10] According the third definition, intertextuality offers an alternative approach to the traditional approach to inner-biblical allusion that is *synchronic* rather than *diachronic*

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and Intertextuality in the Hebrew Bible: A Response to Lyle Eslinger," *VT* 46 (1996) 479–89.

[7] Donald C. Polanski, "Reflections on a Mosaic Covenant: The Eternal Covenant (Isaiah 24.5) and Intertextuality," *JSOT* 77 (1998) 58. According to Timothy K. Beal, "Ideology and Intertexuality: Surplus of Meaning and Controlling the Means of Production," in *Reading Between Texts*, 29, the term "intertextuality" was coined by Julia Kristeva in her 1969 volume, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (ed. L. S. Roudiez; trans. T. Gora, A. Jardine, and L. S. Roudiez; New York: Columbia University Press, 1980; French editon 1969).

[8] Peter D. Miscall, "Isaiah: New Heavens, New Earth, New Book," in *Reading Between Texts*, 44.

[9] Ellen van Wolde, "Trendy Intertextuality?" in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings*, 43. Gail O'Day, "Jeremiah 9:22–23 and 1 Corinthians 1:26–31. A Study in Intertextuality," *JBL* 109 (1990) 259–60, describes Michael A. Fishbane's work, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), as the "single most important contribution to the study of intertextuality in scripture."

[10] For Fewell, see note 6 above. Sommer, "Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality in the Hebrew Bible," 486–87. See also van Wolde, 46. Miscall, *Isaiah* (Readings; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993) 20, in studying intertextual relationships within the book of Isaiah, admits that "one reader's parallels may not exist for another."

in emphasis, *reader*-focused rather than *author*-focused, and thus exploring the *effect* rather than the *purpose* of such interconnections.

It is essential that one is aware of this ambiguity in the definition and usage of intertextuality (and related terms) when evaluating discussions of literary coherence in the Book of the Twelve. A comparison of two lists of intertextual relationship involving Malachi reflects this methodological difficulty. On the one hand, Andrew Hill's Anchor Bible commentary on Malachi contains an appendix listing examples of intertextuality, but he qualifies the examples as simply reflecting "interdependence" rather than claiming Malachi's "reliance" upon "the corresponding citation."[11] On the other hand, Donald Berry, offers several pages of "allusions or instances of intertextuality" to canonical traditions in Malachi.[12] However, since Hill focuses on verbal repetition while Berry emphasizes parallel motifs and themes, there are only four textual parallels that appear on both lists: Mal 1:9 // Num 6:25; 2:10 // Deut 32:6; 3:1 // Exod 23:20; and 3:7 // Zech 1:3. The nature and textual basis of Hill's examples vary greatly. Some are introductory formulae (2:16 // Jer 11:3, etc.: "[thus] Yahweh, God of Israel, has said"; 4:1 [Heb 3:19] // Zech 2:13,14: "for indeed" – כי־הנה), while others probably are idiomatic (2:2 // Isa 42:25; 57:1,11; Jer 12:11: "lay it to heart" – שים על־לב). Some represent extensive and unquestionably significant parallels, such as 4:5 [Heb 3:23] // Joel 2:31 [Heb 3:4] ("before the coming Day of Yahweh—great and terrible"—לפני בוא יום יהוה הגדול והנורא), while others employ similar words but in very different contexts or with divergent referents (1:9 // Isa 50:11: "from your/my hand this [thing] has come" – מִיֶדכֶם/י היתה־זאת; 1:10 // Hag 2:3: "who [even one] among you? – מי [גם־]בכם), and in still others the claim is based on a single Hebrew verb or verb-preposition combination (1:13 // Hag 1:9: "to sniff, blow" – נפח; 2:3 // Ezek 6:5: "and I will spread, scatter" – וזריתי).

This comparison of lists reveals a basic methodological problem. What is true of Hill's and Berry's identification of examples of intertextuality is true of many treatments of verbal repetition in the prophets—the examples cited range from extensive verbal parallels to individual words or motifs. Even Nogalski, though carefully distinguishing between quotations and allusions, when discussing catchwords, gives the impression that any word that occurs at the beginning of one text and at the end of another is significant. This leaves him open to the criticism that one could

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[11] Andrew E. Hill, *Malachi* (AB 25D; New York: Doubleday, 1998), 401; "Appendix C: Intertextuality in the Book of Malachi", 401–12.

[12] Donald K. Berry, "Malachi's Dual Design: The Close of the Canon and What Comes Afterward", in *Forming Prophetic Literature*, 270; Table 1, 270–72.

find similar catchwords between nearly any two texts selected.[13] In discussing one scholar's work, Aaron Schart complains that "one often has the feeling that the intertextual allusions cannot be controlled" and concludes that "the main difficulty for all the different models is establishing controls about what is considered deliberate redactional shaping and what is only accidentally connected."[14]

Kenneth Cuffey effectively summarizes the resultant methodological dilemma:

> How clearly does the canonical connection imply the books are to be linked? How are we to interpret the connections we find in the text? Do the links reflect an author's or editor's intentions? Or might we impose our own expectations and presuppositions on the text? Might the linkages merely be the result of chance associations noticed by the modern interpreter, but that were never anyone's intentional design?[15]

Despite all of these difficulties, Berry nevertheless claims: "Every point of correspondence means something."[16] The question, however, is precisely what that "something" is! Those who take a diachronic approach seek in intertextuality evidence of a conscious reuse or imitation of earlier traditions or authoritative prophetic utterances by later authors or editors in order to build upon, reinterpret, or link their prophetic oracles with the words of their predecessors. Those who take a synchronic approach seek in intertextuality an "adventure rich in interpretive possibilities . . . the encounter with tantalizing but tenuous connections among words and concepts in selected biblical texts."[17]

However, one wonders whether a false dichotomy has been suggested between methods. As a *text-based* phenomenon, intertextuality demands that the interpreter give attention both to author- and reader-related issues. On the one hand, even if intertextuality is associated with broader cultural influences, it is still appropriate to inquire regarding which texts

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[13] Kenneth H. Cuffey, "Remnant, Redactor, and Biblical Theologian: A Comparative Study of Coherence in Micah and the Twelve," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, 203–4, does just that in "A Random Case Study." See also Ehud ben Zvi's extensive criticism of current methodologies, "Twelve Prophetic Books or 'The Twelve,'" 139–42.

[14] Aaron Schart, "Reconstructing the Redaction History of the Twelve Prophets: Problems and Models," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, 41, critiquing the work of Erich Bosshard-Nepustil, cf. note 42 below, also 42–43.

[15] Cuffey, 201.

[16] Berry, 272.

[17] Elaine A. Phillips, "Serpent Intertexts: Tantalizing Twists in the Tales," *BBR* 10 (2000), 233.

formed part of a writer's intellectual world. On the other hand, regardless of whether or not verbal repetition is coincidental or intentional in origin, it is appropriate to inquire whether the competent reader also could (or must) note those intertextual links recently "identified" (or discovered) by various scholars in order to interpret a text properly, or whether this intertextuality is simply the meaning created by a highly specialized (and motivated) kind of reader. Even if a text is composite, arising through a protracted and complex editorial process, its components parts are now read not in "chronological order" but sequentially. Thus reading a later text or book (such as Joel) can affect how one reads an earlier one (such as Amos) if it is encountered subsequently in the reading process (for example, due to its later position in the Book of the Twelve).[18]

In a previous publication, this author suggested several criteria for identifying and an approach for analyzing verbal parallels, whether or not they can be labeled "quotations."[19] In seeking significant verbal parallels, one should look for *verbal and syntactical correspondence* which goes beyond one key or uncommon term or even a series of commonly-occurring terms, also evaluating whether the expression is simply formulaic or idiomatic. Thus one also should look for indications of *contextual awareness*, including *interpretive re-use*, which indicates verbal *dependence* which is conscious and purposeful, even though one may not be able to determine the direction of borrowing with any certainty. If such a dependence can be posited, a knowledge of the *quoted* text will facilitate the proper

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[18] Thus ben Zvi's criticism of those who read individual minor prophets in the light of their present canonical sequence, that is, "as an integral part of a unified Book of the Twelve" rather than "as a separate unit," 127, note 5, is unwarranted. Although the implications that such interpreters deduce from (or impose on) intertextual links may be incorrect or excessive, suggesting what larger function a book may have within a larger canonical collection does not inherently subvert the effort to accurately assess the thematic thrust of the book itself.

For example, a reading of the book of Ruth which emphasizes the subtle interplay between divine providence and human action (highlighted by the juxtaposition of Ruth's chance and planned encounters with Boaz in chapters 2 and 3), covenantal kindness, and status changes is largely unaffected by the book's position within the Hebrew and Greek canonical collections. Following Proverbs, as in the MT, Ruth can be understood as the אשת־חיל (NRSV: "capable wife") of Prov 31, the worthy ancestress of King David. Following Judges, as in the LXX, the law-honoring Bethlehemites and resident-alien Ruth contrast with those throughout Israel who, during the period of the judges, instead did "what was right" in their own eyes.

[19] Schultz, *The Search for Quotation*, 222–39. See also the helpful suggestions offered by Cuffey, 204–8.

interpretation of the *quoting* text. Neither an exclusively diachronic nor an exclusively synchronic analysis can do justice to the multi-functional nature of quotation—or even of types of verbal correspondence that exhibit minimal intentionality. Though not questioning the validity of studying intertextual allusions, that is, those texts displaying less extensive verbal and syntactical correspondence, such examples often entail greater methodological subjectivity and demand more reader competence than may be warranted.

II. Verbal Parallels and Coherence in the Book of the Twelve

In the following section, we will examine several examples of intertextuality-based coherence involving the Book of the Twelve. It is our contention that *internal* links involving verbal parallels (such as those within the book of Zechariah) function differently from *external* verbal links (such as those between Isaiah and Micah), regardless of the compositional history of the individual books (e.g., the claim that the same prophetic group added a redactional layer to both the Major Prophets and the Book of the Twelve). Verbal repetition *within* one book functions as a type of self-quotation, a literary echo which takes its place alongside other forms of repetition, such as refrains, images, and themes, which have a unifying effect on the book.[20] The question at hand is whether the Book of the Twelve is sufficiently coherent so that intertextual relationships between the individual Minor Prophets, which might have functioned originally as *external* links, now function *internally*. Indeed, it is Nogalski's contention[21] that most catchwords linking these books were redactionally inserted for the precise purpose of increasing coherence within the Book of the Twelve.

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[20] This distinction was noted already in the late eighteenth century by Henry Owen, *Critica Sacra; or, a Short Introduction to Hebrew Criticism* (London: W. Bowyer and J. Nichols, 1774), 8 and lists on 22–23, who spoke of prophets "borrowing from themselves" or using the "same language on different occasions." See also Karl Elliger, *Deuterojesaja in seinem Verhältnis zu Tritojesaja* (BWANT 63; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933), 46. Nogalski, "Intertextuality and the Twelve," 110–11, makes a similar distinction. For a discussion of self-quotation within contemporary literary theory, see Schultz, 197–98 and note 47.

[21] Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW 217; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993), especially 228–29, 262–67; *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW 218; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993), especially 115–17, 176–79.

Zechariah 1–8 and 9–14. The dominant scholarly view today is that Zechariah 9–14 was composed and edited (and possibly also circulated) independently from Zechariah 1–8 but, nevertheless, manifests "a surprising compatibility" with "Proto-Zechariah."[22] Carol and Eric Meyers, drawing on the work of Rex Mason, argue for an even closer affinity between these two sections but wonder "whether the First-Second Zechariah interplay is . . . simply one of many instances of Second Zechariah's referential treatment of his scriptural forebears, notably prophets. . . ."[23]

Two striking verbal parallels between the second and first sections of Zechariah occur together in chapter 9: 9:8 // 7:14 and 9:9 // 2:10 [Heb 2:14].[24] Zech 9:8 and 7:14 share the phrase מעבר ומשב ("[to go] to and fro") which occurs nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible and thus cannot easily be dismissed as idiomatic or characteristic prophetic speech. Zech 9:9 and 2:10 [Heb 2:14] share four elements which appear in the same order: 1) an imperatival call to rejoice, though employing different verbs (רני ושמחי // גילי מאד . . . הריעי), occurs only here in Zechariah; 2) the vocative address to daughter Zion (בת־ציון), also occurring only here in Zechariah, although the expression appears fifteen additional times in the prophetic literature; the particle "behold" (הנה), which occurs a dozen times in Zechariah; and the verb "come" (בוא), which occurs sixteen times in the Qal stem in Zechariah, the closest syntactical parallel to 2:14 being found in Zech 3:8 which uses the Hiphil stem.

The first parallel is striking and unique in its formulation and the second, cumulatively, warrants attention as sufficiently extensive to be not merely coincidental. However, to pose Berry's previously noted question, what does this correspondence mean? First, it should be noted that 9:8 and 9:9 belong to distinct, though related, sub-units (vv. 1–8; 9–10; 11–17). 9:1–8 portrays the Divine Warrior as he disposes of Israel's enemies to the north and west, defeating, dispossessing, destroying, and, in the case of Philistia (vv. 6–7, introducing first-person speech), purifying and turning them into a "remnant for our God. . . . like a clan in Judah."

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[22] Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 482; see also Paul L. Redditt, "Zechariah 9–14, Malachi, and the Redaction of the Book of the Twelve," in *Forming Prophetic Literature*, 258–61.

[23] Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14 A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, (AB 25C; New York: Doubleday, 1993), 27–28, 38, referring primarily to Rex A. Mason's essay, "The Relation of Zech 9–14 to Proto-Zechariah," *ZAW* 88 (1976), 227–39.

[24] These parallels are cited by Joyce G. Baldwin as especially striking, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi: An Introduction and Commentary* (TOTC; Downers Grove, IVP, 1972), 68. All Scripture citations are from the NRSV unless otherwise noted.

This unit closes with the assurance of divine protection for the Temple, so that no invader will go "to and fro". The portrayal of the Divine Warrior, employing theophany language (v. 14), resumes in vv. 11–17, as he leads Judah and Ephraim in victory against Javan (i.e., Greece).

The expression "to and fro" in 9:8 is repeated from 7:14 which concludes a unit (vv. 1–14) that recalls the message of the former prophets (vv. 7, 12) and Israel's refusal to heed their instruction, thus incurring divine wrath (vv. 11–12) and leading to exile and the destruction of their pleasant homeland (vv. 13–14). No one from Israel "went to and fro" because the land had been desolated.[25] In contrast, 9:8 speaks of a future time when God's favor will be restored to his people rather than his wrath being provoked by them. Here those going "to and fro" refers to Israel's foes who no longer will threaten Jerusalem. According to Meyers and Meyers, "in evoking the past by way of a quotation of 7:14, the author/redactor may be attempting to emphasize the contrast between the past . . . and the present. . . ." [26] This may be correct and would suggest that the phrase in 9:8 should not be deleted as an explanatory gloss as the editors of *BHS* and Paul Hanson recommend.[27] Given the fact that the expression has a very different referent and context in 7:14 and that the expression in 9:8 is followed by "no oppressor shall again overrun (utilizing the same verb, עבר) them", the phrase is neither necessary nor does it explain anything.

Thus Meyers' and Meyers' additional comment, "Second Zechariah draws on an earlier passage and gives it a new meaning,"[28] is misleading. מעבר ומשׁב hardly constitutes an "earlier passage," and the phrase's larger context is not being reinterpreted by the author/editor of Zech 9. On the one hand, the reuse of the expression may be intended to recall its very different context and referent in 7:14, to highlight the change in Israel's present relationship to God and resultant circumstances. This would explain why the phrase is unnecessary in 9:8 and, syntactically, sits somewhat awkwardly in its context (Consequently, the preposition מן probably should be taken privatively in both occurrences). On the other

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[25] According to Meyers and Meyers, 119, this was because it was unsafe to move about. According to David L. Peterson, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984), 295, however, this was because the land had become too unproductive to attract even the "itinerant sheepherder."

[26] Meyers and Meyers, ibid.

[27] Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 298. In the literature assessing verbal parallels, especially during the nineteenth century, one of the occurrences was frequently labeled a "secondary gloss."

[28] Meyers and Meyer, ibid.

hand, one need not recognize the verbal parallel in order to understand 9:8 (or 7:14); recognizing the parallel simply may explain its presence. As such, however, it does serve to underscore with its exact verbal repetition the more general thematic connections and contrast between Zech 1–8 and 9–14.[29]

The second parallel, Zech 9:9 and 2:10 [Heb 2:14], functions quite differently from the first. Zech 9:9 appears to draw on a number of prophetic traditions, primarily those concerning the coming king (Isa 9:6–7, 11:1–5, 32:1–8; Hos 3:4–5; Mic 5:2–4; possibly also Gen 49:10–11). This verse begins with a shift to a second person address to the community personified as "daughter Zion" which is called upon to rejoice at the king's coming. In v. 10 the removal of implements of war is announced, reminiscent of Isa 2:4 // Mic 4:3. As in several other prophetic texts, the divine speaker who establishes peace is distinguished from the king who reigns and administers justice (cf. especially Isa 9:1–7). The extent of his realm is describes in words identical to those found in Psa 72:8 ("from sea to sea, and from the River to the ends of the earth," מים עד־ים ומנהר עד־אפסי־ארץ), found only in these two texts. In sum, Zech 9:9–10 exhibits several significant intertextual links to texts other than Zech 1–8, thus warranting the claim that "Zechariah 9–14 surpasses any other biblical work in the way it draws upon existing tradition."[30]

Unlike the previously discussed parallel phrase, the contexts of Zech 2:10 [Heb 2:14] and 9:9 are quite similar. Like 9:9–10, the unit 2:6–13 [Heb 2:10–17] begins with a second person address to the community personified as daughter Zion. It is linked to the preceding account of the third vision by the mention of glory (כבוד) and of God's dwelling in the midst of the people (2:5 [Heb 2:9] and 2:8,10,11 [Heb 2:12,14,15]), the latter phrase occurring elsewhere in the book only in Zech 8:3,8 (and not once in chapters 9–14). In addition to the four previously-noted similarities in formulation in 2:10 [Heb 2:14] and 9:9, the larger contexts of these two verses are linked by similar descriptions of the nations' benefiting from this future coming (2:11 [Heb 2:15]; 9:10).[31] The verbal

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[29] Zech 9:8 concludes with a reference to what God's "eyes" have seen, i.e., is watching over, forming an *inclusio* with 9:1 which states that the "eye" of all humanity, including all the tribes of Israel, is directed toward the LORD. Magne Saebø, *Sacharja 9–14: Untersuchungen von Text und Form* (WMANT 34; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 161, notes the important role that the "eyes" motif plays in Zechariah 1–8 (2:8 [Heb 2:12]; 3:9; 4:10; 5:6; 8:6), thus serving as an additional link between Zech 9 and 1–8.

[30] Meyers and Meyers, 35.

[31] This unit is also linked to Zech 9:1–8 by the motif of the divine "eye" (2:8 [Heb 2:12]; 9:8).

and conceptual parallels between the two texts are sufficient to evoke the former when one reads the latter and suggest dependence. In 9:9 the wording from 2:10 [Heb 2:14] differs (i.e., has been modified) in several ways. The divergence in the imperatival call to rejoice may be insignificant, but the addition of "greatly" (מאד) makes the latter more emphatic. The divergence in the form of the verb "come" can be accounted for by the shift from first person ("I will come" in 2:10 [Heb 2:14]) to third person ("your king comes" in 9:9). Most significant, however, is the shift in agency. By reading 9:9 in the light of 2:10 [Heb 2:14], one understands that the divine re-election of Jerusalem to again be blessed by the divine presence and deliverance (2:12 [Heb 2:16]; ובחר עוד בירושלם) is signaled by the coming of the future (Davidic?) king to Jerusalem. At the same time, the first explicit promise of salvation addressed to (the inhabitants of) Jerusalem in Zech 1–8 is linked to the first such promise in 9–14.[32] Although the two verbal parallels that we have just discussed function quite differently, both serve to link the two sections of the book of Zechariah.

The Book of the Twelve and the Pentateuch. Analyses of coherence within the Book of the Twelve often emphasize the significance of catchword and thematic connections, such as common fertility, "day of the LORD," or theophany language, between (primarily adjoining) books within the collection. Another approach is to note how the individual books employ a common text from outside the Book of the Twelve. The use of Exodus 34:6–7 within the Minor Prophets has received extensive treatment, focusing on the context and modifications of the individual occurrences.[33]

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[32] Ralph L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi* (WBC 32; Waco: Word, 1984), 255, and Meyers and Meyers, 121, both note the formal parallels between Zech 2:10 [Heb 2:14] and Zech 9:9, also citing Zeph 3:14 which shares only the first two parallel elements, but their recognition of these parallels does not enrich their interpretation of Zech 9:9.

[33] See the essays by Josef Scharbert, "Formgeschichte und Exegese von Ex 34,6f und seine Parallelen," *Bib* 34 (1957), 130–50; Robert C. Dentan, "The Literary Affinities of Exodus XXXIV6f," *VT* 13 (1963), 34–51; Thomas B. Dozeman, "Inner-Biblical Interpretation of Yahweh's Gracious and Compassionate Character," *JBL* 108 (1989), 207–23; Alan Cooper, "In Praise of Divine Caprice: The Significance of the Book of Jonah," in *Among the Prophets: Language, Image and Structure in the Prophetic Writings* (ed. P. R. Davies and D. J. A. Clines; JSOTSup 144; Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 159–63; Raymond C. Van Leeuwen, "Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy in the Book of the Twelve," in *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John C. Gammie* (ed. L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott, and W. J. Wiseman; Philadelphia: Westminster/John Knox, 1993), 31–49.

Before examining another example, it is useful to summarize and assess the contributions of others in interpreting these texts. Given the extensive verbal parallels between Exod 34:6–7 and Joel 2:13, Jonah 4:2, Micah 7:18, and Nahum 1:2–3, Raymond Van Leeuwen's attempt to find evidence of Hosea's dependence on this pentateuchal text is less convincing.[34] It is not clear that the use of רחם ("be gracious") אהיה ("I will be") in Hosea 1:6–9 recalls Exodus 32–34 unless one wants to make the same claim wherever this root or form occurs in the prophets, such as the use of the former in Zech 1:12 and 10:6 and of the latter in Zech 2:9 and 8:8, neither of which are noted by Van Leeuwen. Nor is it clear that Hosea 14:9 [Heb 14:10] ("Those who are wise . . . know them. For the ways of the LORD are right") as a "redactor's creation" is "inexplicable apart from the use of Exodus 32–34 . . . in Joel and Jonah,"[35] given the pervasive use of the verb "know" (ידע) in the Hebrew Bible and the repeated reference to the LORD's "ways" in the prophets (see Zech 3:7 and 10:12 as well as Isa 55:8–9; 58:2; 63:17; 64:5). It is possible (even likely) that the traditions of Exodus 32–34 may have influenced the formulation of some of the passages within the book of Hosea, but one must be cautious in drawing interpretive conclusions from too narrow a textual basis.

The fact that Joel, Jonah, Micah, and Nahum all draw upon Exodus 34 does more than simply highlight the foundational nature of this account of the revelation of the divine character. Not only does the intertextual connection of these books with the Exodus passage serve to create a subgroup out of the latter three prophets within the larger collection but also their modifications and recontextualizations of this text indicate the various historical implications that the divine character can have. If Nogalski is correct in arguing for Joel's role as the "literary anchor" for the Book of the Twelve, despite presumably being composed later than the books that adjoin it,[36] establishing the framework for the rest of the Book, then it is appropriate for Joel to be the first of the Twelve to use Exodus 34:6 explicitly. Though the call to repent in Joel 2:12–13 is directed primarily to those in Zion (2:15), the cosmic and universal scope of the approaching "day of the LORD" (2:10; 3:9–17 [Heb 4:9–17]) suggests that a broader appropriation is possible, as illustrated in Jonah. In Van Leeuwen's words, "Joel serves as a paradigm for the day of the Lord that shows by way of anticipation that Israel could have averted the Assyrian 'Day' through repentance and appeal to the compassionate name

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[34] Van Leeuwen, 34–39.

[35] Ibid, 36.

[36] Nogalski, "Joel as 'Literary Anchor' for the Book of the Twelve".

of YHWH."[37] Joel closely follows the formulation in Exodus: "he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love," though adding "and relents from punishing" (ונחם על־הרעה), which Dozeman probably has explained correctly as deriving from Exod 32:12,14.[38]

The quotation of Exodus 34:6 in Jonah 4:2 is virtually identical in formulation to that in Joel (other than its introductory words: כי אתה אל־, cf. Joel's כי־ אל־יהוה אלהיכם). The context of Jonah is explicitly linked to that of Joel through the Ninevites' carrying out the call to repentance in Joel 2:12–15, proclaiming a fast, mourning, turning from evil, and even using the same initial words in 3:9 as appear in Joel 2:14 (מי יודע ישוב ונחם). Thus, according to Jonah 3:10 (וינחם אלהים על־הרעה), the wicked Assyrians become the recipients of the divine compassion expressed in the expansion of the Exodus formulation in Jonah 4:2 (ונחם על־הרעה), precisely what Jonah did not want to happen.

Thus, on the one hand, the linkage between Joel and Jonah is signaled through the parallel expanded Exodus formula and the parallel "who knows . . . ?" question. Micah and Nahum, on the other hand, are linked by the fact that the former concludes with the verbal parallel from Exodus 34, applying it positively on behalf of Judah, while the latter begins with the verbal parallel, applying it negatively against Nineveh, thereby reversing the situation described in Jonah. Micah picks up the key words from Exodus 34:6–7 which express divine forgiveness in 7:18–19:

נשא עון . . . לא־החזיק לעד אפו כי־חפץ חסד הוא
(corresponding to ארך אפים ורב־חסד)
. . . ישוב ירחמנו

In announcing judgment on Nineveh, Nahum 1:3 begins with the same phrase which Micah 7:18 modifies ("The LORD is slow to anger . . ."), which could aptly describe the postponement of judgment in Jonah's day, and then makes its own modification to fit its context ("but great in power", וגדול־כח, instead of "and abounding in steadfast love," ורב־חסד). The verbal parallel concludes with the appropriate phrase from Exodus 34:7 which the preceding three Minor Prophets understandably do not employ: "and the LORD will by no means clear the guilty" (ונקה לא ינקה יהוה).

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[37] Van Leeuwen, 45.

[38] Dozeman, "Inner-Biblical Interpretation of Yahweh's Gracious and Compassionate Character," 221, although his claim that Joel 2:1–17 as a whole constitutes an "inner-biblical interpretation" of Jonah 3:1–4:11, 217, goes beyond the evidence. Joel also inverts the order of the word-pair "gracious and merciful", a common feature of verbal parallels (see Schultz, 76, 125, 167, 293).

In conclusion, the repeated use of the verbal parallel from Exodus 34:6–7 serves to link four of the Minor Prophets,[39] the author/editor in each case selectively quoting and modifying the formulation to facilitate the particular application of the text which is being made. Thereby, a larger message is conveyed concerning the implications of God's gracious character for the specific situation that each individual prophetic book addresses.

Though the reuse of Exodus 34:6–7 is clearly the most striking verbal parallel between the Minor Prophets and the Pentateuch, other intertextual links abound, especially between the formulations of the covenantal blessings and curses and the prophetic oracles of salvation and judgment. Douglas Stuart offers a helpful list of these elements, also noting where they occur in the first five Minor Prophets.[40] In many instances the parallels between the covenant formulations and the prophetic threats and promises go beyond general motifs to the specific expressions. One threat which recurs in the Book of the Twelve is found in Deut 28:30b: "You shall build a house, but not live in it. You shall plant a vineyard, but not enjoy its fruit" (בית תבנה ולא־תשב בו כרם תטע ולא תחללנו). A related threat occurs in Deut 28:38–40:

> You shall carry much seed into the field but shall gather little in, for the locust shall consume it. / You shall plant vineyards and dress them, but you shall neither drink the wine nor gather the grapes, for the worm shall eat them. / You shall have olive trees throughout all your territory, but you shall not anoint yourself with the oil, for your olives shall drop off.

Amos 5:11–12 draws from both passages in pronouncing judgment against those in Israel who economically exploit the poor: "you have built houses of hewn stone, but you shall not live in them; you have planted pleasant vineyards, but you shall not drink their wine." The specific changes ("of hewn stone," "pleasant") serve to emphasize the perpetrators' affluence. A reversal of this curse is announced in 9:14. Micah 6:15 draws exclusively from the latter text in announcing the future circumstances of those in Judah who, interestingly, also are wealthy while cheating others (6:10–12): "You shall sow, but not reap; you shall tread olives, but not anoint yourselves with oil, you shall tread grapes, but not

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[39] Van Leeuwen, ibid, by inference accounts for the lack of verbal parallel to Exodus 34 in Amos and Obadiah: the Israel of Amos' day and the Edomites of Obadiah's day could have repented and escaped punishment just as the Assyrians in Jonah's day did or experienced the divine forgiveness that Micah promised Judah.

[40] Douglas Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah* (WBC 31; Waco: Word, 1987), xxxi–xlii.

drink wine." Here the formulation does not correspond as closely to Deuteronomy. However, the context of the parallels in Amos and Micah is quite similar and, thus, the curse is appropriate: the wealthy who exploit others economically will themselves be deprived of material pleasures. Zephaniah 1:13b uses a similar threat, here specifically pronounced against Jerusalem, which is closer to Amos 5 than Micah 6 in formulation: "Though they build houses, they shall not inhabit them; though they plant vineyards, they shall not drink wine from them." Rather than linking economic exploitation with this announced deprivation, Zephaniah 1:12 links the punishment with the sin by means of a vivid metaphor: "I will punish the people who thicken on their dregs." Adele Berlin comments regarding this expression:[41] "The people have become mired in their drinking and indulgent lifestyle. The image captures the decadence of Jerusalem's upper class." Just as the verbal parallels between Exodus 34 and the Minor Prophets emphasize that divine compassion has implications for every situation, so the verbal parallels between the covenant curses (and blessings) and the specific prophetic pronouncements in the Book of the Twelve emphasize the divine consistency in dealing with people (Israel or Judah; in the Assyrian or the Babylonian era): the oppressive and self-indulgent sins of the rich warrant the same punishment.[42]

Isaiah and the Book of the Twelve. Scholars have noted the similarity in scope between the prophecies contained in the book of Isaiah and the Book of the Twelve, spanning the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian eras, although only the latter explicitly distinguishes twelve prophetic voices.[43] Odil Hannes Steck and Erich Bosshard(-Nepustil) along with Reinhard Kratz have developed this basic observation into complex redactional theories.[44] In essence, their view is that parallels in structure and content

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[41] Adele Berlin, *Zephaniah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 25a; New York: Doubleday, 1994), 87–88. Jer 48:11 employs a similar image but with a different association.

[42] Additional examples of covenantal blessing and curse language in Zephaniah include, "they shall walk like the blind" (1:17 // Deut 28:28–29, cf. Isa 59:10) and "and no one shall make them afraid" (3:13 // Lev 26:6).

[43] See the literary approach of Edgar G. Conrad, "Reading Isaiah and the Twelve as Prophetic Books, " in *Writing and Reading the Book of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (ed. C. C. Broyles and C. A. Evans; SVT 70; 2 volumes; Leiden: Brill, 1997), I:3–17.

[44] Odil Hannes Steck, *Der Abschluß der Prophetie im Alten Testament: Ein Versuch zur Frage der Vorgeschichte des Kanons* (BTS 17; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1991). Steck dates the decisive redactional work to the late fourth through the late third centuries BCE. Erich Bosshard, "Beobachtungen zum Zwölfprophetenbuch,"

between Isaiah and the Book of the Twelve can be explained in part by the suggestion that both underwent the same redactional stages, most likely at the hands of the same redactors. Bosshard-Nepustil's evidence for an "Assyria-Babylon" redactional layer consists of parallels between various books from the Twelve and Isaiah 13, 21, 22, and 33.

Bosshard-Nepustil notes the following parallels between Joel 1:1–2:11 and Isaiah 13:[45]

1:5,11,13	13:6	Call for people of Judah to lament
1:15 (2:1f,11)	13:6	Reason for lament
2:1	13:2	Call to sound alarm on a mountain/hill
2:2ff	13:3ff	Army's description on day of the LORD
2:6	13:7f	Terrified response to army
2:9	13:16	Army plunders the houses

Although the parallel elements are not in the same order in both texts and their actual formulation is not too close, Bosshard-Nepustil's observation is grounded upon the extensive verbal correspondence between 1:15 and 13:6 (compare also Ezek 30:2–3): "[Alas for the day / Wail,] for the day of the LORD is near; [and] it will come like destruction from the Almighty."

On the basis of his comparison of Joel with Isaiah 13:2–8, 14–16 (as well as Isa 5:26ff and Jer 4–6), Bosshard-Nepustil concludes 1) that Joel is dependent on the Isa 13 text, 2) that the day of the LORD in both text refers to the attack of the Assyrian and/or Babylonian army, 3) both passages were inserted for the same reason into the book of Isaiah (at the beginning of the oracles concerning the foreign nations) and the Book of the Twelve (between Hosea and Amos), 4) the concluding question in Joel 2:11 is not answered until Hab 1:1–2:16, the next insertion from this redactional layer. Somewhat similarly, Steck suggests that Joel corresponds to Isa 13, Obadiah to 24–27, and Zephaniah to Isaiah 34–35, this editorial expansion taking place in 312/311 BCE.[46]

BN 40 (1987), 30–62; Bosshard and Reinhard G. Kratz, "Maleachi im Zwölfprophetenbuch," *BN* 52 (1990) 27–46; Erich Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaia 1–39 im Zwölf-prophetenbuch. Untersuchungen zur literarischen Verbindung von Prophetenbüchern in babylonischer und persischer Zeit* (OBO 154; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997). For a critique of Bosshard and Kratz, see Paul Redditt, 246–47.

[45] Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaia 1–39*, 292. He discusses the parallels on 292–97, 308.

[46] Steck, *Der Abschluß der Prophetie*, 83. This also would imply that Hosea corresponds to Isa 1–12 and Amos to Isa 14–23.

However, by limiting the unit to Isa 13:2–8,14–16, Bosshard-Nepustil can ignore 13:1 and 13:17–22 which indicate that it is the destruction of Babylon that is being described in the oracle, as well as vv. 9–13 which contains proto-apocalyptic imagery. Both of these contextual factors make it unlikely that this verbal parallel offers conclusive evidence that Joel 1:1–2:11 is describing the Babylonian attack on Jerusalem, so that its future-oriented prophecy actually describes (from the perspective of its composition) past history, in which case the book's central call to repentance (2:12ff) in the light of the approaching day of the LORD and God's readiness to forgive becomes meaningless. The rich prophetic imagery describing the day of the LORD resists any effort to narrow its referent to just one historical event. If this verbal parallel significantly links Joel and Isaiah 13, then it does so by emphasizing the certain and catastrophic nature of the day of the LORD, whether it is going to devastate Judah or Babylon.

Furthermore, by focusing on just one verbal parallel between Isaiah and the Book of the Twelve, Bosshard-Nepustil downplays other striking verbal parallels between (other sections of) Isaiah and the book of Joel. James Crenshaw, for example, cites the following parallels:[47] 2:3b // Isa 51:3; 2:27 // Isa 45:5,6,18; 3:2 [Heb 4:2] // Isa 66:18; 3:10 [Heb 4:10] // Isa 2:4. If clear verbal parallels (such as that between Isa 13 and Joel) indicate parallel structures, why do neither Bosshard-Neupustil nor Steck give any attention to the striking parallel between Isa 52:7 and Nahum 1:15 [Heb 2:1]?

A similar example is offered by Isaiah 2:2–4 // Micah 4:1–3. This parallel is the most extensive and most discussed of numerous verbal links between these two books. What is the structural effect of this vision being placed in a prominent position within both prophetic books? In light of the superscriptions, one may suggest either that Yahweh reveals essentially the same divine message to more than one prophet in a given generation or that a true prophet can quote a contemporary, since both are God's spokespersons.

Regardless of the origin of the oracle, these parallel texts were given equally prominent positions by those responsible for shaping the final form of these prophetic books. Early in both prophetic books, the reader is given a brief vision of Zion's glorious future, amidst a broad portrayal of its current apostate condition. The remainder of each book sketches the long and twisted route to be traversed before the vision becomes a reality. However, in the final analysis, the divergent literary contexts and the

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[47] James L. Crenshaw, *Joel: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 24C; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 27–28.

distinctive emphases of each prophet (see Micah 4:4) reshape and redirect this close parallel. Thus even the virtually identical passages Isa 2:2–4 // Mic 4:1–3 evoke different applications (Isa 2:5, compare Micah 4:5).[48]

Scholars have noted numerous less extensive verbal parallels between Isaiah and Micah, although many of these involve passages which some consider to be non-genuine in Isaiah, Micah, or both:[49]

Micah	Isaiah	Micah	Isaiah
1:11	47:2–3	5:.5	9:6
2:13	52:12	5:13	2:8
3:5	56:10–11	6:7	1:11
3:8	58:1	6:8	1:17
3:11	48:2	7:1	24:13
4:7	24:24	7:2	57:1
4:9	13:8; 21:3	7:3	1:23
4:13	41:15–16; 23:18	7:17	49:23

In the light of this list, it does not appear to be appropriate to interpret Isa 2 // Mic 4 primarily on the basis of the vision's relative location within the book of Isaiah and the book of Micah's place or function within the Book of the Twelve, as Steck's and Bosshard-Kratz's theory would suggest. These verbal parallels indicate more than chronological and theological proximity. As a result of the hermeneutical dynamics of verbal parallels such as these that are virtually impossible to date exactly, an intertextuality is established between the two books.

Childs has described the result:

> This common moulding has the effect that Isaiah serves as a commentary on Micah and *vice versa*. The use of a verbatim passage in such a central position consciously directs the reader to the other collection of prophecy. The two messages are not to be fused since each has been preserved with a distinct shape as a discrete entity. Yet the two are to be heard together for mutual enrichment within the larger corpus of prophecy. The canonical shaping thus emphasizes an affinity which is far closer than that established by belonging to the prophetic division of the Hebrew canon.[50]

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[48] For a fuller discussion of Isa 2 // Micah 4 see Schultz, 290–307. See also Marvin A. Sweeney's recent comparison of these texts, "Micah's Debate with Isaiah," *JSOT* 93 (2001), 111–24.

[49] John H. Raven, *Old Testament Introduction: General and Special* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1906), 193, 230.

[50] Childs, 438. Robert P. Carroll, "Night without Vision: Micah and the Prophets," in *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A.S. van der Woude's*

What is especially true of Isa 2:1–4 and Mic 4:1–3 and has implications for how one reads the books of Isaiah and Micah as a whole, applies to the proper identification and analysis of verbal parallels throughout the prophetic canon or the Hebrew Bible as a whole. According to John Sailhamer,

> If . . . there is an authorially [or redactionally] intended inter-textuality, then it stands to reason that some loss of meaning occurs when one fails to view the text in terms of it. On the other hand, if there has been no intentional inter-textuality, then an attempt to read the text in terms of a supposed linkage with another text will likely distort the meaning of that text. Clear criteria of inter-textuality must therefore be established in biblical exegesis.[51]

It has been the goal of this essay to offer several criteria for identifying and several examples of interpreting the "ties that bind" together the prophetic corpus. We have thereby sought to demonstrate that, in analyzing the almost countless words and motifs that are repeated within and between individual books or the larger collection of the Book of the Twelve, sometimes giving attention to fewer but clearer verbal parallels can be hermeneutically both more responsible and more illuminating.

65th Birthday (ed. G. Martínez, A. Hilhurst, and C. J. Labuschagne; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 83–84, speaks similarly of the "intertextuality" of Micah and Isaiah.

[51] John H. Sailhamer, *Introduction to Old Testament Theology: A Canonical Approach* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), 213.

The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Review of Research

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The so-called "Minor Prophets" are called "The Twelve" (תרי עשר) and are reckoned as one book in the Hebrew Bible. The collection predates Sirach's prayer "May the bones of the Twelve Prophets send forth new life from where they lie" (49:10), even if that reference is to the prophets themselves, as David L. Petersen maintains.[1] The manuscript evidence from Qumran shows that the order of the Twelve in the MT itself goes back to at least 150 B.C.E., though 4QXII[a] might constitute an exception in which Jonah stood last.[2] Josephus also seems to have counted the Twelve as one book among the twenty-two he cited as the records of past times: five from Moses, thirteen recording events that transpired between Moses and Artaxerxes,[3] and four containing hymns and precepts (*Ag. Ap.* 1.8).

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[1] David L. Petersen, "A Book of the Twelve?" *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve* (Symposium 15; eds. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000) 4.

[2] Russell Fuller, "The Form and Formation of the Book of the Twelve: The Evidence from the Judean Desert," in *Forming Prophetic Literature; Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts* (JSOTSup 235; eds. James W. Watts and Paul R. House; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 96. Fuller edited fragments of the Twelve from Qumran, discovering one fragment of the end of the corpus, which did not end with Malachi. Another fragment began Jonah, and Fuller concluded that it would fit the scroll after Malachi.

[3] His thirteen "historical" books almost surely would have included Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Twelve, may have included Ezekiel, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, and perhaps even Daniel and all or part of the Five Megilloth. In any case, the Twelve would not have been omitted and could not have been counted individually.

Likewise, the Twelve seem to have counted as one among the twenty-four books Ezra is said to have dictated and made public (*2 Esd.* 14:44–45). The Babylonian Talmud provides instructions for copying the Twelve that stipulate leaving four lines between canonical books, but only three between the prophets in the Twelve.

To be sure, neither Jews nor Christians typically interpreted the Twelve in canonical fashion in the following centuries, using instead what modern exegetes might call a "proof-text" reading strategy.[4] Beate Ego, however, assembles several ancient rabbinic texts that address the repentance of Nineveh, and thus explicitly or implicitly the sequence of Jonah-Nahum in the MT concerning the fate of Nineveh: Tob 14:4, 8; Josephus *Ant.* 9.242, *b. Taan.* 16a, *Tg. Ps.-J. Nah* 1:1, *Pirqe R. El.* 43, *y. Taan.* 2.1, 65b, and *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 24.11.[5]

In the modern period, scholars have developed historical-critical methods, which typically study the Twelve in a reconstructed chronological order. Even so, members of the academy are all too aware of arguments over the dates of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zechariah 9–14, and Malachi. Indeed, some scholars even challenge the dates supplied in the headings of one or more of the other six collections. Only a few have treated the Twelve canonically, but their work deserves notice at this point. As least as early as 1868, Heinrich Ewald proposed a redaction of the Twelve in three stages based on the superscriptions.[6] Carl Steuernagel found seven and Rolland E. Wolfe four.[7] More recently, Dale Schneider proposed a process in four stages: (1) Hosea, Amos, and Micah; (2) Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah; (3) Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah; and (4) Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.[8] Andrew Y. Lee posited a post-

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[4] See Paul L. Redditt, "The Production and Reading of the Book of the Twelve," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve* (Symposium 15; eds. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000) 26–31.

[5] Beate Ego, "The Repentance of Nineveh in the Story of Jonah and Nahum's Prophecy of the City's Destruction: Aggadic Solutions for an Exegetical Problem in the Book of the Twelve," *SBLSP 2000,* 249–50.

[6] Heinrich Ewald, *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes erklärt* (2d ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1868) 74–82. The first edition is not available to this author.

[7] Carl Steuernagel, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alten Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1912) 669–72; Rolland E. Wolfe, "The Editing of the Book of the Twelve," (Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, 1933) and "The Editing of the Book of the Twelve," *ZAW* 53 (1935) 90–129.

[8] Dale Schneider, "The Unity of the Book of the Twelve," (Ph. D. diss., Yale University, 1979).

exilic redaction and enhancement during the time of Nehemiah of mostly authentic collections of saying by the prophets.[9] Terrence Collins also thought in terms of four steps: (1) an exilic stage combining Hosea, Amos (including chapter 9), Micah (including chapters 4 and 5), Nahum, Zephaniah, and Obadiah; (2) a post-exilic stage spurred by the rebuilding of the temple, that added Haggai, Zechariah 1–8, expansions to Zephaniah, esp. Zeph. 3:9–20, Jonah, and possibly Joel; (3) a stage from the mid-fifth century reflecting introspection that added Joel (if it was not already present), Habakkuk, Malachi, and some eschatological additions, notably to Zephaniah; and (4) later additions, especially Zechariah 9–14 and Mal. 3:22–24 [Engl. 4:4–6].[10] Finally, R. J. Coggins pointed to similarities in the shape of the Twelve when compared with the other prophetic books. They begin in the first six books with words of doom to the recalcitrant Israelite community, then move in the next three to a section dealing with the foreign nations, and conclude with hope for the restitution of the committee.[11]

The question for scholars participating in the Formation of the Book of the Twelve Seminar of the Society of Biblical Literature was not simply whether the Twelve had been preserved, collected, and edited, which they obviously had, but whether that editing linked the corpora in some unified or coherent way that one may uncover. Typically, they asked about editorial intention, but even if one discounts ever recovering the intention of redactors, the question of coherence remains valid. With the rise in interest in canonical order and structure permeating studies of the First Testament, they have begun recommending a canonical reading of the Twelve. Their overall thesis is that the Twelve underwent a process of growth that resulted in a coherent collection every bit as deserving to be called a book as Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Ezekiel. They argue that the Twelve exhibits an overall theme, plot, and/or direction greater than that of the sum of its twelve parts.

I. The Challenge to Demonstrate Coherence

The idea that the Twelve constitutes a coherent corpus capable of being read consecutively (and perhaps intended to be read that way) has

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[9] Andrew Y. Lee, "The Canonical Unity of the Scroll of the Minor Prophets," (Ph. D. diss., Baylor University, 1985.

[10] Terrence Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah: The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetical Books* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993) 62–64.

[11] R. J. Coggins, "The Minor Prophets—One Book or Twelve?" in *Crossing the Boundaries* (eds. S. E. Porter, P. Joyce, and D. E. Orton; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 64.

not gone unchallenged. Ehud ben Zvi objects to the enterprise for a number of reasons, including the following. (1) Collection does not prove coherence; ancient scribes collected anthologies with no coherent plan, one example from ancient Israel being the book of Proverbs. (2) Later communities, from Qumran to the rabbis, read the twelve as an anthology.[12] (3) The lack of a fixed order among the first six book militates against any argument that any given sequence is "correct."[13] (4) The superscription and the incipits set the prophets apart.[14] David. L. Petersen opts for a similar position. The mere fact of the collection could as easily support the view that the Twelve is an anthology as that it is a coherent book. In addition, he thinks the differences in order imply that the collection is an anthology. He does, however, find a consistent theme throughout the Twelve: "the day of the Lord." He argues, then, that the Twelve constitutes a "thematized anthology." [15]

Kenneth H. Cuffey suggests that there are four basic types of coherence: internal (or literary), structural, perspectival, and thematic. He finds examples of all four in Micah, and cites examples of all four adduced by Paul R. House and James D. Nogalski in their work on the Twelve (to be discussed later in this paper), but questions whether the Twelve as a whole exhibits coherence, for two reasons. First is the difference in scope between the Twelve and a given collection within it. The problem, as Cuffey sees it, is that the coherence claimed for the Twelve falls outside of units clearly marked by superscriptions.

Second, Cuffey says, it is harder to determine the intentions of a secondary redactor than it is a primary author.[16] In response, one might answer that the differences between Micah and the Twelve are only

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[12] One may grant the point that the Rabbis rarely ever recorded a consecutive reading of the Twelve, but it proves little: they did not read other books in the Bible that way either.

[13] Stephen B. Chapman (*The Law and the Prophets* [FAT 27; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000] 137) thinks that this argument is decisive, but it might not be. As will be shown later, Marvin A. Sweeney has proposed readings for both the MT and the LXX which also allow him to say which order came first.

[14] Ehud ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books or 'The Twelve': A Few Preliminary Considerations," *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts* (JSOTSup 235; eds. James W. Watts and Paul R. House; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 131–38.

[15] Petersen, "A Book of the Twelve?" 3–10.

[16] Kenneth H. Cuffey, "Remnant, Redactor, and Biblical Theologian: A Comparative Study of Coherence in Micah and the Twelve," *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve* (Symposium 15; eds. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000) 186–202.

differences in degree, not of kind. If later voices have added to Micah anything like what critical scholars have attributed to them, a significant percentage, perhaps even a majority, of the book came from redactors. Moreover, the presence of the superscriptions—if accepted as more or less historically accurate—may assist understanding redaction in the Twelve. In the case of Isaiah, by contrast, there is no superscription naming a prophet after Isaiah 13:1, which certainly does not make the task of studying the growth of that back any easier. Further, Collins has remarked that "there is no reason to suppose that the names of Hosea, Amos, and Micah were any less important than that of Isaiah. The quantity of material attached to their names was certainly as great, although the Isaianic collection was later to be expanded in ... a spectacular fashion."[17] In other words, for all one knows the redactional contributions to Isaiah were greater than those to the Twelve, and the redactors left no names behind other than Isaiah's. If Collins is right, the problems would be even greater for Isaiah than for the Twelve.

What types of coherence in the Twelve, then, have scholars adduced? With regard to literary coherence, Paul R. House thinks that the Twelve develops a "comic" plot, beginning on a negative note in Hosea through Micah with the sins of the nations, continuing with the punishment of sin in Nahum through Zephaniah, and concluding with the promise of a better day in Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.[18] In addition, the characters remain consistent: God serves as the hero, and Israel and the Gentiles are comic foils.[19] The prophets fulfill specific roles: as special servants they act out, transmit, and interpret and explicate the will, purpose, and word of God.[20] The implied author is God, and the point of view is third person omniscient, matching God's![21]

Clearly, the Twelve begin on a primarily negative note, and Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 look toward a new day when the temple was rebuilt. The comic plot, however, is more characteristic of individual books than the Twelve, since most follow the pattern of doom followed by hope (cf. Joel 1:2–2:17 [doom] followed by 2:18–4:21 [hope] and Amos 1:2–9:10

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17 Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah*, 61.

18 Paul R. House, *The Unity of the Twelve* (JSOTSup 97; Sheffield: Almond, 1990). Cf. his article "Dramatic Coherence in Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah," *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts* (JSOTSup 235; eds. James W. Watts and Paul R. House; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 195–208.

19 Ibid., 172–85, 203–19.

20 Ibid., 185–203.

21 Ibid., 226–41.

[doom] followed by 9:11–15 [hope]), a pattern employed four times in Micah.[22] It might be more accurate, then, to speak of a double plot in the Twelve, developing the dual themes of progress (comedy) and regress (tragedy) or with Donald K. Berry to say it is open-ended.[23] He calls it an "epic," paralleling the historical epic of the Former Prophets and the epic narrative on the Torah, both of which have an open ending.

With regard to perspectival coherence, the shared implied author and point of view perhaps belong here also. Cuffey cites two postulated earlier corpora (Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah on the one hand; Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 on the other) as possibly having perspectival coherence. The first may have come into being to explain the fall of Jerusalem, the second in relation to rebuilding the temple.[24] Another scholar, Margaret S. Odell, asked how the Twelve views the prophets. She uncovered a negative perspective toward the cult prophets of eighth-century Israel, and another toward the prophet Jonah. [25] "What Hosea and the Book of the Twelve suggest," she writes, "is that there is something greater than Jonah—and all the prophets."[26] It is possible to push Odell's point further. This ambivalence toward prophets is not limited to Hosea and Jonah. It appears also in Amos 7:14–15 and in its echo in Zech 13:5. The resolution of the issue appears, perhaps, in Zech 1:5–6, which distinguishes God's servants the prophets from the word of God they delivered. The revealed word would live on, not the prophets. In the Twelve, it would live on in writing.

With regard to structural coherence, John D. W. Watts points to the significance of the superscriptions and incipits.[27] The fact that these

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[22] Cf. Cuffey's analysis of Micah in "Coherence," 190–96.

[23] Donald K. Berry, "Malachi's Dual Design: The Close of the Canon and What Comes Afterward," *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts* (JSOTSup 235; eds. James W. Watts and Paul R. House; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 300.

[24] Cuffey, "Coherence," 290.

[25] Margaret S. Odell, "The Prophets and the End of Hosea," *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts* (JSOTSup 235; eds. James W. Watts and Paul R. House; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 159–68.

[26] Ibid., 170.

[27] John D. W. Watts, "Superscriptions and Incipits in the Book of the Twelve," *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve* (Symposium 15; eds. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A Sweeney; Atlanta; Society of Biblical Literature, 2000) 110–24. Superscriptions are nominal headings over a book, a portion of a book, or a poem, introducing what follows, while incipits are the opening sentence of narratives, which serve the same purpose (p. 111).

elements create the appearance of twelve prophetic figures is the only basis one has for speaking of twelve prophets; critical scholars find evidence of many more hands at work in those books. Further, the superscriptions of Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah are similar enough to posit one common hand (often called Deuteronomistic) as a redactor,[28] and Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 show so much similarity that critical scholars argue that they derived from the same redactional hand.[29] Thus, the superscriptions and incipits provide a structural (and often chronological) coherence to the Twelve and to two prior corpora.

Another issue related to structure is the order of the collections within the Twelve. The superscriptions in the early corpora outline the order from the eighth century (Hosea, Amos, Micah) to just before the exile (Zephaniah) and to the late sixth century at the time of the rebuilding of the temple (Haggai, Zechariah 1–8). These six collections do not vary in their placement relative to each other; nor does the sequence from Nahum to Malachi vary at all. The placement of the remaining three (Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah) varies between the MT and the LXX. A comparison of their respective order shows that the MT intersperses those three among the eighth century prophets Hosea, Amos, and Micah, while the LXX collects them after those three.

Order of the First Six of the Twelve: MT	Order of the First Six of the Twelve: LXX
Hosea	Hosea
Joel	Amos
Amos	Micah
Obadiah	Joel
Jonah	Obadiah
Micah	Jonah

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[28] See F. I. Anderson and David N. Freedman, *Hosea* (AB24; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980) 40–44, 143–49; David N. Freedman, "Headings in the Books of the Eighth-Century Prophets," *AUSS* 25,1 (1987) 9–26; Alfred Jepsen, "Kleine Beiträge zum Zwölfprophetenbuch," *ZAW* 56 (1938) 94–95; Gene M. Tucker, "Prophetic Superscriptions and the Growth of a Canon," *Canon and Authority: Essays in Old Testament Religion and Theology* (eds. George W. Coats and Burke O. Long; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 69; P. Weimar, "Obadja. Eine Redaktionskritische Analyse," *BN* 27 (1985) 97; and Hans W. Wolff, *Hosea* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974) 3–4.

[29] See Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8* (AB25B; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1987) xliv-xlviii. Cf. Paul L. Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi* (NCB; London: HarperCollins and Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) 11–12.

This variation invites explanation, and as mentioned earlier some scholars consider it lethal to the view that the Twelve need to be read consecutively.[30] James D. Nogalski defends the order in the MT as original, citing catchwords between the end of one prophetic collection and the beginning of the next.[31] (See the next section of this paper.) For him, Joel was composed or extensively reworked for its place in the Twelve,[32] and serves as the anchor for a "Joel-related layer" (consisting of Joel, Obadiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Malachi) inserted into the two previously-existing corpora: the Deuteronomistic corpus and Haggai-Zechariah 1–8.[33] Obadiah, too, consists of the reworking of traditions with an eye towards other parts of the Twelve.[34] Jonah (and Zechariah 9–14, too for that matter) was a later addition to the Twelve, with Jonah disturbing the catchwords between Obadiah and Micah.[35]

By contrast, Marvin A. Sweeney argues on various grounds that the order in the LXX was original. (1) The LXX order treats the northern kingdom first (in Hosea and Amos, without interruption), then moves to the south, whereas the MT interjects Joel between Hosea and Amos, disrupting both historical and logical sense. The difference is significant for Sweeney. In the order in the MT, the positioning of Joel means that the Twelve emphasizes the role of Jerusalem and its relationship to Israel and to the nations throughout.[36] (2) The MT breaks up the use of Obadiah in Joel, whereas the LXX preserves it so that references to Obadiah in Joel are immediately clear to the reader.[37] With this same stroke Sweeney blunts the objection of ben Zvi that the two books were

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30 Ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books or "The Twelve," 137, Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets*, 137.

31 James D. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW 217; Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1993) 20–57.

32 James D. Nogalski, *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW 218; Berlin: New York: de Gruyter, 1993) 13.

33 Ibid., 275 and James D. Nogalski, "Joel as 'Literary Anchor' for the Book of the Twelve," *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve* (Symposium 15; eds. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000).

34 Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*, 89–92.

35 Ibid., 278–79.

36 Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets* (2 vols.; Berit Olam; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000) 1.xxxii.

37 Marvin A. Sweeney, "The Place and Function of Joel in the Book of the Twelve," *SBL Seminar Papers, 1999* (SBLSP 38; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 592.

too remote in the canon for a reader to note the similarities.[38] At the same time, it must be observed that the LXX order destroys the close connection between Joel 4:16 [Engl. 3:16] and Amos 1:2, though the two passages could still stand as a case of quotation.

Sweeney then employs these insights to determine which is earlier. The order in the LXX "appears to reflect concerns within Judah during the late-monarchic, exilic, and early post-exilic periods when Judean thinkers were attempting to come to terms with the Assyrian destruction of the northern kingdom of Israel and the threat to Jerusalem and Judah posed and later realized by the Babylonian Empire."[39] The MT version, which focuses on the role of Jerusalem, "appears to reflect the concerns of the later Persian period, particularly in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, when concern shifted away from the north to focus almost entirely on Jerusalem as the holy center of Persian-period Yehud."[40] These implications point to one more difference between Sweeney and Nogalski: Sweeney thinks the Book of the Twelve was completed no later than the early Persian period, i. e. roughly the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, whereas Nogalski dates Joel in the late Persian period, Zechariah 9–14 in the Greek period at the end of the fourth and beginning of the third century, and Jonah early in the third century.[41]

As mentioned earlier, for the most part the Dead Sea Scrolls follow the order of the MT. One fragment, however, contains portions of Zechariah and Malachi and the beginning of another column. Another fragment contains parts of Jonah, which began two or three lines down from the top. Fuller edited these two fragments (4QXII^{a}), concluding that they fit together and dating them 150 B.C.E, making them among the oldest fragments of the Twelve known from Qumran.[42] Barry A. Jones argues that 4QXII^{a} preserves the original order, with both the MT and the LXX deriving from it.[43] He posits a stage in the growth of the Twelve when all but Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah were in place.[44] Another edition appeared with the addition of Joel and Obadiah, and a third with the

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[38] Ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books or 'The Twelve,'" 148.

[39] Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, 1.xxxv.

[40] Ibid., 1.xxxvii.

[41] Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*, 57, 247, 272.

[42] Russell Fuller, "The Form and Formation of the Book of the Twelve," 96–98. See footnote 2.

[43] Barry A. Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Study in Text and Canon* (SBLDS 149; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) 130–32 and 167.

[44] Ibid., 53–58 and Table 6.2 on pp. 226–27.

addition of Jonah.[45] Even if Fuller's textual reconstruction is correct, it might not carry the weight Jones attaches to it, because the people at Qumran are known to have changed the order of other biblical books to suit their own needs: specifically in the Psalms Scroll, the Habakkuk Pesher, the Temple Scroll, and the Great Isaiah Scroll.[46] In a later article, Jones argues that it is perhaps impossible to answer the question of which text came first, and suggests instead that one think in terms of "an original *diversity* (italics Jones') of arrangements" of the Twelve, of which three have survived: MT, LXX, and 4QXII^{a}.[47]

With regard to thematic coherence, scholars have found several shared themes. Raymond C. Van Leeuwen points to the use of the confession of faith from Exod 34:6–7 in Joel 2:13, Jon 4:2, Mic 7:18, Nah 1:2–3, and possibly Hos 1:9.[48] Alan Cooper finds allusions to it in Hos 14:3, 5; Joel 2:13–14; Jon 3:8–4:2; Mic 7:18–20; and Nah 1:2–3a.[49] Petersen finds references to the "day of the Lord" to be so frequent in the Twelve that he identifies the phrase as its theme.[50] Similarly, Nogalski traces the use of the phrase in the first four prophets of the Twelve,[51] and Rolf Rendtorff finds it in Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Malachi as well.[52] Finally, House argues for a common theology in the Twelve, which

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45 Ibid., 239–40, 139.

46 Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, 1.xxvii, n. 37.

47 Barry A. Jones, "The Book of the Twelve as a Witness to Ancient Biblical Interpretation," *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve* (Symposium 15; eds. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000) 69.

48 Raymond C. Van Leeuwen, "Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy in the Book of the Twelve," *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (eds. Leo G. Perdue, Bernard Scott, and William Wiseman; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993) 34–48.

49 Alan Cooper, "In Praise of Divine Caprice," *Among the Prophets; Language, Image and Structure in the Prophetic Writings* (JSOTSup 144; eds. Philip R. Davies and David J. A. Clines; Sheffield; Sheffield Academic Press, 1993) 160.

50 Petersen, "A Book of the Twelve?" 3–10. Cf. Theodor Lescow, *Das Buch Maleachi* (AzTh 75; Stuttgart: Calwer, 1993) 187.

51 James D. Nogalski, "The Day(s) of YHWH in the Book of the Twelve," *SBL Seminar Papers, 1999* (SBLSP 38; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999) 620; n. 10 offers a partial list of occurrences.

52 Rolf Rendtorff, "How to Read the Book of the Twelve as a Theological Unity," *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve* (Symposium 15; eds. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000) 78–86.

offers a complex portrait of God as spouse, parent, judge, healer, creator, sovereign ruler, shepherd, deliverer, and refiner. These descriptions are not contradictory because they all point toward the same God whose complexity cannot be reduced without distorting the portrait.[53]

In summary, scholars have attempted to answer the challenge to demonstrate coherence in the Twelve that validates the claim the book was edited to be read straight through, and that doing so yields valid results not obtainable otherwise. These scholars have demonstrated the presence of literary, perspectival, structural, and thematic evidence in support of their claim. In doing so, they have appealed often to the work of redactors. It is appropriate, therefore, to look more closely at the redactional techniques used in editing the Twelve.

II. Redactional Techniques in the Twelve

The study of the redaction of the Twelve inevitably involves intertextuality. Types of intertextuality include the quotation of or allusions to other texts and the use of catchwords, themes or motifs, and framing devices. Other redactional techniques include the use of designs (e.g., a chiasmus) and of rhetorical devices. All of these techniques appear in the Twelve. Mention has already been made of the redactional use of superscriptions and incipits to create the appearance of twelve collections; nothing more need be added here.

The next redactional technique is the use of catchwords, which Nogalski, in particular, has studied. He finds them at the beginnings and ends of the individual collections in the Twelve, in the seams between those collections in other words. The most obvious example is the repetition in Amos 1:2 of Joel 4:16 [Engl. 3:16]: "YHWH roars from Zion, and from Jerusalem he utters his voice." Nogalski finds additional catchwords tying Joel 4:4–8, 14–21 [Engl 3:4–8, 14–21] to Amos 1:1–2, 6–12, including the mention of Tyre, Philistia, and Edom.[54] He also finds catchwords between Hos 14:5–10 and Joel 1:1–12, Amos 9:1–15 and Obad 1–10, Obad 15–21 and Mic 1:1–7, Obad 11–14, 15b and Jonah 1:1–8, Jon 2:2–10 and Mic 1:1–7, Mic 7:8–20 and Nah 1:1–18, Nah 3:1–19 and Hab 1:1–17; Hab 3:1–19 and Zeph 1:1–18, Zeph 3:18–20 and Hag 1:1–6, Hag

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[53] Paul R. House, "The Character of God in the Book of the Twelve," *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve* (Symposium 15; eds. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney; Atlanta; Society of Biblical Literature, 2000) 144.

[54] Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 24–27.

2:20–23 and Zech 1:1–11, and Zech 8:9–23 and Mal 1:1–14.[55] Zechariah 9–14, which itself draws upon other parts of the Twelve, shares no catchwords with what comes before or after and thus appears to be a later addition. Not all catchwords are said to derive from the hand of a final (or nearly final) redactor, and not all of the suggested catchwords are equally compelling, but enough are to conclude the Twelve was sewn together by this technique.

Technically speaking, the similarity between Joel 4:16 [Engl. 3:16] and Amos 1:2 is a quotation. Other quotations and also allusions appear elsewhere in the Twelve. A few examples must suffice. Obadiah 17 announces that in contrast with the holocaust about to befall the inhabitants of Edom, "on Mount Zion there shall be those that escape," and Joel 3:5 (Engl. 2:32) quotes the promise and applies it to a remnant in Jerusalem.[56] Also Joel 2:2 quotes, though not word for word, Zeph 1:14–15, and Joel 4:16a [Engl. 3:16a] reverses Mic 4:3 (and Isa 2:4). Finally, Zech 13:5 places on the lips of future persons accused of being a prophet an altered version of the words of Amos in 7:14: "I am no prophet; I am a tiller of the soil."

The redactors of the Twelve also employed inclusion devices. Watts argues that Hose 1–3 and Malachi constitute a frame for the Twelve, based on the love of God for Israel. This love did not preclude God's dealing harshly with the sins of the people, but the love remained constant.[57] Gerlinde Baumann also concludes that the love of God is a framing theme, though she denies that marriage constitutes a framing metaphor.[58] Sweeney, too, recognizes that Mal 2:10–16 forms a comment on the divorce of Gomer, but sees no indication that the text was written to perform that role.[59] Laurie J. Braaten finds the land motif running

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[55] Ibid., 20–57. These pages reflect Nogalski's 1987 Th.M. thesis "The Use of Stichwörter as a redactional Unification Technique in the Book of the Twelve" written at Baptist Theological Seminary, Ruschlikon, Switzerland.

[56] See Paul L. Redditt, "The Book of Joel and Peripheral Prophecy," *CBQ* 48 (1986) 235–37.

[57] John D. W. Watts, "A Frame for the Book of the Twelve," *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve* (Symposium 15; eds. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000) 210–17.

[58] Gerlinde Baumann, "Connected by Marriage, Adultery and Violence: The Prophetic Marriage Metaphor in the Book of Twelve and in the Major Prophets," *SBL Seminar Papers, 1999* (SBLSP 38; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature) 552–69.

[59] Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, 2.713–14.

through the Twelve. It too appears in Hosea and Malachi and could be said to form another framing device.[60]

Yet another redactional technique is the use of a chiasmus. Duane L. Christensen identifies one with significant implications for the formation of the Twelve in the structure of Nahum/Habakkuk.[61] The chiasmus is presented with slight modifications.

A	Hymn of Theophany	Nah 1
B	Taunt song against Nineveh	Nah 2–3
X	The problem of Theodicy	Hab 1:1–2:5
B'	Taunt song against the "wicked one"	Hab 2:6–20
A'	Hymn of theophany	Hab 3

Several points are in order here. (1) Nahum 1 (which begins with half of an acrostic) and Habakkuk 3 (which retains liturgical instructions) often are considered additions. Nah 1:2–3a quotes from God's theophany to Moses in Exodus 34, Nah 1:3b–4 speaks of his appearance in storms and Nah 1:6–8 of God's fury in God's protecting of the people, while Hab 3:3–15 reports a theophanic vision. (2) The nature of Nah 1:9–2:1 [Engl. 1:9–15] is problematic, but seems somehow related to the theophanic half-acrostic, so calling the whole chapter a theophany is no misrepresentation of its last half. (3) Nothing in Nahum 2–3 identifies the materials as a taunt, but at least 3:8–9 and 14–19 (which address Nineveh in the second person) clearly are. (4) Hab 2:6 introduces the woe oracles that follow by saying they constitute a taunt. The implication of this structure is clear: the two were edited into one collection. Also, Nahum and Habakkuk employ the term *maśśā'* (utterance, oracle) in the superscriptions. Whether the combined collection should be considered another precursor to the Twelve may remain open, but Nogalski leans toward the conclusion that the two underwent redaction as part of the "Joel-related layer."[62]

Kenneth M. Craig, Jr. points to the use of different types of questions in Haggai-Zechariah 1–8. He finds the following: rhetorical questions,

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[60] Laurie J. Braaten, "God Sows the Land: Hosea's Place in the Book of the Twelve," *SBL Seminar Papers, 2000* (SBLSP 39; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000) 218–42.

[61] Duane A. Christensen, "The Book of Nahum: A History of Interpretation," *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts* (JSOTSup 235; eds. James W. Watts and Paul R. House; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 193. Cf. James A. Watts, "Psalmody in Prophecy: Habakkuk 3 in Context," *Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve*, 214.

[62] Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*, 123–28; 180–81.

sequential questions (or the "Pile Up" phenomenon), questions that function primarily to advance the plot, and questions that increase the number of characters in a scene. These questions function for Craig as a literary thread running throughout Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, lending the two a kind of rhetorical or stylistic unity.[63]

In summary, the Twelve exhibits a series of redactional techniques that shape it. The superscriptions and incipits delineate twelve prophetic individuals around whom the materials are shaped and according to whose dates the traditions are arranged chronologically. Indeed, the superscriptions of Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah show a similar style that has caused scholars to speak of them as a collection that served as the first precursor to the Twelve. Catchwords appear in the seams between some or all of the books and sew them together; quotations and allusions form thematic unity; and inclusion devices frame the whole with the theme of the love of God. The books of Nahum and Habakkuk form a chiasmus, and interrogatives tie together Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, both techniques tying together two more possible precursors to the Twelve. In view of the possible existence of such precursors, it will be useful to turn next to views concerning the growth of the Twelve.

III. Stages of Growth in the Twelve

As mentioned at the outset, scholars since Ewald have posited three or more stages in the growth of the Twelve. Nogalski's reconstruction (see above) involved four or five. He tentatively accepted the view that the Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah constituted one and Haggai-Zechariah 1–8 another. The third was a "Joel-related layer," followed by the addition of Zechariah 9–14 and Jonah separately. In his study of Micah, Burkard M. Zapff accepts much of Nogalski's work, including his view about Deuteronomistic precursor.[64] He focuses on four Mican texts often considered redactional (2:12–13, 4:4–7, 5:6–7, and 7:1–20) in an attempt to relate Micah to the collections that stand on either side of it in the MT: Jonah and Nahum. He argues that the four additions constitute a new reading of the first collection of Micah by a redactor, who employed catchwords (as noted by Nogalski) to relate that collection to a new

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63 Kenneth M. Craig, Jr., "Interrogatives in Haggai and Zechariah: A Literary Thread?" *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays in Honor of John D. W. Watts* (JSOTSup 235; eds. James W. Watts and Paul R. House; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 224–44.

64 Burkard M. Zapff, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Micahbuch im Kontext des Dodekapropheton* (BZAW 256; Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1997) 244–47.

context in the emerging Book of the Twelve.[65] Sweeney objects that Kapff works with the MT. Hence, the connections that Kapff pursues obtain only for the MT.[66] Unless he can show that the order in the MT was original his argument fails. Hence, Kapff argues that the order for its originality on the grounds that it is more difficult to explain a shift of Micah from the third position behind Hosea and Amos (LXX) to the sixth position (MT) than to explain a reverse move.[67] In other words, those responsible for the order in the LXX simply moved Micah to a better position chronologically.

Aaron Schart acknowledges the importance of Nogalski's two volumes for this topic and builds upon them. He notes Nogalski's relative indifference to the rise of the "Deuteronomistic" corpus and starts there. He uncovers a two-volume first stage, comprised of early versions Amos and Hosea.[68] It was followed by the four-volume Deuteronomistic corpus, which constitutes stage two.[69] (In connection with that corpus, Schart notes, for example, a repetitive "summons to hear" that appears among the first three [Hos 4:1, 5:1; Amos 3:1, 4:1, 5:1, 8:4; and Mic 3:1, 3:9, 6:2] and traces intertextual connections among them.)[70] Then, Schart addresses the rise of the remainder of the Twelve, disagreeing with Nogalski about the centrality of Joel. Stage three was the expansion of the Deuteronomistic corpus with the insertion of a Nahum-Habakkuk corpus.[71] A Haggai-Zechariah corpus was added in stage four, a Joel-Obadiah corpus in stage five, and then individually Jonah and Malachi.[72] These differences with Nogalski show how difficult it can be to reconstruct a lengthy redactional process. On the other hand, the superscriptions and

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65 Ibid., 241–61.

66 Marvin A. Sweeney, "Three Recent European Studies on the Composition of the Book of the Twelve," *RBL* 1 (1999) 32.

67 Burkard M. Zapff, "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," *SBL Seminar Papers, 1999* (SBLSP 38; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999) 598–605.

68 Aaron Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs* (BZAW 260; Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1998) 128, 151–55; cf. Jörg Jeremias, "The Interrelationship Between Amos and Hosea," *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts* (JSOTSup 235; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995) 171–86.

69 Ibid., 156–223.

70 Ibid., 186–89.

71 Ibid., 234–51.

72 Ibid., 252–60, 261–82, 287–91, and 297–303.

incipits give some direction, as do references to identifiable, historical events. Joel, Jonah, and Zechariah 9–14 are hardest to pinpoint, at least partly because the dates for them are missing (for Joel and Zechariah 9–14) or because the collections themselves provide no pertinent information about the time of the real author (in the case of Jonah).

Byron G. Curtis has suggested a growth of four stages. He posits two collections of three books (one containing Hosea-Amos-Micah from the time of Hezekiah and another containing Nahum-Habakkuk-Zephaniah from the time of Josiah), with Obadiah inserted after Amos (with which it was programmatically and intertextually related) shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem. Curtis also thinks that Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 circulated together and that Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi were added, forming yet another precursor before the whole corpus came into the Twelve.[73] He accounts for the "Deuteronomistic" superscription of Zephaniah simply as a framing device that deliberately mimicked the superscriptions for Hosea, Amos, and Micah added by the editor of the late preexilic corpus of six books that ended with Zephaniah. He thinks the lengthy list of kings (reaching back into the eighth century) in Zeph 1:1 is well explained by his suggestion.[74] Then he turns to Zeph. 3:14–20, where he argues that 3:19–20 are actually prosaic and were added when Haggai was joined to Zephaniah.[75] Further, the "Zion-daughter oracle" has a literary connection with the one in Zech 9:1–10, and the two oracles "were editorially and thematically significant for the redactors responsible for appending Haggai-Zechariah-Malachi to the trunk of the preceding books."[76]

Though scholars have not agreed on the number of stages in the growth of the Twelve, four seems to be the minimum. They have also seen evidence for four possible precursors: the Deuteronomistic corpus (with or without Zephaniah), a seventh century corpus consisting of Nahum and Habakkuk (with or without Zephaniah), a Joel-Obadiah corpus, and a postexilic precursor consisting at least of Haggai-Zechariah 1–8 and possibly even the whole of Haggai through Malachi. The growth of the Twelve consisted of a series of additions of previously existing corpora and/or individual collections to an ever-growing corpus. The multiplica-

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[73] Byron G. Curtis, "The Zion-Daughter Oracles: Evidence on the Identity and Ideology of the Late Redactors of the Book of the Twelve," *Reading and hearing the Book of the Twelve* (Symposium 15; eds. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000) 166–67, 171.

[74] Ibid., 171.

[75] Ibid., 181.

[76] Ibid., 182.

tion of "prophets" ended when the number reached Twelve, though Zechariah 9–14 may well have entered later. Following this direction of research, scholars also began to look for connections between the Twelve and other emerging corpora among the Latter Prophets, but in other parts of the First Testament too. The next section will review briefly that issue.

IV. Relationship to Other Corpora

In his essay opposing scholars wanting to read the Twelve as a coherent book, ben Zvi criticizes a view that held to one or more "groups" standing behind the collection of the different prophetic books. Instead of imagining "Obadianic," "Zephanic," and "Jeremianic" (not to mention "Isaianic") groups, he writes that it is "more reasonable to assume that in a wide sociological and historical sense the same groups developed the prophetic literature."[77] Research into connections among the various corpora of the First Testament seems to point in just that direction. Among others, Wilhelm Rudolph called attention to the ending of Malachi in 3:22–24; (Engl. 4:4–6), arguing that it looks back over not just Malachi or the Twelve, but the Former Prophets and calls to mind Deuteronomy 34 as well.[78] Raymond F. Person has pursued the subject more extensively, and appears to have anticipated ben Zvi in arguing that Second Zechariah derived from the same Deuteronomic School that was responsible for several editions of the Former Prophets and the book of Jeremiah.[79]

Steven S. Tuell argues that Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 are dependent on Ezekiel. He enumerates four possible points of influence: (1) the centrality of the temple, (2) the dating formulae, (3) vision reports, and (4) the use of the first person.[80] Obviously, contemporaries could influence each other, and clearly both Ezekiel and Haggai/Zechariah 1–8

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[77] Ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books or 'The Twelve'"? 154.

[78] Wilhelm Rudolph, *Haggai — Sacharja 1–8 — Sacharja 9–14 — Maleachi* (KAT 13/4; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1976) 291. Cf. Paul L. Redditt, "Zechariah 9–14, Malachi, and the Redaction of the Twelve," *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts* (JSOTSup 235; eds. James W. Watts and Paul R. House; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 254–56.

[79] Raymond F. Person, *Second Zechariah and the Deuteronomistic School* (JSOTSup 167; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 13–14.

[80] Steven S. Tuell, "Haggai-Zechariah: Prophecy After the Manner of Ezekiel," *SBL Seminar Papers, 2000* (SBLSP 39; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000) 265–80.

exhibit the features Tuell notes. Those features are so general, however, that dependence one way or the other would be difficult to prove. Nevertheless, the so-called "Shepherd Allegory" in Zech 11:4–17 depends on Jer 23:1–4 and Ezekiel 34, and it reworks Ezek 37:15–28.

Also, Erhard S. Gerstenberger posits a postexilic date for the final stages of all prophetic literature and points to psalmic passages interwoven in the Twelve as evidence that at the time and in the books of the Chronicler the prophet is merging into the Levitical singer. Hence, the single act of "singing hymns and prophesying is about the same demonstration of Yahweh's will (1 Chron 25:103). That means: Congregations at the time of the Chronicler (4th century B.C.E?) did identify liturgical with prophetic activity."[81]

Thus far, however, most attention has focused on the relationship of the Twelve to Isaiah. Bosshard-Nepustil cites parallels between the Twelve and Isaiah primarily (though he cites parallels also to Jeremiah and Ezekiel), attempting to show not simply simultaneous development and parallel concerns, but a common origin as well. He thinks Hosea and Joel 1 parallel Isaiah 1–11, with Hosea berating the people of the northern kingdom, Joel the southern. The oracles against the foreign nations in Amos 1–2 and Obadiah parallel Isaiah 13–23. Isaiah 24–27 and can be seen as opposing Obadiah. Micah parallels Isa 28:1–4 in its concern with Judah; Nahum and Habakkuk focus on Assyria (and Babylon), paralleling Isaiah 33; and Zeph 3:14–18 parallels Isaiah 34 and 35. Nothing in the Twelve, however, derives from the exilic period to parallel Isaiah 40–55. In the postexilic period the parallels resume. Haggai 2:6–9 parallels Isaiah 60; Zechariah 1–8 may parallel Isaiah 60–62 as a whole; and Zech. 14:16–19 parallels Isa 66:18–20.[82] He elaborated these views in his dissertation,[83] which Sweeney evaluated negatively on two basic counts. (1) Bosshard-Nepustil asserts the primacy of the MT without defending it. (2) His use of redaction criticism is based on tensions within the text and not, as Sweeney would prefer, on "secure historical foundations."[84]

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81 Erhard S. Gerstenberger, "Psalms in the Book of the Twelve: How Misplaced Are They?" *SBL Seminar Papers, 2000* (SBLSP 39; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000) 261–62.

82 Erich Bosshard, "Beobactungen zum Zwölfprophetenbuch," *BN* 40 (1987) 30–36.

83 Erich Bosshard-Nepustil, Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaia im Zwölfprophetenbuch. Untersuchungen zur literarischen Verbindung von Prophetenbüchern in babylonischer und persischer Zeit* (OBO 154; Freiburg, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997).

84 Sweeney, "Three Recent European Studies," 23–25.

Steck argues that late Isaiah and late Book of the Twelve materials arose in the same theological and temporal context. A chart will best represent this growth as he sees it.

A. Isaiah and the Twelve in the Persian Period

Isaiah	The Twelve
1–34, 36–39, 40–55+60–62	Much of the Twelve in place. Mal 1:2–5; 1:6–2:9 (vv. 13–16?) 3:6–12 added to Zechariah 1–8

B. Isaiah and the Twelve in the Time of Alexander the Great

	(1) Twelve Preliminary Step I Insertion of Zechariah 9:1–10:2 (between 332 and 323
	(2) Twelve Preliminary Step II Insertion of Zech 10:3–11:3 (between 320 and 350)
(3) Isaiah Expansion I First uniting of Isaiah 1–39 and 40–55+60–62 Redactional additions: 10:20–23; 11:11–16; 13:5–16; chaps. 24–27; 30:18–26 (?); 34:2–4; chap. 35; 51:1–3, 4–5, 6–8, 10b–11; 54:2–3, 9–10; 55:10–11 (/); 62:10–12	(—)Twelve Expansion I Addition of Joel, Obadiah, Zephaniah (slightly later)
(4) Isaiah Expansion II Redactional additions: 1:27–28; 4:2–6; 29:17–24; 33:14–16; 48:22; 51:16; 56:9–59:21; 60:17–22; 61:2; 62:8–9; 63:1–6 (between 311 and 302/1)	(5) Twelve Expansion II Redactional addition of Zech 11:4–13:9 (slightly later)
(6) Isaiah Expansion III 1:29–31; 12:1–6; 14:1–3 (?); 54:11–17; 56:1–8; 58:13–14; 60:12a; 61:3; 63:7–64:11 (all between 302/1 and 270); 65:1–66:24 (about 253, at same time as 19:18–25)	(7) Twelve Expansion III Redactional addition of Zechariah 14 (between 240 and 220)

C. Final Stage in the Formation of the Twelve

(8) Separation of Malachi from Zechariah to form twelfth book. Addition of Zech 12:1a; Mal 1:1; 2:10–12; 3:22–24 [Engl. 4:4–6] (between 220 and 201 or 198 and 190)[85]

Steck's work is susceptible to criticism because of its assignment of small, at times isolated passages to a precise developmental sequence and because of the late dates of some of the material in the Twelve.

Paul L. Redditt has attempted to describe the implied circumstances of the production of the Twelve. It was produced for a readership who already agreed with the perspective of the final redactors or who could be persuaded to agree. Such readers would have been wealthy enough to have the leisure to read, but they would have been voluntary readers. No ecclesial or political power enforced reading or adhering to the Twelve. In terms of class, they would have been upper instead of lower. These editors reveal three theological influences: an emphasis on judgment, cultic confessions like Exod 34:6–7, and the book of Joel. They would have been male, as would their readers. Their inclusion of the late materials in Zechariah 9–14 suggests that they may have wanted to correct what they perceived as the shortcomings of Judah's leaders. As literati they appreciated the power of literature, and may have substituted it for political power, and they almost certainly worked in Jerusalem.[86] Redditt makes no attempt to name them or identify them with redactors working on other corpora, though some such identification might well be possible.

Attempts to relate the redaction of the Twelve to such corpora are in their infancy. These attempts are a logical extension from the attempt to see better the relationships among the collections in the Twelve, but they also involve the extra layer of uncertainty about intentionality that Cuffey mentioned.[87] Hence, issues of method and results of such studies will need further clarification. Even so, an increased interest in canon of late mandates attention to such connections.

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85 Odil Hannes Steck, *Der Abschluss der Prophetie im Alten Testament: Ein Versuch zur Frage des Vorgeschichte des Kanons* (Biblisch-Theologische Studien 17; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991) 196–98.

86 Redditt, "The Production and Reading of the Twelve," 16–24.

87 Cuffey, "Coherence," 201.

V. Reading the Twelve

The final subject to be raised in this paper is how to read the Twelve as a redacted whole and the advantages for doing so. The principle issue has been whether to read the text diachronically or synchronically. Nogalski, Schart, and Bosshard-Nepustil advocate a diachronic reading, fully aware of redactional levels. Their work as redaction critics focused on the growth of the Twelve over centuries, and by its nature had to be diachronic. By contrast, House proposes a synchronic reading with a plot, repetitive themes, and a consistent, though dialectical, theology. Rendtorff and Sweeney suggest that both types of reading are necessary for a complete understanding of the Twelve as a whole.[88] In his commentary on the Twelve, Sweeney states succinctly the case for using both:

> This commentary focuses on a synchronic literary analysis of the Book of the Twelve Prophets. . . . [I]t treats the individual books as discreet units within the Twelve and considers their relationships within the sequences of both the Masoretic and Septuagint forms of the book. The commentary necessarily includes diachronic considerations in order for the synchronic analyses to make sense. Such diachronic considerations include the historical, cultural, and linguistic contexts and circumstances in which the prophets and other authors of the twelve prophetic books spoke or wrote, and some indication of redaction-critical problems where necessary.[89]

Why, though, should the Twelve be read as a coherent whole? Other reading strategies having been pursued for centuries, and in recent time critical scholars have, for the most part, adopted a chronological strategy. They date the books from Amos to Jonah (or to whichever book they think came last) and read them in that order. There is much to commend such a reading, especially its facilitating an integral reading of the First Testament. It is nevertheless a fairly recent strategy beset by enough unresolved issues to cause some modern scholars to abandon it in favor of more literary (and synchronic) approaches. A chronological reading has other shortcomings as well. One needs mentioning here: it misses such obvious connections as that between Joel 3:16 [Engl 4:16] and Amos 1:2. Modern scholars typically debate at most which influenced the other, but do not look to see what difference it makes that one follows the other by a scant seven verses (at least in the MT). To be sure, the Twelve itself is in part roughly chronological, containing three prophets from the eighth

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88 Rendtorff, "How to Read the Book of the Twelve," 87; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, 1.xxxix.

89 Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, 1.xxxix.

century, three from the seventh/sixth, and three from the postexilic period, though its chronology appears to modern scholars to be wrong in some ways. For example, moderns date Hosea after Amos, but the Twelve switches the two. Apparently, something besides precise chronology drove that decision, and probably early on in the process of redaction. In addition, chronology is not the only factor at work, as is shown by the placement of Obadiah, a piece reflecting the fall of Jerusalem, before Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah in every extant ms. It would seem appropriate, then, to seek other reasons for the sequence in the Twelve, and that is a question whose answer necessarily involves finding meaning in the placement of the various collections.

Two reasons for a holistic or canonical reading of the Twelve present themselves at once. Such a reading corrects some of the shortcomings of a chronological reading. Differently stated, it takes note of items in the biblical text that a chronological reading misses. Second, scholars working in this field have offered a remarkable amount of evidence in support of the contention that the Twelve is not simply a redacted piece, but a book intended to be read straight through. Obviously, one does not have to begin with Hosea in order to read Malachi with a great deal of sophistication and benefit, but if one never reads Malachi in the light of Hosea one misses framing devices, allusions, themes, and other devices used by the redactors of the Twelve in knitting the book together.

VI. Conclusions

Based on this research, one can draw at least five conclusions. First, there is sufficient evidence to warrant reading the Twelve canonically as a coherent unit, in addition to reading them individually. This coherence derives from superscriptions, framing devices and other redactional techniques, common themes and theology, and plot (which includes its own chronology). Besides, the Twelve has about as good a claim to being a unity as does Isaiah, which also contains traditions from eighth century to the postexilic period, and perhaps a better claim than does the book of Jeremiah, whose structure baffles everyone.

Second, the Twelve grew in stages, still not completely delineated. There seem to have at least two precursors and maybe more. The postexilic group may have enlarged to include Malachi (and perhaps Zechariah 9–14, though that seems less likely) even before entry into the merging Twelve. The most difficult issue is accounting for the placement(s) of Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah.

Third, the original order of the Twelve remains unresolved. Of the three forms that survived in mss, 4QXII^{a} (with Jonah at the end) has not

found wide support. It is difficult to choose between the order of the other two. The LXX collects Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah, placing Jonah last because of its obvious interest in God's punishing Nineveh, which it shares with Nahum. The MT scatters the three among the eighth century prophets, an order much more difficult to account for than that in the LXX, which Nogalski says simply moved the eighth century prophets Amos and Micah forward to a place behind Hosea. This suggestion also accounts for the order in the LXX with no other explanation needed.[90] Sweeney offered explanations for both orders, resulting in his judgment that the LXX order was primary. Time will tell which arguments will carry the day.

Fourth, the growth of the Twelve is probably related to the growth of other corpora. Its relationship to Isaiah has received the most attention, but its relationship to Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Psalter, the Former Prophets, and even Deuteronomy (if not the whole Pentateuch) has been the subject of study. Insofar as the final stages of all of those corpora occurred in the tiny province of postexilic Yehud, their completion most likely came at the hands of professional collectors and scribes, no matter how varied and oral their origins may have been. At some point they became the books of the literati, who no doubt shared much even though they may have disagreed on issues as varied as legitimacy of priests, roles for Levites, and cooperation with foreign rulers.

Finally, there are clear advantages to reading the Twelve this way beyond those gained from reading it chronologically or other ways. These advantages include the fact that such a reading attends to matters in the text missed by other reading strategies.

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[90] James D. Nogalski, private correspondence.

Messianic Predestination in Romans 8 and Classical Confucianism

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Abstract: The paper attempts to do a "cross-border" reading on Romans 8 and some Confucian texts. It begins with a methodological consideration of the usefulness of intersubjective reading. Then it reads Romans 8:28–32 as messianic (Christ) predestination rather than Christian predestination. It argues that messianic predestination is God's means of creation through the incarnation (firstborn) and salvation of Christ (i.e., in the 'horizoning' of Christ). The paper will contrast Pauline messianic predestination with Confucian millennial understanding of Datong (Great Togetherness), messianic expectations, and historical recovery of the golden age (Chou dynasty) within the political-moral philosophy of Confucius and Mencius. The task is to do a critical and cross-border reading of the messianic predestination of Paul and Confucianism so that a more responsible and creative reading can become a viable option of how we understand human history, time, salvation, and the role of human beings in God's redemption of the whole creation.

This is an experimental essay that concerns crossing borders and cross-cultural interpretation, fusing of horizons, intertextual reading, and an intersubjectivity hermeneutic. The paper will contrast Pauline messianic predestination with the Confucian millennial understanding of Datong (Great Togetherness) and its historical recovery of the golden age (Chou dynasty) within the political-moral philosophy of Confucius and Mencius. The hope is that a more responsible and creative reading can become a viable option for how we understand human history, time, salvation, and the role of human beings in God's redemption of the whole creation.

Intersubjectivity of Cross-cultural Interpretation[1]

An intersubjective reading assumes a rhetorical-hermeneutical reading process that is interactive and persuasive in its communication. In *Rhetorical Interaction in 1 Corinthians 8 and 10*, I spent a considerable amount of space spelling out the significance and process of an interactive model in biblical reading and cross-cultural hermeneutics based on rhetorical theories.[2] The rhetorical interaction among text, writer, and reader is based on rhetorical and literary theories which are *less intentional and articulate in noting the significance of multitextual influence, subjectivity of a text and its reader as well as a two-way reading process.* I wish to draw on the insights of intertextuality and intersubjectivity to supplement my rhetorical construct of a reading process.

The term "intertextuality" is coined by Julia Kristeva to indicate that a text does not exist in a closed system of its own but in interrelation with other texts through quotations, references, allusions and influences of various kinds.[3] The intersubjective influence conveyed through the medium of a "text" is clearly seen in the "various cultural discourses"[4] because "the text is a tissue of quotations drawn from innumerable centers of culture."[5] The assumed locus of meaning-production in this intersubjective process has shifted from the author to the reader because

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[1] My intention in this paper is not to give a survey or theoretical understanding of biblical hermeneutics. It is not about a particular methodology called intersubjectivity. Rather, it is a discussion of the interpretation processes of biblical texts. On the survey of contemporary methods of biblical interpretation, see Carl R. Holladay, "Contemporary Methods of Reading the Bible," *The New Interpreter's Bible* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1994), 1:125–49; on the theory of biblical hermeneutics, see Anthony Thiselton's magnum opus, *New Horizons in Hermeneutics: The Theory and Practice of Transforming Biblical Reading* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992). On the methodology of intersubjectivity, see *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices*, ed. Michael Morton and Judith Still (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1991); George Aichele and Gary A. Phillips, ed., *Intertextuality and the Bible, Semeia* 69/70 (1995).

[2] Yeo Khiok-khng, *Rhetorical Interaction in 1 Corinthians 8 and 10* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), Chapter 3.

[3] Julia Kristeva, "Word, Dialogue and Novel," in *The Kristeva Reader*; ed. Toril Moi (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986); Kristeva, however, does not think that texts function for readers as an intersubjective network; they function only as intertextual networks.

[4] Johnathan Culler, *On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 32.

[5] Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1977), 146.

"multiplicity is focused [on] . . . the reader . . . [who] is the space on which all the quotations that make up a writing are inscribed. . . ." [6] Both axes of intertextuality—via the writer (who is the first reader) and the readers (who are coproducers of textual meaning)—allow the "dialogism" or "heteroglossia" (exchange of language in Bakhtin's notion) of texts to work in the genesis of meaning.[7]

The processes of reading- and meaning-production are always dialogues between the writers and the readers. The authority of interpretation does not reside in the frozen text or in the first writer, but is to be found in the interactive process of the text, involving both the writer and the reader, which I have previously termed "rhetorical interaction."[8] Various disciplines have used different terms and understand the interactive process similarly: the intersubjectivity of Kristeva, the "community of life unities" (*Gemeinsamkeit der Lebenseinheiten*) of Dilthey, and the communicative action of Habermas.[9] All of these ideas have the notion of dialogical relation and reciprocal recognition as one critically reflects on, and engages in, one's life history. For example, Dilthey argues that the three classes of "life expressions" (*Lebensäusserungen*)—linguistic expressions, actions, and experiential expressions—mutually interact and interpret one another. Similarly, Gadamer, in line with that tradition, writes of the intersubjective and inter-interpretive understanding process which is productive and reproductive:

> The actual meaning of a text, as it speaks to the interpreter, is not dependent on the occasion represented by the author and his original public. At least it is not exhausted by it; for the meaning is also determined by the historical situation of the interpreter, and thus by the whole of the objective course of history. . . . The meaning of a text goes beyond its author, not only occasionally but always. Understanding is therefore not merely reproductive, but also productive.[10]

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[6] Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, 148.

[7] "Dialogism" and "heteroglossia" are Bakhtin's terms in his work, *The Dialogic Imagination*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).

[8] Yeo, *Rhetorical Interaction in 1 Corinthian 8 and 10*, as the title of the work indicates, see also pp. 15–49.

[9] See Jürgen Habermas, trans. Jeremy J. Shapiro, *Knowledge and Human Interests* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), 198).

[10] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: Crossroad), 261. See also scholars' reviews and critiques of his hermeneutic: Joel C. Weinsheiner, *Gadamer's Hermeneutics: A Reading of "Truth and Method"* (New Haven: Yale University, 1985), esp. 102–10 (on the representational existence of

This reproductive and productive process of reading allows and requires the text/writer and the reader/interpretation to be intersubjective. A text not only carries meaning but allows readers to create meanings. Similarly, readers not only interpret text, they are being read by texts, viz., their stories are made meaningful by the texts. Because understanding and reading processes are reproductive and productive, a writer cannot control the meaning of a text and limit it to *just* his own "original" intention, though it is true that when I write a letter to a friend, I intend for my words to be understood in only one way. This raises the questions of who has possession of the text, who controls the meaning of the text, and what is the ethics of writing and reading a text.

The question then is: to what extent does this intersubjectivity between text and readers exist? On the extreme case, one may argue that any text can be "rewritten" by readers, as reader-response theories have shown.[11] For example, Roland Barthes would even argue for "the death of the author," thus putting the authority of interpretation only on the text and the readers.[12] Similarly, Culler writes, "There are no moments of authority and points of origin except those which are retrospectively designated as origins and which, therefore, can be shown to derive from the series for which they are constituted as origin."[13] This argument sounds horrible—the hope for significant, meaningful, substantive communication is entirely lost, but this proposal is understandable if seen in the reaction of reader-response theories to meaning in a determined text, the hegemonic control in ideological and authority structure, and the dualistic thinking of the interpreter Subject. At the least, the identification of an intertextual and intersubjective reading process is an act of interpretation that subjects to doubt the idea of a *determined* text, the ideology of authority, and the real and causative source of the text.

Gadamer's hermeneutics and the basis of the critical human judgment); Georgia Warnke, *Gadamer: Hermeneutics, Tradition, and Reason* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987), esp. 130–66 (on Gadamer in the modern and post-modern context); Richard J. Bernstein, *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism: Science, Hermeneutics and Praxis* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), esp. 12–52 (on the pluralistic and elusive nature of Gadamer's concept of truth).

[11] See the discussion in "Reader-Response Criticism," *The Postmodern Bible*, ed. Elizabeth A. Castelli, Stephen D. Moore and Regina M. Schwartz (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 20–69.

[12] *Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes*, trans. Richard Howard (London and New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 140.

[13] Jonathan Culler, The *Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 117.

The Metanarrative of Christological Predestination for Jews and Gentiles in Romans 8

Both motifs of messianic consciousness and national salvation are present in biblical (Jewish and Christian) and Confucianist utopian history, but the dynastic change and hope of the return of the Golden Age is quite distinctive of Chinese history. Jewish and Christian views look to a transcendental reign of God beyond national history. In those views, eschatological and millenarian hope is not only about national salvation, it is also about cosmic salvation (cf. Rom 1:20, 25; 8:20–22). In critiquing the domination of various empires, Jewish and Christian views portray the God of history whose intended will of salvation "invades" the world and becomes the *telos* of history. The context of Romans 8 is bondage of suffering, fallenness, and sin. Does Paul's argument regarding the predestined Christ the *telos* of cosmic salvation provide a metanarrative of excluding other narratives? As we will see in the next section, the majority of Confucianists, in contrast to the biblical view, see the Chinese Great Togetherness (*Datong*) as a realization of a past golden age. Is that Confucianist view too parochial? We will take a look at both traditions separately before concluding with an intertextual reading of these two traditions.

The context of Romans 8:28–30 gives proof regarding the eschatological community of sonship created by the Spirit. Verses 18 to 30 spell out the salvific hope (Rom 28:20, 24–25) or future glory (Rom 8:17, 18, 21, 23, 30; cf. 1:23) of Christians (Jews and Gentiles) together with creation in the context of suffering (8:17, 18–23, 26). The argument goes like this:

1. (It is the fact that) creation groans and travails together until now (vv. 19–22).
2. (And) Christians groan within as they wait for this adoption (i.e., their making as sons of God to be revealed). (v. 23)
3. (Likewise), the Spirit also shares in Christians' weakness (for they know not how to put their groaning into words) by interceding on their behalf (with groaning which cannot be put into words.) (v. 26)
4. (But) God who searches Christians' hearts, knows what the Spirit means by this groaning (v. 27), because it is according to God's own will that the Spirit intercedes on their behalf (v. 27).
5. (And) we know that in everything the Spirit works for good in cooperation with those who love God and are called according to God's purpose (v. 28).
6. Because to those whom God foreknew, God gave the destiny of being formed to become sharers of the image of God's Son (v. 29);

(and) to those whom God predestined, God also gave a calling;
(and) to those whom God called, God also set right with God;
(and) those whom God set right, God also glorified (will certainly glorify, v. 28).

7. Conclusion:
   That (1) if God be on the behalf of Christians, who can oppose them? (v. 31)
   (2) if God even gave them the Son, Christ, for them, will God not give them (with Christ—as God's co-heirs, v. 17) all things? (v. 32)

In the context of suffering, Paul addresses Christians to hope as the children of God (Rom.8:18–30).[14] Paul assures the community of faith that human weakness is sustained by the Spirit's intercession and by God's loving purpose.

Focusing on 8:28–30, we note a few key insights of Paul:

First, in the context of an imperfect world, the sovereignty of God speaks of the comprehensiveness of God's purpose in creation. This point will extend Paul's understanding of predestination in a cosmic dimension later (vv. 29–30), and there, the language of predestination is set in the context of encouragement and not instigation/judgment. Here (v. 28), Paul argues that "all things work together for good for 'those who love God,'[15] who are called to his purpose." (8:28)[16] "All" (πάντα) includes suffering, sin, weaknesses, adversity, or bearing of the cross.[17] "Works

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[14] Robert Jewett, *Basic Bible Commentary-Romans* (Nashville: Graded Press, 1984), 98.

[15] "Those who love God" is the common designation in the OT of God's elect, the Jews (see Exo 20:6; Deut 5:10); this phrase is now used here to refer to Christians, Jewish or Gentile alike. See C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans,* 6th ed. (Edinburgh: Clark, 1975–1979), 1:424 on "those who love God" as a designation of Jewish piety.

[16] C. E. B. Cranfield, "Romans 8.28," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 19 (1966), 206 writes: "We must consider the question how (all things work together) should be construed—a question complicated by the presence of a major variation in the textual tradition. While the majority of witnesses attest the shorter reading, (all things work together), the Chester Beatty Papyrus and the codices Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, supported by the Sahidic, Palestinian Syriac, and Armenian versions, attest the addition of (that God) after (work together). Some support for the longer reading is also to be found in Origen, though not in his commentary on Romans as translated by Rufinis, in which the shorter reading is followed without question."

[17] Πάντα as subject, not Θεός; see discussion in J. D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8, Word Biblical Commentary* (Dallas: Word, 1988), 481; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans:A New*

together" (συνεργέω) means assist or profit towards benefit.[18] Not all things serve the comfort of, but all things work together to the salvation of, the believers. God does not cause everything but God uses every event, good or bad, towards the greater good eventually. Εἰς ἀγαθόν is goodness realised eschatologically, goodness being understood as the *telos* of God's creation.[19] Nothing will be meaningless and stay outside God's purpose (eschatologically; cf. Rom 14:16). Cranfield sums the point well,

> We understand the first part of the verse, then, to mean that nothing can really harm—that is, harm in the deepest sense of the word—those who really love God, but that all things which may happen to them, including such grievous things as are mentioned in verse 35, must serve to help them on their way to salvation, confirming their faith and drawing them closer to their Master, Jesus Christ. But the reason why all things thus assist believers is, of course, that God is in control of all things.[20]

In other words, all things do not work together for good *on their own*, but God's sovereign act is the undergirding force behind God's absolute control and omniscient (all knowing) power over everything.[21] God is able to bring good out of all things, and that is the Christian hope.[22] Paul gives the faithful assurance that the future belongs to the children of God. This assurance strengthens the people of God as they struggle with sin and suffering. The future is secured because it is grounded in the eternity of God. The eternal counsel/purpose of God in creation becomes the very purpose of humanity.

Second, cosmic salvation is inextricably connected with God's primordial goal of transforming the fallen world by means of the eschatological Adam. In other words, the power of the gospel (of Christ) redeems the *whole* creation. The power also revealed the righteousness of

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Translation with Introduction and Commentary (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 523; Brendan Byrne, *Romans* (Collegeville: Liturgica Press, 1996), 271–72.

[18] Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, F. Wilbur Gingrich and F. W. Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature* [*BAGD*] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 795.

[19] Or as Dunn puts it, "the temporal purpose . . . of moving history and through history to its intended end" (*Romans 1–8*, 482).

[20] Cranfield, "Romans 8.28," 212. Likewise, Robert Jewett explains, "Paul affirms that even in the adverse experiences of life God works to achieve good with the chosen people." "It is not that God causes all evil, but that in everything, whether good or bad, God works for good." (*Romans*, 101.)

[21] Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 527–58.

[22] John A. Zeisler, *Paul's Letter to the Roman's* (London: SCM, 1989), 225.

God. The ultimate purpose of God's righteousness is to restore all to wholeness and to bring the totality of creation back into loving relationship with God.

Paul begins with God's love for believers through God's sovereign election and calling, and ends with God's divine purpose of our glorification through Jesus Christ (see the five aorist verbs in vv. 28–30). This is the metanarrative that speaks of the Oneness of God who is impartial and whose righteousness revealed in Jesus Christ is based on grace. Even though the first point (on the metanarrative of Christ for the cosmic salvation) may look hegemonic, the second point (on grace and faith) qualifies the first point by grounding the metanarrative within the context.

Against the Roman ideology of tribalism (violence) because of polytheistic faith, Paul's metanarrative lifts up the Christ event as just/fair because it is based on a principle of "from faithfulness [of Christ] to faithfulness [of Christians]" (1:18). Verses 28–30 underline the certainty of the hope of cosmic salvation which "characterizes the life in the Spirit to be the life of those who are righteous by faith."[23] Against the competitiveness and boasting of house-churches in Rome (e.g., Jewish and Gentile Christians), Paul appeals to the metanarrative of Christ as the unifying force for them to welcome one another based on grace. To have a metanarrative does not necessarily mean it is imperialistic, because having multiple narratives might be conflicting and bring about violence in a community. If there is one metanarrative of the eschatological Adam sent by the Creator to be the way for coexistence, then that plan of salvation deserves consideration by all. So, the question is: who is that eschatological Adam? What is the plan of salvation?

Third, the language of predestination here is not a doctrine that separates believers from unbelievers (sheep and goats), it is a theological understanding of God's cosmic salvation through pre-horizoning of Christ as the ultimate purpose.[24] This is the metanarrative for humanity. Grayston argues that, "The old word is 'predestined' (as in NRSV)—which means that the destination is chosen, but not the names or the number of those who will reach it. The Greek word might be Englished as 'pre-horizoned'—meaning that God has marked out the limits but not those who stray beyond them."[25] Predestination means to mark out boundary or

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[23] Cranfield, "Romans 8.28," 204.

[24] Jewett writes, "In contrast to some doctrines of predestination, ... Paul provides no explanation here for those who do not receive the gospel... God remains impartial. And everyone is still potentially rightwised by grace as a gift." (*Romans*, 100).

[25] Grayston, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 75.

horizon beforehand to serve as a goal or purpose. The verbs προτίθημι and προορίζω and the noun πρόθεσις refer to planning, purposing, or resolving to do something. All of these terms convey the idea of initiating an action.[26] The program of God's salvation for humanity is set in motion as God marks out the purpose. In other words, in the beginning God marks out a destiny for humanity. That *telos* or destiny is Christ who is the Savior of the world (righteousness of God) through faith by grace. Therefore what is predestined is primarily not believers or unbelievers but Christ, the purposeful creation of God by means of God's son.

Fourth, Christ was the first born (πρωτότοκος) and the defining horizon, thus Christ is first predestined as the center of God's plan for salvation of humankind. Humanity will be formed (προορίζω) and became sharers (συμμόρφους; cf. Phil 3:21)[27] in the image (εἰκών) of God's Son.[28] Εἰκών in Romans 8:11, 23 speaks of the resurrection body of God's Son despite death, i.e., the end (resurrection) determines the destiny (life) of humanity.

"Firstborn" speaks likewise of resurrection life of the new age; Christ as the first born "implies his preeminence but also his sharing of sonship with numerous Chrsitians."[29] The image of the "firstborn" as used in OT refers to one who receives the birthright, thus one who is the heir having a position of preeminence, prestige and power. The term is also used often in OT to refer to Israel as God's chosen, beloved one, instrumental in God's salvific plan.

"Firstborn" is also a messianic term, an epithet for the Davidic King (cf. LXX Ps 88:28) who will restore Israel.[30] When this messianic term is used for Jesus, its nationalistic (David) and ethnic (Israel) connotations seem to be overturned into an inclusive paradigm of salvation for all who believe. Jesus trusted in God and was faithfully obedient in suffering and now is the pioneer of salvation for all who respond in love to God's call to

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[26] See Paul Jacobs and Hartmut Krienke, "Foreknowledge, Providence, Predestination," in C. Brown, ed., *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology* [*NIDNTT*] (3 volumes; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975–1978), 1:695–96. Also *BAGD*, 706, cf. Eph 1:11, 3:11, 2 Tim 1:9.

[27] In Phil 3:21, the word is used to speak of the transforming body of lowliness to that of glory; thus, the resurrected humanity from the dead is emphasized.

[28] Note the similar theology as expressed in Ephesians and Colossians: God seeks to transform the whole Cosmos through Christ as the "first born" of this new creation.

[29] Fitzymer, *Romans*, 525.

[30] See Byrne, *Romans*, 273. Cf. Heb 1:6; Rev 1:5.

believe and follow in Christ's footsteps.[31] The metanarrative of Christ is for the Jews and Gentiles, Greeks and barbarians, male and female, and all social classes. God's purpose before the creation of the world is for Jesus to be predestined as redeemer of all people. The Christological means of salvation has as its goal that all will be made in the eschatological likeness of the Son, set right with God and glorified at the parousia.

Fifth, predestination does not mean predetermination of the individual decision process. Rather it speaks of the sovereign purpose of God's salvation for creation—sovereign in final outcome and sovereign in full control of the process. Foreknowledge does not mean to choose individuals beforehand for a special relationship, such as foreknowledge of the faithful response of selected individuals.[32] Foreknowledge means foresight concerning the purposeful act of salvation in which believers will respond faithfully. Indeed, because of the sovereignty of God and eschatological view of history, foreknowledge can be understood as the Hebraic understanding of 'knowing' with affection and predilection.[33]

God has foreknowledge, God knows all, all the time, in all time. God knows the sweep of history in a dot. Yet when God creates, God is involved in history, God unfolds the dot into a spiral movement of history. What God knows and does in eternity appears to us as prior action. Throughout the unfolding of God's plan "light falls from the divine past and the divine future."[34] In Romans 8:28–30, the Christian's hope rests in God who has been there for the people of God even before God's call was known.[35] Nothing is accidental in God's plan, nothing is sheer luck or chance, everything has a purpose in God's creation.

One ought to be careful not to read the language of predestination as a divine prediction and a closed system of static fate; otherwise, the metanarrative of Christ could be comprehensive and yet rigid, or could be specific and yet exclusive. This language of predestination and foreknowledge is a reassuring one for those in suffering, weakness, and in need of grace. And foreknowledge of God should be understood in the

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[31] Steve Mosher, *A Study in Romans* (Scottdale: Herald Press, 1996), 9.

[32] προγινώσκω signifies more than an advance knowledge or precognition; it suggests looking with favor, and is even used of sexual relations. BD, 394. I.E. in the context of confirmation.

[33] Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 482; Fitzymer, *Romans*, 525. See Gen 18:19, Jer 1:5; Hos 13:5; Amos 3:2; Ps 1:6, 1 Cor 8:3, 13:12; Gal 4:9, 2 Tim 2:19.

[34] Ernst Kasemann, *Commentary on Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 244.

[35] R. D. Kaylor, *Paul's Covenant Community* (Louiville: John Knox Press, 1988), 157.

eschatological view of history, i.e., God intends *all* humanity to have an affectionate relationship with God as God's sons.

Sixth, the Christian hope is knowing that, though God foreknew the costs of creating through the suffering and giving of his Son, yet because God is love and wills all humankind into loving relationship, God calls his Son(s) into obedience, so God creates. The "in-Christ" destiny is not an election to mere privilege but a call to responsibility that gives birth to the mission of God's church. Election/calling does not mean biased choice, rather it means being called to a responsibility, assuming an office for duty.[36] Verses 29–30 phrase God's plan in four parallel clauses with the repeated key words "foreknew, predestined, justified" and the climax of God's salvific plan is the connecting verb "glorified".[37] Those who respond to God's call to be in loving relationship with God are justified by the gift of God's grace to be the bearers of God's purpose.[38] The link of justification brings the reader back to the central theme of stressing faithfullness/faith in Romans chapters 1–4.

Paul's conviction of God's plan progressing towards its goal makes him assert that the future glorification of humankind (Adam theology again, cf. Ps 8:5; Heb 2:8–10) is a completed action (gloried in the *aorist* tense) as far as God's sovereign plan of salvation is concerned. In this way Paul assures Christians of their hope in the proleptic consummation of God's plan. This is the ultimate confidence Christians can have while living in the present and neither fully glorified nor totally released from the power of death, sin, and the law. Paul encourages them that the Spirit is working at this eschatological age, and God's intention is to bring to glory all who have been justified by faith in Christ. As the redemptive process and unification of all creation of God's plan continues, the readers are assured to be called as divine agents to proclaim the gospel of Christ.

Confucian Messianic Expectation, 'Datong', and Recovery of the Golden Age

In contrast to the Pauline vision of Christ metanarrative of God's cosmic salvation, the Confucianist Chinese vision of national salvation

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[36] Ἐκλέγομαι or בָּחַר: referring to God's choosing or selecting from human race certain persons for a purpose. Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 103–4; *NIDNTT*, 1:536–43.

[37] Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 530.

[38] John A. Zeisler, *Paul's Letter to the Roman's* (London: SCM Press, 1989), 227.

posits a moral transformation of humanity in the hope of recovering the previous ideal dynasty. There are a few observations we can summarize regarding the Confucian view of salvation.

First, the recovery of the golden age as the Datong in Confucian thought looks backward at history for the ideal goal within its social-political context. Confucius, or to be precise Kong Zi (551–479 BCE), regarded the Western (Earlier or Former) Zhou (1050–770 BCE) as the "Golden Age," only 200 years or so earlier than "Spring and Autumn" (Chun Qiu 770–476 BCE) when he was born. Later Confucians were also fond of looking to antiquity as a prototype of an ideal age to which people in the disintegrating society should look. To them antiquity was not a pre-civilization Garden of Eden but the golden age of Zhou as the era of highest human achievement.

Confucius's understanding of *Datong* is not nostalgia for the good old days. His messianic hope of recovering the golden age in the past served primarily as a backward stretching of Chinese peoples' imagination who were living in a state of cultural and moral deterioration. Confucius wanted the Chinese to contemplate the Great Harmony (i.e., Datong in Chinese) in the perfect world. His *Datong* utopian hope was a critique of their chaotic and deteriorating society.

Continuing the tradition of Confucius, Meng Zi's (Mencius) social utopian understandings combine to form a government that is responsible to the people; they also teach that a royal government (*wangdao*) seeks to benefit all, distribute resources fairly according to the "well field system" (*jing*), and requires all to contribute according to ones abilities.[39] It is a socialist system of government based on division of labors, consideration for others, and communal solidarity.[40]

Second, the self-perception of Confucius as the "messiah" (heaven-sent and heaven-chosen) to bring about the ideal of the golden age is a distinctive ethos in Chinese philosophy. Bauer's research into this messianism concept in Chinese history shows Confucius as a self-conscious, predestined messiah of his own society:

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[39] Wolfgang Bauer, *China and the Search for Happiness. Recurring Themes in Four Thousand Years of Chinese Cultural History*, trans. by Michael Shaw (New York: Seabury Press, 1976), 24–25.

[40] For example, Mencius (Meng Zi) taught King Xuan of Qi the reason of Wenwang of Zhou. He possessed a large piece of land and yet it was considered too small by his people. The reason was that Wen-wang shared it with his people. *Meng Zi* 1 B, 2. See James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics: With a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena and Copious Indexes*, 5 vols. (Reprint; Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), 1:153–54.

> Confucius was firmly convinced of his world-shaking, 'heaven-sent' mission. He may already have known of a tradition whose existence during the century following his death is verifiable beyond a doubt and according to which the realm would be saved and restored every five hundred years by a truly spiritual ruler. Along with his . . . theories concerning the messianism of the oracle priests, Hu shih has [shown] . . . the existence of such a tradition for the period following Confucius. . . . Similar to the belief in a heavenly 'mandate' to rule the world being passed from one dynasty to the next, the conviction that a great restorer would appear every five hundred years thus more probably arose from the precedent created by Confucius's repeated emphasis on the close tie between himself and the duke of Zhou.[41]

Thus, Confucius identified himself with the duke of Zhou (Zhou Kung), the brother of the founder of the dynasty, Wuwang ("Warrior King"), who was regent for Chengwang, Wuwang's son and successor. *Lun Yu* (*The Analects*) often mentions the duke of Zhou, and some scholars have suspected that perhaps Confucius longed to be such a personality and restore the Golden Age lost.[42]

The self-perception of messianic consciousness seems to be the legacy of Confucianism, thus making every Confucianist have the conviction and aspiration to serve one's country after completing moral education. That legacy also makes Confucian moral philosphy political in function. After all, the politcal semantic domain of the title, *tzu,* being the title of Confucius (*Kung tzu* is his name in Chinese), reflects an assumption of Chinese reality. The title *tzu* was first used to refer to royal princes and kinsmen, then to wise counsellors of feudal lords, and finally to philosopher-teachers.

The significant point in Confucius's yearning for the restoration of peace and order in the world is his understanding of the heavenly mandate, i.e., the calling that is from the world beyond for him to fulfill, and a mission of saving the society in which he lives. Throughout Chinese history, few people had as clear a calling as Confucius. In *Shi Ji* (*Historical Records*), there is an account of Confucius as the ideal ruler:[43]

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[41] Bauer, *China and the Search for Happiness,* 22–23.

[42] Bauer, *China and the Search for Happiness,* 22.

[43] The Han philosopher Tung Chung-shu argues that Confucius, shortly before his death, received a mandate from Heaven to establish a new institution (an omen from the appearance of a mythical creature called *lin*). Confucius then used the Spring-Autumn Annals to correct the wrongs and establish the new institution. Ching writes regarding "the veneration of Confucius as an 'uncrowned king'—governing history through his books . . . Such veneration was accompanied by his near-apotheosis in the apocryphal texts that abounded during the Han

> Three months after Confucius had assumed the government of the state [*Lu*], even cattle dealers no longer cheated others by demanding excessive prices; men and women walked along different sides of the road, and objects lost on he streets were no longer picked up. Strangers came from the four directions of heaven, but when they arrived in the towns, they never found it necessary to turn to the police, for they were treated as if they were in their own country. (*Shi Ji* 47:667b)

Confucius did have the ambition to be king, but the hope is unfulfilled.[44] Confucius's despair is recorded in Analects 9:9: "The phoenix does not come; the river gives forth no chart. It is all over with me!" The phoenix is a mythical creature belonging to the heavenly realm that sends forth messages concerning the arrival of sage-king Shun. The river chart is a gift given to Zhou king during his enthronement, the chart will help map out his territory and architectural positions for the sake of a peaceful reign.[45]

Third, the intended purpose of heaven for Chinese society in Confucian thought focuses on political morality as a consummation of salvation of that society. The assumption of this political morality is that the Confucian *Datong* vision as a transhistorical reality that can be seen in Confucius's teaching of *Tian Dao* ("the Heavenly Principle" or "the Heavenly Way"). How did the uncrowned king reign and bring about *telos* in Chinese history? The answer is, by being *ren ren* (benevolence and humaneness). Thus Confucianism emphasizes education rather than warrior nobility, moral politics rather than political prosperity, relational harmony rather than kingship kinship. Confucius believed that *Tian* not only gave birth to the people but continued to regenerate and sustain them. Thus, in terms of morality, Confucius regarded *ren* (love) as the fountainhead of all virtues. He exhorted all to actualize *Tianming* (Mandate of Heaven) by committing themselves to *ren*, because *ren* is what

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times. . . . 'Confucius, as a wooden-tongued bell [see Analects 3:24], instituted laws for the world.'" (Julia Ching, *Mysticism and Kingship in China. The Heart of Chinese Wisdom* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997], 211–12). Ching continues to write: "With the passage of time, the figure of Confucius re-emerged, not as a god, but as a philosopher, and an uncrowned king. . . . In 1308, during the Mongol times, it [Confucius' title] became 'The Complete, Most Perfect Sage, King Wen-hsüan.' This title is still on his tombstone in Qufu, . . ." (212)

[44] This interpretation regarding Confucius is popular in the Tang (618–906) and Ching dynasties (1644–1912), see Lo Meng-ch'e, *K'ung-tzu wei-wang erh wang lun* (*Confucius as an uncrowned king*) (Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng, 1982), 69–87; K'ang Yu-wei, *K'ung-tzu kai-chih k'ao* (*Confucius as a political reformer*), 1920 ed. (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1968 reprint), chap. 12; taken from Ching, *Mysticism and Kingship in China*, 207, fn. 7.

[45] Ching, *Mysticism and Kingship in China*, 211.

makes human beings human. In terms of political morality, he emphasizes that the sage-rulers are to be virtuous, providing an example for others to follow, and thus bringing about renovation of the society (*Great Learning* [*Da Xue*] 1:1). *The Doctrine of Mean (Zhong Yong)* likewise states that if a sage-ruler knows how to cultivate his own character, he will know how to govern other people (20:11).

As a result of his vision of political morality, Confucius did not popularize patriarchal lineage of royal succession. Rather, he advocates virtues of *ren* and righteousness. He mentioned that Yao and Shun were regarded as virtuous rulers who left their thrones not to their sons but to the best qualified candidates. Analects 4:13 recounts, "If [a king] is able to govern his state with the disposition of modesty and propriety (*li-jang/lirang*, i.e., 'yielding') [possibly including the idea of readiness to give it up], what trouble can he have? If he is unable to govern the state with modesty and propriety, what has he to do with the rites and propriety?"[46]

In imagining the existence of goodness and beauty in a perfect society, Confucius's *Datong* vision emphasized music, propriety, character, and harmonious interpersonal relationships, because the Zhou dynasty is the prototype of *Datong*. The King of Zhou employed two principles as the common ground for unifying the people: *yue* (as the harmony of emotion/feeling) and *li* (behavior expressed artistically as propriety) such as bowing. Confucius believed that beauty and goodness were the foundations or the source of music and propriety, and that the potential for beauty and goodness resided in every person. It was up to each person to practice, cultivate, and express that beauty and goodness.

Meng Zi (Mencius, 372–289 BCE) is the first person who fully developed Confucius's ethical and social philosophy in the political realm. His sense of vocation to save the world is also clear, even though the time cycle for him was not ripe. He explained his commitment based on two reasons: First, he believed in the goodness of human nature, that every human being should have a messianic consciousness. His democratization of an inherently good human nature motivated the conscience of the people toward social responsibility. Second, he believed in the "quasi-mystical notion of a salubrious force pulsating through all beings"[47] (*haoran zhi qi*), i.e., because "heaven does not speak . . . people are the only court of appeal and decide whether or not a dynasty has the 'mandate.' A new ruler must be 'introduced' to both heaven and the people before he can be certain of his office. It is therefore a basic premise of every ideal government that the prince own everything in an

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46 Ching, *Mysticism and Kingship in China*, 210.

47 Bauer, *China and the Search for Happiness*, 49.

'equal manner' with the people."[48] His second point is also a democratization one, but of the mandate of heaven. Such a view suggests that the validity of heavenly mandate needs approval from the people.

Fourth, the Confucian democratization of messianic consciousness of all people for their society works and continues in the cyclical movement of history. The typical Chinese cyclical/spiraling worldview works well with the periodization view of history. Since the view of historical time is cyclical, the periodization cannot be progress but a spiraling alternation between order and disorder. Long ago, Meng Zi said: "Since the appearance of the world of men, a long time has indeed elapsed, consisting of alternating order and disorder" (IIIb, 9). Not in keeping with that worldview, Meng Zi (IIb, 13) delineates cycles of history in the following dispensations: (1) from the sage-kings Yao and Shun and Yu (24th–23rd centuries BCE) to the founder of Shang, (2) from the founder of Shang to the founders of Zhou (23rd–12th century BCE), and (3) from the founders of Zhou to Confucius (12th century to 551 BCE). The alternating sequence of old-new periods is attempted in the Qin dynasty, and the old-new-old pattern becomes evident in the earlier Han dynasty (206 BCE–6 CE).[49]

Given this Chinese cyclical/spiraling understanding of history, national salvation involves the rule of law/propriety of virtuous rulers and democratized rule of virtue by all self-perceived educated Confucianists. As such, sage (philospher) and ruler are not inseparable, i.e., crowned kings have to be virtuous and virtuous persons (*jen jen*) can be uncrowned kings.

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[48] Bauer, *China and the Search for Happiness*, 23. See *Meng Zi* 5A, 5. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 2:354–57.

[49] The Five Elements school also has an endless cyclical view of history: "Starting from the time of the separation of Heaven and Earth and coming down, Zou Yan, the founder of the school, made citations of the revolutions and transmutations of the Five Powers (Five Elements), arranging them until each found its proper place and was confirmed (by history)." Fung, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, 160. Cf. *Shi Ji*, Chap 74.

Coding the period of history with the color of the elements used by the Five Elements school, we have the following diagram:

Element	Color	Period
Earth	Yellow	Yellow Emperor (3d millennium BCE)
Wood	Green	Xia dynasty (2200–1600 BCE)
Metal	White	Shang dynasty (1600–1050 BCE)
Fire	Red	Zhou dynasty (1050–256 BCE)
Water	Black	Qin (221–206 BCE) or Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE)

A popular Confucianist understanding of political messianism in China is that in a five-hundred-year cycle there would supposedly be a ruler vested with the heavenly mandate to reign over China. Bauer gives examples of messianic consciousness in Chinese history, and not all these figures are strictly political rulers. The first is the duke of Zhou (who died in 1105 BCE according to traditional chronology); next is Confucius (551–479 BCE); then the historian Sima Qian (Ssu-ma Ch'ien, ca. 145–90 BCE); the illegal emperor Wang Mang (45 BCE–23 CE); and the philosopher-emperor Yuandi (508–555) of the Liang dynasty.[50] Bauer notes,

> Curiously enough, men who did not live during these periods of renewal also believed that this messianic idea applied to them, particularly Meng Zi (Mencius, 372–289 BCE). He is the first to explicitly discuss this five-hundred-year rule (*Meng Zi* 2B, 13 and 7B, 38).[51]

This Confucian messianic mandate of saving the world lies in the consciousness of the political commitment of his moral philosophy. Confucian moral philosophy serves its political purpose of bringing about peace in the world through the process of self-cultivation, family harmony, and nation governing.

Interxtual Reading Contrasting Pauline and Confucian Horizoning of Human History

Thus far, the reading of the Pauline and the Confucian texts is separate and autonomous. The intertextual reading will help us differentiate each text from the other as well as cross borders for creative interpretation. There are several rationales for intertextual reading based on the nature of textuality and the reading process of the text. First, the writers are not absolute and autonomous egos who merely produce the text. The writers, such as Paul, Confucius, and Mencius, are already readers of many texts who bring with them other textual influences (e.g., tradition of linguistic usage, worldview) and their social-historical backgrounds. Second, the reading process, e.g., that of this paper, never involves only a text and a reader (as if in abstraction), but includes also a cross-fertilization of other texts from the authors and readers' backgrounds. In other words, even though I present my reading of Romans and Confucianism separately, I have in fact read these two texts

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50 Bauer, *China and the Search for Happiness*, 429–30, n. 44.

51 Bauer, *China and the Search for Happiness*, 429–30, n. 44. See Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics*, 2:232, 501–2.

side by side in my understanding. Third, writers and readers are not transcendental egos that produce and search for meanings in texts; writers and readers are themselves the productions of texts already embedded in their historical contexts. For example, Paul, Confucius, and I are interpreters within our historical settings, and the texts of our interpretation are, together with us, the subjects that effect and produce one another. Fourth, readers rewrite the texts as they bring their horizons and experiences into the language codes. In the same light, the text itself is "reading" the readers in a new context of the readers' life-world. Of course, the mutual reading process between text and reader works as far as the collective language allows; the collective language serves as both their contact point and their boundaries.[52]

I am aware of the huge differences between Paul and Confucius, Romans and Analects, but I challenge myself to try an intersubjective reading because that is the only true and honest way I can read Romans 8 and Confucian classics as a Chinese-Christian. The intersubjective reading of Romans and Confucianism does not mean that the two cultures and theologies are similar or the same. Intersubjective reading only means that a Chinese-Christian reader allows his full subjectivity (thus his cultural repertoire) to come in full contact with the subjectivity of the text (thus textual context). It will be shown that the intersubjective reading has allowed the use of language not only to describe but also to recreate meaning of a particular text. For example, Paul's highly theological and Jewish understanding of human beings, sin, Torah, Christ, salvation, are not the same as the humanistic and moral connotation of Confucius's political philosophy. Yet they can be brought to dialogue, and as a result of this dialogue, Paul's theological lens is colored with the social and moral aspects of ethics and politics, and Confucius's humanistic lens is colored with the theological necessity. Let me summarize my initial discoveries.

1. In-group Language in Romans 8 and Communal Understanding in Confucianism

Reflecting upon the process of struggle in my reading of Romans and Confucianism, it is fair to say that I take my reading clues from both texts in many respects. Two of the most influential aspects are the proleptic

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52 See Ralf Norrman and Jon Haarberg, *Nature and Language: A Semiotic Study of Cucurbits in Literature* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 81–168 on a tactful discussion of issues such as "Is a literary work written by the author or by the readers?", "Does a literary work write itself?", "Sign and signification", "Independent creation versus tradition".

understanding of in-group language of predestination in Romans 8 and the communal understanding of Confucian.

Paul is talking about those in Christ already, therefore it is an "in-Christ" language necessitating us to be very cautious, if not prohibiting us, to speak of "those who are not in Christ" in terms of their predestination or salvation. To speak this message to non-Christians might cause misunderstanding or confusion. It is a language of *posteriori*, in the sense that only when one is in, and only from the perspective of the in-group, can one look forward to the assured state of glory. There is no way of standing from our beginning and see what we will be. It is therefore not a language of prediction. Both Pauline theology and Confucianist ethics have their universal appeal. Unfortunately, the metanarrative of Christ in Pauline theology has been used in Christian missionary movements throughout the ages to prejudge/condemn the destiny of others and rigidly exclude other narratives that might correct or enhance the metanarrative of Christ. After all, the purpose of Paul's rhetoric in Romans 8 is to unite Jewish and Gentile Christians and proves the impartiality of God in the salvation of all humanity. Similar concern of hegemonic violence could be raised regarding Confucianist ethics. Though limited in its cultural ethos, the Confucianist ethic has reigned in Chinese political history to the point where Chinese rulers use power to bar any questions regarding their ethics, and Confucianists use ethics to justify their political power to rule over their "inferior". I know these are distortion and abuses to Paul's and Confucius's understanding.

The Pauline language of predestination is not an eternal comprehensive decree of God to discriminate between believers and unbelievers. It is, as I interpreted above, a communal understanding of the purposive goal of being conformed to the firstborn of creation. In other words, Jesus Christ does not simply represent himself, an individual identity. Rather, Christ, as the "pre-horizon" of God's boundary of salvation, represents the corporate identity in which humanity will be called to conform, be transformed, justified, and glorified. The Son of God has the corperate identity of sons of God. Paul's theology emphasizes shared sonship. The designations of Jewish and Gentile believers—"those who love God," "saints," "called," "those God foreknew, predestined, justified, gloried"—have corperate identity.

I know Paul's understanding of theology, Christology, ecclesiology is communal. Yet I must confess that because of my formal training in biblical studies in the West, I never understood Paul that way until I did a

comparative study between Paul and Confucius many years ago.[53] This is where Confucius is helpful to my reading of Paul. Confucius understands a human as a social being with personal selfhood. Confucius says, "Virtue does not exist in isolation; there must be neighbors" (Analects 4:25).[54] "In order to establish oneself, one helps others to establish themselves; in order to enlarge oneself, one helps others to enlarge themselves." (Analects 6.28) Confucius's understanding of the socialization process is that one authenticates one's being not by detaching from the world of human relations but by making sincere attempts to harmonize one's relationship with others. Similar language is used by Paul to speak of Christians being "pre-horizoned and conformed to the likeness of God's Son" (8:29). The participation in the death and resurrection of Christ in Romans 5–6 speaks of the similar Christian socialization process whereby Christians authenticate their beings by imitating Christ.

The notion that Paul speaks only of theology and Confucius speaks only of humanism is simply not true. They both speak of theological ethics of a particular community, be that in Roman house churches or in ancient China. We have seen the Confucian understanding of being human is to live out the mandate of heaven, to be *ren ren* ("a loving person"). To be *ren ren* is to be courteous, diligent, loyal, brave, broad-minded, kind (Analects 13:19, 14:5, 17:6), virtues that are to be actualized in public. To be a *ren ren* is to express and to participate in the holy as a dimension of all truly human existence. Fingarette writes, "Human life in its entirety finally appears as one vast, spontaneous and Holy Rite: the community of man [humanity]."[55] The human is transformed by participation with others in communal ceremony. And that is the mandate of heaven, that all may live in righteousness and orderliness in relation to others as a society of sacredness.

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[53] See Yeo Khiok-khng, "Li and Jen (Torah and Spirit) in Romans," *What Has Jerusalem to Do with Beijing? Biblical Interpretation from a Chinese Perspective* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), Chap. 6.

[54] In the first instance, this link is to the general reciprocal good faith and respect among men (shu and chung); in the second instance this reciprocal good faith is given a specific content: it is that set of specific social relationships articulated in detail by *li*. In short, where reciprocal good faith and respect are expressed through the specific forms defined in *li*, there is *ren's* way. Cf. Herbert Fingarette, *Confucius - The Secular as Sacred* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 42.

[55] Fingarette, *Confucius*, 17. Cf. Analects 3:17, 4:5, 6, 8. For a different interpretation of *ren* and *li* in Confucius' thought, see Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, trans. Derk Bodde (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 72–72, 94, and Tu Wei-ming, *Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation* (New York: State University Press, 1985), 81–92.

Likewise, Paul advocates different factions of the Roman house-churches to "welcome one another in Christ" (15:7) and to "greet one another with holy kiss" (16:1–16) despite their differences. People are called into the "fiduciary community" (Confucian language) of sharing intentions, values, and meanings. This fiduciary community of sharable values is the "beloved of God" (Rom 1:7, 9:25) community in Christ to whom the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Roman house-churches belong. The fiduciary community advocated in the Analects does not have the notion that all persons will always finally agree. On the contrary, it is natural that diverse personalities will have differing visions of the Way.[56] Similarly, the "strong" and the "weak" in Romans are not encouraged to be other than themselves as they must hold true to their own "measuring rod of faith." The singularly crucial point for both groups is "the continuous process of symbolic exchange through the sharing of communally cherished values with other selves."[57]

This similar emphasis in Paul and Confucius is presupposed by their social/communal understanding of human nature. In the Analects, for example, the self is a center of relationships rather than the center of an isolatable individual. The self is a dynamic, open organism which actively seeks human community for wholeness of life and is transformed through the work of Christ. In Romans 8, those God foreknows are the Christians, called into conformity to the firstborn, also having a communal identity of God's new creation. The group is prior to individual, therefore Christ is prior to Christians.

2. *Oneness of God and Tribalism of Polytheism*

The social understanding of being human speaks of the necessity of cultural pluralism. However, the Pauline theology of Oneness of God seems to pose a metanarrative that does not condone polytheism.

The Oneness of God and the impartiality of God go together, and theologically they serve to respond to an inherent ideology of violence of Roman Empire domination. The cultural problem of Romans 8 is the polytheistic ideologies of patriarchy (in familial and societal structures), hierarchy (in institutional power structures), imperialism (in Roman, Herodian and even priestly politics), oppression (between the ruling elite and marginalized peasants), and colonialism (in racial tension and immigration situations), which resulted in violence—socially, politically and religiously.

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56 Cf. Tu, *Confucian Thought*, 83.

57 Tu, *Confucian Thought*, 83.

The Roman ideology of polytheism and conquest is being displayed in the splintered nature of Roman house-churches, evident by the various boastings (Rom 4:2, 11:18) of Jews and Gentiles. Paul argues that the will of God for Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome is the righteousness of God. How can the Jew and the Gentile and the many factions within the Roman house churches live in harmony? Based on the Oneness of God (Rom 3:30, 16:27, cf. 5:15–19) of both Jews and Gentiles, Paul's christology in Romans 8 emphasizes the sovereignty of God in creation, thus the metanarrative of Christ is evident in Paul's understanding of salvation of Jews and Gentiles. The sovereign love of God creates by means of Christ's redemption, and the predestined Christ in loving obedience is *the* divine plan of God's creation and redemption of the world. Christ as the eschatological Adam has saved the first Adam from the bondages/ slavery of sin, death, and cultural boastings.

Jews and Gentiles alike are addressed using the same terms (saints, those who love God, firstborn, called, predestined), so the promise, inheritance, and privilege of Israel are opened to all. The Adam christology (Christ as the image of God) is inclusive of all because all shared the sonship with Christ. The Pauline answer is Oneness of God, impartiality of God, righteousness of God by means of grace.

This question of coexistence for humanity was also Confucius's concern in the splintered society of his time. Confucius answers to the problem of ethnic conflict, cultural deterioration, and moral confusion: "The person of humanity is naturally at ease with humanity." (*Analects* 4:2) In Christian terminology, the answer is that God's Spirit (Rom 8:1) wills the faithful to become fully human in loving relationship with others, and the firstborn (Christ) makes it possible for humanity coexistence because of the work of grace and faith (trust) rather than cultural boasting. The power of the Pauline gospel is that it grants righteousness to all who place their faith (trust) in Christ. That faith and grace is concretely expressed in our "faith" (trust) and "grace" towards one another so that all might come to worship the One God. Leaney writes it well when he expounds on christological predestination in Romans 8:28–30,

> We are released from all ceremonial demands in the Law; our salvation does not lie in our conformity even to the laws of the universe but in God's conforming us not to his creation, not even to a restored and flawless creation, but to himself in his Son and those whom God foreknew he has already foreordained by baptism to share the image—not of the restored Israel with a perfect system of worship in a restored Temple, but of his son, so that he could be not the Messiah of their expectation, a new and final lawgiver, but the firstborn among

> many brothers, the beginning of a totally new order ... We do not wait for our Messiah. He has come and the new age has already begun.[58]

Paul's christological predestination with its metanarrative conviction could be hegemonic. Yet we see that the subversion to and reversal of power should not make it exclusive. Christological predestination explains God's interruption in human history as seen in the death and resurrection of the Christ-event, and that event allows us to discern the meaning and intended goal of history. God's involvement in history through his firstborn of creation is the metanarrative and *mythos* of deciphering meaning out of chaos, redemption out of violence. No matter how great the magnitude of violence and destruction is in the final conflict of human history, the Crucified God in his death as the firstborn does not accept the "will to power" of any ideology: not the violence of the Pax Romana, the murderous jealousy of Cain (Gen 4), or the Lion of Judah (Revelation). The Crucified God incarnates as the Lamb of God who does not accept tragic but redemptive meaning. The voice of Abel, the "son of Man" was raised up to heaven. The resurrection confirms Abel's and Christ's innocence. The Cross is a "violent" event, but it does not condone violence. In Pauline Christology, the significant point is not the incarnation or the infancy story; it is the crucifixion, resurrection and parousia of Christ. The end of the crucified Christ was his true beginning. "Christian eschatology follows this christological pattern in all its personal, historical and cosmic dimensions: *in the end is the beginning.*"[59] There is hope amid all historical ambiguities because God's future transcends history and God is the actor in history. The death of Christ reveals the hypostatic union of God and humanity that points to the intimate involvement of God in history. Does Confucian thought has both the *finis* of violence and the *telos* of the consummated shalom? Not as comprehensive as what Paul has.

The Confucian vision of national salvation for China is a noble one. But because of his vision of retrieving the golden age in the Shang and Zhou dynasty, his anthropological and moral ideals are grounded, and thus legitimized, in the partriarchal kinship and ancestral cult that are based not on grace and faith (trust) but on fate and works. Thus, we see on one hand, the moral vitality and cultural inclusiveness of Confucian vision of national salvation; on the other hand, we see the rigidity of propriety and the violence of predeterminism. It is not a surprise to see

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[58] A. R. C. Leaney, "Conformed to the Image of His Son (Rom. VIII. 29)," *New Testament Studies* 10 (1964):479.

[59] Jürgen Moltmann, *The Way of Jesus Christ: Christology in Messianic Dimensions,* trans. M. Kohl (London: SCM Press, 1990), x.

that Confucius's philosophy is a political and moral one, and that he is worshipped as an uncrowned king and the greatest teacher. The irony is, his moral philosophy seems unable to transform his assumptions regarding the political reality and rigidity of tradition, thus the result is many are taught to observe their places and to maintain proprieties within the given culture.

3. Paul and Confucius's Different Understandings of Time

Confucius's vision of the ideal regent is of an ethical but not a religious person, largely because of his preoccupation with the society, and because of the changes in worldview from the Shang to the Zhou: the new worldview is the emphasis on the here and now. The Chinese concept of time is cyclical, or rather, a spiral of two interlocking sets of "heavenly stems" and the "earthly branches." Ching writes:

> The ancients appear to have believed in the cyclical recurrence of sage-kings and good governments within a temporal framework that we may call spiral. At the very end of the Book of Mencius we have the following passage about the time periods that lapsed between sage-kings of old: 'Over five hundred years lapsed between [the time of] Yao and Shun and [that of King] T'ang . . . Over five hundred years [also] lapsed between [the time of] T'ang and that of [King] Wen. . . . Over five hundred years lapsed between [the time of] Wen and that of Confucius. . . . And over one hundred years have lapsed since the time of Confucius. We are so near in time to the sage, and so close in place to his home. And yet, is there no one [who is now a sage]? Is there no one [who is now a sage]?"[60]

Here I see close similarities between the Confucian and Pauline view of time, except with one subtle, thus significant, difference. Both seem to view history as moving in a spiral motion. Both seem to have a dynamic understanding of time, unlike the modern, scientific view that time is merely a linear progression of past, present, and future. The past is taken to mean the passing of the present, future is the prolongation of the present, and the present is the only possession one has. Chinese seldom talk about absolute time but time associated with events—dynamic time. Fang explains this view of time:

> The essence of time consists in change; the order of time proceeds with concatenation; the efficacy of time abides by durance. The rhythmic process of epochal change is wheeling round into infinitude and perpetually dovetailing the old and the new so as to issue into

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[60] Ching, *Mysticism and Kingship in China*, 210. The English translation of Mencius is Ching's.

> interpenetration which is continuant duration in creative advance. This is the way in which time generates itself by its systematic entry into a pervasive unity which constitutes the rational order of creative creativity. The dynamic sequence of time, ridding itself of the perished past and coming by the new into present existence, really gains something over a loss. So, the change in time is but a step to approaching eternity, which is perennial duration, whereby, before the bygone is needed, the forefront of the succeeding has come into presence. And, therefore there is here a linkage of being projecting itself into the prospect of eternity.[61]

In the Confucian process of production and reproduction, time never comes to an end or repeats itself.

The best summary of the Chinese worldview is that given by Bodde, whose brilliant insight I quote at some length:

> Human history belongs to the total cosmic process and, therefore, in the eyes of many Chinese, moves according to a similar cyclical pattern. Another and probably earlier Chinese view, however, sees antiquity as a golden age and all history since that time as a steady process of human degeneration. Some thinkers combine the two theories by saying that history does indeed move in cycles but that we moderns happen to be living during the downswing of one such cycle. . . . (A)ll of them reject the idea of historical progress, meaning by this a process of progressive improvement.
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> Though the universe is self-acting and not guided by any volitional power, it is far from being merely a mechanistic universe. Indeed, the very fact that its movements result in life is enough to show that in them must be a principle of goodness. More than this, however, even what we humans regard as evil—for example, death—is, from a higher point of view, an integral part of the total cosmic process and therefore inseparable from what we choose to call goodness. In short, whatever *is* in the universe must be good, simply because it *is*.
>
> The vital link between the nonhuman and human worlds is man's nature, and it necessarily follows from the foregoing that this nature must be equally good for all. If, nevertheless, some men fail to actualize the potentialities of their nature, this is because of their inadequacy understanding of how the universe operates. This deficiency, however, can be removed through education and self-cultivation, . . . for all men without exception to achieve sagehood. It thus becomes clear that evil, in Chinese eyes, is not a positive force in itself. It is . . . simply an inherent factor in the universe . . . the result of man's temporary distortion of the universal harmony.

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[61] Thomé H. Fang, "The World and the Individual in Chinese Metaphysics," in Charles A. Moore ed., *The Chinese Mind: Essentials of Chinese Philosophy and Culture* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1967), 240.

> Human society is, or at least should be, a reflection of this harmony. Hence it too is an ordered hierarchy of unequal components, all of which, however, have their essential function to perform, so that the result is a co-operative human harmony. . . .
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> . . .
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> Cutting across both the human and the natural worlds there are, in Chinese thinking, many antithetical concepts, among which . . . those of man and nature (Heaven, or Tian), being and nonbeing, quiescence and movement, the yin and the yang, and li (Principle) and ch'i (Ether). In each of these dualisms the Chinese mind commonly shows a preference for one of the two component elements as against the other. At the same time, however, it regards both of them as complementary and necessary partners, interacting to form a higher synthesis, rather than as irreconcilable and eternally warring opposites. Thus here again there is a manifestation of the Chinese tendency to merge unequal components so as to create an organic harmony.[62]

The biblical and Pauline understanding of time is similar. In the biblical understanding, past, present, and future are not tenses but modes of existence and aspects of action.[63] In other words, God's narrative in human historical time is what predestined christology is all about. Present is our spontaneous and continuous experience of the Holy despite our current historical ambiguity and despair. Past refers to realized acts of God in history. Future is the coming (advent or parousia) of the radically new creation of God assured by the past and to be realized in the present. The manifest destiny of history through Christ is God's new creation towards wholeness.

What is the subtle difference between Pauline and Confucian understandings of time? The traditional Confucian worldview believes in the constant flux of the universe following a "predictable pattern consisting either of eternal oscillation between two poles or of cyclical movement within a closed circuit. [So] . . . all movement serves in the end only to bring the process back to its starting point."[64] However, in Paul's

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[62] Derk Bodde, *Essays on Chinese Civilization* (Princeton: Princeton Unviersity Press, 1981), 285–87.

[63] On especially the differentiation of future and advent as well as *novum*, see Jürgen Moltmann, *The Way of Jesus Christ: Christology in Messianic Dimensions*, trans. M. Kohl (London: SCM Press, 1990), 22–28.

[64] Bodde, *Essays on Chinese Civilization*, 239. On the oscillation theory, see Lao Zi's *Dao De Jing*: "The movement of the Tao is that of reversal" (Chap 40); "Passing on means going far away, and going far away means reverting again" (Chap 25); "If diminished, it will increase; if increased, it will diminish" (Chap 42). On cyclical return, see *Zhuang Zi*: "All things are species which, through variant forms, pass one into another. Their beginnings and endings are like those in a

view, historical events are dated backward to the beginning of Creation, and the end of history is defined by Christ. Dunn writes,

> Paul's view of history . . . is not cyclical, but more of a purpose, formed fromthe beginning, achieved *through* the process of history, moving toward an intended higher end, not simply retuning to the beginning. As Paul has been at some pains to argue, God does not write of the intervening history as a total failure and useless; rather this purpose embraces it, works *through* it, through the travail of a creation subjected to futility, *thrugh* the groaning of believers still beset by sin andunder the sway of death, working to achieve not simply a return to pristine purity, but the fuller glory which Adam never attained, including life *from death.*[65]

But in Chinese history, events are dated cyclically every sixty years or from the rise of new emperors. And the dominant view in Chinese history is to look for a Golden Age in the past—in other words, the circle of degeneration characterized in Chinese history—and it is the circle of conscious cultivation of selves in harmony with society or cosmos that will bring back the Golden Age.

For 5000 years or so, Confucius reigns without a crown, yet his moral philosophy is not subversive enough within the political culture and to transform Chinese society because of recovery of the golden age. Looking backward without looking forward does not allow him to see the possibilities and hopes of the future. Conservatism of looking to the past will provide some guidance, but creativeness in reappropriating the past could bring about freedom and hope as he would look to the future for openness and direction. Yao and Shun are exemplary rulers, but only within the historical contexts and problems. The notion of an uncrowned king may liberate the idea that kingship is not lineage and all can become kings, since education and wisdom are not limited and limiting to elitist few. Yet, the question is whether the Confucian ideal of a philosopher-sage becoming king is a philosophical legitimation of the old kingship, or a replacement of the old kingship by using a new paradigm of kingship.

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ring—incapable of being definitely located. This is called the Equilibrium of Heaven." (Chap 27)

65 Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 484.

Jesus' Purity and the Myth of Liberal Christianity

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Introduction

Jesus' practice of commensality is still commonly treated as equivalent to "cleansing all foods" (Mark 7:19)—as if that uniquely Markan construct held for Jesus' whole program, and as if food were the beginning and end of the issue of purity.

Neither proposal has much to offer any more, but a liberal consensus, usually speaking in a Pauline idiom, makes Jesus into a cipher for grace and purity into a cipher for law. In that way, the Gospels support the argument that the Torah and anything like it have been relativized by the revelation of Christ. In its present form, the consensus appears to stretch back to Adolf von Harnack.[1] Many "conservative" scholars attribute such a transcendence of purity to "the historical Jesus" they believe the Gospels attest. In a different idiom, some scholars who proudly insist there is not much at all to be said about the figure of Jesus nonetheless find a way to have him make all foods clean: they make the Hellenistic matrix of the Gospels into an alternative to Judaic conceptions of purity.[2]

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[1] See Wilhelm Pauck, *Harnack and Troeltsch. Two Historical Theologians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968) and Jesper Svartvik, *Mark and Mission. Mark 7:1–23 in its Narrative and Historical Contexts:* Coniectanea Biblica New Testament Series 32 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2000).

[2] For a searching criticism of this Pauline reading of Jesus, see E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985) 172–87 and Richard Horsley, "Jesus, Itinerant Cynic or Israelite Prophet?" *Images of Jesus Today*: Faith and Scholarship Colloquies 3 (ed. J. H. Charlesworth and W. P. Weaver; Valley Forge, Pa: Trinity Press International, 1994) 68–97, as well as his *Archaeology, History and*

Why contest such a powerful consensus? The liberal paradigm encounters and creates more and more anomalies, the greater our knowledge of the New Testament's development and the better our familiarity with the anthropology of purity.

"Cleansing all foods" has the sheen of a general principle, until you see it demolished as such in Acts 15:13–21. Not even the liberal Jesus is up to denying the laws of *kashrut*, only to have his own brother invoke them afresh. That we are dealing with a gloss in Mark is commonly agreed (although who did the glossing is a perennial debate).[3] Had anything like the Markan policy been widely accepted as the dominical position, the early Christian centuries would have seen much less controversy regarding what might be eaten, and with whom.

The Purities of Mark 7

A closer look at Mark 7 reveals a variety of policies about purity, all of which are attributed to Jesus. An aphorism (7:14–15) speaks of the direction in which impurity flows. The assertion is easily construed in Aramaic attested from Jesus' period and place,[4] and is attractive when it is so rendered:

la' demin bar bar-'enasha' / da'teh bey demtamey
bera' min da'tan min / bar-'enasha' 'elen demtamyey.

Representation in English can preserve its structure:

nothing that is outside a person / entering one defiles one,
except that things coming from / a person, these defile one.

To this teaching there are attached distinct instructions about different kinds of purity: not to make the vow of *qorban* to protect one's wealth from one's parents (7:6–13), not to engage in impure thoughts (7:17–23), not to insist upon hand-washing (7:1–5), and—as we have seen—a bold gloss about the significance of the teaching as a whole in regard to foods (7:19c).

Society in Galilee. The Social Context of Jesus and the Rabbis (Valley Forge, Pa: Trinity Press International, 1996).

[3] See Henry Barclay Swete, *The Gospel according to St Mark. The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Indices* (London: Macmillan, 1913) 152.

[4] For a discussion of the Aramaic *mashal* and its wider setting, see Chilton, "A Generative Exegesis of Mark 7:1–23," *The Journal of Higher Criticism* 3.1 (1996) 18–37, also in *Jesus in Context. Temple, Purity and Restoration:* Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums XXXIX (with Craig A. Evans; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 297–317.

The dispute described in Mark 7:6–13 insists that what is owed to one's parents cannot be sheltered by declaring it dedicated to the Temple. The crucial point of such a gambit of sheltering is that one might continue to use the property after its dedication, while what was given to a person would be transferred forthwith.[5] Complaint about the practice, especially as stated in the simple epigram of Mark 7:11–12, is consistent with taking offense at commercial arrangements associated with the cult (see Matthew 17:24–27; Mark 12:41–44 = Luke 21:1–4). The epigram about *qorban* is also hyperbolic, involving the claim that Jesus' opponents do not permit one to do *anything* for one's parents (Mark 7:12). It is reminiscent of the imagery of pearls and swine (Matt 7:6), needles and camels (Matt 19:24 = Mark 10:25 = Luke 18:25), outwardly clean cups which are grossly impure (Matt 23:25 = Luke 11:39).

The hyperbolic epigram has here been enveloped in a much more elaborate argument, which makes the policy about *qorban* seem different from the aphorism about defilement in rhetoric as well as substance. Mark 7:6–13 is a syllogism, developed by means of scriptural terms of reference. Isaiah's complaint[6] frames the entire argument: the people claim to honor God, but their heart is as far from him as their vain worship, rooted in human commandments (Mark 7:6b–7). That statement is related in Mark 7:10–12 to the tradition of *qorban*, taken as an invalidation of the Mosaic prescription to honor parents, in both its positive[7] and its negative[8] forms. The simple and unavoidable conclusion is that the tradition violates the command of God (Mark 7:8–9, 13).

There is nothing complicated about the logic of the argument, and it can easily be structured in a different way. Matthew, in fact, takes us from the conclusion, through the Mosaic prescription in its contradiction by *qorban*, and on to the citation of Isaiah (see Matthew 15:3–9). The association of similar passages is reminiscent of the rabbinic rule of interpretation, that a principle expressed in a text may be related to another passage of Scripture, without identity of wording between the two

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[5] Cf. *m. Nedarim* 1:2; 3:2; 5:6; 8:7; 9:1; Z. W. Falk, "Notes and Observations on Talmudic Vows," *HTR* 59 (1966) 309–12; E. Bammel, "Gottes DIATHHKH (Gal. III.17–17) und das jüdische Rechtsdenken," *NTS* 6 (1959–60) 313–19; K. H. Rengstorf, "*korban, korbanas*," *TDNT* 3.860–66.

[6] In Isaiah 29:13; the form of the quotation is closest to that of the Septuagint, but is identical to no known ancient version.

[7] See Exodus 20:12; Deuteronomy 5:16.

[8] See Exodus 21:17; Leviticus 20:9.

passages.[9] But the scriptural syllogism by no means requires the invocation of any such formal principle. The fundamental argument is that the Law and the Prophets (the latter in a Septuagintal form, referring to the "commandments of men" in Isaiah 29:13) are antithetical to the practice of authorities in the Temple.

The next change in rhetoric and setting, however, is of far greater importance in shaping the received meaning of the passage. The rhetorical moves involved are, to begin with, private comment and catalogue (Mark 7:17–23).[10] In a house, apart from the crowd, the disciples ask Jesus what he means in his parabolic aphorism concerning what defiles (7:17). He replies in a way that makes "what goes into a person" the exact equivalent of food, passing through the stomach and into the latrine, where its risible lack of importance at last becomes obvious even to the uninitiated (7:18–19). What proceeds from a person, however, is equated with a list of "bad thoughts:" fornications, thefts, murders, adulteries, covetings, evil, deceit, debauchery, envy, blasphemy, arrogance, and foolishness, these are the evils within which are said to defile a person (7:20–23).

The two forms of rhetoric, the comment and the catalogue, are symmetrical. The comment, in response to a question (vv. 17–19), specifies that Jesus' original saying had refuted the impurity of foods. The explicit gloss at the end of v. 19, "cleansing all foods," draws out the logic of the comment.[11] The catalogue insists, on the other hand, that defilement is to be taken seriously, once it is understood to be moral instead of alimentary (see the references to defilement, by means of the verb *koinoo*, in v. 20 and in v. 23). The list of intellectual vices defines them as the most dangerous impurities. The two rhetorical forms correspond to two complementary redefinitions of purity. It can no longer be a matter of what is eaten, but must be seen as a matter of what is thought.

Both of those concerns are characteristic of Hellenistic Christianity. Paul reports favorably on the practice in Antioch before emissaries from James came, when meals could be conducted with common fellowship among Jewish and non-Jewish followers of Jesus (see Galatians 2:12).

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[9] See Chilton and C. A. Evans, "Jesus and Israel's Scriptures," in Chilton and Evans (eds.), *Studying the Historical Jesus. Evaluations of the State of Current Research:* New Testament Tools and Studies 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1994 and 1998 in paperback) 281–335, esp. 294–95.

[10] It is common to see the section as offering an interpretation of Jesus' aphorism; cf. W. L. Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark* (NLC; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott; NIC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974) 255–56.

[11] It might be attributed to the present sphere of usage, or—as seems more probable—to the next, Markan phase (see below).

According to Paul, the arrival of those emissaries caused Peter to separate from non-Jews, and even his partner Barnabas acceded to the separation (Galatians 2:12–13). The tendency of Hellenistic communities of Christians to mix their Jewish and non-Jewish constituencies, and therefore to relax or ignore issues of purity in foods, is here documented by Paul (*c.* 53 CE).[12]

Vincent Taylor long ago pointed out that the vocabulary of the list of vices in Mark 7 is more typical of the Pauline corpus (in the broadest sense) than of any other body of literature in the New Testament.[13] What is even more interesting is the express connection between such vices and the term "impurity" (*akatharsia*) in Romans 1:24; Galatians 5:19; Ephesians 4:19; 5:3; Colossians 3:5. It appears that early Christianity (which Paul and the deutero-Pauline corpus reflect together with Mark) saw a shift in the understanding of the medium of impurity: no longer foods, but moral intentions, conveyed the danger of defilement.

In order to recast the whole of the tradition as an assertion of a new medium of impurity, defined on Jesus' authority, a rhetorical method needed to be found which would point all of the arguments in the same direction which the latest developments indicated. The solution was a synthetic device of enormous power: narrative context. The arguments generally—with their varying rhetorics and different topics—are presented in the context of a dispute. Pharisees and scribes observe that Jesus' disciples do not wash their hands before meals; they object, and Jesus goes on to reply by means of the material already described (Matthew 15:1–2; Mark 7:1–2, 5).[14]

The new context, of course, has nothing precisely to do with the arguments that are then attributed to Jesus. *Qorban*, the direction of defilement, the comparative danger of foods and vices are all interesting matters, more or less related by a common interest in what true purity is, but none of those arguments actually answers the Pharisaic/scribal objection to not washing prior to a meal. The narrative context proceeds on the supreme and laconic assurance that the readership *already understands* that all Pharisaic/ scribal practices are to be grouped together,

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[12] Cf. Lane, *Mark*, 256; and B. Chilton, *A Feast of Meanings: Eucharistic Theologies from Jesus through Johannine Circles* (NovTSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 109–30.

[13] V. Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (New York: St Martin's, 1966 [1st ed., 1952]) 347. A comparative table of usages appears on p. 346.

[14] In Luke 11:37–38, the narrative context is developed further. A single Pharisee invites Jesus to dine, and is astonished when his guest does not wash. Luke permits us to see an alternative development of this cycle of tradition at the time of that Gospel's redaction.

and accorded the same sort of weight one would attribute to washing one's hands. How the community eats, and with whom, is the central concern, which then determines one's stance in respect of all that pertains to purity. The context assumed is very much like that of Galatians 2, although the position taken is different from Paul's, insofar as a positive place is found for purity.

The power of the new rhetorical device is demonstrated by the fact that Jesus never answers the question that is posed to him by the Pharisees concerning the washing of hands. The response needs to be filled in by the hearer or reader, who has been catechized to the point that it seems evident that there is a new, inner purity of moral intention that supersedes the usual practices of Judaism.[15]

Changing Maps of Purity

What is striking about all these policies is that in their different ways they map the territory of the clean and unclean, and explain how to negotiate the boundary. It is quite true that the territory looks increasingly "moral," and less "cultic," the closer one approaches the preferred idiom of Mark, but that in no way diminishes the sense of the contagion which an impure thought can provoke. Indeed, *The Shepherd of Hermas* opens with a disturbing thought-experiment which a serious reading of Mark 7 might encourage:[16] what happens when one of the proscribed designs actually does proceed from one's heart?

That is to say: moving from the "cultic" to the "moral" realm does not by itself entail a denial of purity. Such moves rather map a fresh territory of the clean and unclean. Mark 7 in any case not only deals with the map of the moral "heart," but also with the map of the household, the map of the Temple, and the map of the human body.

These changes in the maps and territories of purity suggest that they might provide us with some purchase for understanding the cultural development of the Gospels' traditions. With that possibility in mind, I undertook a review more than a decade ago of anthropological literature concerning purity and sacrifice (purity's first cousin). What emerged was a model of religions as framing the pragmatic, affective, and ideological

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[15] In a recent thesis, Jonathan Klawans correctly observes that both sorts of purity are at issue in Judaism, but he does not take account of variegations and shifts within Christian practice; see *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 136–57.

[16] See Chilton, "Christianity," *Women and Families:* The Pilgrim Library of World Religions (ed. Jacob Neusner; Cleveland: Pilgrim Press, 1999) 26–49.

lives of communities with distinct but comparable systems; the whole analysis was related to Jesus' raid on the Temple.[17]

The link between social eating and sacrifice has been widely attested in the literature. When I placed Jesus' resistance to Caiaphas's administration of the Temple in that anthropological context, the result surprised me. When Jesus said "This is my blood" and "This is my flesh," he referred—not to his personal body and blood in the first instance—but to the wine and bread of his meals as substitutes for offering in the Temple from which his action had effectively banned him.

During the period of that project, Bernhard Lang was pursuing his interest in anthropology and the Hebrew Bible. He developed the idea of Jesus' categorical concern for the Temple and the evolution of his meal practice, and went on to write a comprehensive history of the Eucharist.[18] Meanwhile, I was working at his suggestion on an exegetical study, discerning how different meanings and practices of the meal developed during the period of the New Testament's formation.[19]

Lang's historical study and my exegetical study both concerned how the remembrance of Jesus' words corresponded to distinct practices and beliefs. I left to the side how and why Jesus himself framed the initial practices that generated those developments. Those inferences are developed in my recent narrative of Jesus' life.[20]

Now if Jesus and his movement are to be understood within practices of purity rather than against them, our liberal myth is evidently in trouble. An alternative is at a fledgling stage, where much remains to be worked out. Fortunately, that task has been undertaken vigorously.

One of the inhibitions against seeing Jesus in the context of purity was that, in North American scholarship during the '80s, Galilee was virtually annexed in Athens. If pig bones were found in Sephhoris, the surmise has sometimes run, why would Jesus not have eaten a ham sandwich? Eric Meyers has commented:

> Why so many scholars have associated the rural landscape of Galilee with all its towns and villages as being devoid of Jewish learning as well as lacking in the everyday accoutrements of a Greco-Roman lifestyle is hard

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17 *The Temple of Jesus. His Sacrificial Program within a Cultural History of Sacrifice* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992).

18 *Sacred Games. A History of Christian Worship* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997).

19 *A Feast of Meanings. Eucharistic Theologies from Jesus through Johannine Circles:* Supplements to *Novum Testamentum* 72 (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

20 *Rabbi Jesus. An Intimate Biography* (New York: Doubleday, 2000).

> to understand, and I leave it for others in the discipline of New Testament to reflect on.[21]

More reflective archaeology has indeed stressed the regionalism of Galilee, evinced by artifacts and architectures that relate to the practice of purity. Marianne Sawicki's "cognitive archaeology"[22] and continuing study of synagogues and *miqvaot*[23] are especially eloquent in this regard, although the earlier contributions of Sean Freyne, James Strange, Eric Meyers and Richard Horsley are also very much a part of the same reevaluation.[24]

The immersion of John the Baptist has obvious implications for the study of Jesus, and my own address of that topic has been ancillary to other concerns. So it was a delight for me to be involved with the rich treatment of Joan E. Taylor, which establishes that John is chiefly to be understood as a purifier. At long last the apologetic picture of John as a prophet of Jesus has been replaced with an appropriate emphasis upon his practice of repeated immersion with repentance.[25]

Of course, shifts in practices of purity as reflected within Christian sources are never likely to be understood apart from an appreciation of cognate shifts within Judaic sources. For this reason, the social-historical work of Craig Evans and the systemic analyses of Jacob Neusner have been fountains of light, and collaborating with them on several volumes has taught me more than I can say.[26] Recently, the books of Paula Fredriksen, Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, Jostein Ådna, and Christian Grappe[27]

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[21] "Jesus and His Galilean Context," *Archaeology and the Galilee. Texts and Contents in the Graeco-Roman and Bysantine Periods*: South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 143 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997) 57–66, 65–65.

[22] *Crossing Galilee. Architectures of Contact in the Occupied Land of Jesus* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press international, 2000).

[23] See *Ancient Synagogues. Historical Analysis and Archaeological Discovery*: Studia Post-Biblica 47 (Dan Urman and P. V. M. Flesher, eds; Leiden: Brill, 1995, 1998).

[24] See especially *Archaeology and the Galilee* and *Archaeology, History and Society in Galilee.*

[25] *The Immerser: John the Baptist within Second Temple Judaism:* Studying the Historical Jesus 2 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997).

[26] See, for example, Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans, *Jesus in Context. Temple, Purity and Restoration:* Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums XXXIX (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Bruce Chilton and Jacob Neusner, *Judaism in the New Testament. Practices and Beliefs* (with Jacob Neusner; London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

[27] Paula Fredricksen, *Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews. A Jewish Life and the Emergence of Christianity* (New York: Knopf, 1999); Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza,

represent positive engagement with the issue of purity, and in that they are taking up the clear if less emphatic leads in the earlier works of James D.G. Dunn,[28] Ben F. Meyer,[29] Marcus Borg,[30] E. P. Sanders (cf. n. 2), and N. T. Wright.[31] Indeed, I would suggest that an adjustment to the cultural issue of purity, together with a willingness to correct the positivism often associated with "the historical Jesus," represent genuine advances during the past quarter century.

Orienting Jesus

So having learned so much from scholars who have contributed within the field of purity, what do I believe we can say, and what questions remains to be answered? By referring to some texts that have featured centrally in discussion, I will attempt both questions.[32]

The analogy of a map may prove useful again at this point. Rural Galilee defines Jesus' characteristic activity in the Gospels, and Jerusalem is the only major city that concerns him. His venture east of the sea of Galilee is a disaster for a local herd of swine, and for any probability that he would find accommodation in Decapolis (Mark 5:1–20); his venture west of Nazareth, into Syro-Phoenecian territory, finds him comparing a Gentile and her sick daughter to dogs (Mark 7:24–30). His exorcisms target unclean spirits (Mark 1:21–28), while his theory of healing is the forgiveness of sin (Mark 2:1–12). Although he keeps his distance form the

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Jesus and the Politics of Interpretation (New York: Continuum, 2000); Jostein Ådna, *Jesu Stellung zum Tempel. Die Tempelaktion und das Tempelwort als Ausdruck seiner messianischen Sendung*: Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 119 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000); Christian Grappe, *Le Royaume de Dieu. Avant, avec et après Jésus*: Le Monde de la Bible 42 (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2001).

28 *Jesus and the Spirit. A Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1975).

29 *The Aims of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1979).

30 *Conflict, Holiness and Politics in the Teachings of Jesus*: Studies in the Bible & Early Christianity 5 (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1984). Klawans (pp. 144–45) attacks Borg for globally distancting Jesus from any system of purity, but it is a credit to his scholarship that he develops evidence that disconfirms the liberal paradigm he defends.

31 *Jesus and the Victory of God. Christian Origins and the Question of God* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1993, 1996).

32 For a fuller discussion, and citation of the associated passages, cf. *The Temple of Jesus* and *Rabbi Jesus*.

Temple except for pilgrimage, his cleansing a "leper" allows for a sacrifice demanded by the book of Leviticus (Mark 1:40–44).

The last case deserves a second look, however, because Jesus famously truncates the Levitical procedure. He tells the scabby man to go directly to the Temple, not to the local priest for the preliminary sacrifice of cleansing mandated in the book of Leviticus (Leviticus 14:1–20). Within the Levitical map, then, Jesus keeps his bearings, but also takes a short cut.

And this is not the only one. He also travels through Samaria (John 4:1–42), sends followers to eat in towns and villages in Galilee on the assumption that what is set before them to eat is pure (Luke 10:1–12), and commends a local centurion near Capernaum for his faith (Matthew 8:5–13). When he makes his final visit to Jerusalem, he attacks the merchants of the Temple to insist upon the short cut that ends them all (Mark 11:15–18): Israelite offerings in the sanctuary, without commercial mediation.

As Cecil Roth suggested long ago,[33] Zechariah 14 is central to the events in Jerusalem (at least the perspective of Jesus' movement). But the prophetic text accounts for more than that. It almost goes without saying—although T. W. Manson did say it, and very convincingly[34]—that the entry into Jerusalem is accounted for, because so many of the elements of Zechariah and its connection with the festal procession of Sukkoth are taken up in the narratives. But beyond that, we also have in Zechariah the forgiveness of sins before the Throne of God (Zechariah 3:1–5, 9–10; 13:1), the promise of Spirit (4:6;[35] cf. 7:12), criticism of fasting (7:2–7; 8:18–19), the prophecy of bad shepherding in the Temple (11:1–12:9), as well as the removal of unclean spirit (13:2) and the climactic vision of a Sukkoth of universal range and terrible violence in a Temple cleared of merchants (14:1–21).

To deny the relevance of this prophetic and apocalyptic scenario to an understanding of the likely motivation of Jesus is only possible by setting aside many levels of tradition in the New Testament. I understand that the liberal myth would like us to do that, reducing echoes of "the Old Testament" to prooftexts, and discounting cultural resonance with

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[33] "The Cleansing of the Temple and Zechariah xiv 21," Novum Testamentum 4 (1960) 174–81.

[34] "The Cleansing of the Temple," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 33 (1951) 271–82.

[35] As I have argued elsewhere, this usage is resonant with the principle of contagious purity in Haggai 1:14; 2:4–5, 10–19; see *Jesus' Baptism and Jesus' Healing. His Personal Practice of Spirituality* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998) 5, 71–78.

Judaism—even as attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls—on the alleged grounds of the chronology of Rabbinic sources. But were concerns for purity a figment of later authors, that would not account for their rich representations within different layers of the Gospels, nor for the policies later attributed to teachers such as James and Paul.

These policies and their variants support the inference of Jesus' Zecharian program of purity, a practice suited to the conviction that God's Spirit was transforming the world so as to establish the divine kingdom. The great question remains, however, that of the relationship between practice and vision in Jesus' activity and in his movement. When a prophecy is deployed practically, how much must be done on the ground to justify the image in one's mind?

The circles of James, Peter, Barnabas and Paul evidently wrestled with the issue of purity. All four, against their Pharisaic colleagues, could imagine uncircumcised believers, and put their imaginations into baptismal practice (Acts 15:1–30). But their visions, policies, and preferences were far from uniform in regard to the value of circumcision, and the issues of *kashrut* and sexuality saw them busily redrawing maps of purity for the new worlds they were living in. In a sense, it seems easier to trace the application of Jesus' orientation than to specify it. Be that as it may, we can characterize the impact of Jesus' purity on disciplines and passions in his movement after his death.

James and the Question of Purity

The remarkable and early agreement that Jews and non-Jews could be included in the same movement by baptism established a radical principle of inclusion. But it also brought about controversies within the early Church. Although Peter, James, Barnabas, and Paul agreed that circumcision could not be demanded of non-Jews who received baptism, there were strong factions which did not concur (see Acts 11:1–18; 15:1–5). After all, they had the covenant of circumcision (Genesis 17:9–14) as a counter argument: although Acts refers only tangentially to those loyal to that covenant as a requirement implied within baptism, they were obviously a considerable contingent within primitive Christianity.

Even among those teachers who extended baptism to non-Jews without requiring circumcision, disagreements arose. The best attested argument occurred at Antioch, where non-Jews had begun to eat together with Jews in the context of Christian practice of Eucharist and other common meals (see Galatians 2:11–21). The conflict involved Paul, Peter, James, and Barnabas as its principals. Barnabas, a Levite from Cyprus, was

a prominent, loyal recruit in Jerusalem, who enjoyed the trust of the apostles and mediated relations between them and Paul.[36]

The radical quality of Paul's position needs to be appreciated. He was isolated from every other Christian Jew (by his own account in Galatians 2:11–13, James, Peter, Barnabas, and "the rest of the Jews"). His isolation required that he develop an alternative view of authority in order to justify his own practice. Within Galatians, Paul quickly articulates the distinctive approach to Scripture as authoritative which characterizes his writings as a whole. His invention of the dialectic between grace and law, between Israel as defined by faith and Israel after the flesh, became a founding principle in the intellectual evolution of Christianity in its formative period.[37] But the Pauline character of that evolution was by no means predictable at the time Paul himself wrote, and Paulinism can become an obstacle to historical study, insofar as it prevents us from imagining other forms of theological commitment to Jesus.

The confrontation at Antioch that Paul recounts to his audience in Galatia did not turn out happily for him at the time. His explanation of his own point of view is triumphant and ringing only in retrospect. Indeed, by the time he recollects his argument for the benefit of the Galatians (to whom he writes some four years after this confrontation), he seems so confident that one might overlook the fact that he was the loser in the battle with the representatives of James. It was he, not they, who left the area of Antioch (so Acts 15:22–41).

The position of James is not represented, as is Paul's, by a writing of James himself.[38] But the book of Acts does clearly reflect his perspective in regard to both circumcision and the issue of purity (Acts 15), the two principal matters of concern in Galatians. The account in Acts 15 is romanticized; one sees much less of the tension and controversy which Paul attests. But once allowance has been made for the tendency in Acts to portray the ancient Church as a body at harmonious unity, the nature and force of James's position become clear.

The two issues in dispute, circumcision and purity, are dealt with in Acts 15 as if they were the agenda of a single meeting of leaders in

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[36] See Acts 4:36–37; 9:26–30; 11:19–26.

[37] See Jacob Neusner and Bruce Chilton, *The Intellectual Foundations of Christian and Jewish Discourse. The Philosophy of Religious Argument* (New York: Routledge, 1997) 26–46.

[38] The Letter of James is at best a derivative reflection of his position; see Martin Dibelius, *Der Brief des Jakobus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1984). Some recent work would suggest that the letter does reflect a Jacobean position, but actual attribution to James is difficult to sustain; cf. Peter H. Davids, *James:* New International Biblical Commentary (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1989).

Jerusalem. (Paul in Galatians 2 more accurately describes the meeting he had with the leaders as distinct from a later decision to return to the question of purity.) The first item on the agenda is settled by having Peter declare that, since God gave his Holy Spirit to Gentiles who believed, no attempt should be made to add requirements such as circumcision to them (Acts 15:6–11). Paul could scarcely have said it better himself; and that is consistent with the version of Paulinism represented in Acts.

The second item on the agenda is settled on James's authority, not Peter's, and the outcome is not in line with Paul's thought. James first confirms the position of Peter, but he states the position in a very different way: "Symeon has related how God first visited the Gentiles, to take a people in his name" (Acts 15:14). James's perspective here is not that all who believe are Israel (the Pauline definition), but that in addition to Israel God has established a people in his name. How the new people are to be regarded in relation to Israel is a question that is implicit in the statement, and James goes on to answer it.

James develops the relationship between those taken from the Gentiles and Israel in two ways. The first method is the use of Scripture, while the second is a requirement of purity. The logic of them both inevitably involves a rejection of Paul's position (along the lines laid out in Galatians 2).

The use of Scripture, like the argument itself, is quite unlike Paul's. James claims that "with this (that is, his statement of Peter's position) the words of the prophets agree, just as it is written" (Acts 15:15), and he goes on to cite from the book of Amos. The passage cited will concern us in a moment; the form of James interpretation is an immediate indication of a substantial difference from Paul. As James has it, there is actual agreement between Symeon and the words of the prophets, as two people might agree: the use of the verb *sumphoneo* is nowhere else in the New Testament used in respect of Scripture. The continuity of Christian experience with Scripture is marked as a greater concern than within Paul's interpretation, and James expects that continuity to be verbal, a matter of agreement with the prophets' words, not merely with possible ways of looking at what they mean.[39]

The citation from Amos (9:11–12, from the version of the Septuagint, which was the Bible of Luke-Acts) comports well with James's concern that the position of the Church agree with the principal vocabulary of the prophets (Acts 15:16–17):

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[39] See Bruce Chilton and Jacob Neusner, *Judaism in the New Testament. Practice and Beliefs* (London: Routledge, 1996) 104–8.

> After this I will come back and restore the tent of David which has fallen, and rebuild its ruins and set it up anew, that the rest of men may seek the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called. . . .

In the argument of James as represented here, what the belief of Gentiles achieves is, not the redefinition of Israel (as in Paul's thought), but the restoration of the house of David. The argument is possible because a Davidic genealogy of Jesus—and, therefore, of his brother James—is assumed.

The account of James's preaching in the Temple given by Hegesippus (see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 2.23.1–18) represents Jesus as the son of man who is to come from heaven to judge the world. Those who agree cry out, "Hosanna to the Son of David!" Hegesippus shows that James's view of his brother came to be that he was related to David (as was the family generally) and was also a heavenly figure who was coming to judge the world. When Acts and Hegesippus are taken together, they indicate that James contended Jesus was restoring the house of David because he was the agent of final judgment, and was being accepted as such by Gentiles with his Davidic pedigree.

But on James's view, Gentiles remain Gentiles; they are not to be identified with Israel. His position was not anti-Pauline (to begin with, at least). His focus was on Jesus' role as the ultimate arbiter within the Davidic line, and there was never any question in his mind but that the Temple was the natural place to worship God and acknowledge Jesus. Embracing the Temple as central meant for James, as it meant for everyone associated with worship there, maintaining the purity which it was understood that God required in his house. Purity involved excluding Gentiles from the interior courts of the Temple, where Israel was involved in sacrifice. The line of demarcation between Israel and non-Israel was no invention within the circle of James, but a natural result of seeing Jesus as the triumphant branch of the house of David.

Gentile belief in Jesus was therefore in James's understanding a vindication of his Davidic triumph, but it did not involve a fundamental change in the status of Gentiles vis-à-vis Israel. That characterization of the Gentiles, developed by means of the reference to Amos, enables James to proceed to his requirement of their recognition of purity. He first states that "I determine not to trouble those of the Gentiles who turn to God" (15:19) as if he were simply repeating the policy of Peter in regard to circumcision. (The implicit authority of that "I" contrasts sharply with the usual portrayal in Acts of apostolic decision as communal.) But he then continues that is determination is also "to write to them to abstain from the pollutions of the idols, and from fornication, and from what is strangled, and from blood" (15:20).

The rules set out by James tended naturally to separate believing Gentiles from their ambient environment (rather in the manner of *Sibylline Oracles* 4:24–34). They are to refrain from feasts in honor of the gods and from foods sacrificed to idols in the course of being butchered and sold. (The notional devotion of animals in the market to one god or another was a common practice in the Hellenistic world.[40]) They are to observe stricter limits than usual on the type of sexual activity they might engage with, and with whom. (Gross promiscuity need not be at issue here; marriage with cousins is also included within the likely area of concern. That was fashionable in the Hellenistic world, and proscribed in the book of Leviticus [see chapter 18 and 20:17–21]). They are to avoid the flesh of animals that had been strangled instead of bled, and they are not to consume blood itself. The proscription of blood, of course, was basic within Judaism. And strangling an animal (as distinct from cutting its throat) increased the availability of blood in the meat. Such strictures are consistent with James's initial observation, that God had taken a people from the Gentiles (15:14); they were to be similar to Israel and supportive of Israel in their distinction from the Hellenistic world at large.

The motive behind the rules is not separation in itself, however. James links them to the fact that the Mosaic legislation regarding purity is well and widely known (15:21):

> For Moses from early generations has had those preaching him city by city, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath.

Because the law is well known, James insists that believers, even Gentile believers, are not to live in flagrant violation of what Moses enjoined. In the words of Amos, they are to behave as "all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called." As a result of James's insistence, the meeting in Jerusalem decides to send envoys and a letter to Antioch, in order to require Gentiles to honor the prohibitions set out by James (Acts 15:22–35).

The same chapter of Leviticus that commands, "love your neighbor as yourself" (19:18) also forbids blood to be eaten (19:26) and fornication (19:29 see also 18:6–30). The canonical (but secondhand) letter of James calls the commandment of love "the royal law" (James 2:8), acknowledging that Jesus had accorded it privilege by citing it alongside the commandment to love God as the two greatest commandments (see Mark 12:28–32). In Acts James himself, while accepting that Gentiles cannot be required to keep the whole law, insists that they should

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[40] See Vincent J. Rosivach, *The System of Public Sacrifice in Fourth-Century Athens:* American Classical Studies 34 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1994). The constraints are sometimes compared to the so-called Noachic commandments of b. Sanhedrin 56a–b, which are held to be binding on non-Jews.

acknowledge it, by observing basic requirements concerning fornication and blood and idolatry.

It is of interest that Leviticus forbids the eating of blood by sojourners as well as Israelites, and associates that prohibition with how animals are to be killed for the purpose of eating (17:10–16). Moreover, a principle of exclusivity in sacrifice is trenchantly maintained: anyone, whether of Israel or a sojourner dwelling among them, who offers a sacrifice which is not brought to the LORD's honor in the Temple is to be cut off from the people (17:8–9). In other words, the prohibitions of James, involving sacrifice, fornication, strangled meat produce, and blood, all derive easily from the very context in Leviticus from which the commandment to love is derived. They are elementary, and involve interest in what Gentiles as well as Israelites do.

James's prohibitions as presented in Acts are designed to show that believing Gentiles honor the law which is commonly read, without in any way changing their status as Gentiles. Thereby, the tent of David is erected again, in the midst of Gentiles who show their awareness of the restoration by means of their respect for the Torah. The interpretation attributed to James involves an application of Davidic vocabulary to Jesus, as is consistent with the claim of Jesus' family to Davidic ancestry. The transfer of Davidic promises to Jesus is accomplished within an acceptance of the terms of reference of the Scripture generally: to embrace David is to embrace Moses. There is no trace in James's interpretation of the Pauline gambit, setting one biblical principle (justification in the manner of Abraham) against another (obedience in the manner of Moses). Where Paul divided the Scripture against itself in order to maintain the integrity of a single fellowship of Jews and Gentiles, James insisted upon the integrity of Scripture, even at the cost of separating Christians from one another. In both cases, the interpretation of Scripture was also—at the same moment as the sacred text was apprehended—a matter of social policy.

In a recent conference at Trinity Western University, John J. Collins referred to the two citations of Amos 9:11 which are attested at Qumran.[41] He relied on his findings in an earlier work that the two exegeses are quite different from one another, and from James's exegesis.[42] For reasons that

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[41] See Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint (eds), *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997) 151. For an accessible and interesting presentation of the texts in English, see Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, Edward Cook (eds), *The Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Translation* (San Franscisco: Harper, 1996).

[42] See John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star. The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Ancient Literature:* The Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York:

will emerge shortly, I would be inclined to describe the relationship among the interpretations as complementary. The more recently identified usage (in 4Q174 3:10–13, a florilegium) is the more straightforward, in that the image of the restoration of the hut of David is associated with the promise to the David in 2 Samuel 7:13–14 and with the Davidic "branch" (cf. Isaiah 11:1–10), all taken in a messianic sense.[43] Given the expectation of a son of David as messianic king (see *Psalms of Solomon* 17:21–43), such an application of the passage in Amos, whether at Qumran or by James, is hardly strange. On the other hand, it is striking at first sight that the passage in Amos—particularly, "the fallen hut of David"—is applied in the *Damascus Document* (CD 7:15–17), not to a messianic figure, but to the law which is restored. Now the book of Amos itself makes Judah's contempt for the Torah for pivotal issue (Amos 2:4), and calls for a program of seeking the Lord and his ways (Amos 5:6–15), so it is perhaps not surprising that "the seeker of the law" is predicted to restore it in the *Damascus Document.* Still, CD 7:15–20 directly refers to the "books of the Torah" as "the huts of the king," interpreted by means of the "fallen hut of David." Evidently, there is a precise correspondence between the strength of the messiah and the establishment of the Torah, as is further suggested by the association with the seeker of the law *not only here,* in the *Damascus Document,* but also in the Florilegium. A contextual reading of the two passages demonstrates a dual focus, on messiah and Torah in each case, such that they stand in a complementary relationship. The possibility of influence on James's interpretation of Amos as presented in Acts 15 may not be discounted.

Eusebius on several occasions refers to James as having been the first bishop of Jerusalem, and once cites a source of the second century to do so (*Ecclesiastical History* 2.1.1–6, 23.1; 7.19; referring in the first passage to Clement's *Hyostyposeis*). James died in the year 62 CE, so that his example had been there to influence the emerging model of hierarchy within the church for more than three decades before the Pastoral Epistles were written (c. 100 CE). James was clearly a local leader, who made decisions on the basis of Scripture, and the exercise of his authority—owing to his familial relationship—brought with it a personal link to Jesus himself on the basis of his own "good confession" (as the language of 1 Timothy 6:13 would have us put it) before both friendly and hostile witnesses. The personal model of James as bishop was evidently sufficient to elevate that

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Doubleday, 1995). He develops his reading of the difference between this interpretation and that contained in the *Damascus Document* on pp. 64–65, following the lead of Joseph A. Fitzmyer.

[43] Collins, 61.

office above other possible contenders for what was to be the predominant authority within the church by the end of the first century.

There is, no doubt, a degree of anachronism in Eusebius's portrait of James's episcopal authority. He conceived of it as being a "throne,"[44] in the manner of the image of dominant power which only the fourth century saw fully achieved, and he imagines a formal election as being involved. In fact, if one sees the espicopate as an entirely Hellenistic invention with the life of the church, it is easy enough to dismiss the entire reference to James as bishop. But that would be a hasty judgment. Eusebius's reference is persistent, and grounded in an identification of James's office from the second century. Moreover, if Eusebius helps us correctly to identify that office (for all his own anachronism), then we can explain they key shift in the hierarchy of the Church during the first century, from apostolate to episcopate.

Still, the objection remains that *episcopos* is an odd title for James—or for any Aramaic speaker—to bear. In just this regard, a suggestion made many years ago by Joachim Jeremias turns out to be crucially important. Jeremias fastened his attention on the office of the *mebaqqer* at Qumran.[45] That term means "overseer," just as *episcopos* does, and the *mebaqqer* was charged to do many of the same things that an *episcopos* was do to: he was to teach the Torah (even to priests) as well as the particular traditions of the Essenes, to administer discipline, and to see to the distribution of wealth (see *Damascus Document* 13.7f.; 14.8f., 13f.) As Jeremias points out, comparisons are made between the *mebaqqer* and a father and a shepherd (*Damascus Document* 13.9); he does not mention, but the point is worth making, that Christ himself is said to be an *episkopos*, to care as a shepherd does in bringing us to God (so 1 Peter 2:25; a letter, like the Pastorals, written around 90 CE). Divine care and the institution of the overseer appear to have been linked in both Essene theology and primitive Christianity.

The connection as Jeremias attempted to make it was vitiated by his surmise that the community at Qumran somehow represented the Pharisaic ethos.[46] In fact, the Essenes pursued their own system of purity, ethics, and initiation, followed their own calendar, and withdrew into

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[44] See *Ecclesiastical History* 2.1, 23; 7.19.

[45] His views are accessibly presented in *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus. An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions during the New Testament Period* (tr. F. H. and C. H. Cave; London: SCM, 1969) 260–62.

[46] For this criticism, see Hermann W. Beyer, "*episkeptomai* . . . ," *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* 1 (ed. G. Kittel, tr. G. W. Bromiley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) 599–622, 618–19.

their own communities, either within cities or in isolated sites such as Qumran. There they awaited a coming, apocalyptic war, when they, as "the sons of light," would triumph over "the sons of darkness:" not only the Gentiles, but also anyone not of their vision (see the *War Scroll* and the *Community Rule*). The culmination of those efforts was to be complete control of Jerusalem and the Temple, where worship would be offered according to their revelation, the correct understanding of the law of Moses (cf. *Damascus Document* 5:17–6:11).

Now James is quite unlike the Essenes in his acceptance of uncircumcised followers of his brother, as well as in his fellowship in Jerusalem with a group centered on the Temple, unassociated with Qumran.[47] But his devotion to the Temple involved tension with the administration there (tension severe enough ultimately to bring about his death), and he appears to have recourse to an interpretation of Scripture which may be compared to the Essenes'.

The Conflicting Strategies of Peter, James and Paul

Peter seems to have shared with Jesus the hope of a climactic disclosure of divine power, signaled in the willingness of nations to worship on Mount Zion. His offer at the time of the Transfiguration, to build "huts" or *sukkoth*, is not the inept suggestion it is often made out to be, but signals his awareness of the sources of Jesus' vision.[48]

Peter perpetuated that vision by means of his fidelity both to breaking bread at home with the disciples and in worship within the Temple (Acts 2:43–47). At the same time, Acts portrays Peter's activity much further afield. The key to connection between Peter's residence in Jerusalem and his activity in Syria and beyond is provided by the vision which he relates as the warrant for his visit to the house of Cornelius, the Roman centurion (Acts 10:1–48).

Peter defends his baptisms in the house of Cornelius on the basis of his vision in the course of a dispute with those who argued that circumcision was a requirement of adherence to the movement (Acts 11:1–18). He cites his activity among non-Jews at a later point, in the context of the so-called the Apostolic Council (Acts 15:7–11). Through-

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[47] Another central point of tension is that *mamzerim* were excluded from the *yachad* of Qumran, and Jesus himself was a *mamxer;* see Meir Bar-Ilan, "The attitude toward *mamzerim* in Jewish society in late antiquity," *Jewish History* 14 (2000) 125–70.

[48] See Chilton, "The Transfiguration: Dominical Assurance and Apostolic Vision," *New Testament Studies* 27 (1980) 115–24.

out, the position of Peter appears to have been consistent: God may make, and has made, eschatological exceptions to the usual practice of purity. Those exceptions include the acceptance of uncircumcised men in baptism, and fellowship with them.

The policy of accepting non-Jews, who were baptized but not circumcised, was perhaps the most important decision, which the primitive Church made. As we have seen, it is presented as formalized in the book of Acts in a single session (Acts 15:1–35), but the reference to the dispute earlier (in Acts 11:1–3) shows that the policy was framed over a number of years.

In his letter to Galatians, Paul reflects not only the discussion at the "Council," but the attempt to grapple with the consequences of baptizing non-Jews in Jesus' name at an earlier stage (Galatians 2:1–10). Paul records the agreement of the "pillars" of the Church in Jerusalem that there should be an apostolate to he circumcised (represented by Paul) as well as to the circumcised (represented by Peter). (Of course, other apostolates—such as James'—also concentrated on the circumcised; Paul's point is that Peter was especially concerned with the circumcised outside of Jerusalem and even territorial Israel.) Those pillars include James, Jesus' brother, Peter himself, and John. Paul goes on to describe the contention which emerged in Antioch, a dispute which split the Church for decades, but the remarkable agreement on a central point should not be overlooked: James, Peter, and Paul agreed that there was a place for non-Jews within the movement. Those who disagreed with them, the adherents to the Abrahamic requirement of circumcision (see Genesis 17:10–14), were not silenced, and maintained their position (see Acts 11:2–3; 15:1; Galatians 5:2–12). Ebionite Christianity appears to have been the principal wing of the Church in the second century in which their stance prevailed (see Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 1.26.2). However much the position of the circumcisers could claim the warrant of Scripture, the vision of Peter represents the dominant tendency towards an acceptance of non-Jews.

Yet while Paul held that all believers were a new "Israel of God" (Galatians 6:16), defined by having faith in Jesus just as Abraham had faith in God (Galatians 3:6–9), Peter conceived of the acceptance non-Jews in baptism more as a gracious inclusion than the "new creation" of which Paul spoke (Galatians 6:15). Once non-Jews had been accepted in baptism, Peter might sometimes have fellowship with them, and sometimes not. As an apostle, such contact might be necessary; as a faithful Jew, it was not natural. Within Paul's perspective, that was hypocrisy; within Peter's perspective, it was a consistent consequence of proceeding by the revelation of whom and what God accepts (and when), rather than a predetermined policy. James, while accepting the baptism of

non-Jews, nonetheless maintained that a policy of their separation from Jews should be followed, unless they observed enough of the commonly acknowledged rules of purity to honor in practice the status of the Torah as the revelation to Moses, warranted in Scripture.

The Resolution of Purity and Virtue in Hellenistic Christianity

The logical extension of Paul's conception was that all things are pure to the pure, precisely the formulation attributed to him in Titus 1:15. But Paul's actual practice turned out to be otherwise. He indeed departs from the policy of James in 1 Corinthians 8, by accepting that food offered to idols might be eaten, on the grounds that idols represent entirely fictional gods (1 Corinthians 8:4–6). But he also warns against eating such food if those who believe in such gods are confirmed in their idolatry, "and their conscience, being weak, is defiled" (1 Corinthians 8:7–13, especially v. 7). The defilement here is internal and moral, rather than alimentary, but it is nonetheless dangerous; Paul declares that he would prefer not eat meat at all, rather than cause a brother to sin (1 Corinthians 8:13; see the restatement of the principle in Romans 14:13–23). By means of his own, characteristic argument, Paul approximates to what the Rabbis would come to teach concerning the danger of idolatrous feasts (see *ʿAbodah Zarah* 8a, instruction in the name of R. Ishmael). Even more signally, from the point of view of the development of Christianity, Paul attests the tendency to collapse the categories of sin and purity into a single conception of mortal error.

Paul in this aspect reflects a more general tendency in Hellenistic Christianity. In his letters and in letters attributed to him there is an express connection between named vices (which are catalogued) and "impurity" (Romans 1:24; Galatians 5:19; Ephesians 4:19; 5:3; Colossians 3:5). Early Christianity saw a shift in the understanding of the medium of impurity: no longer foods, but moral intentions, conveyed the danger of defilement. And those intentions are as specifically identified in the New Testament as impure foods are discussed in Rabbinic literature, because the danger in both cases was understood to be an impurity which made a real and dangerous separation from God.

The cataloguing of sins, and their classification with impurity, is scarcely a Christian invention. It is represented, for example, in Wisdom 14:22–31. But the genre is mastered to brilliant effect in Romans 1:24–32; Galatians 5:19–21; Ephesians 5:3–5; Colossians 3:5–6, and is taken up in the period after the New Testament (see *Didache* 5; Shepherd of Hermas, *Mandate* 8). What is striking in each case is not only the equation of

impurity and sin, but a clear indication that impurity as such remains a fundamental category: sexual contact, a concern from at least the time of Leviticus 18, survives the declining significance of alimentary purity, even within Paul's thought. There is no question, therefore, of purity simply being abstracted into the realm of intention. Rather, intentionality of practice, as well as observation of the integrity of one's body, are together held to define an ambit of purity. On such an understanding, one's body was indeed a temple of the holy spirit (see 1 Corinthians 6:18–20; see 3:16–17), and a rigorous attitude towards marriage is completely coherent with the emphasis that a new purity is required by God for the inheritance of his kingdom (see Matthew 5:27–28, 31–32; 19:3–12; Mark 10:2–12; Luke 16:18; 1 Corinthians 7:10–16).

The success of the gospel of Jesus within the Hellenistic environment of primitive Christianity was in no small measure a function of its ability to frame a rational, practical, but stringent system of purity. The marketplace is declared pure in itself, provided it does not encourage the defilement of idolatry, and the requirements of James are largely forgotten. But moral, and especially sexual, requirements make it clear that purity has not been abandoned as a regulatory system, despite the efforts of Paul in regard to alimentary purity.

The success of the resolution of virtue and purity within primitive Christianity was sealed by the attribution to Jesus of the identification between the two. The attribution appears in Mark (and the Matthean parallel) just after Jesus' own teaching about what truly defiles (Mark 7:15). First by means of comment in response to a question (Mark 7:17–19), and then by means of comment and catalogue (Mark 7:20–23), the rhetoric attributes the shift in the medium of impurity to Jesus himself. The rhetoric is the product of an interpretative community, a circle sufficiently influential to cast what it had been taught concerning Jesus' principle into the terms of reference of the Hellenistic mission.

The circle is concerned with issues of fellowship at meals, but is unwilling to dismiss purity as a divine category, as Pauline rhetoric could do (see Romans 14:14). The circle responsible for Mark 7:20–23, on the other hand, insists upon the danger of impurity but sees the contagion in moral terms. Such an attitude is closer to that of the lists of vices which Paul repeats than it is to the innovative aspects of his argument and rhetoric. The identification of the authority behind the circle is obviously a matter of inference, but—among the possibilities given by Paul in Galatians 2—the most plausible suggestion is that it represents the apostolate of Barnabas. Barnabas is described by Paul as being less engaged with purity than either James or Peter, but also as having been taken up in their "hypocrisy" (Galatians 2:11–13). In effect, once Jesus enters the house in Mark 7:17, a new social setting is addressed, and the

point of his teaching, as commented upon and expanded by means of a catalogue, is that vices rather than foods are sources of impurity. The categories of the pure and the impure are maintained, but they are worked out on the basis of moral rather than alimentary materials.

The dramatic shift in rhetoric and meaning within the Barnaban circle could not have succeeded by means of the comment (Mark 7:17–19) and the catalogue (Mark 7:20–23) alone. After all, they were by way of appendix to the principal matter of the emerging text, which still concerned *qorban* (Mark 7:6–13) and the direction of impurity (Mark 7:14–15). Beginning from the aphorism of Jesus in regard to the direction of defilement, his movement developed a palimpsest of policies in regard to purity. James's circle—focused on the Temple and a literal interpretation of Scripture by an authoritative *mebaqqer*—likely developed the syllogism about *qorban*, just as Barnabas's circle defined a purity of moral intent.

In order to recast the whole of the tradition as an assertion of a new medium of impurity, defined on Jesus' authority, the narrative context of Mark, with its metonym of washing hands (Mark 7:1–5), succeeded brilliantly. So brilliantly that its theological argument has been swallowed by a liberal Christianity which claims its interests are historical. The Gospels, as well as the more obviously Hellenistic documents of the New Testament, attest the resolution of virtue and purity that was a vital part of the genius of Christianity. That fusion, far from transcending purity, provided the category with an inextricably moral dimension.

Irenaeus's Reading of Romans 8

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The second half of the twentieth century witnessed a trend in positive appraisals of Irenaeus's use of Paul. This couldn't necessarily be said about studies published at the end of the nineteenth or during the first three decades of the twentieth centuries. In them Irenaeus's use of Paul was assessed as reluctant and distorted.[1] The recent works of R. Noormann, D. L. Balás, and R. A. Norris have contributed greatly to a more favorable and accurate evaluation of Paul in Irenaeus.[2] E. Peretto helpfully treated, in particular, Romans 1–8 in Irenaeus.[3] This present essay has profited from their labor. It attempts, however, to focus specifically on Romans 8 and to provide an understanding of how Irenaeus read that chapter in a unified manner for his anti-gnostic polemic. And polemic it was. He studied Paul's material within the context of an exegetical controversy. That context, he believed, necessitated his rescuing Romans 8 and other sacred words from misuse.

In what is traditionally recognized as his description of the tenets of the Ophites, Irenaeus lists a belief which this sect understood the disciples of Jesus to have embraced in error (*Adv. Haer.* 1.30.13 [SC 264:382.249–53]):[4]

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[1] See the survey in E. Dassmann, 1979, 305–7.

[2] Noormann, 1994, *Irenäus als Paulus interpret;* Balás, 1992, "The Use and Interpretation of Paul in Irenaeus's Five Books *Adversus Haereses*"; Norris, 1990, "Irenaeus' Use of Paul in His Polemic Against the Gnostics."

[3] E. Peretto, 1971. *La lettera ai Romani cc. 1–8 nell' Adversus Haereses d' Ireneo.*

[4] The critical editions used for Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.,* are: *Irénée de Lyon: Contre les hérésies, Livres l, 2, 3, 4, 5,* ed. A. Rousseau, L. Doutrelau, et al., Sources chrétiennes (SC), nos. 263, 264, 293, 294, 210, 211, 100.1, 2, 152, 153 (Paris: Cerf, 1979, 1982, 1974, 1965, 1969). They are referenced as SC no.

> In this way, they claim, the disciples fell into the enormous error of imagining that Jesus was raised in his worldly body (*corpore mundiali*), because they were ignorant that "flesh and blood do not inherit the kingdom of God (1 Cor. 15:50)."

The unspoken implication, of course, as with all of Irenaeus's discussions of his opponents' exegesis, is that the Ophites have misunderstood the Pauline text of 1 Corinthians 15:50 and that the disciples imagined correctly. That is, for the bishop of Lyon, Jesus was raised in his worldly body. Irenaeus will make further comments upon his adversaries' exegesis of 1 Corinthians 15:50 in the final volume of *Adversus Haereses,* but it is important to see it linked so early in his polemical program to one of the gnostic sects.

According to Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 5.9.1 [SC 153:106.3–5]), this passage is cited "by all the heretics in their folly and from it they strive to prove that there is no salvation for the creation of God (*plasmationem Dei*)."[5] And furthermore, through their failure to grasp the apostle's meaning, they destroy "the entire economy of God (*universam dispositionem Dei; Adv. Haer.* 5.13.1 [SC 153:168.37–43])." That is, they "repudiate the salvation of the flesh, scorning its regeneration by insisting that it is incapable of receiving incorruption" (*Adv. Haer.* 5.2.2 [SC 153:30.18–21]). Their reading of 1 Corinthians 15:50, "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God," according to Irenaeus, suggests that Paul contradicts himself, for the apostle in many other passages declares without obscurity "the resurrection and incorruptibility of the flesh (*Adv. Haer.* 5.13.5 [SC 153:180.126–182.128])."[6] The interpretation of the heretics puts false interpretations upon several other texts because they pervert the meaning of the one (*Adv. Haer.* 5.13.5 [SC 153:182.128–29]).

According to Tertullian, 1 Corinthians 15:50 is the preeminent text within the systems of those who would deny the resurrection of the flesh. They fortify their line of battle with it in first place (*Resurr.* 48.1).[7]

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[5] See SC 152:201. The language emphasizes God's action in forming, fashioning by his own hands the human body. Such personal attention (based upon Gen. 2:7) confers majesterial dignity upon God's humble creature, creation, our human flesh, our gender that which is corporeal and passible, that which can enter into sacred marital, sexual union, that which Christ took upon himself, and that which is saved. Cf. *Adv. Haer.* 1.22.2 (SC 264:310.26); 1.28.1 (SC 264:354.10); 3.16.6 (SC 211:312.214); 3.17.1 (SC 211:330.21); 4. Pref. 4 (SC 100.2:390.71); 4.40.3 (SC 100.2:980.45); 5.1.1 (SC 153:20.32); 5.1.2 (SC 153:24.60); 5.12.3 (SC 153:150.55–56).

[6] For the charges of contradiction see *Adv. Haer.* 5.13.3 [SC 153.170.44–47]; 5.13.5 [SC 153:180.116–21].

[7] Tertullian, 1954, 987.1–5.

Tertullian, on the other hand, first builds an interpretive context from it and then treats it. And this is, as we shall see, in parallel with the approach of Irenaeus. 1 Corinthians 15:50, for the orthodox, must be read within an intricately composed network of other biblical texts. Such a network is needed because the heretics, it is thought, employ the one phrase in disconnection from the proper interpretive model.

Outside of Irenaeus's reference to the Ophite interpretation of 1 Corinthians 15:50, the *Gospel According to Philip* (second half of third century?) provides a glimpse of a Christian Gnostic, perhaps Valentinian, reading of the Pauline passage *Gospel According to Philip* 56.26–57.19 (Schenke, Say. 23) is notoriously difficult to interpret.[8] Its apparent contradictions have frustrated more than one student leading to conclusions of inconsistency and absence of synthetical idea.[9] Some, however, have pushed through the conflict to resolution. In addition, some of the language seems to draw into question Irenaeus's (and Tertullian's) blanket statements concerning gnostic interpretations of 1 Corinthians 15:50. Here is the text:

> Some 'are afraid lest they rise naked.' Because of this they wish to rise 'in the flesh, and [they] do not know that it is those who wear the [flesh] who are naked.' [It is] those who [. . .] to unclothe' themselves who are not naked [2 Cor. 5:1–4]. "Flesh '[and blood shall] not inherit the kingdom' [of God]" (1 Cor. 15:50). What is this which will not inherit? This which is on us. But what 'is this, too, which will inherit? It is that which belongs to Jesus' and his blood. Because of this he said,' "He who shall not eat my flesh and drink my blood has not life in him" (John 6:53). What 'is it? His flesh is the word, and his blood' is the holy spirit. He who has received these has 'food and he has drink and clothing.' I find fault with the others who say that it will not rise. Then both of them 'are at fault. You (sg.) say 'that the flesh will not rise. But tell me' what will rise, that we may honor you (sg). 'You (sg.) say the spirit in the flesh and it is also this light in the flesh. (But) this too is a matter' which is in the flesh, for whatever you (sg.) shall say, 'you (sg.) say nothing outside the flesh.' It is necessary to rise in this flesh, since 'everything exists in it.

Immediately the reader senses a contradiction: the flesh is not raised, yet it is; the author faults the claim of the resurrection of the flesh and then asserts its necessity. The teaching revolves around three New Testament texts: 2 Corinthians 5:1–4; 1 Corinthians 15:50; John 6:53. The problem seems framed by the two Pauline passages. What is it to be naked? What is it to be clothed? What inherits the kingdom? The solution

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8 *Gospel According to Philip,* 1989, 152; *Das Evangelium nach Philippus,* 1960, 42.

9 Schenke, 123–24; Wilson, 1962, 87.

is offered in the Johannine passage. The one who has partaken of Jesus inherits and is clothed.

M. L. Turner emphasizes the rhetorical force and the Valentinian flavor of the passage's duality (1996, 230–34). She explains that the opposites are positioned in such a way as to teach that they dissolve into an unexpected middle. The author rejects three positions: (1) the resurrection of the flesh; (2) the denial of the resurrection of the flesh, and, (3) the resurrection of the spirit alone. Rather than affirming any of these notions the passage argues that it is *Jesus' flesh* that will arise, that is, Word and Holy Spirit. Anyone who has received, been clothed in, these (by baptism and Eucharist) will arise. John 6:53 receives a spiritualized, nonsacramental reading. Thus the author is not interested in the experience of the human body, but in Jesus' flesh. He or she is interested in the mystical awareness which brings the salvation of the spirit which has received Word and Holy Spirit. For the *Gospel According to Philip* it is not the body that is raised, nor the spirit alone, but the spirit with Jesus' flesh or the spirit with Word and Holy Spirit.

A. H. C. Van Eijk has a similar, but expanded reading (1971). The author of the *Gospel According to Philip* denies the resurrection of the flesh in the sense that flesh is not the body, but "the sphere marked human weakness and sin. *This* flesh has to be stripped off, *this* nakedness we have not to be afraid of (95)." But on the other hand, there will be resurrection of the flesh since the flesh of Jesus, the Word and Spirit, will be raised. Van Eijk notes that in this text "it is only the flesh of Christ that rises; in this flesh the individuality of the gnostic's flesh seems to disappear completely; having Christ's flesh and blood as food, drink, and clothing, it looses its own identity (98)." This resurrection is a present experience in this world by means of the sacraments (100). Through the Eucharist one "becomes the Logos, the Pneuma, the Perfect Man," that is, one who realizes his or her true identity and destiny in unity with the Pleroma (103–05).

For both Turner and van Eijk, then, the passage teaches Valentinian soteriology: the gnostic comes to self-realization. Van Eijk, however, sees a more sacramental realism than Turner does.

Williams, although maintaining the Valentinian model, brings some different perspectives to the passage's interpretation (1971, 16). For him, that which inherits the kingdom is the spirit of the gnostic which is born at baptism and chrism. It is born or raised, however, in the flesh of its worldly habitation. But this flesh is not that which is immortalized, although the gnostic wears it from baptism to death when it is finally stripped off. Resurrection, then, happens presently through the sacraments when the "living man" begins immortal existence. In this way the text teaches "that the flesh does have a definite part in the

resurrection and also that it is not the flesh which provides the true clothing of the 'living man' (16)." Thus, the passage knows nothing of "the resurrection of a person whose physical body has died. Resurrection means the birth of the soul and spirit within a spiritually dead (100, 11) individual at initiation [through baptism and chrism] (16)."

My purpose in recounting these three prominent interpretations is not, finally, to provide warrant for one over the other. Rather, I mean only to show that contemporary scholars have given common readings to elements within this text, which has Valentinian associations. Each of our commentators, even with the passage's language of the necessity of rising in the flesh, ultimately concludes that the passage does not teach the resurrection of that flesh (body) which has died. The *Gospel According to Philip* does not provide an interpretation of 1 Corinthians 15:50 which should cause us to question Irenaeus's or Tertullian's characterization of gnostic readings of this Pauline text.

It has been necessary for us to endure this examination of 1 Corinthians 15:50 in the second (and third) century because it is in answer to his opponent's exegesis of this passage, that Irenaeus offers a key aspect of his exegesis of Romans 8. He eventually cites the Pauline text in *Adversus Haereses* 5.9.1, although he has been anticipating it since 5.1.3:

> Vain therefore are the disciples of Valentinus, who teach this doctrine [of docetic Christology] in order to exclude the flesh from life[10] and to dismiss the creation of God (*Adv. Haer.* 5.1.3 [SC 153:24.58–60]).

> It is also this which has been spoken elsewhere by the Apostle: "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God [1 Cor. 15:50]." This is the text which all the heretics cite in their folly and from it they strive to prove that there is no salvation for the creation of God (*Adv. Haer.* 5.9.1 [SC 153:106.1–5]).

In partial response to these concerns (exclusion of the flesh and creation from salvation) Irenaeus develops elements of Romans 8 in three locations. The first two are concerned with anthropological issues treated under the rubric of resurrection. The third concerns cosmological interests treated under the concept of renovation.

Resurrection: The Body Spiritually Changed

He centers his citation of 1 Corinthians 15:50 between two major discussions involving Romans 8:5, 8, 9, 10–11, 13–15. The first discussion

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[10] After the Armenian and the Greek we read "life" rather than "salvation." Cf. SC 152:202.

takes place in *Adv. Haer.* 5.7.1–8.2 (SC 153:84.82–98.51) while the second occurs in 5.10.2–11.1 (SC 153:126.35–136.38).

In the first discussion he pivots his comments around Paul's phrase "He . . . shall also quicken your mortal bodies (*Vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra*) in Romans 8:11. He then complements that focus with insights gained from Romans 8:9 and 8:15:

> For you are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit if in fact the Spirit of God dwells in you
>
> [We have received the Spirit of God] by which we cry, Abba, Father

In the first discussion within *Adversus Haereses* 5.7.1–8.2 and from other scattered locations in which he discusses these texts, he develops the notion of resurrection as transformation within time. There is continuity yet change of substance, there is future consummation, but present inauguration of blessing.

Body: Continuity and Change

Informed by 1 Corinthians 15:53 ("It is necessary that this mortal nature [*mortalis*] put on immortality [*immortalitas*] and that this corruptible [*corruptibilis*] nature put on incorruptibility [*incorruptela*])"[11] since *Adversus Haereses* 5.2.3, Irenaeus emphasizes the need for the human creature to be transformed by the Creator. The creature is not immortal by nature, he insists, but must receive this excellence from the intervention of God.[12] Such a state of corruptibility and the dependence of the creature upon the Creator for incorruptibility breeds humility rather than pride. Through the process of transformation from mortal to immortal the redeemed human learns the utter distinction between the natures of the infirm creature and powerful Creator. God's act of vivifying the mortal and bringing incorruptibility to the corruptible manifests that he is powerful and that the human's proper response is to love the Creator. Irenaeus reasons that since God created the mortal it is thoroughly conceivable that God would transform it.

In support of this thesis he uses the language of Romans 8:11 in a unique manner. "Shall also quicken (*vivificabit;* ζωοποιήσει) your mortal bodies" becomes "the Creator does even here quicken our mortal bodies (*Demiurgo enim et hic vivificante mortalia corpora nostra; Adv. Haer.* 5.4.1 [SC 153: 56.11–12])."[13] Irenaeus views Paul's language as timeless. It applies to

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[11] Cited in *Adv. Haer.* 5.10.2 (SC 153:130.54–56).

[12] Cf. Peretto, 1971, 209.

[13] See the phrase again in *Adv. Haer.* 5.3.3 (SC 153:52.80–81).

the original creation and the eschatological recreation. For the bishop of Lyon, God, of course, will give the body eschatological life, for he has given it temporal life; of course flesh can bear eschatological life, for God gave it temporal life. He provides warrant for the future force of "he shall also quicken" in Romans 8:11 (a force he has yet to discuss) by first developing the obvious empirical accuracy of its present force. This argumentation discloses an abiding bias in Irenaeus's exegesis and theological construction: the variance between the different economics of creation and salvation or old covenant and new covenant is one of degree *not* substance. These economies are different stages of the one united agenda of the one God. They are not opposite or contradictory but common in property.[14] Irenaeus can also read Romans 8:18 in this manner. Although the main force for him is futuristic, as will be seen below, there is also a present sense to it. Matched with Romans 8:28–30, the bishop understands that those who love God are already being prepared to advance into the future glory (*Adv. Haer.* 4.20.8 [SC 100.2:193–96]). The orthodox have this view of God's progressive, successive, gradual workmanship: "For there is only one salvation and only one God, but there are many precepts for forming humanity and the stages which lead to God and not few (*Adv. Haer.* 4.9.3 [SC 100.2:486.76–79])." What is true of the present, is true of the future, there is only difference in degree. For Irenaeus, then, if God is already *now* imparting life to bodies he will in *the future* impart life to them everlastingly. It is improper for the heretics to hold that mortal bodies cannot receive life. They already have life. Bodies receive life as the Creator determines. If he did not raise them he would be seen as impotent.[15]

It is significant that the language of Romans 8:11 is used in this discussion of the present, empirical basis for resurrection which culminates in an apology for God's power. Romans 8 has its own concerns for issues of God's power as it gives life to Christians through the Spirit. This is ultimately clear in Romans 8:31–39.[16] Also present in Romans 8 is the instruction that the present sets the pattern for the future (vv. 11, 13, 17, 23–25, 29–30). Irenaeus has extended the line of continuity further into the past. For Paul the present ministry of the Spirit in redemption determines the eschaton. For the bishop of Lyon the universal act of God

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[14] Cf. *Adv. Haer.* 4.9.2 (SC 100.2:480.29–486.70).

[15] *Adv. Haer.* 5.4.2 (SC 153:58.28–60.39).

[16] Cf. for the theme of power by means of God's Spirit in Rom. 8: Käsemann, 1980, 212–52.

in original creation and in providence begins the paragon culminated in resurrection.

When he reaches *Adversus Haereses* 5.7.1, however, he concentrates on the future force of Romans 8:11 as written by Paul. In addition he highlights the phrase "mortal bodies" in an attempt to define specifically what it is that is raised. In the same way in which Christ was raised in "the substance of flesh," he argues, so shall the redeemed be raised by his power (1 Cor. 6:14). He unites 1 Corinthians 3:16, 17; 6:13, 14 and John 2:19–21 in order to prove that the redeemed have their bodies raised (they are the Spirit's and Christ's temples/members) just as Christ was raised in flesh (his wounds demonstrate this).

This parallel between the resurrection of Christ and the redeemed is present also in Romans 8:11 (*Adv. Haer.* 5.7.1 [SC 153:84.6–8]):

> If the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Christ from the dead will also give life to your mortal bodies (*mortalia corpora*).

Irenaeus begins his exposition of this passage with the question he intends to answer: "What, then, are mortal bodies (*mortalia corpora*)? (*Adv. Haer.* 5.7.1 [SC 153:84.9]). His response comes in stages throughout the rest of 5.7.1 and into 5.7.2 (SC 153:84.9–92.59). "Mortal bodies" (*mortalium corporum*) are not incorporeal souls, the breath of life (Gen. 2:7), immortal substance. Neither is the "mortal body (*mortale corpus*)" the spirit. Instead, the "mortal body (*corpus mortale*)" is the flesh, that which dies, decomposes, becomes breathless, and inanimate. "This, then [the flesh], is what is mortal (*mortalia*). And it is this of which he also says, "He shall also quicken (*vivificabit*) your mortal bodies (*mortalia corpora*)." In support he connects Romans 8:11 to 1 Corinthians 15:36 by means of the linking term "quicken (*vivificatur*)": "That which you sow cannot be quickened unless it first dies." Here are two important elements to his definition. The mortal is sown because it dies. The language of 1 Corinthians 15:42–44 also lends support by means of the term "sow." The body is sown in corruption, dishonour, weakness, and physicality. Mortal bodies, then, are bodies of flesh which succumb to death, but through the Spirit's power they are raised.

Irenaeus takes the reader from "mortal" to "flesh" with all its humble characteristics because the problematic term in 1 Corinthians 15:50 is *flesh*. This argument comes forth again in *Adversus Haereses* 5.13.3–5 where he challenges his opponents' understanding of the term. He rallies for his offensive the Pauline texts of Philippians 3:11, 20–21; 2 Corinthians 3:3, 4:10, 11, 5:4; 1 Corinthians 6:20, 15:13–21, 32, 50, 53–55. All together they

teach the resurrection of that which is *mortal (mortalis)*, the flesh which dies.[17] Two passages carry particularly pointed language:

> It is necessary that this corruptible nature put on incorruptibility and that this *mortal* nature put on immortality. When this *mortal* nature puts on immortality, then this word of Scripture will be fulfilled: "*Death* has been swallowed up in victory. O *death*, where is your sting? O *death*, where is your victory?" (1 Cor. 15:53–55; *Adv. Haer.* 5.13.3 [SC 153:170.48–53]).[18]

> . . . always carrying with us in our bodies the death of Jesus so that the life of Jesus Christ might also be manifested in our *bodies:* for if we, the living, are delivered to death because of Jesus, it is so that the life of Jesus might also be manifested in our *mortal flesh* (2 Cor. 4:10–11; *Adv. Haer.* 5.13.4 [SC 153:176.84–88]).[19]

The terms which call these texts into relationship with the teaching of Romans 8:11, of course, are "death," "mortal," "bodies," and very helpfully, the phrase "mortal flesh (*carne mortali*)." So, Irenaeus's first interest is to bring to relief Paul's concept of mortal. His second interest, however, has to do with Paul's concept of "quicken." The flesh is not only that which encounters death; it is also that which is raised. This interest runs quite deep, for it counters the belief of the Valentinians. They hold that:

> God himself is a slave of this necessity so that he is unable to impart immortality to that which is mortal or to confer incorruptibility to that which is corruptible [Cf. 1 Cor. 15:53–54], but that each being returns to the substance corresponding to its nature (*Adv. Haer.* 2.14.4 [SC 294:136: 76–80]).

For the Valentinians, according to Irenaeus, God does not transform natures. Mortal remains mortal, it does not become spiritual. Dead flesh remains dead. Likewise, those who are by nature immortal or spiritual remain immortal and are saved.[20] The orthodox believe otherwise, and it is a fundamental issue of theological reflection for Irenaeus.[21] For the

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[17] Note the repetitive occurrence of *mortalis: Adv. Haer.* 5.2.3 (SC 153:38.60); 5.3.1, 2, 3 (SC 153:42.16; 44.33; 52.81); 5.4.1 (SC 153:56.12); 5.7.1 (SC 153:84.8, 11; 86.14, 17, 18; 88.31, 32); 5.8.1 (SC 153:94.10); 5.10.2 (SC 153:130.55, 63); 5.13.3 (SC 153:170.49, 50, 53; 172.67, 70; 174.75, 76); 5.13.4, 5 (SC 153:176.88; 180.124, 125); 5.14.4 (SC 153:192.84).

[18] Cf. *Adv. Haer.* 5.13.5 (SC 153:180.123–25).

[19] Cf. *Adv. Haer.* 5.13.5 (SC 153:180.125–26).

[20] Cf. *Adv. Haer.* 1.6.2 (SC 264:92.24–94.42).

[21] Cf. *Adv. Haer.* 1.10.3 (SC 264:164.74–76); van Unnik, 1977.

creature, immortality is a matter of modification not nature, for God "resuscitates (*resuscitans*) our mortal bodies (*mortalia corpora*)" because he is more powerful than nature (*Adv. Haer.* 2.29.2 [SC 294:296.39–298.42]). Already in *Adversus Haereses* 2 Irenaeus is anticipating his exegesis of Romans 8:11 in book 5.[22] For him that Pauline text addresses the issues of God's freedom and power, the nature of the substance of creatures, and the destiny of that substance. Romans 8:11, in connection with a host of other texts which together form an interpretive network, sets forth the idea "that material continuity accounts for identity," that "what falls must rise," or that in resurrection, it is 'flesh which undergoes fundamental organic change."[23] For Irenaeus, Romans 8:11 contributes to the orthodox confession that salvation is not by nature of original substance, but by transformation of that original substance through the power of God. According to the Rule of Faith in *Adversus Haereses* 1.10.1 (SC 264:158.23) "God bestows incorruptibility," it is not an endowment of nature.

Change: Future Yet Present

Having treated the issue of the transformation of the mortal flesh by means of Romans 8:11, Irenaeus turns to the topic of the present inaugural experience of that quickening or resuscitation of the mortal. In the same way that he argued that general creation is in continuity with resurrection, now he argues that already in the mortality of their flesh, believers participate in immortality. The argument comes in *Adversus Haereses* 5.8.1–2 (SC 153:92.1–98.51). Romans 8:9, 15 provide material conducive to a realized eschatology of incorruption.

At the end of *Adversus Haereses* 5.7.2 (SC 153:90.53–92.59) Irenaeus cites 1 Corinthians 13:9, 12; 1 Peter 1:8 in order to introduce the idea that although fullness of joy in the vision of God comes only in the future, there is "now" (*nunc*) a partial entrance into that delight. He complements this introduction with a citation of Ephesians 1:13 which teaches the good news of the present earnest or deposit (*pignus*) of the Holy Spirit. This leads to a citation of Romans 8:9:

> "For you," he says, "are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit if it is true that the Spirit of God dwells in you."

Also, he presents a citation of a phrase from Romans 8:15, three times, which speaks of a response true of those who have now, in the present time, received the Spirit of God:

> "[by this Spirit of God] we cry, Abba, Father."

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[22] Cf. SC 293:326–27.

[23] Bynum, 1995, 34, 38.

From these two passages of present force ("are not," "[are] in," "is true," "we cry") he develops the thesis that the present earnest of the Spirit "renders us already spiritual and the mortal [is already] swallowed up by immortality (2 Cor. 5:4)." This present state, however, does not take place outside the flesh as if it were cast away, for those to whom Paul wrote were still in their flesh. Rather, the present realization of immortality means the reception of God's Spirit which enables us now in part, prior to the eschatological vision of glory, to cry to him in joyful triumph. Earlier in *Adversus Haereses* 4.9.2 (SC 100.2:484.62) he also refers to the Spirit's present cry of "Abba Father" (perhaps this time from Gal. 4:6).[24] Again he connects it to the eschatological joy and vision of 1 Peter 1:8 and 1 Corinthians 13:12, but qualifies that focus with the good news of the believer's current cry of joy and progress towards the final consummation.

Nevertheless, the cry of those indwelt by the Spirit (or the Spirit's cry from within those indwelt by him) for Irenaeus is a meager one compared to the eschatological exclamation. He reads the present utterance of "Abba, Father," almost as if it were a whisper awaiting the clamor associated with the full vision of the Father. This is why he connects it to 1 Peter 1:8. There Peter speaks of an eschatological "joy unspeakable (*inenarrabilis*)" and in his own mind this conjures up visions of the redeemed who will "burst forth into a hymn of exultation" (*Adv. Haer.* 5.8.1 [SC 153:94.18–20]). The believer's "Abba, Father" is only a slight foretaste consistent with the earnest of the Spirit. The lesson is this: although the redeemed are presently spiritual in their flesh, do not mistake the present blessing of the Spirit's earnest for the eschatological transformation of the flesh. The future resurrection is in no way marginalized by the presence of the eschaton.

Apparently, the current state of being God's children by possession of his Spirit (Rom. 8:15–17), is for Irenaeus, a state entered into now only *in part* (cf. 1 Cor. 13:12). Believer's, as God's children, are in their current position connected more closely with their inheritance of Christ's suffering (Rom. 8:17) rather than his glory (Rom. 8:17). He reads Romans 8:15 and its "Abba, Father" in light of Romans 8:18 and Romans 8:22–23:

> I consider that the sufferings of this present time are not worth comparing with the glory that is to be revealed to us.
> We know that the whole creation has been groaning in travail together until now; and not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly as we wait for adoption as sons, the redemption of our bodies.

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[24] This time the Spirit cries. Cf. SC 100.2:484, n.k.

The believer's "Abba, Father" is as a prayerful groan of the one who in the midst of suffering awaits incomparable adoption and bodily redemption. Exultation in the present is tempered by the fullness of the future.

In continuity with this bodily hope, then, we find him explaining the "adoption" of Romans 8:15–17, 23 in terms of 1 Corinthians 15:53–54; 2 Corinthians 5:4. To be adopted as God's children is to be transformed progressively from a corruptible and mortal state to our incorruptible and immortal one by means of the Son of God's own complete union with flesh, a union that after Romans 8:3 was "in the likeness of sinful flesh."[25] He who is immortal by nature imparts immortality to humanity through his union with humanity. Only those adopted in body on the foundation of the incarnation (on the basis of the Son's healing of humanity by imparting to it the divine attribute of incorruptibility) and through reception of the grace of the Holy Spirit (Rom. 8:15) can therefore be recognized as deified.[26] He understands this adoption, informed as he is by Romans 8:29, to be the fashioning of the whole human after the image of the Son of God (*Adv. Haer.* 4:37.7 (SC 100.2:942.175); 5.6.1 [SC 153:72.2]).

Spiritually Natural: Flesh and Spirit

In his second major discussion of the material in Romans 8, Irenaeus shifts to the issue of distinguishing the substance of flesh from the works of the flesh in order to define what is spiritual and natural. In *Adversus Haereses* 5.10.2–11.1 (SC 153:126.35–136.38) his texts are Romans 8:4, 8–11, 13–14. Again, we will see how important canonical networks of texts are to his exegesis. In this context Romans 11:17, 24 provide the paradigm for his reading of the language of Romans 8. Paul's metaphor of the olive tree becomes a picture of Irenaeus's anthropology.[27] By virtue of the Spirit, fleshly humans are grafted into spiritual humanity, that which was created after the image and likeness of God. Rather than teaching the loss and gain of Israel and the Gentiles in redemptive history, the metaphor describes how unrighteous humans attain to a nature which may inherit God's kingdom: "Admirably, then, does the apostle demonstrate our nature (*naturam ostendit*) and the whole economy of God when he speaks

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[25] Adv. Haer 3.19.1 (SC 211:374.20–28); 4.11.1 (SC 100.2:498.11–20); 3.20.2 (SC 211:107.10); 4.2.7 (SC 100.2:412.111).

[26] *Adv. Haer.* 3.6.1 (SC 211:66.24–36; 4. Pref. 4 (SC 100.2:390.68–75). Cf. Fantino, 1994, 214. Salvation, for Irenaeus, is ministered within a Trinitarian schema.

[27] Cf. Noormann, 1994, 303.

of flesh and blood as well as the wild olive (*Adv. Haer.* 5.10.1 [SC 153:124.17–19]).

Irenaeus's reading of Romans 8 in relation to Romans 11:17, 24 must be understood against the background of the Valentinian exegesis of the olive tree metaphor. For Irenaeus Romans 8 enables an orthodox interpretation of Paul's metaphor which negates that of his opponents. Early in *Adversus Haereses* 1.8.3 (SC 264:122.81–124.95) he notes that Romans 11:16 is used by the Valentinians to distinguish the spiritual class of people (who are spiritual by nature [*naturaliter spiritales*])[28] from those of the church, the ensouled or "psychic" ones. The members of the church are capable of a meager salvation in the intermediate place only by virtue of being gathered in through the nature of the spiritual ones. The "psychic" class is made "holy" through the Valentinian spiritual class.

Clement of Alexandria's *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 56.3–57 provides further insight into Valentinian exegesis of Romans 11.[29] There are three races: the spiritual one is saved by nature (πνευματικὸν φύσει σῳζόμενον); the psychic (ensouled) one has freewill; and the material one is corrupt and perishable by nature. Being grafted into the spiritual olive tree saves the psychic. From Paul's teaching the Valentinians gather that "Israel" refers to the spiritual ones who will see God and are associated with the free-woman rather than the slave-woman of Egypt (Gal. 4:23). On the other hand the psychic are the Gentiles, those who "according to the flesh" are children of the slave-woman. For the spiritual there is a "formation" of the element natural to them which gives them a salvation superior to that of the psychic. For the psychic there is a "freedom" of a measure of salvation in the Ogdoad, but not a "formation" which leads to the Pleroma. The "fatness of the olive tree" is incorruptibility which the spiritual have by nature, but into which the psychic may be grafted by choice of faith. This is not incorruptibility of flesh or body, however, but of the psychic element, which the spiritual shed for their final abode in the End. Even here with Theodotus we find that salvation is by nature of spirit or incorruption of soul not by transformation of the substance of flesh into spiritual flesh.

Against this interpretation Irenaeus places his own informed by Paul's words in Romans 8 (*Adv. Haer.* 5.10:1–2 [SC 153:122.1–132.71]). Humans by their own fault become unfruitful in righteousness because of their lusts of the flesh. This unfruitfulness is like unto the deadness of the

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[28] *Adv. Haer.* 1.6.2 (SC 264:94.31).

[29] Clement of Alexandria, 1970, 172–73; cf. 174, 175, nn. 1–5; *Exc. ex Theod.* 63–65; Clement of Alexandria, 1934, 22–25; Orbe, 1985, 465–66; Sagnard, 1947, 530–37.

untended wild olive. They are in the flesh, producing works of the flesh. Such persons must receive the Holy Spirit by faith and be grafted into the good olive tree, that is, into the "pristine nature of humanity (*pristinam hominis naturam*) that which was created in the image and likeness of God (*Adv. Haer.* 5.10.1 [SC 153:126.32–34])." Such engrafting certainly does not alter the former substance of that which is engrafted. The wild olive does not lose "the substance of its wood (*substantiam ligni*)." The human remains flesh, he or she does not lose the substance of flesh (*substantiam carnis*). The engrafting changes the quality of the fruit and gives the previously called wild olive a new name: good or fruit-bearing olive. In the same way, the unfruitful, "fleshly," unrighteous human of mere flesh and blood produces the fruit of righteousness and is given a new name: spiritual human. Thus to be flesh and blood after the manner of 1 Corinthians 15:50, is to be without the Spirit, without faith, without righteousness and with the lusts, works of the flesh. Such persons are disconnected from the incorruptible, pristine human nature created by God.

Here is how Irenaeus uses the language of Romans 8 to his benefit. Romans 8:8, "Those who are in the flesh cannot please God," speaks not in repudiation of the substance of flesh, but in repudiation of the flesh's lusts, a Spirit-less flesh. Humans are corrupt not because of the flesh, but because of the works of the flesh. Ignatius has something similar: "But even those things which you do in the flesh are spiritual (Eph. 8.2 [Lindemann, 184.6])."[30] The verse which then follows in Irenaeus, Romans 8:9, solidifies this interpretation. It addresses those mortal and incorruptible ones who through the Spirit have put on immortality and incorruptibility (1 Cor. 15:53): "But you are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if it is true that the Spirit of God dwells in you." Those who by faith have received the Spirit have been engrafted into the humanity of the Spirit and are no longer ultimately associated with the humanity of flesh, mortality, and corruption. Righteousness and life, not sin, death, or the works of the flesh marks the new association.

He continues his argument by citing Romans 8:10–11, 13. His point? The body of flesh dies because of sin, the works and life of the flesh. But, the Spirit who indwells and works righteousness (the same Spirit of the God who raised Jesus) gives life and will raise the mortal body of flesh which dies. It is not life in bodily, mortal flesh which is the enemy of the Spirit, but life lived in the lusts or works of the flesh. If God quickens the mortal body, flesh in Romans 8 and 1 Corinthians 15 cannot mean body.

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[30] Cf. Peretto, 1971, 211.

Romans 8:13–14, then, gains this interpretation: if you put to death the works of the flesh (unrighteousness, the Spiritless humanity outside of the image and likeness of God) by receiving the Spirit you will *live incorruptibly, immortally, in your body of flesh.* This is the case because those who are led by the Spirit, that is, those who engrafted into the incorruptible humanity bring forth the fruit of the Spirit, are God's children in the flesh. This connection between righteousness and the resurrection of Romans 8:11 (Cf. 2 Cor. 4:14) is strongly anticipated in terms of Jesus' teaching by Polycarp (*Phil.* 2.2).[31] For Irenaeus, the particulars of the lusts of the flesh which prevent access to the kingdom and the fruit of the Spirit which are consistent with life in the Spirit are declared in Galatians 5:19–23 (*Adv. Haer.* 5.11.1–2 [SC 153:132:1–140.59]). The *Epistle to Diognetus* seems to have captured Irenaeus's idea in its own pithy statement of the meaning of Romans 8:12–13. Speaking of Christians it says: "They are "in the flesh" but they do not live "after the flesh" (5.8).[32]

Against the Valentinians, the bishop of Lyon develops the thesis that the spiritual is not natural, but it is flesh. On the other hand the flesh is natural and not spiritual. Yet, also, the natural is the original creation of God, the image and likeness of God which is spiritual. To this the redeemed are returned, but it is theirs by engrafting not nature. Romans 8 with its language of body, flesh, life, and Spirit allows the bishop to substantiate his interpretation of Romans 11 and to navigate skillfully two meanings of flesh and nature while producing one meaning of spiritual. Romans 8 in his second discussion is all about the semantics of flesh and spirit. In his first discussion of the chapter he was concerned with the semantics of "body." For Irenaeus, Paul's thought is thick with information on the nature of humanity, redeemed and unredeemed.

Renovation: The Creation Renewed

But our bishop does not find Paul speaking merely of anthropology in Romans 8. For him, the apostle's thought encompasses the nature of the whole creation. Not only does he envision from Romans 8 the restoration of human nature to its pristine condition, but also the restoration of "creation (*conditio*) itself" to its "pristine (*pristinus*) state (*Adv. Haer.* 5.32.1 [SC 153:398.17])." In *Adversus Haereses* 5.32.1 (SC 153:396.1–398.24) he has been arguing the renovation of this Creation (*conditio*) as the proper eschatological environment of the righteous. The creation (*conditio*) in which they endured suffering (Rom. 8:17, 18), the creation (*conditio*) in

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31 *Die Apostolischen Vater: Griechisch-deutsche Parallelausgabe,* 1992, 246.5–14.

32 *A Diognete,* 1997, 62.

which they were martyred, and the creation (*conditio*) in which they were in bondage (*servitus;* Rom. 8:21) should be the location of their blessed destiny. This eschatological earthly kingdom will be the inauguration of incorruption (*incorruptela*) as the righteous begin to comprehend God. He supports his eschatological vision from Romans 8:19–21:

> The creation (*creatura*) waits with firm expectation for the revelation of the children of God. For the creation (*creatura*) has been subjected to vanity, not of its own will, but because of the one who has subjected it in hope: because the creature (*creatura*) itself will be delivered from the bondage (*servitus*) of corruption (*corruptela*) into the liberty (*libertas*) of the glory of the children of God.

Conditio and *creatura* are used in parallel throughout *Adversus Haereses* 5 to represent κτίσις in Irenaeus's Greek. In regard to the issues of Romans 8 he develops four points.[33] First, the creation (*conditio*), formed by God, is for the benefit of humanity, for it was made for humanity not humanity for it (*Adv. Haer.* 5.29.1 [SC153: 362.7–9]). Second, the eschatological blessing of God includes the renovation and restoration of this creation (*creatura; conditio*) as well as its liberation (*libero;* Rom. 8:21) with God's children and its subjection to them (*Adv. Haer.* 5.33.3–4 [SC 153:414:63–65; 420.172–14]). Third, this renovation of the creation (creatura) to be enjoyed by God's children will involve great fruitfulness and result in great feasting (*Adv. Haer.* 5.34.2–3 [SC 153:424.28–30; 432:86–88]). Finally, such a restoration of the creation (conditio) is in keeping with the faithfulness of its Creator (*Adv. Haer.* 5.36.1 [SC 153:452.3–6]).

All of these points contribute to the main orthodox thesis that "neither the substance nor the matter of the creation (*conditio*) will be annihilated," but instead there will be "the new heaven and new earth in which the new humanity shall remain always conversing with God in a new manner (*Adv. Haer.* 5.36.1 [SC 153:452.4–6; 454.14–16])." In the final chapter and paragraph of his five-book work he alludes to Romans 8:19–21 in summary of his thesis:

> It is this that the apostle Paul confesses when he says that the creation (*creatura*) will be liberated from the bondage of corruption in order to have part in the glorious liberty of the children of God (*Adv. Haer.* 5.36.3 [SC 153:464.56–58]).

A host of other biblical passages are gathered into an intertextual network in which Romans 8:19–21 finds its meaning. Texts which speak

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[33] Cf. *Adv. Haer.* 5.36.3 (SC 153:452.4) Where we have Irenaeus's Greek (κτίσεως) Fr. gr. 29.1); Reynders, 1954, 2:61, 73.

eschatologically or in promise concerning the earth, land, fruitful harvests and lavish banquets are particularly important (e.g., Gen. 13:14–17; 15:19–21; 23:3–20; 27:27–29; Ps. 103:30; Isa. 6:12; 11:6–9; 26:19; 30:25–26; 31:9–32; 54:11–14; 58:14; 65:17–25; 66:22; Jer. 16:14–15; 23:7–8; 31 [38]:10–14; Baruch 4:36–5.9; Ezek. 28:25–26; 37:12–14; Matt. 5:5; 12:5; 26:27–29; Luke 14:12–13; 1 Cor. 7:31; Rev. 20:11–14; 21:1–6). But also in these texts and in Romans 8, one finds emphasized the exalted state of the human who is served and bountifully nourished by the creation. Redeemed humanity will have dominion over the new earth and it is the liberty of humanity in which the earth will share.[34] In other words, the renewal of humanity ushers in the renewal of the rest of creation. This second century notion of humanity's return to its natural state and dominion as the foundation for creation's renewal is made explicit in the *Epistle of Barnabas* and Theophilus of Antioch.[35] The latter also seems to be informed by Romans 8:19–21.[36]

Conclusion

Anthropology (Rom. 8:5–17) provides the foundation for understanding cosmology (Rom. 8:18–25). Irenaeus reads Romans 8 as telling us something about our own nature. it reveals to us at least in part what we are. It speaks to us anthropologically, informing us about what it is to be human. Flesh is an essential component of humanity whether in original creation or in resurrection, whether in realized or consummative eschatology, whether in corruption or incorruption, whether with or without the Spirit of God. Romans 8 also speaks cosmologically. The creation is essentially and substantially worthy of renovation. Its bondage is linked to the bondage of its master, the human. So too, its restoration is linked to the liberty of humanity. The creation has entered corruption only through humanity. It will receive its incorruption only in the glory of the human.

Against his opponents, the bishop of Lyon reads underneath the soteriology, pneumatology, and eschatology of Romans 8. These issues are not ignored, of course, but it is the anthropology and cosmology underlying Paul's discussion that consumes his interest. He draws Paul's implicit principles forth and makes them explicit in concert with a network of biblical passages drawn from throughout the canon. The immediate literary context is *a* context for understanding the thought of

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34 Cf. Noormann, 1994, 368.

35 *Ep. Barn.* 6.18–19; *Ad Auto.* 2.17.

36 *Biblia Patristica,* 1986, 437.

the apostle, but by no means is it the only or even necessarily the primary context. The mind of the apostle is in continuity with the mind of the Spirit displayed harmoniously throughout the biblical canon. Within his polemical environment he could take nothing for granted. The web of anthropology and cosmology needed to be elucidated. Romans 8 provided the material around which to center and unify that explanation.

Yet Romans 8 and the networks associated with its interpretation contribute to a larger network aimed at providing an orthodox reading of 1 Corinthians 15:50. The heretics' interest in this text determined Irenaeus's fixation. So he employs Romans 8 with its networks as a component in that battle and thereby demonstrates a polemical technique common to orthodox and heretic alike. 1 Corinthians 15:50, for Irenaeus and Tertullian, could only be properly read within a carefully constructed canonical network. As we saw in the *Gospel of Philip* the same was true of their opponents. Neither was ignoring the problematic text. The issue was the interpretive network. Exegesis, and therefore theology, is an issue of canonical connection within the second century. And as Irenaeus has shown through Romans 8 exegesis and theology is informed by assumptions implicit in certain key texts. So, Irenaeus, for instance, sees implicit in Romans 8 anthropological and cosmological truths. Without those truths firmly in hand one cannot understand Romans 8 or ultimately 1 Corinthians 15:50. Moreover one cannot construct the network.

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(Re)Constructing Paul: Origen's Readings of Romans in *Peri Archōn*

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I. Introduction

The title of this paper, "Reconstructing Paul: Origen's Reading of Romans in *Peri Archōn*" aligns my presentation with recent approaches in Pauline studies that make clear the fact that the Paul whom we have inherited is the product of centuries of synthesis and theological reflection.[1] In Origen's writings, and quite clearly in *Peri Archōn*, we can see the synthesizing process at work, as well as the consequences of that synthesis for subsequent theologies and praxes of Christian biblical interpretation.

The starting point for this investigation is a prior inquiry into Origen's use of Jewish interpretation in his exegetical procedure. Origen invokes two opposing rhetorical constructions of Jewish interpretation. On the one hand, he utilizes explanations of Philo, readings of Greek biblical versions other than the Septuagint, and contemporary rabbinic traditions as authoritative supporting materials for his own explications of the "literal" sense of the biblical text, which he uses as the basis for "spiritual" (allegorical) exegesis. On the other hand, at the level of "spiritual" explanation he caricatures and castigates Jewish interpretation as

[1] To cite just three examples, Krister Stendahl, *Final Account: Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995); Stanley Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews and Gentiles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); John Gager, *Reinventing Paul* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). I want to offer a special note of thanks here to Professor Stendahl, from whom I have long benefitted as student and as reader, and whose *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles* first articulated for me the urgency of the task of rethinking Paul (*Paul Among Jews and Gentiles and Other Essays* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976).

impossibly literal*ist,* using "examples" drawn from Christian anti-Jewish polemical exegesis to create a foil for the beauty and fitness of his own approach.[2]

The theoretical foundations for this exegetical "rhetorics of Jewish interpretation" are laid already in *Peri Archōn*. Here, Origen's reading of Paul plays a crucial role in shaping his construction of proper Christian biblical interpretation and its relationship to Jewish interpretation. Crucial texts in this task are: Rom 2:28–29; 9:6, 8; 1 Cor 10: 11, 18, Hebr 8:5, 10:1 and 2 Cor 3:14–17. Origen's reading of Romans in this project is interesting as much for what he does not draw on as for what he does use and how he construes it.

In this paper, I illustrate how, in *Peri Archōn*, Origen constructs his theological opposition between "fleshly Jews"/"Jewish literalism" and "spiritual Christians"/Christian "spiritual" interpretation by transformative readings of its Pauline building blocks, with particular attention to texts from Romans. I end with a discussion of Origen's use of key Romans texts in several sermons, to illustrate the complex interaction between rhetorical context and exegetical emphasis in Origen's writings.

Origen was born in ca. 185 CE in Alexandria. He seems to have begun his work as a writer of biblical commentary some time after 220 CE, following a trip to Rome during which he may have encountered Marcionite text criticism and Valentinian commentary, as well as the work of Hippolytus.[3] In about 234 CE, as a consequence of increasing conflict

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[2] This schema is laid out in chapter two of my dissertation, "*Peri Pascha*: Passover and the Displacement of Jewish Interpretation Within Origen's Exegesis," Harvard, 1997.

[3] Origen went to Rome in ca. 215, for perhaps two years. For the chronology of Origen's life and works see Pierre Nautin, *Origène: Sa vie et son oeuvre* (Christianisme Antique 1; Paris: Beauchesne, 1977); Joseph W. Trigg, *Origen: The Bible and Philosophy in the Third- Century Church* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1983; London: SCM, 1985) essentially adopts Nautin's chronology for the English-reading public. While in Rome, Origen may have heard Hippolytus speak (cf., Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 61). Aside from that, we know no specifics of the visit. However, during the second century, Rome became the home of both Marcion and Valentinus and important successors of theirs. It was also the home, at the turn of the second century of a feisty group of "adoptionist" Christians who, among other things, admired the text-critical practices of Galen and produced numerous and contradictory editions of biblical texts (see Eusebius, *EH*, V.28) R. M. Grant, *Heresy and Criticism,: The Search for Authenticity in Early Christian Literature* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993) devotes the bulk of his book (chapters three through seven) to heterodox critics based in Rome. All of Origen's Alexandrian commentaries—on Psalms, Genesis, Lamentations, the Gospel of John—as well as his text critical

with the Alexandrian bishop, Demetrius, Origen moved to Caesarea in Palestine, where he organized a school of advanced biblical studies with the blessing of the bishops of Caesarea and Jerusalem. Origen remained active in Caesarea until the outbreak of the Decian persecution. He died some time after 250 as a result of imprisonment during the persecution, though not as an actual martyr. The bulk of Origen's extant exegetical works, including, it seems, most of his sermons, date from his Caesarean sojourn.[4]

Two related Pauls appear in Origen's collective works. One, the exegeted Paul, is the complex writer who stands forth in Origen's commentary on Romans and in fragments on other Pauline letters. The other Paul, the constructed or exegetical Paul, to some extent precedes and informs the exegeted Paul. This is the authoritative Apostle to whom Origen appeals constantly in *Peri Archōn*. This Apostle emerges through Origen's reading across the Pauline corpus, which in *Peri Archōn* includes the deutero-Paulines, the Pastoral Epistles and the Letter to the Hebrews, as well as the letters accepted by modern scholars.[5] This Paul appears frequently in Origen's exegesis of non-Pauline material, as the source and grounding for Origen's own exegetical insights and in contradistinction to the Paul of Valentinus and Marcion.

II. *Peri Archōn (On First Principles)*: The Theory of a Praxis

Peri Archōn was written in ca. 229 CE in Alexandria. It presents a systematic exposition of the basic tenets of the Christian faith, in an

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apparatus, the Tetrapla/Hexapla, can be cast as responses to the heterodox critical challenge Origen might have met on this trip.

[4] Nautin, *Origène*, has argued on the basis of internal evidence that Origen preached all of his sermons during one three-year stint in Caesarea, which he dates to about 239–42. This contradicts the picture presented by Eusebius, who has Origen preaching throughout his career but only allowing his sermons to be recorded during his last years in Caesarea (after about 245; *EH* VI.36). Nautin's reconstruction is in the main persuasive, and seems to accord well with various developments in Origen's exegetical practice.

[5] Eusebius says that in his *Homilies on the Letter to the Hebrews*, Origen expresses doubt that the letter was actually written by Paul himself, and suggests that a close disciple was the author (*EH* VI.25). However, *Peri Archōn* contains no such reservations. Here, Origen explicitly cites Paul or "the Apostle" when quoting passages from Hebrews. I use the term "Paul" in this paper to refer to Origen's literary construction, rather than the leaner Paul of modern scholarship.

essentially neo-Platonic framework, the first real Christian systematic theology. By the time of its composition, Origen had been established as a Christian teacher, connected to the Alexandrian church, for perhaps ten years. One precipitating cause of the writing of *Peri Archōn* seems to have been worsening relations with Origen's bishop, Demetrius. This worsening of relations appears to have arisen through a combination of factors: Demetrius's bid to centralize the teaching authority of the Alexandrian church;[6] Origen's growing reputation as a teacher; his use of nonliteral interpretation of biblical texts.[7] Unfortunately, *Peri Archōn* itself seems merely to have crystallized opposition to Origen within the Alexandrian church; following its publication he made his first trip to Palestine, which later became his permanent home.[8]

Peri Archōn defends an intellectual approach to matters of faith, while at the same time arguing against Marcionite and Valentinian exegesis and assertions. Its climax in Book IV is an articulation of the theory behind Origen's allegorical method of exegesis. Book IV has been substantially preserved to us in the original Greek as well as in Rufinus's Latin translation.[9] *Peri Archōn* represents a midpoint in the shaping of Origen's exegetical practice. It follows the completion of commentaries on Psalms 1–25, Lamentations, and Genesis, and precedes the *Commentary on John*, the first five books of which were completed in Alexandria. It precedes as well Origen's move to Caesarea and first substantial encounters with

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[6] See Trigg, *Origen* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 15.

[7] Nautin, *Origène*, 420, 423–24, summarizes indications within Origen's writings of growing opposition to his multi-level hermeneutic within the Alexandrian church. At the same time, his reputation was such that Origen began to be summoned to other parts of the Empire to consult with interested secular authorities; not long before writing *Peri Archōn*, he travelled to Arabia at the behest of the provincial governor (cf. *Origène*, 420–21 and the chronological table, 410).

[8] The fact that Origen was invited to preach there by the bishops of Caesarea and Jerusalem only made matters worse. See Nautin, *Origène*, 427–31 for a summary of the events, charges, and counter-charges which eventually led to Origen's banishment from Alexandria, spearheaded by Demetrius.

[9] English translations are drawn, with occasional modifications, from G. W. Butterworth, *Origen: On First Principles* (Introduction by Henri de Lubac; New York: Harper and Row, 1966; repr. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1973). Butterworth gives separate translations of the available Greek fragments alongside the Latin. These are most extensive for Books III and IV; I cite the Greek and its translation whenever possible. I refer to the critical edition of Henri Crouzel and Manlio Simonetti, *Origène: Traité des principes*, 5 vols. (SC 252, 253, 268, 269, 312; Paris: Cerf, 1978–1984); vol. I contains the text of Books I and II, vol. III the text of books III and IV.

contemporary Judaism.[10] The theology of interpretation which crystallizes in *Peri Archōn* becomes formative for the later period, but the move to Caesarea prompts other developments as well, particularly in terms of the way Origen begins to value and use rabbinic interpretation.

Paul appears in the very first paragraph of *Peri Archōn*'s Preface.[11] Origen begins the treatise as a whole by setting forth the theological foundation of his hermenutical method. He asserts that the "words and teaching of Christ" are the only source for the knowledge (*scientia*) which leads human beings towards a "good and blessed life." However, says Origen, these words encompass not only Christ's earthly teachings, but also the "words and deeds" of Moses and the prophets, who prophesied about him. As proof that the spirit of Christ spoke through Moses, Origen quotes "this one testimony of Paul, taken from the letter which he writes to the Hebrews," Hebr. 11:24–26.[12] He then quotes a second Pauline passage, 2 Cor 13:3 to show that Christ continued to speak with his apostles even after he ascended into heaven.[13] From the very beginning, then, it is Paul's apostolic authority that underwrites Origen's fundamental principle of the unity of the scriptures: Moses, the prophets, the Gospels (the historical record of Jesus' own teaching) and the other apostolic writings (produced after Jesus left the scene) all equally record

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[10] It seems unlikely that the Alexandrian Jewish community, which had been essentially destroyed in the Jewish revolts under Trajan, had become a strong presence once more by Origen's day. The only allusions to contemporary Jews in Origen's Alexandrian writings are references to his "Hebrew teacher," who seems to have been a Jewish convert to Christianity, transplanted from Palestine to Alexandria. (The biographical detail is supplied by Origen's later mention of this figure in *Jer. hom.* 20.2). Only in the Caesarean works do "Hebrews" and "Jews" receive frequent mention.

[11] *Peri Archōn* contains more references to Origen's Paul than to all the other New Testament writings combined. Within these references, the most numerous are to 1 Corinthians, with Romans a close second. See the scripture index in Butterworth, *First Principles*, 340–42. *Biblica Patristica* (*Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique* (6 vols and supplement; Paris: CNRS Editions, 1975–1995) has a few more citations, but not enough to change the general trend.

[12] *Peri Archōn* I. Preface.1.16–17: *Vnde sufficere aestimo uno hoc Pauli testimonio debere nos uit ex epistula, quam ad Hebraeos scribit.* . . The Hebrews passage speaks of Moses, and closes with the words, "accounting the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt." Obviously, Origen uses this quote because of the direct link between Moses and Christ.

[13] *Peri Archōn* I. Preface.1; Butterworth, 1; Crouzel and Simonetti, I, 76–79.

the "words and teachings of Christ." This construal stands in direct opposition to the Marcionite use of Paul to oppose Law and Gospel.[14]

The remainder of the Preface sets forth in brief what Origen calls the "apostolic teaching" on the nature of God, Christ, the Holy Spirit and the other several topics to which Origen will apply reasoned scrutiny in the ensuing books. In paragraph eight, he returns again to the subject of scripture. Church teaching, says Origen, includes the doctrine that the scriptures, composed via the Spirit of God, have both an obvious meaning and another that is hidden from most readers. Without naming Paul, Origen alludes to Rom 7:14 to assert the *unanimity* of the whole church on the point that though the "whole law is spiritual," the spiritual meaning is grasped only by a few, who are especially gifted by the Spirit with wisdom and knowledge. Thus, Origen uses Rom 7:14 to cast his assumption of multiple levels of scriptural meaning, a cornerstone of his own controversial method, as a universally acknowledged truth.[15] In the process he both positions himself as spokesman for the whole church, and robs Valentinian interpretation of its claim, based on its own reading of Paul, to be the mediators of the true spiritual meaning of the Law.[16]

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[14] In *Peri Archōn* II.4–5, Origen develops at some greater length this Paul who defends the unity of the law and the revelation in Christ; see discussion below.

[15] Rom 7:14 appears only in allusions in *Peri Archōn,* (I. Preface.8; IV.2.4 in alliance with Hebr. 10:1). Occasionally in later works it appears in full Pauline dress as an authorizing statement, e.g., *Ex. hom.* II.1–2. In *CMt.* XI.14 (on Mt 15:10–20), Origen juxtaposes Rom 7:14, 12 with 2 Cor 3:6 to contrast Jesus' spiritual interpretation of the law with the Pharisee's death-bringing one; he extends the Pharisees' practice to the mistaken notions of "the Jews" on holiness.

[16] Cf. Ptolemy, *Letter to Flora*; critical edition: Gilles Quispel, *Ptolémée, Lettre à Flora: Analyse, texte critique, traduction, commentaire et index grec,* (2nd ed.; SC 24 *bis*; Paris: Cerf, 1966); English translation in Bentley Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures: A New Translation with Annotations and Introductions* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1987), 306–15. Layton speaks of the role of Paul as a foundational authority for Valentinian tradition (p.303). Ptolemy offers a multi-level hermeneutic for the books of Moses, based on multiple authorship, (for which he first names "the Savior" as primary authority). He asserts that the ritual laws have only a symbolic meaning now, naming Paul as the source of this teaching and citing 1 Cor 5:7. Then he notes that Paul also taught the threefold division of the law: Eph 2:15 speaks of the part of the law which is now to be abolished and Rom 7:12 denotes the part of the law which is "not interwoven with the inferior" and continues to stand, "fulfilled" by the Savior (Mt 5:17; see *Letter* 33.5.8–15, 33.6.4–6).

A. Origen's Exegetical Procedure: From the Literal Meaning to the Spiritual

Book IV of *Peri Archōn* lays out a tripartite schema of scriptural meaning. Origen designates these levels the "bodily" "soulish" (psychic) and "spiritual" senses of scripture. The designations correspond to Origen's descriptions of the modes of human existence. The soul is the original "estate" of a rational being. The body encloses the soul as punishment for original rebellion against God and fall from his presence (*Peri Archōn* I.8), and every soul possesses at least the potential to raise itself back to a spiritual state.(*Peri Archōn* II.8). As applied to scripture, these terms denote that "scripture meets the needs of rational creatures at different levels of progress:"[17] the "simple man" is helped by the body of scripture, those who have made some spiritual progress are enlightened by its soul, and one who is "perfect" in the sense of 1 Cor 2:6–7 may be taught by the spiritual sense. Neither in their anthropological sense nor in their spiritual sense do these terms represent static modes of being.[18] The possibility of movement between more "bodily" and more "spiritual" states of being contrasts with the static and predetermined divisions between psychic and spiritual Christians in Valentinian thought.

In *Peri Archōn* IV.2, Origen develops a contrast between the spiritual meaning of scripture and the "fleshly" or "bodily" meaning (ἡ σάρξ τῆς γραφῆς, 2.4; τὸ σωματικόν, 2.5, *passim*). The designation of the literal meaning as the bodily sense of scripture denotes its theological distance from the spiritual meaning; the appellation "fleshly," drawn from Paul, increases the rhetorically negative casting thus given to the literal sense.[19] It is true that the "bare letter" (τὸ ψιλὸν γράμμα; IV.2.4) contains much in itself to edify the multitude (2.8); however, the proper task of Christians is to try to penetrate at least to the "soul" of scripture (roughly speaking, in this exposition, the moral or doctrinal level), and for those who are able, to pursue the yet higher spiritual meaning (2.6). Scripture

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[17] Trigg, *Origen*, 33. See *Peri Archōn* IV.2.4. Origen gives Prov 22:20–21 as his scriptural basis for the threefold division of the levels of scriptural meaning.

[18] See Karen Jo Torjesen, *Hermeneutical Procedure and Theological Method in Origen's Exegesis* (Patristische Texte und Studien 28; Berlin: De Gsgruyter, 1986), 43, with notes, who argues that these terms represent stages rather than fixed states, against a background of mixed opinion in prior scholarship.

[19] Annewies van den Hoek, "The Concept of σῶμα τῶν γραφῶν in Alexandrian Theology" (*StPatr* 19 [1989]:250–54), traces to Philo the application of the term σῶμα to the scriptures, but observes that it is Origen who transforms the concept of the "body" and "soul" of scripture into a hermeneutical construct central to (Christian) interpretation of scripture.

contains deliberate "stumbling blocks" (σκάνδαλα), "hindrances and impossibilities," in its bodily sense, to ensure that the perceptive reader is not lulled by the usefulness of much of the narrative sense into forgetting to seek the higher, truer meanings toward which all the words of scripture point (2.9). Thus, if it is held in too high a regard, the bodily sense in itself becomes a stumbling block to the Christian, because it prevents the reader from pursuing this more essential quest.

In Origen's sermons and commentaries, the literal meaning takes on different terminology and a more positive cast. Karen Jo Torjesen has described Origen's *de facto* exegetical method as a series of four steps that Origen employs consistently across the variety of biblical literary genres.[20] The first step is to establish the "grammatical" reading and sense of the text; the second is to describe the "concrete and/or historical reality to which the grammatical sense refers." Origen associates both of these steps with the "literal" meaning of the text here denoted by the grammatically technical term, πρὸς τὸ ῥητόν;[21] I designate this the "philologically literal" sense of the text. The third step explicates the meaning(s) beyond this historical or literary meaning which the Logos wishes to convey (ἡ ἀναγωγή, τὸ βούλημα, ὁ σκοπός).[22] The fourth and final step applies these universal spiritual meanings to the reader (the contemporary sense, described by such terms as [πνευματική] διδασκαλία, νόημα, δόγμα, τὰ

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[20] *Hermeneutical Procedure*, 68–69, with a clearer summary statement on 138. It should be noted that all of the texts analyzed by Torjesen were written following *Peri Archōn* and after Origen's move to Caesarea. The paucity of Alexandrian period writings mitigates against drawing firm conclusions, but it appears that the basic exegetical framework was already in place in the earlier Alexandrian works, although perhaps less rhetorically elaborate than in those written after *Peri Archōn*.

[21] In *Contra Celsum* VII.20, Origen invokes Philo (as "some of our predecessors") as the source of his own hermeneutical premise that "the law has a twofold interpretation, one literal (πρὸς ῥητόν) and the other spiritual (πρὸς διάνοιαν)." Philo uses these technical terms as rhetorical markers throughout his work; see *Spec.* I.287 for a statement of the hermeneutical relationship between them. For *Contra Celsum*, see Marcel Borret, ed., *Origène: Contre Celse* (5 vols.; SC 132, 136, 147, 150, 227; Paris: Cerf, 1967–1976); ET: Henry Chadwick, *Origen: Contra Celsum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

[22] Ibid., 144. These are the terms, suggests Torjesen, by which Origen distinguishes the spiritual sense in general from the literal meaning of the text. The transitional marker ἀναγωγή is particularly important, as indicating "meaning which leads the soul upward;" she notes that it is not used to describe an exegetical procedure prior to Origen: "This implies that Origen developed and introduced a term to express the theological character of exegesis because the available hellenistic terms were inadequate" (144, n. 107).

πνευματικά).[23] In practice, then, the philologically literal sense has only positive connotations, providing as it does the basis for the hermeneutical movement to discover the spiritual meaning of the text and its contemporary application. The proper activity of the exegete is to read through this philological or "historical" meaning of the text to activate its spiritual sense, the teaching activity of the Logos in the soul of the contemporary reader/hearer.[24]

However, even though the literal sense has a positive hermeneutical function in Origen's exegetical practice, within the theological context of *Peri Archōn*, literal reading remains nearly synonymous with literal*ism*, that is, with reading practices which muffle the voice of the Logos speaking through the text.

B. Literalism on the Spiritual Plane: Peri Archōn IV.2–3

At the beginning of *Peri Archōn* IV.2, which opens his discussion of the proper interpretation of scripture, Origen describes three groups of erring, 'literalist' readers: Jews, "heretics," and many simple Christians. The Jews have missed the fact of the coming of Christ, because Jesus' actions and the historical circumstances of his life did not fulfill historically and in literal detail the words of the prophets. The errors of heretics and simple Christians spring from a different fault of literalism which they hold in common with each other: taking at face value every word that the scriptures say about the divine. The heretics deal with scripture's incongruous statements by postulating an inferior creator god who is the source of all unsavory traits; simple Christians believe notions about God and/or Christ which are unworthy of the holy (IV.2.1). Furthermore, says Origen, even some sophisticated Christians understand that the words of Scripture clothe mysteries and point through types toward higher realities; but they either fail to understand how to derive the mystical meaning, or they apply the notion of typology unsystematically, and in *this* way fail to derive scripture's true meanings (2.2). These "true meanings" are preeminently "the doctrines about God

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[23] Ibid., 145. We might understand τὰ πνευματικά as deriving from Paul; in addition to Rom 7:14, note the use of this exact term in 1 Cor 2:13, another favorite authorizing prooftext.

[24] *Hermeneutical Procedure*, 41–43. Pagan grammarians likewise understood their task as moving from textual criticism to the "lesson" of the text; Origen has transformed the pagan procedure by casting it in a Christian theological framework. For a study of Origen's exegetical practice within its Hellenistic context, see Bernhard Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe* (2 vols; Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 18; Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt, 1987).

and his only-begotten Son" (2.7).[25] If one fails to discover these doctrines, no matter what one's intention or method, one is reading only the "bare letter."

"The Hebrews" have previously achieved a negative spotlight in *Peri Archōn* IV.1.3–4, where Origen sets out proofs for the divinity of scripture.[26] At IV.1.3, he reads Gen 49:10 as a prediction linking the contemporary destruction of the Temple, cult and political entity of Israel to the advent of Christ.[27] IV.1.4 brings together Rom 10:19 (Deut 32:21) and 1 Cor 1:26–29 with 1 Cor 10:18, to show that "God's former people," "Israel according to the flesh," have been replaced by a "foolish nation," chosen through the advent of Christ. Paul's opposition between the "foolish things of the world" (1 Cor 1:27) and the "wise according to the flesh" (1 Cor 1:26) is transformed into an opposition between the new and former people. Origen concludes the section: "So let not 'Israel according to the flesh,' which is called by the Apostle, 'flesh' 'glory before God.'"[28]

This replacement of Israel by the "foolish nation" sets the stage for a discussion (IV.1.4) of specific prophecies. In IV.1.6, Origen restates in part his opening argument, that the coherence between the scriptures and the life of Jesus demonstrate both his divinity and the divine inspiration of the scriptures themselves. However, he says, it is only since the advent of Christ that these scriptures can be clearly seen to be divine. The section closes with a composite allusion to 2 Cor 3:15–16 and Hebr 10:1: Until the coming of Jesus, the light contained in the law of Moses was hidden under a veil, but with its removal came the knowledge of those good things of which the law held a shadow.[29] Chapter 1 closes (IV.1.7)

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[25] Cf. IV.2.4, where Origen quotes 1 Cor 10:4 to prove that Christ is the spiritual reality of which the Septuagint's historical narratives are the figures.

[26] Origen's disparaging use of "Hebrews" here is an anomaly. In his Caesarean works, he consistently uses "Hebrew/s" as a term of exegetical authority, generally to introduce a rabbinic interpretation, while "the Jews" and other circumlocutions signal polemical contexts. In *Peri Archōn*, this rhetorical distinction has not yet been worked out.

[27] This is a standard polemical Christian reading of this verse, found also, for example, in Justin (see, e.g., *Dialogue with Trypho* 52–54; 120.

[28] 1 Cor 1:29, the text under transformation, reads: ὅπως μὴ καυχήσηται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ. "No flesh," meaning no human being, becomes "no Jew."

[29] In *Peri Archōn* I.1.2, Origen quotes 2 Cor 3:6 and 15–17, in opposition to Christians who understand literally biblical metaphors that describe God. Cf. also III.5.1, where Origen calls the letter itself a "veil for profound and mystical doctrines." Neither of these contexts is directed explicitly against Jews.

with an exhortation not to be fooled into disbelief by the obscurity of the scriptures. A concatenation of Pauline passages, drawn primarily from the Corinthian literature, justifies the "earthen vessels" in which the divine teaching is contained, and urges the reader to "leave behind the first principles of Christ" and "press on to perfection" so that the wisdom of the scriptures "may be spoken also to us."

Origen's use of the writings of Paul in the remainder of *Peri Archōn* IV.2 and 3, to illustrate the contrast between spiritual interpretation and literalist reading, serves to make the reading practices of "those of the circumcision" (as distinct from the gnostics or the simple Christians) synonymous with improper, literalist reading. At IV.2.6, after allowing that one may be edified by the bodily meaning of scripture, Origen cites 1 Cor 9:9–10 as an example of an explanation "which penetrates as it were to the soul." In this passage, Paul interprets Deut 25:4 not as applying to oxen but as meant metaphorically "for our sake."

Origen then continues:

> But it is a spiritual explanation when one is able to show of what heavenly things the Jews according to the flesh served (ἐλάτρευον) a copy and a shadow, and of what good things to come the law has a shadow.[30]

The language of this sentence is drawn from Heb 8:5, Heb 10:1, and 1 Cor 10:18. "Spiritual explanation," is posed here not strictly in opposition to the "bodily sense" in itself, but rather in opposition to the cultic observance (λατρεία) of the "Jews according to the flesh," that is, in opposition to the cultic practices resulting from their reading of scripture. These two verses from Hebrews appear at least twelve times in *Peri Archōn*, occasionally together; at times, as in this context, they are used not only to make a statement about how to understand scripture, but also to assert that the worship offered by the Jews was neither true nor spiritual.[31]

A series of examples follows, to illustrate what "the Apostle" means by spiritual interpretation. First Origen quotes 1 Cor 10:11 and 10:4 as "the Apostle's" statement of the hermeneutical principle that the biblical narratives were written "for our sake," and were to be interpreted

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[30] *Peri Archōn* IV.2.6: πνευματικὴ δὲ διήγησις τῷ δυναμένῳ ἀποδεῖξαι, ποίων ἐπουρανίων ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ οἱ κατὰ σάρκα Ἰουδαῖοι ἐλάτρευον, καὶ τίνων μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν ὁ νόμος ἔχει σκιάν. The translation is slightly altered from Butterworth.

[31] At its first appearance, in Book I.1.4, Hebr 8:5 is combined with Jn 4:21–24 to show that "those who worshiped in Jerusalem" worshiped neither in spirit nor in truth. See also II.6.7. At IV.3.12 Hebr. 8:5 is used more strictly as a hermeneutical principle.

figuratively (τυπικῶς). He briefly cites Hebr 8:5, which itself quotes Exod 25:40 and its allusion to the "figure" (τύπος) shown to Moses on the mount. He then discusses Gal 4:21–24, in which Paul uses the technical term ἀλληγορέω; Origen reads the passage as Paul's assertion that observance of the law is *not* synonymous with "understanding and knowing" (νοεῖν καὶ γινώσκειν) the law. It is those who *desire* to be under the law, not those who *are* under the law, who should be able to comprehend (ἀκούειν) the meaning of the law, "the allegories in the scriptures" (ἀλληγορίας . . . ἐν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις). Next comes Colossians 2:16–17, which speaks of food laws, holidays and the Sabbath as a "shadow of the things to come." The "shadow" language of Col 2:17 reminds Origen once more of the beginning of Hebr 8:5, which he now quotes more fully. Thus the sense of "serving a copy and a shadow" is extended to encompass not merely the temple cult, but Jewish religious observance in general. These examples reinforce the section's opening definition of spiritual interpretation as understanding the meaning of the biblical text in opposition to the way that Jews read scripture.[32]

Peri Archōn IV.3 provides exegetical demonstrations of the theoretical statements about interpretation outlined in Chapter 2, and develops a general framework of biblical typology from which to proceed to the analysis of specific biblical texts. The chapter begins with a broadside against persons who take literally certain types of ridiculous or unworthy statements in the creation accounts and likewise in the gospels as referring to the actual nature of God and Christ.[33] The discussion then moves (3.2) to the "Mosaic legislation," concerning which Origen brings forth several examples that are "irrational" (τὸ ἄλογον) or "impossible" (τὸ ἀδύνατον)[34] to obey literally. It is not coincidental that the examples

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[32] Origen gives one further example, Rom 11:4, quoting 1 Kings 19:18, to show that not only the books of Moses, but also "the rest of the history" may be subjected to the same kind of figurative interpretation.

[33] As we recall, this is the type of error for which Origen has faulted the gnostics and simple Christians, although they are not here identified by either label. Grant cites this passage as reflecting some of the criticisms set forth by the Marcionite Apelles (*Heresy and Criticism*, 76).

[34] These labels surface frequently in Origen's broadsides against "Jewish interpretation" (e.g., *Lev. hom.* IV.7, where he applies them to the "Jewish teachers' " literal reading of Lev 6:8; and through the remainder of this section of *Peri Archōn*). It seems, too, that they figured in Marcionite criticism of the Jewish scriptures themselves; cf. Origen's *Gen. hom.* II.2, where he invokes a Jewish tradition in answer to Apelles' criticisms of the story of Noah's ark,and expresses the hope that his argument will suffice "against those who endeavor to impugn the Scriptures of the Old Testament as containing certain things which are impossible

are drawn from the areas of circumcision, dietary laws, and Sabbath observance, the three realms of distinctive behavior for which Jews had long been widely known to non-Jews in the Hellenistic world, and which are already controversial topics in the New Testament writings.

In his references to circumcision and dietary laws, Origen contents himself with pointing out inconsistencies or "impossibilities" in the reading of the biblical text; he faults "those of the circumcision" for ignoring these difficulties when they prove too difficult to explain away. In referring to Sabbath observance, however, Origen brings forth two instances of derived (halakhic) rules for behavior[35] as examples of the "copious babbling" (φλυαροῦσιν εὑρησιλογοῦντες) and "ceaseless talking" (ἀπεραντολογία) of the "teachers of the Jews" who bring forth "frigid traditions" (ψυχρὰς παραδόσεις) to try to turn literal impossibilities into practice.[36] This caricatured portrait of voluble contemporary Jewish misinterpretation proves to be the climactic example of literalist reading of the (Old Testament) scriptures.[37]

Chapter 3.3 proceeds with more brevity to list some instances in the "gospel" and the "apostle" which are likewise impossible, says Origen, to understand literally.[38] The next section reiterates the argument that

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and irrational" (. . . *adversum eos dicta sint, qui impugnare scripturas veteris testamenti nituntur tamquam impossibilia quaedam et irrationabilia continentes*). Note that, on the one hand, Origen exculpates the scriptures of charges of irrationality brought against the text itself, by making such passages the "stumbling blocks" which point to the higher meaning; on the other hand, he retains these terms for his own polemic against the reading practices of the Jews.

35 These are the setting of a boundary for travel on the Sabbath, and a discussion of what constitutes carrying. Rulings related to both of Origen's examples can be found in mishnaic sources (on boundaries, *m.Sotah* 5:3; *m.Eruvin* 4:3, 5, 7, 8; 5:7, 9; on carrying, *m.Shabbat* 6:2, 10:3).

36 Translation slightly altered from Butterworth.

37 It is not likely that Origen learned these interpretations from actual Jewish teachers. Both the polemical designations ("those of the circumcision," "the teachers of the Jews") and the inclusion of the teaching of Dositheus the Samaritan on the Sabbath, to say nothing of the historical setting of *Peri Archōn*, make it likely that Origen has inherited this set of examples, with the rest of his examples, from traditional Christian anti-Jewish polemic.

38 Most of the examples are taken from the gospels, from sayings of Jesus (Mt 5:28–29, 39; Mt 10:10/Lk 10:4) The single example given for the Apostle is Paul's directive in 1 Cor 7:18, that one who is circumcised should not try to "remove the marks of circumcision" (ἐπισπάομαι). Origen finishes his discussion of this "impossibility" (and closes section 3) with reference to the "shame" (ἀσχημοσύνη) which is felt by most people to attach to "having been circumcised" (περιτετμῆσθαι). Thus, the rhetorical implication of the section is that in the New

scripture contains both problematic and obviously edifying or historically true statements. Section 5 discusses how the careful reader can distinguish between the literally true and untrue elements of scripture, and makes the transition to delineating the method of its interpretation.

This method begins with the observation that the historical narrative of the scriptures contains the story of a nation chosen by God and the country God gave to them (IV.3.6). The key to the spiritual meaning of this historical narrative is found in the words of the Apostle, "Behold Israel according to the flesh" (1 Cor 10:18), "as though there is an Israel according to the spirit" (ὡς ὄντος τινὸς κατὰ πνεῦμα). Origen then adduces a string of further Pauline verses (notably Rom 9:8, 9:6, and 2:28–29) to demonstrate that it is "not the children of the flesh [the Jews] who are the children of God" (Rom 9:8), but rather those who are "Jews inwardly," whose circumcision is of the spirit, not the letter (Rom. 2:28–29). It is this Israel, "a race of souls," to whom belong the promises of scripture, which are spiritual, albeit clothed in material imagery. Thus (IV.3.8), even the promises of the New Testament addressed to "Israel" (Origen's example is Mt 15:24) refer to the spiritual Israel, that is the church, not "fleshly" Israel.[39]

Origen closes the section by first quoting "the apostle" (Gal 4:26) to show that references to Jerusalem indicate a heavenly city and then by saying that in order to understand these biblical references we must "listen to Paul's words as the words of God and the utterances of Wisdom."[40] It is preeminently Paul who tells the Christian 1) to read the scriptures spiritually; and 2) that the true, spiritual promises of scripture point not to contemporary Jews and contemporary Jerusalem, but to "Israel according to the Spirit" and the "Jerusalem above."

Origen's deployment of 1 Cor 10:18 as the hermeneutical key to the reading of scripture is a unique exegetical move in relation to both his predecessors and immediate contemporaries; however, the opposition between "Israel according to the flesh" and "Israel according to the spirit," drawn somewhat tentatively in *Peri Archōn,* becomes a taken-for-granted assumption in Origen's later exegetical writings. This revolutionary

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Testament itself, problematic aspects of the literal meaning are somehow connected to the shameful practices of "those of the circumcision."

[39] Origen sets his interpretation of this verse explicitly against that of the Ebionites, who "suppose that Christ came especially to the Israelites after the flesh" (IV.3.8). It appears from his manner of highlighting the verse that this was a key prooftext for some "Ebionite" Christians to validate their (continuing) assumption of Jewish practices.

[40] IV.3.8: . . . εἰ Παύλου ὡς θεοῦ ἀκούωμεν καὶ σοφίαν φθεγγομένου.

reading of 1 Cor 10:18 emerges from the way Origen has read across the Pauline corpus. Because he brings together diverse texts which pose differently nuanced oppositions—flesh/spirit, letter/spirit, shadow/heavenly things, above/below, life/death, "outward"/ "inward" Jews, circumcision of the flesh/circumcision of the heart, within the law/without the law, slavery/freedom—all these oppositions come to stand for one another. In Origen's reading, "flesh" must always exist in opposition to "spirit," so that "Israel according to the flesh," by whom Paul means the biblical Israelites, must exist in opposition to "Israel according to the spirit," a phrase Paul himself never uses.

The combination in *Peri Archōn* IV.3.6–8 of 1 Cor 10:18 with Rom 9:8,6, and 2:28–29, rhetorically echoes and extends the contrast between spiritual interpretation and Jewish literalist interpretation posed in 2.6. By the authority of "the Apostle" himself, *Peri Archōn* IV.2 and 3 establish not merely that Jewish biblical interpreters are wrongheaded because they fail to recognize the Christ/Logos, but that in fact the true promises of scripture have *always* been intended for the followers of Christ, and have *never* applied to "those of the circumcision."[41]

The Paul who disinherits the "Jews according to the flesh" is the Paul most frequently seen in *Peri Archōn*. Citations from Romans and elsewhere that indicate the priority of Israel in Paul's thinking (e.g., Rom 11:1–2, 26) are conspicuous mainly by their absence. Romans 3:2, which on the surface would seem to indicate the priority and privilege of the Jews as those who first received the "oracles of God," comes in the course of Origen's discussion of the "race of souls" in sections nine to twelve. It follows close upon another citation of Rom 9:6 ("they are not all Israel who are of Israel" [IV.3.11]), to illustrate that it is only spiritual Israel, through whom all other souls are to be enlightened, who possesses the oracles of God and whose name means "to see God" (IV.3.12).[42] The

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[41] The lengthy remainder of chapter three goes on to suggest the typology implied by other historical place names and persons in scripture (sections 9–11), as well as the Exodus from Egypt (sections 12–13). The concluding sections 14–15 offer some remarks on the awesome task of trying to fathom the highest spiritual meanings of scripture. These sections assume and do not further develop the substitution of "Israel according to the spirit" for "Israel according to the flesh."

[42] The extant Greek text stops at the end of IV.3.11, which means that this discussion and etymology exist only in Rufinus' translation. The same etymology appears earlier in Rufinus' translation in section eight, in place of the citation of Rom 9:8 ("it is not the children of the flesh that are the children of God") which is found in the Greek. The form of the citation in IV.3.8 mirrors that of *Num. hom.* 11.4. Whether or not the earlier allusion has been added, it is interesting that both contexts make or presume a connection between the negatives of Rom 9:6, 8, and

etymology is drawn from Philo, who uses it as a foundation for his own reading of the biblical "history" as an allegory for the journey of the soul in which gentiles as well as Jews may participate, but in Origen's context of Pauline oppositions the etymology comes to *exclude* Jews.

Significantly, the "positive" cluster that appears most prominently is Rom 7:12–14, on the goodness of the law. In *Peri Archōn* II.4–5, Origen presents a sustained argument against Marcionite criticisms of the Jewish scriptures. In chapter four, after enlisting various sayings of Jesus which indicate that the God of Jesus is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (e.g., Mt 22:31–32), Origen invokes the words of the Apostle himself, citing in this order 2 Tim 1:3, 2 Cor 11:22, Rom 1:1–4, 1 Cor 9:9–10, Eph 6:2–3, and Col 1:15. Chapter five refutes the Marcionite distinction between the just and the good. The culminating paragraph, Section 4, enlists Rom 7:12–13 to show that Paul himself aligned the just with the good and called the law "holy and just and good." We have already noted the critical junctures at which Rom 7:14 itself takes on the role of a hermeneutical principle. However, as we have already seen, anti-Marcionite appreciation for the "spiritual" law does not extend to the contemporary practitioners thereof.

This "disinheriting" trend seems to be an intentional rhetorical strategy. John McGuckin has documented that Origen most often cites Pauline passages that are critical or condemning of Jews and Judaism, and censors "Paul's doctrine of the priority of Israel"[43] McGuckin relates this tactic to contemporary *Caesarean* Christian polemic against Jews. Our exploration of *Peri Archōn* suggests, however, that this "censored" Paul preceded Origen's move to Caesarea.

In fact, the constructed Paul of *Peri Archōn* resurfaces almost immediately in Alexandrian exegetical dress. The Preface to the *Commentary on John* (*CJn* I.1–89) begins with the hermeneutical statement that just as "the people once referred to as 'of God'" (Num 27:17) were divided into tribes, so "the whole people of Christ, entitled Jewish in secret and circumcised in spirit [Rom 2:28–29], has, in a very mysterious way, the properties

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the Philonic etymology. In Philo's works this definition is often associated with the notion of descent into and exodus from Egypt as an allegory for the journey of the soul, as it is here in *Peri Archōn* IV.3.12.

[43] "Origen on the Jews," in *Christianity and Judaism*, ed. Diana Wood (Studies in Church History 29; Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 1–13; see pp. 10–13, esp. p. 12. McGuckin draws attention to Origen's theological construction of anti-Judaism by highlighting Origen's reshaping of New Testament polemical passages on Jews and Judaism. He concludes that Origen has "edited out" positive NT references to Jews, particularly in his appropriation of Paul,

of the tribes."[44] Much of the preface is devoted to explaining the name "Gospel" and exploring the connection between the gospels and the rest of the Scriptures. In I.32–43, Origen tries to clarify further the relationship between the law and the prophets and the gospel, drawing on the Pauline complex we have already seen at work. From 2 Cor 3:15 to Heb 8:5 to 1 Cor 10:11 (with John 4:24), we see that only Christ at his coming showed the truth of what was veiled, of what was previously only hinted at in copies and shadows and figures. Hos 10:12 combines with Rom 7:6 (I.36) to bring a new element into the complex, the contrast between "new covenant" and "old letter." In the remainder of the section, Hebr 8:5 and 10:1 appear along with references to Galatians 4, Prov. 8:9 and Rev 14:6, primarily to make the argument that just as the law contains shadows of good things to come, so the gospel itself contains both easily intelligible teachings and mysteries towards which the believer needs to advance. The section finishes with a citation of Rom 2:28–29, where the assumed distinction between Jews and "Jews in secret" (i.e. Christians) is used to explain a distinction between Christians at more elementary and more advanced levels, as a basis for Origen's assertion that like Paul (1 Cor 9:20, Acts 16:3), it is necessary to "act as a Christian both spiritually and bodily," for the benefit of more "fleshly" believers. In this context, although the oppositions are intact, the explicitly disinheriting emphasis is in abeyance. This difference may be due to the change in rhetorical setting; *CJn*, unlike *Peri Archōn*, was written for supporters, not detractors, who were fully in sympathy with Origen's aims and method.[45]

In sum: I suggest that, in *Peri Archōn* (and subsequently in *CJn*), "real Jews" are not in view. The disinheriting Paul is a by-product of Origen's central task: building a coherent Christian philosophy in opposition both to detractors within the more conventional Alexandrian church, and to the assertions of heterodox Christians, primarily followers of Marcion and Valentinus. The insistence that spiritual and not fleshly Israel are the true inheritors of the promises of scripture, the "spiritual law," functions

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[44] Blanc, C., ed. and trans. *Origène: Commentaire sur Saint Jean*, 5 vols (SC 120, 157, 222, 290, 385. Paris: Cerf, 1966–1992. Translations of Book I are taken from Trigg, *Origen*, 104–49.

[45] The commentary was commissioned by Origen's patron and student Ambrosius, "truly a man of God and a man in Christ, hastening to be spiritual and no longer fleshly " (*CJn* I.9, translation slightly altered from Trigg). Ambrosius, who considered himself to have been rescued by Origen's thoughtful Christianity from the lure of gnosticism, requested Origen to write the commentary for his students, in refutation of the commentary recently written by the Valentinian Heracleon.

together with the establishment of Paul as the apostolic authority for Origen's allegorical method of reading, in this rhetorical task. On the one hand, Origen claims the (Jewish) scriptures as the legitimate property of Christians (not Jews), against Marcionite rejection; on the other, he enlists Paul as spiritual reader against differing Valentinian and Marcionite images of the authoritative Apostle, while at the same time countering the anti-Pauline sentiment of other groups by casting Paul's words (and method of understanding the Jewish scriptures) as like the words of God. As the *Commentary on John* illustrates, however, this constructed Paul can stand independent of the polemical necessity which brought him to life; in *CJn*, "Israel according to the spirit" has become the accepted and expected substitute for "Israel according to the flesh."

III. "Jewish Literalism" in the Caesarean Homilies[46]

In *CJn* VI.76, written soon after his move to Caesarea, Origen makes the programmatic statement that when interpreting "the history" (that is, the philological meaning of the [OT] text), the Christian interpreter should first inquire regarding the teaching known "among the Hebrews." This statement should be noticed as a significant addition to (if not departure from) Origen's earlier programmatic statements about interpretation in *Peri Archōn*. Both his Caesarean commentaries and his sermons make clear that he followed his own advice, as his philological interpretations from this period contain frequent references to teachings known "among the Hebrews." It seems clear that this designation in the Caesarean works indicates interpretations gleaned from rabbinic scholars.[47]

Origen invokes interpretations "from the Hebrews" at the exegetical stage that Torjesen designated the first and second exegetical steps. Thus,

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[46] Most of Origen's exegetical works (commentaries, treatises, *scholia* (exegetical notes on individual biblical verses) were aimed at scholarly readers amd students. His sermons were delivered orally to the more intellectually mixed audience of the Caesarean congregation; stenographers took notes of these oral performances, which then were (more or less) edited into the form of the written homilies that remain to us. Thus the homilies had a double rhetorical life as oral presentations (to potentially widely diverse audiences) and as study documents. See Trigg, *Origen: The Bible and Philosophy*, 176–77.

[47] The most complete recent discussion of the connections between Origen's citations and known rabbinic traditions is found in N. R. M. De Lange, *Origen and the Jews: Studies in Jewish-Christian Relations in Third-Century Palestine* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976). De Lange discusses the connotations of the term "Hebrew" as used in Origen's exegetical works, on pp. 25–32.

like the biblical versions and Philo, rabbinic readings can also be brought to clarify the meaning of the text, and occasionally to expand the platform of the literal meaning for spiritual interpretation. Origen often grounds his authority for citing "Hebrew" interpretations in personal encounters with Jewish interpreters, positioning himself as an authoritative tradent of "Hebrew" traditions.[48] Occasionally the weight of the Hebrew tradition is deployed explicitly against heterodox exegesis.[49]

However, at the transition to exegetical step three, the establishment of the spiritual meaning, the constructed Apostle of *Peri Archōn* reenters the picture. Rom 7:14 and 1 Cor 10:18 recur frequently, usually in combination with another verse such as I Cor 10:11, Heb 8:5 or 10:1, Rom 2:28/29. These verses may be used to ground a statement to the effect that 'these things were written (also) for us,' without the explicit corollary that they were *not* written for the Jews.[50] On occasion, however, the verses are used with the full negative rhetorical regalia that we saw in *Peri Archōn*. Such is the case, for example, in *Gen. hom.* III.4–6, which treats the circumcision of Abraham.[51] Section 3 of the homily establishes the text to be considered, first by citing in brief the significant events (for this sermon) of Genesis chapters 12–17 (exegetical step one), and then by discussing the significance of the narrative sequence (exegetical step two).[52]

Section III.4 makes the transition to the meaning beyond the literal by asking a rhetorical question: Could it really be that the omnipotent God,

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[48] In, e.g., *Ex. hom.* V.5; *Ez. hom.* IV.8; *Isa. hom.* IX.1, he said he has "heard a Hebrew expound a particular tradition; in *Gen. hom.* II.2; *Sel. in Ex.* 10:27; *Sel. in Ps.* (*PG* XII.1080 C) he says "has learned" from a Hebrew, or that a Hebrew has transmitted a tradition to him.

[49] A textbook example is *Gen. hom.* II, on Noah's ark where interpretations "from the Hebrews" are brought against the criticisms of the Marcionite Apelles.

[50] For, example, *Ex. hom.* II.1, using Rom 7:14 and 1 Cor 10:11; *Ex. hom.* 8:2 using 1 Cor 10:18 and Rom 2:29. It is interesting that in the latter context, Origen does *not* make an explicit negative statement about the "Jews according to the flesh."

[51] Critical edition: W. A. Baehrens, ed., *Origenes Werke* 6, *Homilies zum Hexateuch in Rufins Übersetzung*, I: *Die Homilien zu Genesis, Exodus, und Leviticus* (GCS 29; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1920). The English translation is taken, with modifications as noted, from *Origen: Homilies on Genesis and Exodus*, trans. Ronald E. Heine (FC 71; Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1982).

[52] Origen pays special attention to the fact that after leaving his father's house (Genesis 12) Abram merits being called both "Abraham"(Gen 17:5) and "presbyter" (Gen 18:11), and notes that these appellations coincide with his acceptance of the covenant and of circumcision.

ruler of heaven and earth, in making a covenant with the holy Abraham, really intended that the central meaning of this covenant should be circumcision of his foreskin? The exegetical problem, acknowledges Origen, is Gen 17:13: "My covenant shall be *upon your flesh.*" Origen's implied answer is "No, of course not!"—it would be beneath God's dignity to be so obsessed. However, says Origen, "these indeed are the only things in which the masters and teachers of the synagogue place the glory of the saints."[53] The phrase "masters and teachers of the synagogue," associates contemporary Jewish interpreters with the literalism we have already seen excoriated in *Peri Archōn.*

The remainder of sections 4–6 are construed as a dispute between the Jews and the Church. The Church's "honorable" spiritual understanding of true circumcision as circumcision of the heart, built upon Paul's teaching in Phil 3:2–3 and Rom 2:28–29, is brought as a "more appropriate" (*dignius*) understanding of circumcision among the "saints and friends of God" than "a pruning of the flesh" (*carnis obtruncatio*).[54] At III.5, Origen begins his spiritual interpretation in earnest. Asking for the prayerful help of his hearers, he states that the exegetical task at hand is that of refuting not only "the Jews" but also some Christians (such as the Ebionites) who continue to insist on observance of physical circumcision.[55] He then brings forth further scriptural passages which use *circumcision/uncircumcision* in a figurative sense.[56] At each juncture he expresses and refutes supposed objections by "the Jews" and sets out the difficulties these passages would cause the Jews if they read them the way they read this story of Abraham.

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[53] Baehrens I, 43.7–15: . . . *requirere volo, si omnipotens Deus, qui coeli ac terrae dominatum tenet, volens testamentum ponere cum viro sancto, in hoc summam tanti negotii collocabat, ut praeputium carnis eius ac futurae ex eo sobolis circumcideretur. . . . Hocine erat quod »coeli ac terrae Dominus« ei, quem e cunctis mortalibus solum delegerat, aeterni testamenti munere conferebat? Haec enim sunt sola, in quibus magistri et doctores synagogae sanctorum gloriam ponunt.*

[54] Origen supports his citations of Paul by quoting Ezra 44:9 and Jer 9:26, both of which contrast uncircumcision of the flesh and uncircumcision of the heart.

[55] The Latin verbal form translated as "refuting" is *revincendi*; Origen construes the exegesis throughout in disputation mode. Twice in the very short space of this transitional passage, Origen alludes to some Christians, as well as the Jews, as those whose exegetical understanding he must refute. At the end of section 6, Origen indicates that his preceding figurative interpretation should serve to confound all those (both Jew and Christian are implied) who trust in circumcision of the flesh, as well as edifying the Church.

[56] Specifically Jer 6:10 (uncircumcised ears); Ex 4:13,10, conflated with 6:30 (uncircumcised lips).

Interestingly, when Origen discusses Jer 6:10, he refuses to "permit" the Jews to "take refuge in our allegories which Paul taught."[57] The construction acknowledges that Jewish interpreters would read the passage figuratively, but it claims figurative interpretation as the exclusive prerogative of the Church, originating with Paul. At the end of this anti-Jewish-interpretation section, Origen again acknowledges that Jews would read these passages figuratively: "But if you refer circumcision of lips to allegory and say no less that circumcision of ears is allegorical and figurative why do you not also inquire after allegory in circumcision of the foreskin?" (*quomodo non et in circumcisione praeputii allegoriam requiritis?* Baehrens I, 45.19–20). In this argument, Paul appears as the originator of the right and reasonable method of reading such texts, at the same time as Origen admits that his opponents on their own initiative would adopt such right and reasonable (and nonliteralist) techniques.

The remainder of section 5 and section 6 give "more fitting," figurative and moral interpretations of circumcision of the ears, lips, flesh and heart, based primarily on texts from the Jewish scriptures. At the end of section 6, Origen again attacks his rhetorical Jewish opponent:

Compare, if you please , this our account with your Jewish fables (cf. Tit 1:14) and disgusting stories (*Confer, si placet, haec nostra cum vestris Iudaicis fabuils et narrationibus foetidis*) . . . . Do not even you yourself perceive and understand that this circumcision of the Church is honorable, holy, worthy of God; that that of yours is unseemly, detestable, disgusting, presenting a thing vulgar both in condition and appearance? "And," God says to Abraham, "circumcision and my covenant shall be in your flesh" (Gen 17:13). If therefore, our life has been such that, properly joined together and united in all its members so that all our movements are performed according to the laws of God, truly "the covenant of God will be in our flesh."

The switch between second and first person is revealing, here, along with Origen's closing appeal to a church "united in all its members." The "disgusting" rhetoric is most likely aimed, again, not at "real Jews," but this time at the "Ebionites and others" who practice physical circumcision as Christians. The sermon's conclusion, section 7, presents an exhortation, drawn mainly from Paul, to let the covenant of Jesus Christ be "in our flesh," and so returning to and dispensing with the problematic Gen 17:13.[58] Thus, similar to what we found in *Peri Archōn*, the rhetorical

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[57] Baehrens I, 45.3–4: *Confugere enim tibi ad allegorias nostras, quas Paulus docuit, non permitto.*

[58] The exhortation presents a string of quotations recast as appropriate in the first person singular or plural: 1 Jn 4:2, 1 Cor 4:20, Col 3:5, 2 Cor 4:10, 2 Tim 2:12, Rom 6:5, 19; Gal 2:20, 6:17; Rom 8:35, 10:9–10; Mt 5:16, Gal 1:5 (doxology). The

thrust against the Jews is sharpened precisely in a situation when the real target is opposing views within the church.

However, the disinheriting Paul can easily be turned directly against contemporary Jews, as this passage from the twelfth homily on Jeremiah illustrates. Fairly early in the sermon, we meet 1 Cor 10:11, as Origen reassures his readers that these words are meant spiritually for them (section 3). However, this spiritual meaning is related to an unfortunate literal sense directed at the Jews as well. In section 6, we learn that Israel's punishment brings about the salvation of others (invoking Rom 11:11); therefore, since God is good, he says, "I shall not spare, and I shall not have pity on them [Israel] in their destruction" (13:14). Section 13 (the final section of the homily) interprets Jer 13:17: "If you do not listen in a hidden manner, your soul will wail before the face of violence"): [59]

> . . . If I listen to the Law, either I listen to it in a hidden manner, or I do not listen to it in a hidden manner. The Jew does not listen to the law in a hidden manner. Therefore he is outwardly circumcised, not knowing that "he is not a Jew, who is one outwardly, nor is circumcision that which is outward, in the flesh" (Rom. 2:28). But he who listens about circumcision in a hidden manner, is circumcised in secret (Rom 2:29). . . . The ordinary Jew (Ὁ δὲ πολὺς οὗτος Ἰουδαῖος) therefore killed the lord Jesus and is today responsible for the murder of Jesus because he did not listen to either the law or the prophets in a hidden manner. . . .

Here, the citation of Rom 2:28–29 comes to describe the reading practices that led to and *continue to lead* to the murder of Jesus. Later in the section, Origen goes on to relate this insight on sinful Jewish reading to the "Jewish condition" of his day, compared with that of former times: "and your eyes shall drop tears because the Lord's flock has been crushed" (Jer 13:17, end). If the Lord's former flock has been crushed because "they judged themselves unworthy" (cf. Acts 13:46), how much moreso should the"wild olive branch" (Rom 11:17) fear being crushed if it fails in love and faith. The rhetorically presumed permanent destruction of the Jewish people provides the object lesson to the "lukewarm" among Origen's flock. Although Origen is not the first to level the charge of

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next to last sentence mentions distinguishing "ourselves" from the Jews, "who think they confess God with the mark of circumcision alone, but deny him with their deeds."

[59] LXX: ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀκούσητε, κεκρυμμένως κλαύσεται ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν ἀπὸ προσώπου ὕβρεως. Origen reads the κεκρυμμένως as going with ἀκούσητε, but the sense of LXX is "if you do not listen, your soul will wail in secret . . . .

murdering Jesus,[60] this passage contains an ominous concatenation of the themes of past and continuing responsibility for that murder, permanent disinheritence from being God's flock, and consequent lowly political estate, all founded here on Jewish inability (or stubborn refusal?) to interpret scripture properly.

IV. Conclusions

Origen's synthetic reading of Paul in *Peri Archōn* succeeds beyond Paul's own intention, in aligning the Jews as a people with "the letter that kills" (2 Cor 3:6). In *Peri Archōn*'s theological picture, the Jews distort even the legitimate meanings of the "bodily sense" of scripture; what is more, since the true promises of scripture deal with spiritual and not historical realities, the Jews never have been the true heirs to these promises. The true heirs are "Israel according to the spirit." In the more complex cultural situation of Caesarea, Origen learns to value traditions "from the Hebrews" as tools toward clarifying the philological sense of the text. Nevertheless, his hermeneutical method, which ultimately controls his deployment of exegetical materials, continues to be driven by the polemical and Paul-based opposition between literalist (Jewish) and spiritual (Christian, Logos-centered) interpretation. Scholarly contacts with rabbis and the usefulness of rabbinic interpretation notwithstanding, the "masters and teachers of the synagogue" continue to appear as Origen's interpretive archenemies, and "Jewish interpretation" remains synonymous with literalist reading, alienated from and deleterious to the spiritual sense when mistaken for the deepest meaning of scripture.

Origen's positive/negative "rhetorics of Jewish interpretation" has a dual rhetorical function which serves a single hermeneutical aim. In Alexandria, especially in *Peri Archōn,* the rhetorical opposition between Israel according to the flesh and Israel according to the spirit functions primarily, I have argued, to rescue the "Old Testament" from Marcionite dismissal and Gnostic distortion. In Caesarea, this rhetorical construction comes to serve a different primary purpose. The Caesarean works presume the hermeneutical replacement of fleshly Israel by spiritual Israel, a replacement which is only tentatively proffered in *Peri Archōn.* Origen's invocation of "Hebrew" exegetical authorities, domesticates "useful" Jewish interpretation, by making him the authoritative tradent of "Hebrew" exegesis to his Christian flock. His dismissal of the "masters and teachers of the Synagogue" as proponents of "Jewish literalism" at the

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60 Cf. Melito of Sardis, *Peri Pascha,* par. 96, where deicide is specified.

same time delegitimates contemporary rabbinic interpreters (and "the Synagogue" as their locus of operation) as authorities whose teachings and practices his congregants might follow. In both cultural situations, Origen's rhetorics of Jewish interpretation: 1) creates the theological basis for a unified hermeneutical approach to the Old and New Testaments; and 2) functions to control the appeal of external beliefs and practices for insiders, for those within Origen's church.

The authoritative Paul who emerges both in *Peri Archōn* and in subsequent exegetical works is more consonant with (and probably influential in shaping) the emerging patristic perspective of the early third century than with the first century Apostle. The Paul who disinherits literalist "Israel according to the flesh" in favor of "Israel according to the spirit" provides a consistent (if unfortunate!) theological platform for the attempts of later Christian writers to come to terms with the refusal of the Jews to stay disinherited.

The Land Is Yours: Ezekiel's Outrageous Land Claim

Kalinda Rose Stevenson

Section One: Introduction

The Book of Ezekiel is a geocentric narrative about land rights.[1] Although biblical scholars recognize that land is an important topic in Ezekiel, I am aware of none who identify the genre of the entire book as a land claim. Our critical methods tend to separate theology from sociology, and to be more historical than spatial. As a result, we have separated what Ezekiel regarded as inseparable, and underestimated the importance of land. This paper argues that a critical spatial perspective demonstrates that Ezekiel's theology and his sociology are two sides of a land claim.

Conceptual Foundations

My paper and its title follow in the footsteps of Norman Habel's significant study, *The Land is Mine.*[2] Habel makes the case that that the Hebrew Bible comprises multiple land ideologies that are based upon underlying beliefs, images, ideas, and theologies. We cannot rely on concordance searches and word studies to arrive at a unitary meaning of "land in the Hebrew Bible." Instead, we need to locate any reference to land in its ideology. Habel also emphasizes land rights. Not only do we need to identify the ideology lying beneath a particular reference to land, we also need to pay attention to what the ideology asserts about the right

[1] John Kutsko characterizes the Book of Ezekiel as "radically theocentric." I have modified his label to argue that Ezekiel's theology of presence and absence is grounded in the land. See Kutsko, *Between Heaven and Earth: Divine Presence and Absence in the Book of Ezekiel,* Biblical and Judaic Studies, 7 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 27, n. 4.

[2] Norman C. Habel, *The Land is Mine: Six Biblical Land Ideologies,* Overtures to Biblical Theology (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995).

to land.[3] Jan Joosten makes a similar argument in his study, *People and Land in the Holiness Code.* He begins his study with the assertion that "interpretation of ancient texts needs to take account of the interpretive frame presupposed, though not usually stated, in the discourse."[4] Although their terminology is different, both Joosten and Habel are making the same point. Any biblical reference to land emerges from a conceptual foundation lying beneath the surface of the text.

Joosten identifies the conceptual foundation of the Holiness Code as its priestly temple land ideology.[5] My paper draws heavily upon his work, and begins with the assumption that the Book of Ezekiel derives from a similar temple land ideology. This means that we cannot discover the geocentric nature of the book by doing a concordance search and counting the number of times that the word "land" occurs. Instead, we must ground Ezekiel's book in his presupposed temple land ideology.

A concrete example of a conceptual foundation is the largest single organism that has been discovered on Earth. This distinction goes to a particular giant mushroom, which spreads underground over a territory of several miles. Clusters of mushrooms pop to the surface now and then, as seemingly separated units. Underneath the surface, the separated clusters are part of one vast underground living organism. Temple land ideology in Ezekiel is much like that giant mushroom. On the surface of the text, the topic of land appears only here and there. But beneath the surface, Ezekiel's understanding of the land as temple land is the conceptual foundation of the narrative.

Ezekiel's Temple Land Ideology

Ezekiel's temple land ideology shared the common wisdom of the Ancient Near East that gods owned the land where they dwelled. People were allowed to live on the land as long as they acknowledged the distinction between ownership and possession. Gods owned the land. People possessed the land at the pleasure of the local gods. Worship was the appropriate response to those who owned the land. Implicit in the concept of a god dwelling in a sanctuary is the idea that the god might abandon it. According to this common wisdom, the greatest calamity for a

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[3] Habel, 3.

[4] Jan Joosten, *People and Land in the Holiness Code: An Exegetical Study of the Ideational Framework of the Law in Leviticus 17–26,* Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, LXVII (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 1.

[5] See especially his discussion in Chapter Six, "YHWH's Land and Israel's Land," Joosten, 169–92.

people is that their god might abandon the dwelling place, leaving the land bereft of blessings.

Hebrew land ideologies shared this common wisdom about land ownership and possession. Whatever the differences between them, all regarded YHWH as the absolute and exclusive owner of the land. Each land ideology begins with the foundational land claim by YHWH that *the land is mine.*

Ezekiel's conceptual foundation of the land as an extension of temple land is distinctly priestly. Whatever the specific differences between the priestly writings of the Hebrew Bible, all define holiness in spatial terms. Priestly ideology identifies four qualities: the holy, the profane, the pure, and the impure. Holiness and impurity are antagonistic, dynamic, and contagious essences. Holiness emanates from YHWH who dwells in the midst of the people in his sanctuary. YHWH's holiness extends outward, in zones of decreasing holiness, making the temple holy and the land pure. Even though the degree of holiness depends upon the distance from the center, the entire land is an extension of temple land.

YHWH's temple land has an enemy, the contagious essence of impurity. Just as holiness spreads outward from the temple, impurity spreads inward, defiling the land and profaning the temple as it moves. Impurity is dangerous because it threatens to displace YHWH from his temple land. Since YHWH is holy, he cannot remain in a space that has been invaded by impurity and will abandon his temple land. Since all of those who live in temple land depend upon YHWH's continual holy presence, everyone has a responsibility to keep impurity out of the land. The priests must keep the temple holy and the people must keep the land pure. This ideology, which understands the whole land in terms of its relationship to the temple, concerns more than ritual violations of the sanctuary. It also concerns spatial violations of the purity of the land through acts of violence and injustice. In this priestly worldview, nothing defiles the land more than bloodshed.

Assumptions: Story and Rhetoric

Beginning with my core assumption that the Book of Ezekiel grows out of a conceptual foundation of temple land ideology, I make two further assumptions: the book is both story and rhetoric. First, the Book of Ezekiel is a story. Whatever its process of composition and redaction, the whole narrative has the necessary elements of a classical story. In their simplest form, classical stories tell of conflicts between adversaries over a common want. Such stories describe the actions of protagonists who struggle against obstacles and conflicts with antagonists, risk everything, doing whatever they must do to get what they want. Whether protagonists

succeed or fail, their struggles to get what they want lead to absolute and irreversible change in their lives.

Second, the Book of Ezekiel is rhetoric. Although storytellers write some stories only to entertain, storytellers often write their stories as arguments to take sides in some conflict. Just as conflict is the lifeblood of stories, rhetoric involves conflict between opposing adversaries over some common want. As rhetoric, Ezekiel is not just a story, it is a weapon in an argument over the possession of the land. Both as story and as rhetoric, the Book of Ezekiel argues about the right to land.

Method

My method follows from these assumptions. To make my case that Ezekiel is a both a story and a weapon about land rights, I differentiate between the text itself and the writing of the text. To keep these two clear, I refer to the text as story and the writing of the text as rhetoric. Clearly, the distinction is artificial, since the story has its own rhetoric, and the rhetoric has its own story. However, making this distinction allows me to distinguish between the land claim of the story and the land claim that lies behind the composition of the text.

In the three sections that follow, the key word is "perspective." Section Two is a narrative perspective on the text as YHWH's claim that *the land is mine and the land is yours.* Section Three is a rhetorical perspective on the text as an exilic/postexilic land claim that *the land is ours.* Section Four is a perspective on the theology of the Book of Ezekiel for contemporary readers.

For the overview of the text, I use only the NRSV translation except for minor comments on 3:11 and 8:17. I have also substituted "YHWH" for "Lord." I have not attempted to resolve a multitude of exegetical issues or to give more than a few references to the literature on Ezekiel and the land. Aware of such deficiencies, I offer this paper in a modest effort to provide a fresh perspective on the significance of land in the Book of Ezekiel.

Section Two:
A Perspective on Ezekiel as a Story
The Land Is Mine and the Land Is Yours

A story has a protagonist who wants something, and does whatever it takes to get it. YHWH is the protagonist of Ezekiel's story. What does YHWH want? He wants Israel and the nations to acknowledge his land claim, and give him due respect as the landowner of Israel. YHWH acts

against other claimants to the land, risking everything, determined that he will have what he wants.

Who is the primary antagonist of the story? Although YHWH names the nations and Israel as his adversaries, neither functions as YHWH's primary antagonist. In the common land ideology of the Ancient Near East, gods owned the land. YHWH's antagonists are other gods who claim that the land is theirs. YHWH condemns Israel's idol worship and political involvement with the nations because such actions acknowledge the land claims of rival gods. YHWH's refusal to name the gods is part of his strategy to deny their claim. Most of the time, he even refuses to refer directly to the people who are worshiping other gods. Instead, he uses highly figurative language for his targets, frequently using metonymy to identify people in terms of their geographical location. In a geocentric text, metonymy as a figure of speech is especially important. Metonymy substitutes the container for the contained, the land for the people who live upon it. Throughout the story, YHWH displaces his conflict with gods, nations, and people upon the land.

Storytellers not only give their heroes a burning desire for something, good storytellers also inflict their protagonists with some weakness. Whether Achilles's vulnerable heel, Superman's susceptibility to kryptonite, or Indiana Jones's fear of snakes, such flaws make more interesting heroes, with more to risk and more to overcome. Flawed heroes are also more vulnerable to their antagonists. As the protagonist of the story, YHWH is also a hero with a weakness. By his nature, YHWH is holy and he must live in undefiled space. Since he cannot coexist in the presence of impurity, he is vulnerable to those who defile his land and profane his temple. Ezekiel weaves YHWH's want and his weakness into a story with an introduction and two parts. The Introduction is the call to the exile Ezekiel. Part One describes YHWH's strategy to abandon his defiled land and remove all of those who defiled it. Part Two describes his plan to reclaim his empty land, and repopulate it with those who acknowledge his exclusive claim to the land.

Introduction (1:1–3:27)

The story begins when the *kābôd,* the glory of YHWH, appears to Ezekiel in Babylon, an unclean place. However we understand the *kābôd,* [6] as the protagonist of a story, YHWH has taken the first action to get what

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[6] John Strong relates the *kābôd* to Zion ideology, and argues that the *kābôd* was hypostasis rather than presence. See "God's *Kābôd:* The Presence of Yahweh in the Book of Ezekiel, in *The Book of Ezekiel: Theological and Anthropological Perspectives* (ed. Margaret S. Odell and John T. Strong: Atlanta: SBL, 2000), 69–95.

he wants, risking his holiness to do so. He has gone to an unclean land to choose Ezekiel as his prophet to the exiles (3:11). In the rhetorical section, we can consider the effect of this encounter on Ezekiel. Here, YHWH begins his offensive against those who challenge his land claim.

Part One (4:1–32:21): The Defiled Land: The Land Is Not Theirs

YHWH commands Ezekiel to perform a series of sign actions against Jerusalem (4:1–5:17). If YHWH has called Ezekiel to speak to the exiles, why does he command these sign actions against Jerusalem? YHWH aims at Jerusalem to persuade the exiles. He has given up all hope of persuading Jerusalem to recognize his claim. Instead, YHWH treats Jerusalem as the bull's-eye of his target because it has violated its position as his dwelling place in the center of the land, the center of the nations. From his place in the center, YHWH blessed the land as his holiness spread outward from his temple. In return for these blessings, YHWH insisted that the people keep his temple and his land free from impurity. Since they did not, YHWH begins his plan to withdraw his blessing from the land, and to take the land away from those who have defiled it. YHWH's makes his intention clear. "Therefore, as I live, says YHWH God, surely, because you have defiled my sanctuary, with all your detestable things and with all your abominations—therefore I will cut you down; my eye will not spare and I will have no pity" (5:11).

YHWH reveals much about his character here. With the obsessed logic of a batterer, he promises to destroy those who have challenged his ownership of the land. He will respond to violation of his space by intensifying the violation of space. He will respond to violence by intensifying the violence. He will get what he wants, even if it means destroying everything in sight.[7]

YHWH then turns his attention to the mountains of Israel (6:1–14). Since YHWH's holiness spreads outward from the temple throughout the whole land, the whole land is his target.[8] Again using metonymy, he names the mountains but intends the people who live on the land. This time, he threatens to destroy the high places, with their altars to other gods. He doesn't name these gods, just as he doesn't name the people who worship them, but he is angry that the people of Israel do not

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[7] In, "If the Earth Could Speak: The Case of the Mountains Against YHWH in Ezekiel 6, 35, 36," forthcoming in *The Earth Bible, 4* (ed. Norman C. Habel). I argue that Ezekiel's YHWH fits the profile of a batterer.

[8] For a particularly insightful reading on land in Ezekiel, see, Julie Galambush, "Castles in the Air: Creation as Property in Ezekiel," *SBL Seminar Papers 1999* (SBLSP 38: Atlanta: SBL, 1999), 147–72.

recognize his exclusive claim to the land. YHWH knows that every time the people build an altar, make an idol, and worship another god, they are denying that the land belongs to him alone. YHWH makes clear why he hates idols and calls them "abominations." From YHWH's perspective, an idol is a visible representation of another god's land claim.

YHWH responds to these affronts to his land claim by promising to destroy all of these offending worship sites, and to take the land away from the people. With characteristic escalation, he says that he will turn defiled sites into utterly defiled ones, by strewing them with corpses and bones. Again and again, YHWH will return to another of his metonymies, his promise to make the land desolate and waste. He promises to destroy the land, but really intends to destroy the people who live on the land.[9] If the people will not recognize that the land belongs only to him, he will deprive them of all access to the land. Although he promises death for most of them, he wants some to escape into exile, so that they will finally feel sorry that they turned to idols, and finally acknowledge that the land belongs to YHWH.

YHWH continues his threats upon the land, once again referring to the land but intending the people (7:1–27). Here, he changes his focus from the land claims of gods, to the land claims of people who think that worship at the altars of other gods gives them the right to possess the land. He puts particular attention upon the human landowners, not only for their worship of idols but for their violence. YHWH makes clear that violence also defiles the land. He promises that the wealth of the rich will not save them from judgment. YHWH then introduces a promise that will reverberate through the rest of his story. He will use the nations as an instrument against those who have defiled his land with their worship of idols and their violence. Since these people have relied upon their possessions, YHWH promises to hand over all their possessions to the nations.

From the far reaches of his land, YHWH comes back to the center, and takes the prophet on a visionary tour of the Jerusalem temple (8:1–18). As they move from the outer entrance to the temple porch, YHWH points out evidence of worship of other gods. From images to groups of worshipers, YHWH shows that Israel has carried its worship of other gods from the high places into his own dwelling place.

YHWH quotes the elders' justification for their actions: "YHWH does not see us, YHWH has forsaken the land" (8:15). YHWH knows the

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[9] The Earth Bible attempts to read biblical texts from the perspective of Earth. Although I will not pursue the point in this paper, an ecojustice reading of the Book of Ezekiel demonstrates that this geocentric book shows little concern for Earth.

unspoken statements that lie behind this conclusion. He does not lay them out here, because he knows that the prophet knows too. "If YHWH really owned the land, no nation could capture our king and take some of our people into exile. But Babylon did invade our land, and YHWH did not protect us, and Babylon did take our king into exile. The god of Babylon must own our land. Surely, YHWH has forsaken the land."

Then YHWH shows the prophet men who are worshipping the sun. This time, YHWH condemns their violence. "Is it not bad enough that the house of Judah commits the abominations done here? Must they fill the land with violence? *And they provoke me still more, for see, they send out the strong men to execute their anger* " (8:17).[10] With just a few words, YHWH summons up a history of violence by the rich against the poor. By sending out hired "strong men," the rich have dispossessed the poor from their land. Once again, YHWH responds in kind by escalating the offense. He calls up his own band of strong men with weapons, and orders wholesale violence throughout the city, beginning with the elders between the porch and altar.

When the prophet reacts against the wholesale killing, YHWH again justifies his actions by quoting those he has condemned to death. "The guilt of the house of Israel and Judah is exceedingly great; the land is full of bloodshed and the city full of perversity; for they say, 'YHWH has forsaken the land, and YHWH does not see'" (9:9). He wants his prophet to know that violence against the people condemns the rich even more than their acts of idolatry.

YHWH also makes clear by this slaughter that he has no interest in persuading the people left in Jerusalem and the rest of the land. He only wants to persuade the exiles that he is still in control of everything that happens in Israel.

YHWH then abandons his house in stages, beginning from the Holy of Holies at the center, until his *kābôd* reaches the East Gate (10:1–22). The *kābôd* stops at the East Gate to show how the current city leaders have already claimed the right to possess the land (11:1–25). Again YHWH quotes them: "The time is not near to build houses; this city is the pot, and we are the meat" (11:13). YHWH claims to know what they are thinking, and that this strange notion of being meat in a pot means that they will be spared from exile. He promises that the violence they have inflicted will come back upon them, and that they will die outside of the land.

YHWH quotes what these men are saying about the exiles: "They have gone far from YHWH; to us this land is given for a possession" (11:15).

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[10] For translation of words in italics, see Nahum Sarna, "Ezekiel 8:17: A Fresh Examination," in *Studies in Biblical Interpretation* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2000), 305–10.

YHWH contradicts their claim by turning their premises upside down. They think that they are safe in the land because of the temple, and they now have the right to the land that the exiles left behind. Instead, YHWH promises that the exiles will be safe in the land of exile because he will be their sanctuary (11:16). YHWH also promises that he will gather the exiles and return them to the land. In an explicit land promise to the exiles, YHWH states: "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).

With his promise, YHWH envisions the purified land. This time, he will make sure that the returnees purify the land by removing all evidence of the worship of rival gods. YHWH himself will change the hearts of the people so that they will keep his land according to his requirements. As his final word, he promises to bring the deeds of the idol worshipers upon them. Then YHWH abandons the temple and the city.

YHWH next directs his rage against false prophecy (12–14). He makes a series of judgments against those whose actions have forced him to abandon his land, and shelter the exiles in an unclean land. YHWH contradicts all claims that those left in the land will be spared the coming devastation. He commands the prophet to carry out another sign action about Jerusalem, to demonstrate that those left in the land will be exiled, beginning with the "prince" who is now ruling in place of the exiled king. He also promises that the land will no longer support the landowners because of their violence. Again YHWH quotes what people are saying, only to contradict it: "What is this proverb of yours about the land of Israel, which says, 'the days are prolonged, and every vision comes to nothing'" (12:22). He quotes their belief: "The vision that he sees is for many years ahead; he prophesies for distant times" (12:27). He promises that the end is near for those left in the land. He also condemns the false prophets, those who claim that they are speaking for YHWH by promising peace. YHWH promises that these false prophets will not reenter the land of Israel. He also condemns idol worship among the exiles, and implores them to abandon all trust in idols. Finally, the prophet receives another word about the impending desolation of the land. Again, using the land as a metonymy for the people, YHWH says that judgment is inevitable for Israel's actions (14:12–20). The section ends with the promise that a few survivors will tell the exiles what has happened, and the exiles will know that YHWH was justified to abandon the land to its impending destruction (12:22–23).

YHWH then uses a series of images that blame the political leadership in Jerusalem for the current situation (15–17, 19). He describes them as a vine, and then a whoring woman. Then he describes Jerusalem's kings with imagery that ranges from the top of a cedar tree plucked by one

eagle, a vine plucked by another eagle, lion cubs trapped in nets, and a tree cast to the ground. Although he weaves these elaborate metaphors, YHWH doesn't trust the exiles to understand unless he explains them. He makes clear that the political leaders have caused exile, defeat, and loss of the land.

In the middle of these metaphors about Jerusalem politics, YHWH turns his attention to the exiles in a complicated response to their apparent beliefs about why they are in exile (18). He quotes their statements in order to contradict them: "The parents have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (18:2). "Why should not the son suffer for the iniquity of the father?" (18:19). "The way of YHWH is unfair" (18:25, 29). Through all of this, he makes clear that the exiles do deserve exile, but that it is not too late for them to repent and live.

YHWH tells how he gave the land to Israel. First, in Egypt: "On that day I swore to them that I would bring them out of the land of Egypt into a land that I had searched out for them, a land flowing with milk and honey, the most glorious of all lands" (20:6). In exchange for this promise of land, YHWH asked that Israel cast away its idols, but they refused. He then explains how he planned to punish them in Egypt, but decided to save his reputation instead, and brought them out of Egypt, and gave them his statues and ordinances. He planned to punish them in the wilderness, but again changed his mind, for the sake of his reputation. He decided to keep that generation from entering the land. YHWH had the same experience with their children: they rebelled, he decided to punish them, he decided to save his reputation. When YHWH finally brought Israel into the land, they continued to worship other gods. YHWH relates this historical geography of Israel to tell the exiles that next time will be different. The next time he brings Israel into the land, he will make sure that the rebels are left behind: "I will purge out the rebels among you, and those who transgress against me; I will bring them out of the land where they reside as aliens, but they shall not enter the land of Israel" (20:38). The next time, he will not allow his holiness to be threatened by those who defile the land with their worship of idols. The next time, he will allow only those to enter land who offer their worship only to him, as the sole owner of the land.

Once again, YHWH returns to his promise that judgment is coming upon Israel. With images of fire in the Negeb, a drawn sword, and a fork in the road, YHWH continues his theme: worship of other gods, political alliances with other nations, corruption, and violence will continue to bring destruction upon the land of Israel. This time, he describes Israel's political history as the actions of two whoring sisters. In lewd detail, and with explicit political references, he pictures himself as the cuckolded husband. With this tale, YHWH tells how he was justified to hand Samaria

over to the Assyrians, and will be justified again to hand Jerusalem over to Babylon.

YHWH returns to the topic of the siege of Jerusalem (24). Earlier, YHWH commanded the prophet to do sign actions about the siege. This time, he announces that the siege has begun. He mocks the elites who claimed to be safe because they were meat in the pot with an allegory about putting the meat pot on to boil. YHWH then gives the prophet another difficult task. YHWH tells him that he must not do the mourning rituals for his wife as a sign to the exiles not to mourn the impending death of the city, and the loss of the temple.

YHWH then turns his attention to the nations (25–32). As punishment for their actions against Israel, YHWH makes a series of announcement to neighboring countries. To Ammon, he says: "Because you said, 'Aha!' over my sanctuary when it was profaned, and over the land of Israel when it was made desolate, and over the house of Judah when it went into exile, therefore I am handing you over to the people of the East for a possession" (25:3–4). To Moab, he says: "I will give it along with Ammon to the people of the East as a possession" (25:10). To Edom: "I will stretch out my hand against Edom, and cut off from it humans and animals, and I will make it desolate" (12:13). To the Philistines: "I will stretch out my hand against the Philistines, cut off the Cherethites, and destroy the rest of the seacoast" (25:16). Although YHWH uses more words to describe the coming destruction of Tyre, the point is the same: Tyre and its daughter cities will be destroyed and never rebuilt. Finally, YHWH promises the destruction of Sidon. YHWH's theme for all of these judgments is that those who have harmed Israel will lose their land. When these troublesome neighbors are out of the way, YHWH will then return the exiles to the land. There, they will live safely on their own soil, as YHWH manifests his holiness upon them.

YHWH gives the dragon's share of attention to Egypt, beginning with his promise that: "the land of Egypt shall be a desolation and a waste" as YHWH scatters the people of Egypt into exile (29:9). YHWH also says that he will give the land of Egypt to Babylon, as repayment for what Babylon was done for YHWH. With a series of oracles and images, YHWH continues with the same theme. Egypt will be defeated, its land stripped of population, and its people exiled.

After all of these statements of judgment against the surrounding nations, YHWH returns to familiar themes (33). He reminds the prophet that he is a sentinel for the exiles, and that he is responsible to warn them of the coming sword. He tells the exiles to repent and live. He again disputes the their complaints: "The way of YHWH is not just" (33:17). After this summary, YHWH concludes with a statement that summarizes

all that has gone before: "O house of Israel, I will judge all of you according to your ways" (33:20).

Part Two: The Land Purified: I Will Give You the Land

The story turns with news of the fall of Jerusalem. This is the low point, the place in a dramatic story when it looks as if the protagonist has lost everything, and has no hope of getting what he wants. At this point, YHWH changes his tone and his strategy. After the prophet receives the news that Jerusalem has fallen, YHWH opens the prophet's mouth so that he can again speak. Significantly, YHWH's first topic is possession of the land. This time, he quotes those still left in the land after the fall of the city: "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). YHWH promises to empty the land of all of its remaining inhabitants (33:27–28).

YHWH follows this word about the possession of the land with a short validation of the prophet. This indicates that the exiles do not believe what Ezekiel is telling them.

Then YHWH turns his attention to the leadership of Israel, using the metaphor of shepherds and sheep to summarize the failures of Israel's leadership. He says that the sheep have been scattered because the shepherds have not taken care of them. YHWH promises that he will take over as shepherd: "I will bring them out from the peoples and gather them from the countries, and will bring them into their own land" (34:13). After judging the sheep, and separating out the ones who scattered the sheep, YHWH will remove even the wild animals from the land, since they could threaten the safety of the people. He also promises to bless the land with rain, fruitful trees, and abundant crops.

YHWH continues with his theme of possession of the land. He will rescue the land by again judging Edom (35). With familiar language, YHWH responds in kind to Edom's violence against Israel by escalating violence against Edom, promising to leave Edom an empty land. In his familiar pattern of quoting in order to contradict, he quotes Edom's land claims about Israel: "'These two nations and these two countries shall be mine, and we will take possession of them'" (35:10). Here YHWH makes his outrage clear over Edom's attempt to take his land from him.

YHWH again addresses the mountains of Israel: "Because the enemy said of you, 'Aha!' and, 'the ancient heights have become our possession'" (36:2). Before the fall of Jerusalem, YHWH pronounced judgment again the mountains of Israel to justify his abandonment of them. Now, YHWH promises to judge Edom for claiming that Israel was its possession.

He promises that he will once again repopulate the land, and fill it with abundance: "I will lead people upon you—my people Israel—And they shall possess you, and you shall be their inheritance" (36:12).

After YHWH promises to give the land to the exiles as their possession, he once again justifies the exile. He had to scatter them into exile, because their idols and their violence defiled his land and compromised his holiness.

Then YHWH gets to the heart of the matter. He scattered the people because they had defiled his land, but the exile itself profaned his name. YHWH quotes the statements of the nations: "These are the people of YHWH, and yet they had to go out of his land" (16:20). YHWH makes clear that he will not bring the people back because they deserve the land, but because he wants to repair his tarnished reputation. He wants to convince the nations and their gods that he is the legitimate owner of the land. He promises to make sure that the people can never again sully his reputation with the nations. He will give them new hearts so that they will follow the rules about his land. The result will be what he has wanted from the beginning: he will regain his reputation with the nations. YHWH quotes the nations: "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" (36:35–36). For the first time, YHWH quotes a statement without contradicting it. This is what he wants. The nations will know that YHWH is the legitimate owner of the land.

YHWH takes the prophet to a valley of dry bones, and asks the prophet if the bones can live (37). With a dramatic flourish and rattling sound effects, YHWH puts breath in the bones, causing the bones to become living people. YHWH then explains to the prophet what this means by quoting the exiles: "Our bones are dried up, and our hope is lost; we are cut off completely" (37:11). YHWH has made clear throughout the story that "cutting off" a people means exile from their land. He quotes their belief that they are cut off from the land forever so that he can contradict them: "Thus says YHWH 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" (37:12).

Next YHWH tells the prophet to write on two sticks as a sign that he will gather the exiles and return them to the land of Israel. In this reclaimed land, YHWH promises to live in their midst, once again blessing the land and its people: "I will make a covenant of peace with them; it shall be an everlasting covenant with them; and I will bless them and multiply them, and will set my sanctuary among them forevermore. My dwelling place shall be with them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people" (37:27). He ends this glowing description of people living abundantly on his temple land with one more glance toward the nations:

"Then the nations shall know that I YHWH sanctify Israel, when my sanctuary is among them forevermore" (37:28).

From the turning point, YHWH has contrasted the situation when he abandoned the land to its deserved fate with what will happen when he reclaims the land and populates it with people who will not defile his land. Before Jerusalem fell, YHWH kept warning that a foreign nation was going to conquer the defiled land. He says that it will be different in the undefiled land of the future. He tells of a future enemy, Gog, of the land of Magog, who will try to take the land from YHWH (38–39). When YHWH lives in the midst of his undefiled land, he will protect both his land and his name from future assault. He will destroy Gog to convince the nations that they can never again claim YHWH's land: "My holy name I will make known among my people Israel; and I will not let my holy name be profaned any more; and the nations shall know that I am YHWH, the Holy One in Israel" (39:7).

YHWH will use the destruction of Gog as one final proof that Israel deserved exile. He exiled the people because they had defiled his land, damaging his reputation with the nations. When he gathers the exiles and returns them to their land, YHWH will finally restore his reputation with the nations. He ends with one final promise that he will never again abandon his people: "Then they shall know that I am YHWH their God because I sent them into exile among the nations, and then gathered them into their own land. I will leave none of them behind; and I will never again hide my face from them, when I pour out my spirit upon the house of Israel, says YHWH GOD" (39:28–29).

Finally, YHWH allows the prophet to have a vision of the restored land, with its dwelling place in the midst of the land (40–48). In this vision, the *kābôd* returns to the temple, and the East Gate is shut, never to reopen. He promises to dwell in their midst forever, in a land where his name is never again defiled. Then YHWH details the new human geography of this undefiled land, and divides the land among the tribes of Israel. YHWH renames the city as a reminder that Israel now lives in temple land: "YHWH is there."[11]

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[11] For my argument that Ezekiel 40–48 is a new human geography, see *The Vision of Transformation: The Territorial Rhetoric of Ezekiel 40–48,* SBL Dissertation Series 154 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

Section Three: A Perspective on Ezekiel as Rhetoric

The Land Is Ours

On the surface of the text, the Book of Ezekiel is a story about YHWH's call to the exile Ezekiel. The story justifies the exile and offers hope of return to the land. If we move immediately from the story to our own theological perspectives on the story, we have jumped over the Grand Canyon-size gap called rhetoric. The Book of Ezekiel is more than the story told on its pages. It is also rhetoric, a story originating in a particular context to accomplish a purpose. Some stories can be used as rhetorical weapons, told to gain ground in a factional conflict. The Book of Ezekiel is such a weapon, and gaining possession of the real ground is its partisan purpose. However we choose to appropriate this book as sacred scripture, we must first consider what it meant as factional rhetoric. If we focus on the promised gift of land to the exiles, while ignoring that this gift of land means that others will be dispossessed from the same land, we have naively turned a sword into a plowshare.

A story has a protagonist who wants something, and must struggle against adversaries to get it. Rhetors also want something, and also must struggle against adversaries to get what they want. Although protagonists might fight with swords and rhetors with pens, both attempt to get what they want in the face of opposition.

What does the Ezekiel rhetor want? How we answer this question depends on our opinions about the provenance of the book. Since my own interests on this matter are more rhetorical than historical, I make no effort to locate the composition and final redaction of the Book of Ezekiel on an exilic/postexilic timeline. For my purposes, I assume that Ezekiel is primarily an exilic text, which was amended by a bit of postexilic tinkering, to be rhetorically useful in both contexts. To consider how the story functioned rhetorically in either context, we can differentiate between an exilic rhetor and a postexilic rhetor.

Exilic Rhetoric

What do we know of the exilic rhetor? Can we discern what he wants? The story tells us that Ezekiel was a member of a priestly family, that he was taken in 597 with the first group of exiles, and that he lived among the exiles in Babylon. Whether Ezekiel or someone else, the rhetor agonized over the experience of exile. From his priestly perspective, Babylon was unholy space, the place of the absence of YHWH.

The rhetor begins his story with a shattering event. Ezekiel encounters the *kābôd,* the glory of YHWH, in Babylon, an experience that explodes

priestly spatial convictions about holy space and the locatedness of YHWH. The rhetor explains this wondrous encounter in great detail, with colors, sights, sounds, and tastes. He wants his audience to know that this was more than a vision, it was a real event. He also wants his audience to know that Ezekiel is truly a prophet, despite his status as an exile and his location outside the land.

In this initial encounter, Ezekiel receives a call to prophesy to the rebellious house of Israel, the exiled elite in Babylon.[12] Yet Ezekiel does not readily accept the call. After his first call, when he is told to go and speak to the exiles, he instead goes and sits in silence for a week. Is he sitting in stunned silence because he is awed by the experience of encountering the *kābôd*? Is he trying to make sense of this jolt to his worldview of YHWH as the God who dwells in the center of the land in Israel? Is he offended that the Holy One, who dwelled in the Holy of Holies, had violated his own demand for spatial holiness by appearing in unclean Babylon? Is he stunned into silence by the rhetorical task placed upon him? How can he crack through the spatial constraints of his audience? How can he convince them that YHWH had appeared to him in Babylon? Whatever his reasons, the prophet did not jump at the chance to prophesy.

What does Ezekiel want? The question is irrelevant. The prophet is the narrator, not the protagonist of the story. As a character, Ezekiel has little choice in what happens to him. The rhetor sets both YHWH and the exilic audience against the prophet. As a character in a story, the reluctant prophet is tied up, rendered speechless, forced to perform strange actions, defiled by unclean food, unwilling witness to horrors, ridiculed by his audience, bereft of his wife, denied his grief, and whisked here and there at the whim of YHWH.

What does the exilic rhetor want? His wants are those of an exiled priest. He wants to explain exile in terms that are consistent with his priestly temple land ideology. He wants to blame those who caused the exile by violating this ideology. He wants to keep the community together in Babylon, offering hope that exile is not the end of the community. Most of all, he wants to go home. With the fervor of an idealist, he wants to reclaim the land and remake the world.

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[12] The NRSV translates the *waw* of 3:11 as "then," indicating a distinction between the rebellious house of Israel and the exiles. Grammatically, this *waw* could be translated simply as "and," indicating a continuation rather than a disjunction. By considering the entire narrative, I take this *waw* as a continuation of Ezekiel's address to the exiles. Throughout the narrative, the rhetor makes clear that YHWH has abandoned those left in the land, and chosen the exiles.

The exilic rhetor faces enormous rhetorical problems. To persuade his audience, he must counter the accepted wisdom of the Ancient Near East. Everyone knew that gods owned the land. Everyone knew that exile of a people was proof of the failure of a god. Everyone knew that a god who could not prevent the exile of his people did not really own the land. The exilic rhetor must counter this accepted wisdom, by defending YHWH's actions, exhorting the exiles to remain faithful despite YHWH's seeming unfaithfulness, offering hope of land to people who have lost their land, and claiming that those who now possess the land will lose it. Taken together, his story is an outrageous two-sided land claim that *the land is mine and the land is yours.*

To make this argument, the exilic rhetor blames everyone he can blame, except YHWH. He blames the political leadership in Jerusalem for their political alliances, which led to conquest by Babylon, exile, and destruction of the city and temple. He blames those who do not adhere to his priestly religious practices. He blames the nations, for their political actions, and their attempts to take Israel's land. He blames those left in the land, who are supposedly claiming the land the exiles left behind. He blames everyone for the exile to let YHWH off the hook.

The exilic rhetor also offers hope. He wants to persuade the exiles not to abandon belief in YHWH, even in exile, in the face of Babylon's allures and its gods. Nothing threatens the existence of a community more than exile, because a relocated society is a changed society. An imprisoned king is a radically different king than one who rules in his own land. A templeless priest is a radically different priest than one who maintains the spatial holiness of a temple. Exiled elders in foreign settlement camps are radically different than elders of communities living on their own land. How does a rhetor convince such an exiled community to maintain its collective identity and its belief in YHWH? The exilic rhetor uses a combination of shame, blame, guilt, and land promises to offer hope to the exiles that they will one day return to the land.

Postexilic Rhetoric

The postexilic rhetor uses this exilic story for his own rhetorical purposes. What do we know of this postexilic rhetor? Actually, we know nothing of him. Did someone edit and expand an exilic version of the Book of Ezekiel? Did someone merely appropriate an exilic text and use it in the postexilic era? Did someone write the whole story in the postexilic era? We can only speculate. We do know that the Book of Ezekiel endured and became part of the Hebrew canon. From this, we can assume that it served a useful rhetorical purpose in postexilic Israel.

The postexilic rhetor uses this story as a weapon. As a story, the Book of Ezekiel claims that YHWH has chosen the exiles to be the new house of Israel and dispossessed those left in the land. With the mentality of us against them, it shows that everyone left in the land after the first exile deserved death or displacement from the land. YHWH shows scenes of their actions and quotes their words, to prove that they are hopelessly corrupt, greedy for the exiles' land, beyond repentance, and not worth saving. All deserve obliterating judgment, except those few whose only reason for surviving is to bring news to the exiles. This message of hope for the exiles relies on a theology of replacement. YHWH has rejected them and chosen us as his people. YHWH has abandoned their sanctuary to become our sanctuary. YHWH has dispossessed them of their land to give it to us.

As a story for exiles, the story claims that *the land is mine and the land is yours.* As a weapon in postexilic land disputes, the same story claims that *the land is ours.* This is factional rhetoric, setting the exiles against those still living in the land. By quoting supposed land claims by elders left in the land, it fosters resentment among the exiles. By insisting that the exiles must not mourn the fall of Jerusalem, it treats those remaining in the land as the enemy. By picturing the land as a devastated wasteland, devoid of all human population, it denies the validity of all competing land claims. After all, if no one lives on the land, the land is ours for the taking. We can easily imagine how useful such a document would be as a weapon in postexilic conflicts over land rights.

Section Four: Contemporary Perspectives on the Theology of Ezekiel

After considering the Book of Ezekiel as story, and then as rhetoric, what does it mean for contemporary readers to consider it as theology? I set my comments in the context of the invitation to write this paper. I was invited to write a paper on "land in the Book of Ezekiel" for the "Theological Perspectives on the Book of Ezekiel Seminar." I consider the invitation both a personal honor and an instructive example of significant constraints upon contemporary biblical exegetes affecting our theological studies of land in the Hebrew Bible. At the risk of appearing ungracious to my hosts, I respectfully offer two observations.

First, "land in Ezekiel" is a topic. Looking at "land" as a topic in any biblical text can easily lead to a word study approach. As a topic, "land in Ezekiel" is a terrific place to begin our theological studies, and an insufficient place to end them. As Norman Habel has demonstrated so

clearly, our studies of land need to pay attention to both land ideologies and land claims.

Second, the order of the words in the phrase, "theological perspectives on the book of Ezekiel," has the effect of locating theological perspectives outside of the book of Ezekiel rather than within it. Since English changes meaning by reordering words, the location of the word, "theological," carries tremendous significance. Studies concerning "theological perspectives ON the book" begin at a different location than those concerning "perspectives on the theology OF the book.

I can guess that those who named the seminar did so to put "theology" in the first position. The designation, "theological perspectives," makes clear to the SBL that this seminar is interested in theological issues. The word order also acknowledges the postmodern insight that none of is a neutral observer. Our own theological perspectives do influence how we read any biblical text. However, if our goal is discern the theology of Ezekiel concerning the land, starting with our own theological perspectives means that we are trying to read a text grounded in the land while wearing spatial blinders

My paper began with the assertion that the Book of Ezekiel is a geocentric narrative about land rights. The Ezekiel rhetor had to deal with spatial constraints upon his audience because of their prior Ancient Near East land theology. I suggest that we, as contemporary readers and biblical scholars, also bring prior spatial constraints with us that obscure the geocentrism of the book.

One spatial constraint affecting us is that we come to the book of Ezekiel as a sacred book within a canon of scripture, whether we call that canon Tanak or Old Testament or Hebrew Bible. Whatever our own faith claims might be about this book as scripture, the spatiality of Ezekiel-as-scripture is far removed from the spatiality of Ezekiel-as-rhetoric. Rhetoric attempts to persuade a particular audience in a particular historical, social, and geographical context of a particular argument. The process of canonization disconnects a text from its own time and place and social context, to claim that its meaning and relevance now extend to all times, places, and social contexts. Land, which was both the ground and the purpose of Ezekiel-as-rhetoric, has become only one topic, among more important topics, in Ezekiel-as-scripture. In the process, we have lost the essence of an argument about the relationship between God, land, and people, and turned Ezekiel into ungrounded scripture about the relationship between God and people, without noticing that land was what held the two together in Ezekiel's theology.

A second spatial constraint upon us is that we are not defined by our connection to land the way Ezekiel's audience was. Of course, we all know that much of who we are is a direct result of where we are, and where we

have been. However, most of us have lived, studied, worked, and traveled in a multitude of places, across a range of state lines and international boundaries. We are citizens of a postindustrial, global village connected by cyberspace. We assert theologies about a God who transcends the limitations of time and space. As a result, we have little in common with the ancient, land-identified, agrarian people, with their land-owning God, who were wrenched by violence from the only place they had ever lived, and taken to an alien desert land, to live as exiles in Babylon.

My reading of secondary literature on Ezekiel convinces me that contemporary readers tend underestimate those words: "to live as exiles in Babylon." Our historical bias causes us to argue about whether the composition of the book was exilic or postexilic, in whole or part, but we tend to treat exile as a historical fact among other historical facts, without lingering long enough on what exile meant to those led away to Babylon. I have even read scholarly comments about how exile wasn't all that bad, since the exiles had places to live, and their king got first class treatment at the palace. Such facile comments underestimate the devastating impact of exile upon the community.[13]

Another spatial constraint upon us is that our discipline teaches us to be much better historians than geographers. My own critical spatial method begins with two assertions by Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja. The first is that our critical methods have privileged temporality over spatiality, giving a bias to history over geography. The second is that "two terms are never enough." Lefebvre and Soja argue that temporally-biased scholarship tends to deal in either/or categories that exclude spatiality. Their remedy is to add spatiality as the third term, which turns either/or into both/and.[14]

A practical example of both/and is a United States quarter. An image of George Washington appears on the front. Another image appears on the reverse, such as an eagle or a state symbol. Yet a quarter is more than front and back. It also has a middle. A quarter has a visible copper layer joining front and back, creating a whole object with three inseparable parts. Any effort to separate front, back, and middle destroys the coin.

By adding spatiality as the third term, we can avoid the tendency in biblical scholarship to separate theological perspectives from sociological ones. For an example, I respectfully cite the methodological dichotomy at

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[13] The best introduction to Ezekiel that I know is, Elie Wiesel, *Night* (New York: Bantam Book, 1960). For Wiesel, his exile into a Nazi concentration camp, as a member of an exiled community, slashed to the core of his identity and his faith. For Ezekiel and his community, exile in Babylon was no less devastating.

[14] Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 1–8.

the beginning of Norman Habel's book, *The Land is Mine.* He has set up his study of land ideologies in terms of a dichotomy between biblical theology and biblical ideology. Habel defines biblical theology as "the doctrine and discourses about God expressed within a biblical literary unit that reflect the living faith of the community." He then defines a biblical ideology as a "complex and contested set of ideas, values, symbols, and aspirations being promoted with social and political force in a given literary complex to persuade the implied audience within that text of the truth of a given ideology."[15] At the risk of oversimplifying these careful definitions, the distinction seems to be that theology is about God and ideology is about society. Although he asserts that the distinction between biblical ideology and biblical theology is subtle, Habel's methodological choice separates theology from sociology. By treating theology and sociology as separable categories, he then concentrates on biblical land ideology as a sociological category apart from theology. I regard this methodological choice as the greatest weakness of Habel's splendid book.

As an example of another dichotomy with implications for our study of land in the Hebrew Bible, I also respectfully cite Daniel Block's two-volume commentary on Ezekiel. Block's own "fundamental" theological conclusions are expressed in terms of a dual relationship between God and people. In Block's words, "Ezekiel's overriding purpose is to transform his audience's perspective of their relationship with Yahweh, exposing delusions of innocence and offering a divine understanding of reality."[16] Although Block clearly addresses the topics of land and exile, he has created a dichotomy that leaves spatiality out of the equation.

In a triad of God, land, and people, Habel has tended toward land and people, and Block has tended toward God and people. By insisting that two terms are never enough, a critical spatial perspective moves us beyond such dichotomies to ask how any reference to land in a biblical text is simultaneously theological and sociological.

My argument is that the Book of Ezekiel is a two-sided coin, with theology on one side and sociology on the other, joined by a spatial middle. Theologically, the narrative asserts that YHWH is still the owner of the land. Sociologically, it asserts that the exiles are the new house of Israel and that YHWH will give the land to them. These two land claims are held together by Ezekiel's temple land ideology.

Although the metaphor of Ezekiel-as-a-quarter demonstrates both/and, it is also misleading. Ezekiel's temple land ideology is much

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15 Habel, 11.

16 Daniel I. Block, T*he Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1–24,* NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 1:14.

more than a connective between theological claims and social claims. Instead of being a quarter, with a distinct copper middle, Ezekiel is a two-sided penny made completely of copper. One side of the penny is embossed with *the land is mine.* The other side is embossed with *the land is yours.* The Book of Ezekiel is a whole coin is made of one material, its temple land ideology, which has been shaped and embossed into a single object about the land. The difference between a theological perspective or a sociological one is only a matter of whether we are looking at the front or the back. Both as a story that claims *the land is mine and the land is yours,* and as rhetoric that claims *the land is ours,* the Book of Ezekiel is a theological and sociological land claim.

It's All About Us! Nationalistic Exegesis in the Greek Isaiah (Chapters 1–12)

David A. Baer

The translator of LXX Isaiah is a nationalist. That is, he tends to find a surprising number of allusions to his own people in the Hebrew text, references that he expands and underscores in his Greek rendering. At times, the reference alludes in a general manner to Israel's future. At others, there is a remarkably particular application of texts to the Diaspora reality of the translator himself.[1] Such 'nationalistic' exegesis assumes that Jews and their destiny are privileged over Gentiles and theirs. The net effect is to tilt the 'nationalist/universalist balance'[2] of his text in favor of Jewish particularism.

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[1] This feature has been widely discussed. Cf. especially I. L. Seeligmann, *The LXX Version of Isaiah.* Leiden: Brill. 1948. A. van der Kooij has written extensively on the topic. Cf., representatively, *Die Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1981, 33–60 ('Aktualisierende Interpretation'); 'The Old Greek of Isaiah 19:16–25', in C. E. Cox, ed., *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem, 1986.* Atlanta: Scholars. 1987, 127–66; "'The Servant of the Lord': A Particular Group of Jews in Egypt according to the Old Greek of Isaiah. Some Comments on LXX Isa 49,1–6 and Related Passages," in J. van Ruiten and M. Vervenne, eds, *Studies in the Book of Isaiah. Festschrift Willem A. M. Beuken.* Leuven: Peeters. 1997, 383–96; and 'Isaiah in the Septuagint', in C. C. Broyles and C. A. Evans, eds, *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah. Studies of an Interpretative Tradition.* Vol. 2. Leiden: Brill. 1997, 513–29. Cf. also chapters six and seven of D. A. Baer, *When We All Go Home.*

[2] H. G. M. Williamson, *Variations on a Theme. King, Messiah and Servant in the Book of Isaiah.* Carlisle: Paternoster. 1998, 171. Since Jewish prospects were usually understood to be wrapped up with those of Jerusalem, a focus upon Zion/Jerusalem and the cultic functions carried out in that city is included in our

Scholars have usually identified such translational habits in LXX Isaiah by focussing upon the more obvious exegetical maneuvers. In contrast, this paper discusses several less evident moves in chapters 1–12 which have been largely ignored by students of early Jewish interpretation of Isaiah. These examples corroborate the general outlines sketched elsewhere upon less debatable grounds.

This is not to imply that the Isaiah translator felt at liberty to rewrite his Hebrew text. He has often and unsatisfactorily been described as 'free', a description which adequately sums up his actualizing tendencies but which fails to say anything about his relatively stubborn adhesion to the Hebrew text.[3] His conservative method means that such exegesis will usually—but hardly always—leave only subtle traces. Because of this subtlety, some plausible examples of nationalistic exegesis might not stand indisputably on their own. Thus, we must proceed with caution and give greater weight to the more obvious data.

A Special Status for Israel/Judah

Some passages in the Greek Isaiah appear intended to preserve a special status for Israel/Judah and its descendants. At 1.9, the Hebrew text expresses just how close the people had come to irrecoverable catastrophe:

לולי יהוה צבאות הותיר לנו שריד כמעט
כסדם היינו עמרה דמינו

> If the Lord of hosts had not left us a few survivors (so NRSV), we would have been like Sodom and become like Gomorrah.

It is at the word כמעט that the LXX parts company with the MT. כמעט could go adjectivally with שריד (thus, 'a small band of escapees'; so MT accentuation) or adverbially with כסדם היינו ('we would have come very close to being like Sodom'). A verse like Ps 94.17 states the case for an adverbial reading:

לולי יהוה עזרתה לי כמעט שכנה דומה נפשי

> *If the Lord had not been my help, my soul would soon have lived in silence.*

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analysis of his 'nationalism', though the latter feature does not figure prominently in this paper.

[3] I here make the assumption, defended elsewhere, that the translator's *Vorlage* was very similar to the consonantal component of MT. He seldom strays from it, though he may reconfigure the elements it provides.

The psalmist considers that his life has been kept from dwelling in silence. כמעט seems to emphasize just how close he had come to a more tragic outcome (LXX παρὰ βραχὺ).

On the other hand, some rabbinical discussion—Rashi for example—appears to support MT's adjectival reading. David Kimchi helpfully observes that 'to be like Sodom' would mean to have no שריד whatsoever, whereas in the case at hand Judah and Benjamin—just barely—were left with a שריד.

For its part, LXX fails to translate כמעט entirely. This is a silence worth listening to, for the number of what I call 'discrete LXX minuses' in the Greek Isaiah is small. Perhaps the translator had an exegetical motive for his silence.

Assuming that כמעט did in fact stand in the *Vorlage*, one can imagine three reasons for the lack of a specific equivalent in LXX: (a) the translator overlooked it. This option must overcome probabilities afforded by the fact that, of 18 occurrences of כמעט, LXX fails to translate the expression only here and once in Ezra; (b) the translator considered that צריד כמעט was properly glossed by σπέρμα, presumably because a σπέρμα is by definition a little thing; (c) the translator did not consider the remnant which God had left to be a small thing, and so purposely left כמעט untranslated.

I would like to dwell for a moment on this latter explanation in the broader context of exile and restoration. Here one is reminded of Isa 49.6, where it is said of the Servant of the Lord, a protagonist which the Greek Isaiah rather consistently insists upon glossing in communitarian terms: '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.' This, of course, is the prelude to the Servant's more universalistic commission as a light to the nations. In that verse, the Septuagint translator unreservedly executes a converse reading: Μέγα σοί ἐστι—'It is a *great* thing for you to be called my servant to establish the tribes of Jacob and to bring back the Diaspora of Israel.' It is likely that the following sentence, which explains the Servant's function as a light to the nations for the purpose of becoming 'salvation unto the end of the earth' refers—for the translator—to his role in bringing Diaspora Jews back from such distant places.

Similarly, nationalistic dynamics are evident in the striking reversal at 54.6, which is explained by the imagery of Israel's temporary abandonment by the Lord in 54.7: 'For a brief moment I abandoned you, but with great compassion I will gather you.' The assertion of the Hebrew text of 54.6—'For the Lord has called you (Israel) like a wife forsaken and grieved in spirit'—is flatly denied in the LXX by provision of a negative

particle: οὐχ ὡς γυναῖκα καταλελειμμένην καὶ ὀλιγόψυχον κέκληκέ σε κύριος.[4]

When one attempts to explain the oddly missing כמעט at 1.9 in the light of these—and a large number of other—'nationalistic' readings, the missing כמעט seems to be no accident. כמעט may have no equivalent in the LXX precisely because our exegete *cum* translator chose to actualize his text in the light of a very considerable Diaspora community—he might have thought as well of his Palestinian brethren—which was, for him, *no small thing*.

There may be some corroboration of an early exegetical tendency in that direction in Targum Jonathan. The targum affirms that the Lord has 'left us a remnant in his mercy'.[5] It may be worth observing that the *meturgeman* uses the same mercy-word to describe God's dealings with his remnant both in the more confident expression at 54.7 and here at 1.9. It is at least interesting that the space which is occupied in MT by a diminutive adjective for Israel/Judah's survivors and which in LXX appears to be absent altogether is occupied in TJ by an adverbial reference to the Lord's mercies which does nothing to qualify the resulting remnant as 'small' or unimportant. It may well be that both the Septuagint translator and the *meturgeman*, peering after the fact into what was for them a predictive and oracular text, discovered that it was—after all—'about us!' And that this was no extraneous detail.

There is also a tendency to exalt Israel over the nations in the eschaton. In another work, I argue that the eschatological pilgrimage of LXX Isaiah 66 allows the Gentiles to come, in due subservience, to the city of Zion—where they present their *tribute*—but not into the actual house where the Lord awaits his returning Jewish children who present *to him* their *sacrifice*.[6] While we are admittedly on speculative ground, a fascinating LXX expansion at Isa 2.2 may strengthen the case for reading two separate destinations—for Jews and Gentiles, respectively—at Isa

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[4] 'Not as a woman who has been abandoned nor (as) a faint-hearted (woman) has the Lord called you.' The negative conversion continues into the following clause, where *waw* is glossed by οὐδ'. In 54.7, the Lord does concede that he abandoned Israel (עזבתיך = κατέλιπόν σε); however, the fact that this was only for 'a brief moment' apparently is taken to mean that it was not *real* abandonment.

[5] אשאר לנא שיזבא ברחמוהי

[6] *When We All Go Home*, chapter seven. A predilection for expressing himself in this way might have been nourished by passages such as Isaiah 10.21. In making a distinction between Israel's mistreaters and the remnant itself, the translator affirms, καὶ ἔσται τὸ καταλειφθὲν τοῦ Ιακωβ ἐπὶ θεὸν ἰσχύοντα.

66.20 rather than just one. Isaiah chapter two also presents an eschatological pilgrimage which brings Gentiles to Jerusalem. The MT has

והיה באחרית הימים נכון יהיה הר בית־יהוה
בראש ההרים ונשא מגבעות ונהרו אל־יו
כל־הגוים

In days to come the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established as the highest of the mountains, and shall be raised above the hills; all the nations shall stream to it.

The LXX offers

ὅτι ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ἐμφανὲς τὸ ὄρος κυρίου καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπ᾽ ἄκρων τῶν ὀρέων καὶ ὑψωθήσεται ὑπεράνω τῶν βουνῶν καὶ ἥξουσιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.

For in the latter days the mountain of the Lord and the house of God shall be manifest on the peaks of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all the nations shall come upon it.

The translator has taken the unusual step of dismantling the construct chain הר בית־יהוה and—unless this is a kind of epexegetical καὶ—introducing two destinations into his translated text: τὸ ὄρος κυρίου and ὁ οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ.

This expansion might go unnoticed[7] were it not for the fact that the resumptive prepositional phrase אל־יו is translated by the neuter ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ. It is this component of the text which stipulates the destination to which 'all the Gentiles' process. This phrase must refer either to the neuter antecedent (τὸ ὄρος κυρίου), to the masculine antecedent (ὁ οἶκος τοῦ θεου), or to both. Significantly, the translator has not said that the Gentiles will come ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν / αὐτῷ, which would suggest that their destination was 'the house of God'. Nor has he written ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς / αὐτοῖς, which would use the masculine pronoun as 'gender-inclusive', with both 'mountain' and 'house' as its antecedent. Rather, his use of the neuter ἐπ᾽ αὐτο; would appear to point back to the only explicitly neuter antecedent, the ὄρος κυρίου. If so, the Gentiles of this vision may progress all the way up *the mountain*, but nothing is said about their entrance into the *house of God*.

This observation must be balanced against the enthusiasm of the Gentiles in 2.3, where they fully intend that their pilgrimage will end in the house of the God of Jacob itself. Nevertheless, the fact that the translator—whether unconsciously or not—has allowed the alterations

[7] Or perhaps be dismissable as a mere leveling with the similar dual phrase at 2.3.

which we have observed at 2.2 may provide some independent corroboration for a variety of nationalism which appears in a similar context at 66.20.

Nuancing Absolute Judgements

At times the translator appears to rescue a place for pious Judaeans out of judgmental rhetoric which in the Hebrew text is absolute. This is especially evident in chapter one. Modern scholars often view the first chapter of Isaiah as a selective summary of the book as a whole, or at least as a call to attentive listening which takes into account the trajectory of the following sixty-five chapters.[8] It is not the place to look for nuanced distinctions between degrees of culpability. Rather, with a broad brush it paints a portrait of a people and city which has become *fully* corrupt and *totally* depraved.

Thus, Targum Jonathan's paraphrase of 1.25 stands at some remove from the Hebrew text it interprets: 'and I will bring again the stroke of my might upon thee, and will purge away *all your ungodly* (רשיעך), as one cleanseth with lye, and will remove *all your guilty ones* (חייבך) . . .' B. Chilton detects a note of hope which TJ has read into the passage for people who have not become 'ungodly' or 'guilty': 'The separation of the wicked (v. 25) is in the interests of "the ones who have performed the law": they will return (v. 27), while those who "have forsaken the law" to serve "idols" (vv. 28, 29) are to face the worst.'[9]

This kind of distinguishing exegesis converges with the interpretative rendering in the Greek Isaiah. In the Septuagint, the villains who correspond to the MT's metaphorical כל־בדיליך—now over against those who presumably have remained righteous—are precisely πάντας ἀνόμους ('all the law-breakers').

Both Versions appear to take advantage of the identification of certain guilty parties in 1.22–24 to blunt the force of what had been a blanket denunciation of the entire people. Unauthorized by any specific details of 1.25, they envisage a kind of refiner's fire which is indeed purifying rather than merely destructive. However, not only does it *purify the people over time*; more precisely, it now *purifies the people by separating out the law-breakers*. The original Hebrew imagery appears unlikely to have contemplated this kind of distinction.

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[8] H. G. M. Williamson, 'Relocating Isaiah 1:2–9', in Broyles and Evans, eds, *Writing and Reading*, Vol. 1, 262–77.

[9] *The Isaiah Targum*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press. 1987, 5.

As a result of this exegesis in the Versions, it is only the law-breakers and disobedient who are destroyed, whereas the faithful people is refined by removal of these. The key expression in LXX is unauthorized by the Hebrew: 'I will remove the law-breakers *from you* (ἀπό σου).

The translator's de-metaphorizing approach is bent on drawing out the implications of this verse's imagery *for good people.* His emphasis on סיג and בדיל as the worthless mixture or alloy which results from the presence of evil people who mix with the worthy is an ancient and venerable interpretative assessment of these verses. It is also long-lived, for it survives, *inter alia*, in the commentary of Rashi and Kimchi. It locates God's judgement among evil people who happen to mix with their betters, rather than upon the worthless mass that the people as a whole has become. In this, it seeks to take seriously the presence of good folk—among them no doubt the translator and his readers—and may represent the germ of a full-blown remnant theology. It is, in the most subtle of ways, 'about us'.

Isaiah chapter three indicts the governing classes of Jerusalem and Judah from start to finish. Between the Lord's promise to remove 'staff and stay' in verse one and the fall of her men of war by sword and battle in the penultimate lines of the chapter, the powerful, the vocal, and the visible of Zion are brought low. The city—figuratively—is left a ravaged woman, collapsed mournfully upon the ground.

In the midst of this frontal assault on Judah's corrupt leadership,[10] verses 13–14 describe the Lord's role in the devastation:

נצב לריב יהוה ועמד לדין עמים
יהוה במשפט יבוא עם זקני עמו ושריו
ואתם בערתם הכרם גזלת העני בבתיכם

The Lord rises to argue his case; he stands to judge the peoples.
The Lord enters into judgement with the elders and princes of his people.
It is you who have devoured the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses.

Both the context and the details of these verses conspire to make the 'elders' and the 'princes' the deserving victims of the Lord's judgement. Indeed, 3.2 has already described the elders' removal and 3.5 their belittling; 3.3 and 3.4 treat the princes similarly.

Nevertheless, there exists an exegetical approach, probably triggered by the unexpected plural עמים of 3.13, which implicates *the heathen* in this judgement. In some variants, this tradition appears to elevate the elders

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10 Cf. M. A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4 and the Post-Exilic Understanding of the Isaianic Tradition.* Berlin: de Gruyter. 1988, 150–51.

and princes of 3.14 to the status of the Lord's co-regents, presiding in his company over the judgement of the nations and, presumably, over Israel's law-breakers. The Greek Isaiah may well be the first witness to this interpretative approach.

Why, in an indictment of *Judah* should we find the Lord judging *nations* (עמים)? It is a point worth fussing over, and the history of interpretation does not fail to do so.[11] The Medieval rabbis often read עמים with reference to Israel by way of an alleged analogy with Deut 33.19. Conversely, Rashi understands them to be 'the nations'.[12] For Rashi, Israel's elders remain the passage's principal culprits, but it is the heathen who in the first instance 'devour my vineyard.'

The second exploitable detail in these verses is the uncommon affirmation that the Lord enters into judgement 'with the elders of his people, and his princes'. In at least one exegetical tradition, these elders and princes come not to be judged but to judge. After reading Hebrew עמים as 'the nations' (עממיא) in 3.13, a variant targumic reading of Isa 3.14 transmits the idea of the Lord's forensic appearance *in association with* his like-minded elders and princes. Referring to the targumic treatment of the Lord's coming into judgement 'with the elders of his people and its (or 'his') princes',[13] B. D. Chilton writes:

> 'bring into judgement' followed by the sign of the accusative (instead of 'with') is the reading of Reuchlinianus, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, and Ms. Jews' College. B.M. 2211 and 1474 have 'enter' (the usual translation of Hebrew *bw'*), and 'into judgement with'. But the idea of God's being *with* the elders, as at 24:23, has a positive sense for the meturgeman. For this reason, as well as for its departure from the MT, the variant reading is to be preferred.

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[11] For example, D. Barthèlemy notices the tension between this plural and surrounding singular forms, but allows the Hebrew text to stand: 'Nous venons de noter que cette forme plurielle עמים est encadrée par quatre formes au singulier: "mon peuple" et "son peuple". La leçon du *G assimile à ce contexte'. He does not concern himself with possible motives. Cf. *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament: Tome 3, Ézéchiel, Daniel et les 12 Prophètes*. Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1992, 26. On the other extreme, G. B. Gray follows LXX and assigns a motive to a pluralized *Hebrew* text: '. . . the reading has rather arisen from the desire to turn the particular judgement of Israel into a world judgement.' It seems to me that he is correct in his suspicions, but is looking in the face of the wrong tradent; *Isaiah I–XXVII*. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1912, 69. Other commentators follow the suggestion of H. D. Hummel (*JBL* 76 [1957], 100) that עמים is a singular with 'enclitic mem'.

[12] אומות.

[13] MT עם זקני עמו ושריו.

If Chilton is correct in his text-critical preference, then there exists early evidence of a reading which preserves for virtuous elements of Judah a much more agreeable role than the Hebrew text would otherwise seem to allow. LXX Isaiah appears already to have moved the text firmly, if subtly, in this direction. It reads:

> ἀλλὰ νῦν καταστήσεται εἰς κρίσιν κύριος καὶ στήσει εἰς κρίσιν τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, (14) αὐτὸς κύριος εἰς κρίσιν ἥξει μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτοῦ Ὑμεῖς δὲ τί ἐνεπυρίσατε τὴν ἀμπελῶνά μου καὶ ἡ ἁρπαγὴ τοῦ πτωχοῦ ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις ὑμῶν;

A recent English translation of Septuagint Isaiah implicitly recognizes this maneuver:

> *But now the Lord will stand up to judge; and he will make his people stand to judge them. (14) The Lord himself will enter into judgment with the elders of the people and with their rulers. But you, why have you burned my vineyard, and why is the spoil of the poor in your houses?*[14]

The similarity of expression[15] chosen by the translator to render dissimilar Hebrew phrases seem to link the Lord's judgement with an accompanying judgmental role undertaken *by his people* and *upon the vineyard-despoiling nations*. Like many later exegetes,[16] the translator has understood the עמים of 3.13 as the Lord's people, but rather than being judged they have been 'placed in judgement', presumably to the discomfort of some other(s).

A further detail may well mark a thematic change in the translator's mind at verse 13, one which would probably not occur in a modern reader of the Hebrew text. I refer to the provision of the strong adversative ἀλλὰ νῦν. Not only does this expression appear nowhere else in LXX Isaiah; it is also uncommon for the translator to insert adversative particles similar to these when they are unauthorized by the Hebrew text. It appears that he too noticed the disparity between the exceedingly negative appraisal of Judah's leadership in the previous verses and what he took to be a much more positive statement in 3.13–14. He chose to facilitate the transition with this unusual adversative.

A blanket condemnation of the people is thus conditioned and 'good elders' are introduced to the scene.

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[14] M. Silva, *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (forthcoming; draft supplied by author).

[15] (κατα)στήσει and εἰς κρίσιν appear 3x each.

[16] Including D. W. Thomas, in *BHS*, who for text-critical reasons (which I think are mistaken) follows LXX and proposes עמו.

At points, judgement is nuanced by importing elements of promise and restoration which are more at ease from chapter forty onwards. This happens as early as chapter six. The commissioning of Isaiah is stunning for two reasons: the prophet's unsought encounter with the enthroned deity, and the bleak responsibility with which it invades the prophet's life. Isaiah's desperate lament—'How long, O Lord!'—is met by a tumble of divine speech which promises no turning by the people and no relief for the Lord's reluctant spokesman. Whether the passage is meant to hold out any promise at all hinges upon the interpretation of its last three words.[17] Regardless of how that detail is resolved, the panorama is excruciatingly pessimistic.

Not so, perhaps, for the Septuagint translator, who appears to bring to this passage hope gleaned from later chapters of his text. As he worked his way through verse 11, he found a description of depopulation and exile. Approaching 6.12, he must have found something identical or similar to the consonants of MT:

(עד . . .) ורחק יהוה את־האדם ורבה העזובה בקרב הארץ

. . . until the Lord sends people far away, and abandonment increases in the midst of the land.

His translation is striking:

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μακρυνεῖ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ οἱ καταλειφθέντες πληθυνθήσονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

And after these things, God will send people far away, and those who have been left will be multiplied on the land.

The Greek text's evolution in a positive direction at 6.12 is frequently noticed but seldom explored.[18] The insertion of μετὰ ταῦτα—an unusual maneuver for this translator—introduces restoration where the Hebrew text continues to describe the landscape of desolation. Though unauthorized by any Hebrew words, the phrase 'after these things' appears to function here exactly as it does in 1.26. It is the pivot between

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[17] זרע קדש מצבתה. Cf., for example, H. G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah*, Oxford: OUP. 1994, 35, 51–57, and J. A. Emerton, 'The Translation and Interpretation of Isaiah vi.13', in J. A. Emerton and S. Reif, eds, *Interpreting the Hebrew Bible*, Cambridge: CUP. 1982, 85–118.

[18] Cf. J. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias*, Münster: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1934, 139: 'Die Idee des Restes spielt beim Js-Übers. eine große Rolle'; also Seeligmann, *LXX Version*, 116–17.

prediction of desolation in the near-term future and restoration at some point thereafter.[19]

The translator appears also to resolve synonymous parallelism into two independent realities. He has done so elsewhere in his large work, so it need not surprise us here.[20] After the pivot—καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα—he envisages God sending *men* far away, while *those who remain* are multiplied upon the earth. The most suitable construction to put on his words is that which sees the *men* as occupiers of the land, whom—*after these things*—will be sent packing. In their stead, those who have been left will be multiplied on the land. Οἱ καταλειφθέντες is a term with a strong pedigree of usage in LXX Isaiah for a remnant. Though καταλείπειν can in other contexts translate עזב, the rendering of ורבה עזובה(ה)[21] ('. . . and abandonment shall increase') by καὶ οἱ καταλειφθέντες ('. . . and those who have been left shall be multiplied') is a 'converse translation'[22] of no small proportions. The negative and abstract concept of 'Abandonment' has been supplanted by a positive, concrete, and plural concept with strong Remnant connotations. A hopeless tone in the Hebrew text is now reconfigured as a very positive statement.[23]

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19 Arguably, it has the same meaning at 44.6, the only other occurrence of μετὰ ταῦτα in LXX Isaiah. There, amid promises of new things (for example, streams and greenery in the desert), the Lord says, 'I am the first and I am the last' (אני ראשון ואני אחרון). The Greek appears to theologize about the Return: Ἐγὼ πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα. Indeed, this may be an incipient *terminus technicus* for the eschaton (however construed), as has been argued for LXX/Theod. Daniel and Revelation; cf. G. K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation.* NIGTC. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. 1999, 138–39.

20 Cf. Baer, *When We All Go Home*, chapters six and seven. For the phenomenon in LXX Proverbs, cf. G. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint. III. Proverbs.* Lund: Gleerup. 1956, 18, 26–27, and J. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs.* Leiden: Brill. 1997, 86–87.

21 1QIsa[a] lacks the article.

22 Cf. M. L. Klein, 'Converse Translation: A Targumic Technique', *Biblica* 57 (1976), 515–37 and R. P. Gordon, '"Converse Translation" in the Targums and Beyond', *JSP* 19 (1999), 3–21.

23 Indeed, it is possible that the translator has read עזובה(ה) almost as a proper noun in the light of Isaiah 62.4, a passage to which we shall turn in a moment. There, the exilic community is assured that 'You shall no longer be called Abandoned (עזובה) . . . but you shall be called My Delight is in Her'. He might have considered that it made perfect sense to read a promise, in 6.12, that 'Azubah shall be multiplied'.

Whatever the translator's exact mental processes, the Greek Isaiah 6.12 now speaks of post-Exile or, perhaps, of post-Diaspora.[24] By means of a fairly modest rearrangement of the available materials, exiled men have become oppressors sent away and the relentless spread of desolation is now the fecundity of the remnant. The Hebrew text's dark monotony of chastisement has been interrupted by two pivotal words: μετὰ ταῦτα. The translator has anticipated the new things of Second Isaiah and rushed forward this *dénouement* into a chapter where the Hebrew text had no space for it.

If this reading of LXX Isaiah 6.12 is correct, it may well clear up a small mystery much later in the book. In 62.4, a passage which appears to cast its shadow over LXX Isaiah 6.12, Zion receives this assurance:

לא־יאמר עוד שממה
לא־יאמר לך עוד עזובה ולארצך שממה
כי לך יקרא חפצי־בה ולארצך בעולה
כי־חפץ יהוה בך וארצך תבעל

You shall no longer be called Abandoned, and your land shall no more be called Desolate; but you shall be called My Delight Is in Her, and your land Married, for the Lord delights in you, and your land shall be married.

Recently, much has been written by students of the formation of Hebrew Isaiah regarding the possible allusion of 62.4–5 to 6.12.[25]

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[24] Cf. Seeligmann, *LXX Version*, 116: 'A remarkable piece of evidence of this amalgamation of prophetic with contemporaneous expectations regarding the future, and at the same time, a fact supporting the above hypothesis, *i.e.* that the yearning for national deliverance was still vivid in the translator's breast, is his apparent identification of this Remnant of the people of Israel with the Jewish diaspora in Hellenistic Egypt.'

[25] B. Sommers considers such an allusion possible, but categorizes it as 'doubtful'; 'Allusions and Illusions: The Unity of the Book of Isaiah in Light of Deutero-Isaiah's Use of Prophetic Tradition', in R. Melugin and M. Sweeney, eds, *New Visions of the Book of Isaiah*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press. 1996, 156–86 and *A Prophet Reads Scripture. Allusion in Isaiah 40–66*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. B. Halpern's 'pyrotechnic' suggestion that the 'new names' of Isaiah 62 are instead nourished by dependence upon Jeremiah ('The New Names of Isaiah 62:4: Jeremiah's Reception in the Restoration and Politics of "Third Isaiah"', *JBL* 117 [1998], 623–43) occasioned a spirited rejoinder by H. G. M. Williamson, 'Isaiah 62:4 and the Problem of Inner-Biblical Allusions', *JBL* 119 (2000), 734–39. *Pace* Halpern, Williamson finds a 'greater likelihood of Trito-Isaiah working in this passage within the literary tradition of the book in which his own writings are to be found.' Chapter six stands as the likely source with which chapter sixty-two interacts.

According to a positive response to the question of whether a relationship between the two passages exists, 62.4 is a 'reversal' of 6.12.

For its part, the Greek translation of 6.12 is unremarkable until it comes to the word 'Married' (בעולה), where it provides the more prosaic 'inhabited' (οἰκουμένη).[26] Why this odd move? One explanation which can immediately be discarded is that the translator did not understand this use of בעל. In fact, he competently manages this term's nuances throughout the book, even including a reference to cohabitation or marriage just one verse later.[27]

It may be, then, that 'Inhabited' (οἰκουμένη) is simply the conceptual opposite of 'Abandoned' or 'Desolate' and that this is explanation enough for the unparalleled translation at LXX 62.4. However, chapter 62 nowhere dwells upon the concept of depopulation. By contrast, chapter six dedicates clause after clause to the idea of a land devoid of human habitation. Given the probability that the concept of עזובה as the Lord's remnant has linked chapter sixty-two to chapter six in the translator's mind, it seems likely that further cross-pollination has taken place and that this plausibly explains the translation of בעולה by the less colorful οἰκουμένη, a term which now implicitly reverses the depopulation of chapter six. 'And after these things', the translator might have imagined, the Lord's delight in the land will be made manifest in his renewal of human community in that desolated place.

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[26] The Revisers appear to have perceived a certain incongruence in this translation, for Aquila moves the text back toward marriage imagery by means of εσχημενη. Symmachus and Theodotion respond similarly with συνωκισμενη, which is the same equivalence offered by the text of LXX 62.5, just one verse later.

LXX 62.4 omits the final line of the Hebrew text. Targum Jonathan reads similarly to LXX. It offers יתבא ('inhabited'; compare BH ישב). Later, where LXX omits the phrase, TJ renders Hebrew תבעל by תתיתב ('inhabited'). Thus, TJ and LXX find a similar meaning in the expression, one which remains at some distance from ideas normally associated with בעל.

More than a millennium later, David Kimchi is at pains to explain the meaning of בעולה in a way which touches upon the problem at hand: על דרך משל כי הארץ המי ושבת דומה לאשה שיש לה בעל וכשהיא שוממה היא כאלמנה שאין לה בעל ('This is spoken figuratively, because an inhabited land is like a woman who has a husband, whereas a desolate [land] is like a woman without a husband.' However, one suspects that Kimchi is starting with what he has and attempting to make sense of it, rather than availing us of any particular insight into how his tradition (influenced by Targum Jonathan) came to understand the text to mean 'inhabited'.

[27] 1.3, 16.8, 26.13, 41.15, 50.8, 54.5, 62.5.

If this sort of intertextual linkage is to be discerned in the Septuagint translator's work, then scholars who have written in favor of an allusion to 6.12 at 62.4 in the *Hebrew* text enjoy the company of at least one ancient colleague. Whether the Remnant which the translator glimpses at 6.12 is postexilic Yehud or a still-awaited post-Diaspora community in the Land, the passage has been read in a way which suggests that 'this prophet speaks good things, and about us!'

Softening Violent Judgements

At 3.17, the Isaianic jeremiad against the Daughters of Zion approaches its shrill zenith. As the text predicts the Lord's scabbing of the heads of Zion's daughters and the uncovering of their sexual 'sockets',[28] it appears that the translator can only look away, an averting of the eyes that is also practiced by Targum Jonathan. It is impossible to say whether the moves toward modesty which these two Versions execute owe more to their concept of God or to their reverence for Israel, or to both.

Stepping away from the pursuit of motives to an examination of the *realia*, one notes that MT's ושפח ('and he shall cause to scab') is glossed by the very common καὶ ταπεινώσει ('and he shall humble') in LXX. This is a '*hapax* equivalency'[29] in the LXX, one which was perhaps facilitated by the graphic similarity of שפח to שפל, a word which does indeed produce variations of ταπεινοῦν. Nevertheless, it looks like conscious exegesis rather than accident. TJ swerves similarly, but by an independent route: it uses ושעביד ('and he shall enslave').

The conversion continues with MT's קדקד, which almost certainly refers to the Daughters' physical head or skull. LXX reads קדקד metaphorically as a reference to social caste, much as ראש is routinely understood in contexts which support a social reference. The result is ἀρχούσας (θυγατέρας). This too is a *hapax* equivalency and has exegetical

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[28] It is possible to propose less jarring meanings for פת; for example 'forehead', as proposed by G. R. Driver ('Linguistic and Textual Problems: Isa 1–39', *JTS* 38 [1937]) on the basis of Akkadian *pūtu*. Driver is followed by many commentators. Recently, Childs (*Isaiah*, Louisville: Westminster. 2001, 217) accepts Driver's conjecture but adds 'clearly a euphemism', which would return the reference to the sexual sphere. For our purposes the important point is that the LXX translator seems to have understood a sexual reference, otherwise it is difficult to explain his provision of σχῆμα.

[29] That is, the only time in the LXX where Hebrew 'x' is translated by Greek 'y'.

motives written all over it. Interestingly, TJ again adopts a similar approach. It pictures the Lord *enslaving* the *nobles*.[30]

One final horror is to be avoided in the second half of the verse, this time a reference to the Lord's exposure of the private parts (פתהן)[31] of Zion's daughters. Rather more demurely in the Greek, it is these women's 'figure' (σχῆμα) which is uncovered, whereas in TJ it is once more their 'glory' or 'nobility' (יקרהון) which is tampered with.

The LXX, shadowed by Targum Jonathan, has avoided the kinds of divine acts of violence which it frequently prefers to reconfigure. This may have been the translator's principal objective, perhaps his only one. However, it is not without import for a study of the translator's nationalistic exegesis that he has also managed to produce a text that spares *Zion's* admittedly culpable daughters the worst of the degradations which the Hebrew text brings down upon their battered scalps.

Foreshortening Exile

On at least one occasion, the Greek text of Isaiah transfers the inevitability of God's justice measured out upon his errant people to the foreshortening of their suffering. Isaiah 10.20–22 foresees that 'in that day' Israel will no longer lean upon her smiter. Instead, a remnant will return to Mighty God. However, 10.22 underlines the loss to the nation which such a whittling down inescapably entails. A concessive clause affirms that not even the patriarchal promise can ward off the divine fiat that only a rump shall survive the impending catastrophe:

כי אם־יהיה עמך ישראל כחול הים שאר ישוב
בו כל יון חרוץ שוטף צדקה

For though your people, O Israel, be like the sand of the sea, (only) a remnant of it shall return. Annihilation is determined, rushing forward in righteousness.

The Greek text gives a different sense:

καὶ ἐὰν γένηται ὁ λαὸς Ισραηλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ κατάλλειμα σωθήσεται· λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ (23) ὅτι λόγον συντετμημένον ποιήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλῃ.

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30 יקירת, a word it will repeat with reference to the Daughters' 'glory' at the end of the verse.

31 Or forehead, which arguably would better suit the parallelism.

> *And though the people of Israel be as the sand of the sea, the remnant shall be saved. For he (God) is completing and cutting short*[32] *a thing in righteousness, for God will do a foreshortened thing in the whole inhabited world.*

The translator has inverted the purpose of the divine decree. It now works in Israel's favor rather than to its detriment. Exile—perhaps Diaspora—will not last so long, for God is already cutting it short and bringing it to completion. Seeligmann observes that this Greek phrase was used as a source at LXX Daniel 5.28[33] to gloss two very different Hebrew words pertaining to the approaching end of Belshazzar's throne.[34] The translator of the Greek Daniel has adopted the exegesis practiced upon this text by the Isaiah translator.

Remarkably, Targum Jonathan also turns the decree to Israel's advantage. While not denying the concessive clause of the Hebrew Text, the targum interprets the divine decree as a blessing for his remnant:

> *For though your people, Israel be many as the sand of the sea, a remnant that have not sinned and that have repented from sin, for them there are done prodigies which are mightily wrought and carried out with virtue.* (23) *For the Lord God of hosts is accomplishing the extirpation and destruction of all the wicked of the earth.*[35]

In the targum, whatever violence God brings to bear is apparently absorbed by Israel's oppressor and results in the liberation of a remnant. Both Targum Jonathan and the Greek Isaiah thus find hope and promise for the communities who read and hear them in a place where the Hebrew text offers little or none.

Nostalgia for Zion and Israel's Destiny

I have elsewhere commented upon Isa 1.26–27, which in the Hebrew text provides a rare glimpse of hope in an otherwise gloomy chapter.[36] I wish merely to notice here what appears to be an actualizing piece of exegesis which reads out of an intended synonymous parallelism a poignant reference to captivity—perhaps even to Diaspora—as a function of remoteness from the mother city.

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[32] Ziegler's contention that 'שומף ist vom Übers. übergangen worden' is not correct. The translator has not overlooked it. Rather, he has subverted its function; *Untersuchungen*, 140.

[33] In Theodotion, the translation is more predictable.

[34] *LXX Version*, 75.

[35] Chilton, *Isaiah Targum*, 26.

[36] *When We All Go Home*, chapter six.

Promising restoration after affliction, the Hebrew promises that בְּמִשְׁפָּט צִיּוֹן תִּפָּדֶה וְשָׁבֶיהָ בִּצְדָקָה.[37] Leaving aside for the moment the vexed and recently reexplored question of *whose* justice and *which* righteousness,[38] one observes the ambiguity inherent in וְשָׁבֶיהָ. Are those who will be redeemed by righteousness those who belong to Zion and *convert* or those who *return to her*? O. Kaiser points out that TJ 'reads both into the passage'.[39]

Sensing a trace of distinction between Zion and her dispersed children, the Isaiah translator reconfigures the syntax of verses 26 and 27, provides a vocalization different from that of the eventual MT,[40] and in the mix makes explicit a double reference both to Zion and to her dispersed children. After affliction, we read in the Greek Isaiah, Zion will be called 'the City of Righteousness' as well as 'the faithful Mother City'. The use of the rare μητρόπολις is a splendid touch. In due course, this Mother's 'captivity'[41]—a definition of the margins as a function of the longed-for Center—'will be saved, by mercy.' Isaac Seeligmann is probably correct that the translator reads Captivity as Diaspora. Commenting upon just this kind of turn of phrase in LXX Isaiah, Seeligmann is moved to guess that God's judgement was 'looked upon by the translator as the actualized reality of Galuth, *i.e.* exile.'[42]

Isaiah 3.16–4.1 is a particularly savage oracle of woe against the daughters of Zion. It is carried out in 3rd person feminine plural throughout, except for 3.25–26. Curiously, the rhetoric shifts there to 2nd feminine singular[43] and 3rd feminine singular[44]. Then, it returns to the predominant 3rd plural in 4.1.[45] Commentators have found this temporary lapse into the feminine singular unusual. It is probably due to the overarching theme of sinful, abandoned and feminine *Jerusalem*, which predominates in these chapters.

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37 'Zion will be saved by justice, and her repentant ones by righteousness.'

38 R. W. L. Moberly, 'Whose Justice? Which Righteousness? The Interpretation of Isaiah V 16'. *VT* 51/1 (2001), 55–68.

39 *Isaiah 1–12*. 2nd edition. Philadelphia: Westminster. 1983, 40. TJ: וּדְעַבְדוּ אוֹרַיְתָא יְתוּבוּן לָהּ בִּזְכוּ ('and the ones who have performed the law will return to her in righteousness').

40 Perhaps reading שְׁבָיָהּ for MT וְשָׁבֶיהָ.

41 ἡ αἰχμαλωσία αὐτῆς.

42 *LXX Version*, 113–14.

43 "... your [f.s.] men ..."; "... your [f.s.] mighty men ..." (lit: "your strength").

44 "... her gates ... she ..."

45 1QIs^{a} ≈ MT except for minor orthographic differences.

The LXX provides a far different reading at 3.25, one which escapes discussion by any of the standard twentieth century works on LXX Isaiah.[46] A glance at the translated texts displays their remarkable differences.

> MT: *Your men shall fall by the sword and your warriors in battle.* (NRSV)
>
> LXX: *And your most beautiful son, whom you love, shall fall by the sword, and your strong men shall fall by the sword, and shall be humbled.*

Clearly, the LXX translation bears only slight resemblance to the MT. However, it *does* ring very true to LXX Genesis 22.2, where Abraham's poignant climb to sacrifice Isaac begins with the Lord's summons to present that filial offering. That well-known text reads as follows in MT:

ויאמר קח־נא את־בנך את־יחידך אשר־אהבת
את־יצחק ולך־לך אל־ארץ המריה והעלהו שם
לעלה על אחד ההרים אשר אמר אליך

The LXX text reads:

> καὶ εἶπεν Λαβὲ τὸν υἱόν σου τὸν ἀγαπητόν, ὃν ἠγάπησας, τὸν Ισαακ, καὶ πορεύθητι εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑψηλὴν καὶ ἀνένεγκον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ εἰς ὁλοκάρπωσιν ἐφ' ἓν τῶν ὀρέων, ὧν ἄν σοι εἴπω.

MT Isa 3.25 reads as follows:

איפיע מתיך בחרב יפלו וגבורתך במלחמה

The corresponding LXX text reads:

> καὶ ὁ υἱός σου ὁ κάλλιστος, ὃν ἀγαπᾷς, μαχαίρᾳ πεσεῖται, καὶ οἱ ἰσχύοντες ὑμῶν μαχαίρᾳ πεσοῦνται καὶ ταπεινωθήσονται.

Assuming that the translator had substantially the text represented by the MT, LXX Isa 3.25 has suffered three transformations which bring it into line with LXX Gen 22.2:

(a) The subject has become singular. Grammatically, the substantive has changed in number: מיתך (יפי) (plural root, singular suffix) becomes ὁ υἱός σου ὁ κάλλιστος (singular root, singular suffix). This runs against the translator's strong tendency to pluralize. Notionally, the subject has changed from generic males to a particular (perhaps *only*) much-beloved son.

(b) The subject has gained a superlative qualifier, κάλλιστος. It may be that this signals the notion of *uniqueness* in a way that is functionally

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[46] Strangely, Joseph Ziegler examines this verse, but discusses only the LXX plus, (במלחמה = μαχαίρᾳ) + πεσοῦνται καὶ ταπεινωθήσονται; *Untersuchungen,* 62.

equivalent to יחיד / ἀγαπητός in Gen 22.2. Both adjectives share an isolating function, κάλλιστος in Isaiah via superlativization and ἀγαπητός in Genesis via differentiation by a superior.[47]

(c) The subject is qualified by a subordinate clause, ὃν ἀγαπᾷς.

This global transformation is best explained by assuming an attraction toward Gen 22.2.

Two Solutions

The conceptual world of Abraham's journey to sacrifice Isaac is vastly removed from that of the present invective against Zion's daughters. How, then, can the idea that LXX Gen 22.2 influenced LXX Isa 3.25 be explained?

A Translational Guess

It seems plausible that the translator, happening upon a rare word which was unknown to him, made a desperate attempt to lean on the parallels, an established habit of the LXX Isa translator.[48] He might also

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[47] If the Isaiah translator is casting a glance back to Gen 22.2 here, his tendency to produce unique lexical equivalents may by itself explain the difference between LXX Genesis ἀγαπητός and LXX Isaiah κάλλιστος. But it might also be that the translator knew the Genesis passage best in Hebrew or Aramaic, and is providing a suitable translation *without reference to LXX Genesis.* This would require a modification of the second solution proposed below. The first and third elements of his rendering suggest he was alluding to LXX Genesis; the second, perhaps, to a non-Greek version of it. It may be impossible to decide the case within the limits of the data currently under discussion.

[48] Ziegler argues that the translator's Hebrew vocabulary was limited, so that when he came upon an unknown word, he often translated as guided by (a) other biblical passages he knew, and (b) the parallelisms of the immediate context (*Untersuchungen,* 7–9). מת is not a common word, and the Isaiah translator's rendering at 41.14 (תולעת יעקב מתי ישראל = Ιακωβ, ὀλιγοστὸς Ισραηλ) may indicate that he did not understand it as a collective for 'males' and perhaps did not understand it at all. There are at least two ways to understand the reduction from two substantives to one in the LXX of this verse, a kind of 'collapsing' which is extremely common in LXX Isaiah: (1) He may have omitted תולעת, in which case מתי = ὀλιγοστὸς. This alternative assumes a more fixed word order, a method which is sensible in the LXX generally, but not always adequate in the freer LXX Isa. In 14.11 and 66.24, תולעת = σκώληξ, but there it is predicated of evildoers. It may have been too strong a term for him to use of Jacob. Though מת in itself does not seem to denote *scarcity* or *fewness,* the expressions מתי מספר and מת מעט may help to explain ὀλιγοστὸς if this first reconstruction is correct. (Cf. L. Koehler & W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* [Leiden: Brill, 1953], 581; *TWAT* V, 108–10. (2) His omission of an adjective

have been influenced by the common connection in prophetic woe-oracles between women (which is his context) and bereaved mothers (which is what the women of vanquished nations often become).

If he knew the Greek Genesis well, the pathos of the description which lay before him might have taken him back, consciously or not, to another moment which threatened excruciating bereavement. Amid the hills of Moriah, the Lord's request for a favorite son's blood must have seemed too painful for the patriarch to comprehend. For the LXX translator, such was to be the fury of divine vengeance upon his daughters that not just some faceless males would fall, but rather *your son, your fairest son, whom you love.*[49]

An Exegetical 'Nationalization'

There is an alternative explanation. It may be that the translator has briefly lifted the veil covering an ancient exegetical tradition which links the two contexts. Two verses demand attention, one in Psalm 47, the other

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qualifying יעקב may suggest that he is using תולעת as a diminutive of stature for *both* substantives, and leaving out altogether מתי, which he found troublesome. This 'generalization' of the *nomen regens* to cover both יעקב and ישראל might explain the provision of the rather bland ὀλιγοστὸς for the more colorful תולעת.

Neither reconstruction is essential for concluding that he may not have understood מתי. It is interesting to note that the parallels do not much help him. At 3.25, the parallel (גבורתך) is a positive term, while in 41.14 (תולעת) it is the opposite. 5.13, the other Isaiah occurrence, encourages the view that the translator does not know this word.

[49] There is a variation of this first alternative which is worth mentioning. In MT Amos 9.7, the Lord asks rhetorically, 'Are you (i.e., the Israelites) not like Cushites to me?' It is a biting text which rhetorically sweeps away Israel's prerogatives as the Lord's people. It goes on to speak of other 'exoduses'—involving other nations—of which Israel's exit from Egypt was just one. As K. J. Cathcart and R. P. Gordon have shown, T Minor Prophets seems to recoil against this notion, offering instead a radical conversion, 'Are you not regarded as beloved children before me?' (... הלא כבנין רחימין אתון); *The Targum of the Minor Prophets.* Wilmington: Glazier. 1989, 3–4, 95. It is conceivable—though only just—that the LXX translator of Isa 3.25 has provided an analogous love-for-rejection conversion. The rub is that the Isa text's מתיך seems not to be unsettling enough to warrant such a conversion. But perhaps to other ears, it was.

T Hos 9.4, curiously, intrudes 'cords *of beloved sons*' (בנין רחימין) for MT's difficult בחבלי אדם. LXX, ἐν διαφθορᾷ ἀνθρώπων, reads MT unexceptionally. The genie seems to be out of the bottle in the Targum renderings: once concocted—whether by aversion to the idea of MT Amos 9.7 or not—one of these readings likely occasioned the other, perhaps by application of the hermeneutical principle of *gezerah shavah.* A similar dynamic may explain the LXX reading.

in Isaiah 41. Both of these use language very similar to that of LXX Isa 3.25 in order to *nationalize* the concept of the beloved son in a way which may explain the odd rendering of LXX Isa 3.25.

A Connection with Psalm 47 (46)

The text of MT Ps 47.5 reads as follows:

יבחר־לנו את־נחלתנו את גאון יעקב אשר־אהב

LXX Ps 46.5 reads:

ἐξελέξατο ἡμῖν τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν καλλονὴν Ιακωβ,[50] ἣν ἠγάπησεν

This Psalm praises the God who rules over the nations for subduing those nations under the feet of Jacob. Κάλλος and καλλονή, apart from sapiential texts, are often endowed with nationalistic overtones and used of Israel's heroes and heroines, as well as for the distinguishing beauty of the nation itself.[51] It is not surprising that it should render גאון here, as this is the kind of nationalistic text in which it is at home.

However, the similarities shared by this verse and LXX Isa 3.25 *are* remarkable, a likeness produced in the latter verse with no explicit authorization by the Hebrew.[52] Though καλλο- as a nationalistic expression is not uncommon, it appears very rarely in connection with God loving his people: only here and, perhaps, in LXX Isa 3.25. The lexical parallels between these two verses are striking. One might consider

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[50] The enigmatic phrase גאון יעקב occurs 4x and is variously rendered by the LXX. In Amos 6.8 the Lord swears by himself that he abhors the pride of Jacob (τὴν ὕβριν Ιακωβ). In Amos 8.7 he swears καθ' ὑπερηφανίας Ιακωβ that he will never forget any of their (evil) deeds. In Nahum 2.2, a much more positive passage, the Lord claims to be restoring את־גאון יעקב כגאון ישראל = τὴν ὕβριν Ιακωβ καθὼς ὕβριν τοῦ Ισραηλ. In Ps 47(46).5, the present passage, it is also a positive, nationalistic expression. Of the four, the τὴν καλλονὴν Ιακωβ translation which occupies our attention is the only one which diverges from standard equivalencies and, thus, appears to bear an interpretative character.

[51] Cf. Gen 49.21; Deut 33.17; 1 Sam 16.12, 17.42; Esth 15.5; Jdt 10.7, 14, 19, 23, 16.6, 10; 1 Mac 2.12; Ps 45(44).3, Wis 5.16; Isa 53.1, 62.3 (of the Servant).

[52] LXX Gen 22.2, Isa 3.25, Ps 47(46).5, and Isa 41.8 are four of only twelve cases where a personal, accusative, relative pronoun is followed closely by ἀγαπᾶν. Cf. also 2 Sam 13.15, Amnon loved Tamar; Esth 6.9, the king loves his servant; Prov 3.12, the Lord reproves whom loves, Cant 1.7, 3.1–4 (4x), the maiden loves her lover; Job 19.19, Job's friends had loved him; Wis 16.26, the Lord loves his sons; Sol 9.8, God loves his people; Ezek 16.37, Israel loved her lovers.

this mere coincidence if the underlying Hebrew of the two passages were such as to produce similar Greek translations. But as we have seen, Hebrew Isa 3.25 has not by itself produced Greek Isa 3.25.

A Connection with Isaiah 41

MT Isa 41.8 reads as follows:

ואתה ישראל עבדי יעקב אשר בחרתיך זרע

אברהם אהבי

The corresponding LXX text reads:

Σὺ δέ, Ισραηλ, παῖς μου Ιακωβ, ὃν ἐξελεξάμην, σπέρμα Αβρααμ, ὃν ἠγάπησα

Here there is no direct parallel to κάλλιστος in LXX Isa 3.25, nor to τὸν ἀγαπητόν in LXX Gen 22.2. But by rendering אהבי as ὃν ἠγάπησα, the translator brings his vocabulary and syntax directly into line with LXX Gen 22.2, whether consciously or not. He has inverted the subject and object of the relationship. Indeed, of the nine cases in the HB where אהב appears as a participle followed by a first person suffix, only here is it translated by a verb plus a relative clause, which might suggest a conscious attempt to render it according to the syntax of LXX Gen 22.2.[53]

It may be that the translator here has nuanced his rendering in that direction. He might been led to do so by the conceptual proximity of זרע אברהם / σπέρμα Αβρααμ to יצחק / τὸν Ισαακ. If this was a conscious move, then LXX Isa 41.8 rings as a victorious echo of the promise established in the more somber moment of Genesis twenty-two. This would be a minor clarification of an Abrahamic theme which probably resided implicitly in the Hebrew text already.

What, then, are we to make of LXX Isa 3.25? The four passages examined above may witness to a perception by the LXX translators of the outworking of the Abrahamic promise among the patriarch's descendants. But only one of the four, LXX Isa 3.25, moves in this direction via a blatantly intertextual route, for its Hebrew says nothing of the idea.

If the second—and more purposefully exegetical—proposed solution can be sustained, then the translator has pulled the Isaianic judgement oracle of chapter three in under the larger theological framework of the Abrahamic promise. Perhaps for this translator the 'falling' of Zion's men

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[53] Elsewhere, it is always a participle or substantive + a personal pronoun. E.g., Ex 20.6, לאהבי = τοῖς ἀγαπῶσίν με; Ps 38(37).12, אהבי = οἱ φίλοι μου. In Gen 22.2, the Hebrew is different. It has a relative clause with אשר, which very naturally produces ὃν ἠγάπησα.

in Isa 3.25 was a tragic failure to achieve the promised blessing of Abraham's seed. He may have wanted to say that the Lord's violent visitation upon the people was more than a casualty-ridden episode in the nation's military history. It was a reversal of all that Abraham's daughters and Zion's mothers should have borne.

As other scholars have suggested and the foregoing examples corroborate, the translator of the Greek Isaiah reads his *Vorlage* as a text to be mined for insight into the future of Israel and the predicament of his own diaspora community. By utilizing the elements which his text provides him—for rarely does he invent new materials outright—he manages to preserve a special status for Israel/Judah, to nuance judgements which would seem to threaten the entire people's future, to soften the most violent retribution against that people, to foreshorten the trial of exile and diaspora, and to communicate a poignant nostalgia both for Israel's lofty promise and for that nation's Mother City.

The Greek Isaiah stood between a received text and a reading or hearing community. No doubt he considered that his *Vorlage* insisted—as his community might have presumed—that when the prophet spoke, he spoke 'about us'.

Interpretation of the Book of Isaiah in the Septuagint and Other Ancient Versions

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I. Introduction

The ancient witnesses to the Hebrew Bible—the biblical texts found at Qumran and elsewhere, and the various ancient versions—are of crucial importance for the procedure of textual criticism because they testify to the transmission history of the biblical text before the emergence of the Masoretic text (MT; 10th/11th centuries). These writings provide us with a large number of variant readings for comparison to the MT, in some cases significant ones and in other cases readings of minor importance. Since any reading is part of a particular context, it stands to reason that variant readings must be evaluated by means of a "contextual" analysis; that is to say, their own context needs to be considered in order to avoid an "atomistic" approach (i.e., an analysis on word level only).

Consequently, the MT is not the only context to be taken into account. There are other contexts that need to be taken seriously as well; namely, those of the variant readings, either in a Hebrew text of Qumran, or in translations (Septuagint, Targum, Peshitta, Vulgate, and others).

As I have argued elsewhere, translations of the biblical books were produced by scholars who were able to read (aloud) and interpret the ancient books; in other words, translations were the work of learned scribes.[1] The "reading (aloud)" (מקרא, ἀνάγνωσις) of biblical texts in Hebrew, which were unpointed and unaccented, implies an interpretation

[1] See A. van der Kooij, The Oracle of Tyre (Leiden, 1998), pp. 112–23; idem, "Perspectives", pp. 214–29.

of the text, not only on the level of single words, but also on that of clauses and sentences. An interesting tradition which testifies to a clear awareness of these aspects can be found in the Babylonian Talmud, Meg. 3a. According to this tradition, Rab (ca. 200) interpreted Nehemiah 8:8 as follows:

'And they read in the book, in the Law of God':	this refers to the (Hebrew) text (מקרא);
'clearly (מפרש):	this refers to 'targum';
'and they gave the sense' (ושום שכל):	this refers to the division of sentences (verses) (הפסופין);
'and caused them to understand the reading' (ויבינו במקרא):	this refers to the division of words into clauses in accordance with the sense (פסיק טעמים), or, according to another version, to traditional text (המסורת).[2]

We are in the habit of reading and understanding the Hebrew text of the Bible according to the Masoretic vocalization and accentuation. However, we cannot take for granted that this reading and interpretation, even in cases where the written text (*ketib*) was the same as MT, was practised in ancient times. Here we touch upon the aspect of *the history of interpretation and reception* to which the ancient versions also testify. In this paper I will give two examples of interpretation in LXX Isaiah and in other ancient versions:

- the passage on the rich women in LXX Isaiah 3:18–23, and
- the motif of the cities in Isaiah 24–27 in the LXX, Targum and Vulgate.

II. LXX Isaiah 3:18–23 according to LXX

The first passage I have chosen is Isa 3:18–23 which might be termed, the 'fashion show' of the Jerusalem women. It forms part of a prophecy of doom (3:16–4:1) in which it is said that because of their pride and haughtiness all their beauty, particularly jewelry and fine clothes, will be removed from the daughters of Zion.

As is so often the case in LXX Isaiah, the Old Greek of ch. 3:18–23 differs widely from the Hebrew text, or texts (MT and Qumran), as far as

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[2] For related passages, see BT Ned. 37b; PT Meg. 4,1(74d); and Gen.R. 36,8. See further A. van der Kooij, "Nehemiah 8:8", pp. 79–90.

attested. It means that the Hebrew textual tradition is not of a great help for understanding the Greek version and for clarifying the meaning of the words used in this version. The Greek version deserves an analysis in its own right.

MT reads:

18 בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא יָסִיר אֲדֹנָי אֶת תִּפְאֶרֶת הָעֲכָסִים וְהַשְּׁבִיסִים וְהַשַּׂהֲרֹנִים׃
19 הַנְּטִיפוֹת וְהַשְּׁיָרוֹת וְהָרְעָלוֹת׃
20 הַפְּאֵרִים וְהַצְּעָדוֹת וְהַקִּשֻּׁרִים וּבָתֵּי הַנֶּפֶשׁ וְהַלְּחָשִׁים׃
21 הַטַּבָּעוֹת וְנִזְמֵי הָאָף׃
22 הַמַּחֲלָצוֹת וְהַמַּעֲטָפוֹת וְהַמִּטְפָּחוֹת וְהַחֲרִיטִים׃
23 וְהַגִּלְיֹנִים וְהַסְּדִינִים וְהַצְּנִיפוֹת וְהָרְדִידִים׃

In translation:

18 In that day the Lord will remove the beauty:
the anklets, the 'little suns' (or: head bands), and the crescents;
19 the eardrops, the bracelets and the veils;
20 the diadems, the step-chains, and the sashes,
the vials of perfume and the charms;
21 the signet rings and the nose rings;
22 the festal robes, the over-tunics, the cloaks, and the purses,
23 the garments of gauze, the linens, the turbans, and the shawls.

The Greek text (LXX) reads thus:

18 καὶ ἀφελεῖ κύριος
τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἱματισμοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς κόσμους αὐτῶν
καὶ τὰ ἐμπλόκια καὶ τοὺς κοσύμβους καὶ τοὺς μηνίσκους
19 καὶ τὸ κάθεμα καὶ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῶν
20 καὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν τοῦ κόσμου τῆς δόξης
καὶ τοὺς χλιδῶνας καὶ τὰ ψέλια
καὶ τὸ ἐμπλόκιον καὶ τὰ περιδέξια
καὶ τοὺς δακτυλίους καὶ τὰ ἐνώτια
21 καὶ τὰ περιπόρφυρα καὶ τὰ μεσοπόρφυρα
22 καὶ τὰ ἐπιβλήματα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν
καὶ τὰ διαφανῆ Λακωνικὰ
23 καὶ τὰ βύσσινα καὶ τὰ ὑακίνθινα καὶ τὰ κόκκινα
καὶ τὴν βύσσον σὺν χρυσίῳ καὶ ὑακίνθῳ συγκαθυφασμένα
καὶ θέριστρα κατάκλιτα.

In translation:

18 And the Lord will take away
the glory of their raiment/clothing and their ornaments,
and the hair-clasps and the hair-nets and the crescents
19 and the necklace and the ornaments of their face,
20 and the array/set/collection of glorious ornaments
and the bracelets and the armlets

and the wreathed work (?) and the armlets for the right arm
and the finger-rings and the ear-rings
21 and the purple trimmed garments and those mixed with purple
22 and the mantles to be worn in the house
and the Spartan transparent dresses
23 and the those made of fine linen
and the hyacinth-coloured blue ones and red ones
and the fine linen, interwoven with gold and purple,
and light summer garments, flowing down.

Comparing MT and LXX the following observations may be made:

- first, although roughly speaking both texts have in common a listing of ornaments followed by a listing of clothes, the listing in LXX is more strictly divided into two sections: a. pieces of jewelry (vv. 18b–20), and b. precious garments and dresses (vv. 21–23);
- secondly, different from MT, LXX contains a phrase (v. 18a) which seems to function as the introduction to the passage as a whole: 'the glory of their clothing and their ornaments' (cf. HUB Isaiah, ad locum);
- thirdly, there are many differences between MT and LXX as far as the various terms are concerned.

In his important study of LXX Isaiah (*Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias* [1934]), J. Ziegler offers a detailed analysis of our passage (pp. 203–211). Besides an examination of several Greek words in the light of papyri, the passage as a whole is compared with similar listings elsewhere in Greek Bible (Exod 35:22ff., Num 31:50, Ezek 16:10ff and Judith 10:4) and in papyri (Ziegler refers to: P.Petr I,12; BGU 1300; P. Tebt. 121, and P.Oxy. 1449) as well. He is of the opinion that these listings may have influenced the translator in formulating his version of Isa 3:18ff. He further notes that 'die verschiedenen Listen der Papyri, die Verzeichnisse des Tempelinventars und besonders der Mitgift (φερνή) enthalten' teach us, 'dass die Js 3,18–23 genannten Gegenstände zur Ausstattung der Frau gehörten, und dass sie in der LXX mit den damals in Alexandrien gangbaren Fachausdrücken genannt sind' (p. 211).

In my view, Ziegler's observations put us on the right track, but in the light of the papyri more can be said about the meaning of the Greek of Isa 3:18–23. Although the listings in Exod 35:22 and other places in the LXX are helpful as to particular terms, the papyri can help us to understand LXX Isa 3:18–23 in the way this passage has been composed (for this aspect, see above). In a recent publication the Italian scholar, Simano Russo, has studied in a very detailed manner the vocabulary of jewelry in papyri of the Hellenistic and Roman periods: *I gioelli nei papyri di eta greco-romana* (Florence, 1999). He points out that the relevant terms do mainly occur in marriage contracts and related texts:

> La presenza di nomi indicanti gioelli e oggetti preziosi, infatti, e ampiamente documentata nei piu svarati tipi di documenti, ma soprattutto in liste di beni dotali e documenti matrimoniali di vario tipo nei quali vengono dettagliati i beni fernali, di 'investimento', e i παράφερνα, di consumo piu immediato, destinati alla sposa (p. 1)

A close examination of marriage contracts reveals that the listings of objects belonging to the woman, all contain of an enumeration of a. ornaments/precious objects, and b. garments, just as in our LXX passage. This strongly suggests that the listing in LXX Isa 3 is meant as a list of objects which made up the dowry, just as is the case in the papyri (see, e.g., P.Mich II 121 r. II ii; P.Mich. V 343; P.Ryl. II 125 and 154).

That this is indeed the case is supported by the following observation concerning the statement in v. 18a: την δοξαν του ιματισμου αυτων και τους κοσμους αυτων. As becomes clear from the papyri this statement must be meant as referring to the dowry of the women, in our case of the rich women, of Jerusalem. An important parallel is to be found in P.Eleph. 1 (marriage contract; 310 BCE), where it is stated 'she brings with her to the marriage clothing and ornaments (ειματισμον και κοσμον).'

Thus, LXX Isa 3:18–23 reflects a particular interpretation of the passage under discussion. As far as the introductory clause in LXX v. 18a is concerned, it seems that the Hebrew word הפארת has been taken here in the sense both of beauty and ornament, and has been rendered by a so-called double translation.

III. The Cities of Isa 24–27 according to LXX and Other Ancient Versions[3]

The motif of the city functions as a major theme in the prophecies of Isaiah 24–27. It plays an important role in several passages (24:10–12; 25:1–5; 26:1–6, and 27:10). These places do not refer to one and the same city, however. The text of Isa 26:1, which reads as follows,

> In that day will be sung this song in the land of Judah,
> A strong city is ours; he (God) sets up salvation
> as walls and glacis,

envisages a strong city in the land of Judah. Although the city is not mentioned by name, it is obvious that here the city of Jerusalem is meant (for the name of this city, see 24:23 and 27:13). This city is clearly seen as

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[3] Cf. A. van der Kooij, "The Cities of Isaiah 24–27 according to the Vulgate, Targum and Septuagint", in Studies in Isaiah 24–27 (ed. by H. J. Bosman, H. van Grol et alii; Leiden, 2000), pp. 183–98.

the city of salvation. In contrast to 26:1 other texts deal with a (strong) city that will be destroyed. So for instance 25:2a:

> For you have turned the city into a rubble heap,
> the fortified town into a ruin.

It is a matter of dispute which city might be alluded to in passages like this one, and various options have been offered (Babel, Nineveh, capital of Moab).[4] One could also argue that the strong city to be destroyed is merely meant as a symbol, an ageless type which is open to actualisation in different times. It is true that the city of 24:10–12; 25:2; 26:5 and 27:10 is given without any name, but this does not exclude the possibility that a concrete city was in mind, as apparently is the case with the anonymous city of 26:1.

One gets the impression though that in the passages just mentioned two cities are to be distinguished: (a) the one of 25:2; 27:10 (compare 24:10–12), and (b) the one of 26:5–6 (compare 25:12). The difference is that the first one is called 'the strong city', whereas the second city is characterized as lying on high. The context of 25:12 suggests that the latter one is thought of as being situated in the land of Moab.[5]

It is not our intention to discuss in this article the question which city might have been in the mind of the circle responsible for the textual composition of Isa 24–27. So much is clear that these chapters are dominated by a contrast, a contrast between a strong city of salvation (Jerusalem) in the land of Judah on the one hand, and a strong and fortified city, or (two) cities which will be destroyed on the other. The purpose of this contribution is to deal with the early reception history of Isa 24–27 as far as the motif of these cities is concerned. This will be done by discussing the interpretation of the most relevant passages as reflected in three of the ancient versions of the book of Isaiah, going back in time from the latest one up to the earliest one: the Vulgate (end of fourth century), the Targum to the Prophets (second century), and the Septuagint (LXX) of Isaiah (second century BCE). We will concentrate on the passages of Isa 25:1–3 and 26:1–2.5–6.

1. Vulgate

Jerome, Bible scholar and theologian, did not only translate the book of Isaiah, but wrote also a commentary to this book, 'the most voluminous

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[4] For a survey see e.g., H. Wildberger, Jesaja (BK X,11.12; Neukirchen, 1978), pp. 905f.

[5] A difficult text is Isa 25:3b: 'the town of ruthless nations, they will revere you'. For the question of the reading 'town', see the critical apparatus ad locum.

of all his commentaries, a vast sprawling work in eighteen books'.[6] It stands therefore to reason to study the Vulgate versions of Isaiah in connection with the commentary.

A. Isa 25:1–3

(1) Domine Deus meus es tu exaltabo te confitebor nomini tuo quoniam fecisti mirabilia cogitationes antiquas fideles amen
(2) quia posuisti civitatem in tumulum urbem fortem in ruinam domum alienorum ut non sit civitas et in sempiternum non aedificetur
(3) super hoc laudabit te populus fortis civitas gentium robustarum timebit te.

The rendering of v. 1b shows influence from the Septuagint (LXX: ὅτι ἐποίησας θαυμαστὰ πράγματα, βουλὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀληθινήν· γένοιτο, κύριε.) The Masoretic text (MT), on the other hand, reads in translation as follows: 'For you have done a wonderful thing, plans from long ago, faithful and sure.'

As for v. 2b it is to be noted that the words ארמון זרים מעיר, cf. domum alienorum ut non sit civitas, have been taken as belonging to the verb שמה, cf. posuisti, whereas the last part of v. 2 (MT לעולם לא יבנה), cf. et in sempiternum non aedificetur, is interpreted as an independent clause (cf. the use of et).

In his commentary Jerome first presents the interpretation of the Jews (Iudaei). According to their understanding of the text the passage of Isa 25:1–5 contains words spoken by the faithful people, and the city to be destroyed is the city of Rome: civitatemque subversum Romam interpretantur, quae delenda sit penitus. 'The strong people' of v. 3 is regarded as referring to their own people, Israel, to whom God will give strength in times of distress, and that will be delivered from the persecution by the nations (de persecutione gentium).

Jerome then goes on to unfold the interpretation of 'others', i.e. the exegesis of Christian scholars,[7] which he considers to be better and more correct (et melius et rectius). Acording to that interpretation it is the prophet himself who in v. 1 praises God the Father for the wonderful thing he did, i.e. the passion of Jesus, Lord and Saviour. As to the strong city that will be destroyed by God it is stated:

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[6] J. N. D. Kelly, Jerome. His Life, Writings, and Controversies (London, 1975), p. 299. Edition of the commentary: CC Series Latina LXXIII (Libri I-XI) (Turnhout, 1963), and LXXIII A (Libri XII-XVIII) (Turnhout, 1963). His comments on Isa 25 and 26 are found in Vol. LXXIII, pp. 325ff.

[7] A most important source of information used by Jerome is the commentary on Isaiah by Eusebius of Caesarea (GCS Eusebius IX, Berlin, 1975).

Civitas quondam fortis Hierusalem intellegitur,
quae facta est domus alienorum.

So the strong city of our text is not Rome, as the Jews maintain, but Jerusalem. The argument is based on the expression domus alienorum: since 135 CE the city of Jerusalem is inhabited by strangers, that is to say, non-Jews. He further remarks in his commentary that when this city will have been devastated, it will never be rebuilt (in aeternum non aedificabitur). This statement is however followed by a polemical note against the Christian view, expressed for instance by Justinus Martyr, about a glorious future of Jerusalem in which Christ will reign together with his followers for a period of a thousand years:

ut mille annorum regnum et aureae Hierusalem atque gemmatae somnia conquiescant.[8]

The question, Quis sit autem populus fortis (v. 3), is answered thus: the strong people that will praise God, and the city of the strong nations that will fear Him, hoc est Ecclesia de gentibus congregata.

B. Isa 26:1–2.5–6

– Vv. 1–2:

(1) In die illa cantabitur canticum istud in terra Iuda
Urbs fortitudinis nostrae salvator;
ponetur in ea murus et antemurale.
(2) Aperite portas et ingrediatur gens iusta custodiens veritatem

The Latin version of Jerome reflects a different understanding of this passage as is clear from his rendering of v. 1 in comparison with MT. The Hebrew text of v. 1 reads as follows:

In that day will be sung this song in the land of Judah:
A strong city is ours (עיר עז לנו);
he sets up salvation as walls and glacis
(ישועה ישית חומות וחל)

The clause, Urbs fortitudinis nostrae salvator, 'the city of our strength is the saviour', is most interesting. The word salvator is related to the Hebrew ישועה, and it thus appears that this word was taken as belonging to the preceding words, and not with the following part of the verse (as in MT). The rendering salvator, 'saviour', itself, instead of salus, 'salvation', for the Hebrew ישועה, is revealing for the way this passage was understood

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[8] For this millenarist view among Christian theologians of the Early Church see B. E. Daley, The Hope of the Early Church (Cambridge, 1991).

by Jerome. It is a type of rendering which is found in more places in the Vulgate (see e.g., Isa 45:8; 51:5; 62:1,11); it is the way Jerome introduced Jesus, the Saviour, in his translation of the Old Testament.[9]

'The city of our strength is the saviour': the explanation given in the commentary is fully in line with this translation. Jerome argues that this city cannot be seen as the city of Jerusalem on earth (cf. his strong emphasis on the idea that Jerusalem will never be rebuilt). On the contrary, following the exegesis of Eusebius of Caesarea, it is stated that the city of our text must be understood as the heavenly city (urbs caelestis), Jerusalem in heaven, and that the land of Judah is meant as the region of that city. The same texts from the Psalms are quoted by Jerome, as by Eusebius, in favour of this view: Ps 46:5, and 87:3 (both passages about 'the city of God'). Jerome further agrees with Eusebius that it is the saints in heaven who will sing this song. But what then about 'murus et antemurale' of that city? Jerome offers here a symbolical explanation: murus symbolizes the good works (bona opera), and antemurale the right faith (recta fides). (On this point Eusebius has a different view: Jesus is the wall of the heavenly city of God.)

The following verse, v. 2, is subsequently also taken as referring to the heavenly city. The verse contains, according to Jerome, the response given by God to the confession of the saints in v. 1: He will order his angels to open the gates of urbs dominica for the gens iusta, i.e. the faithful people.

– Vv. 5–6:

> (5) quia incurvabit habitantes in excelso civitatem sublimen humiliabit humiliabit eam usque ad terram detrahet eam usque ad pulverem
> (6) conculcabit eam pes pedes pauperis gressus egenorum

In his commentary on this passage Jerome again mentions the view of the Jews on the meaning of this text, but rejects it by saying that 'we' have the better one:

> Ipse civitatem sublimen, ut Iudaei putant, Romam, ut nos rectius esse conuincimus, Hierusalem.

It is not Rome, but the city of Jerusalem that is to be destroyed and humiliated. It is nice, so Jerome remarks, that humiliabit occurs twice (cf. MT): the first one refers to the destruction of city and temple by the Babylonians, and the second one to the destruction of city and temple by the Romans in the year 70 CE.

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[9] For Isa 26:2 see also the commentary of Eusebius where it is argued that the Hebrew word for salvation has the same letters as the name of Jesus in Hebrew.

Thus, the understanding of our passages in Isa 25 and 26 by Jerome, hinted at in his translation and fully expressed in his commentary is clearly a Christian one: the strong city of 25:2 and 26:5 is Jerusalem on earth, whereas the city of 26:1 is the saviour, that is to say, the city built by Jesus, Jerusalem in heaven. The Jewish interpretation (the strong city of 25:2 and 26:5 is Rome, and the city of 26:1 is Jerusalem) is also mentioned, but definitely rejected.

2. Targum Jonathan to the Prophets

As so often in oracular passages Targum Jonathan to the Prophets is characterized by explanatory and paraphrastic renderings. This feature is also present in the passages we will discuss here.

a. Isa 25:1–3

Targum reads as follows:[10]

> (1) O Lord, you are my God; I will exalt you, I will praise your name; for you have done wonders, counsels which you promised to bring of old you have now brought and established.
> (2) For you have made open cities heaps, a strong fortress a ruin; a temple of the Gentiles will never be built in the city of Jerusalem!
> (3) Therefore a strong people will glorify before you, the city[11] of mighty peoples will fear before you.

Verse 2 constitutes a very interesting translation. First of all, the Hebrew מעיר is interpreted as 'open cities' (קרוי פצחין). This rendering seems to be based on the Hebrew מעיר explained as 'a place which is not a (walled) city'. (Targum is the only ancient version which takes this reading of MT seriously.[12]) The second part of v. 2a is rendered fairly literally: 'strong city' (כרך תקיף) for the Hebrew קריה בצורה. As to the question which city might be alluded to in the Targum we will return to this below.

The Aramaic version of v. 2b represents a striking translation: 'a temple of the Gentiles (בית דחלת עממיא) will never be built in the city of Jerusalem!' As has been argued by scholars, this remarkable rendering is best understood as alluding to the plan of the Roman emperor Hadrian

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[10] In the translation of B. Chilton, The Isaiah Targum (The Aramaic Bible, Vol. 11; Edinburgh, 1987).

[11] Singular instead of plural (pace Chilton).

[12] For the textcritical matter see the critical apparatus.

(in 130 CE) to build a temple for Jupiter Capitolinus in Jerusalem.[13] This was part of the intention of the emperor to build a new pagan city on the ruins of Jerusalem which, among other things, gave rise to the second revolt (132–135).[14] The idea, or belief, that 'the temple of the peoples' will not be built, seems to be related to the Aramaic version of v. 7 in the same chapter. This verse reads as follows:

> And the face of the great one (רבא)
> who is master over all the peoples,
> and the face of the king (מלכא) who rules
> over all the kingdoms will be annihilated on this mountain.

The Hebrew text of this passage is different:

> Then He will swallow up, on this mountain,
> the face of the shroud (הלוט) that shrouds all peoples,
> the sheet (המסכה) that sheets all nations.

One gets the impression that the Hebrew לוט has been associated with the root שלט, to rule.[15] The expression 'the great one who is master over all the peoples' and its parallel 'the king who rules over all the kingdoms' allude to the Roman emperor (cf. Chilton). He will be destroyed on the holy mountain, and consequently, the heathen temple will not be built.

(Another passage which refers to the Roman emperor is found in Targum Isa 27:1: 'In that time the Lord with his great and strong and hard sword will punish the king who exalts himself like Pharaoh the first king, and the king who prides himself like Sennacherib the second king, and he will slay the king who is strong as the dragon that is in the sea').

b. Isa 26:1–2.5–6

Isa 26:1–2 has been translated fairly literally into Aramaic:

> (1) In that time they will sing this song in the land of the house of Judah:
> "We have a strong city; salvation will be set on its walls, and mercy[16].
> (2) Open the gates, that the innocent people which kept the law with a perfect heart may enter in."

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[13] Cf. A. van der Kooij, Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches (OBO 35; Fribourg/Göttingen, 1981), p. 194, and Chilton 1987, p. 49. See already C. Vitringa, Commentarius in Jesaiam, Pars II (Leeuwarden, 1719), p. 33.

[14] Cf E. Schürer, The History of the Jewish People, Vol. I (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 540; P. Schäfer, Der Bar Kokhba Aufstand (TSJA,1; Tübingen, 1981), pp. 29–50; Y. Meshorer, The Coinage of Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem, 1989), p. 19.

[15] For this interpretation as far as v. 7a is concerned see also Peshitta and the version of Symmachus.

[16] Singular instead of plural (pace Chilton).

Differently to the way Jerome read this verse the word 'salvation' has been taken as belonging to what follows, as in MT. The rendering 'mercy' is a remarkable one for the Hebrew חל. As the text stands, 'salvation' and mercy' will be the mark of the city in the land of Judah (for salvation 'on' the walls, see also Isa 60:18). It is clear, that the targumist has the city of Jerusalem in mind. The 'righteous nation, remaining faithful' of v. 2 which may enter the city, has been interpreted, fully in line with the ideology of the Targum, as 'the innocent people which kept the Law with a perfect heart'.

The targumic version of verses 5–6 also does not show up striking differences with MT:

> (5) For he has humbled the inhabitants of the height, the strong city. He will humble it, cast it to the ground, bring it to the dust.
> (6) Feet will trample it, the feet of the righteous, the steps of the poor, the needy of the people.

For the lofty city ('the towering city') of v. 5, Targum reads 'the strong city (קריא תקיפא)'. The difference of wording in MT between this verse and 25:2 is not found in the Targum; the Aramaic version harmonizes our text with 25:2 by offering the same expression ('strong city') as in 25:2. In the next verse (v. 6) the feet of the phrase 'feet will trample it' (MT: 'a foot treads it down') has been made explicit as 'the feet of the righteous' (רגלי צדיקיא).

The question arises as to which city Targ Isa 25:2 and 26:5 ('strong city') may refer. In view of the fact that several passages of Targ Prophets reflect the idea that Rome and the Romans are the actual and last enemy, it is reasonable to assume that in our texts 'the strong city' is meant to allude to the city of Rome. It means that our passages in Targ Isa 25 and 26 are characterized by the contrast between Rome and Jerusalem. This is not only in line with our observations concerning 25:2b (see above), but also, and more importantly, with the following texts in Targ Prophets which testify explicitly to this view:

Targ 1 Sam 2:5b:

> So Jerusalem, which was like a barren woman, is to be filled with her exiled people. And Rome, which was filled with great numbers of people —her armies will cease to be; she will be desolate and destroyed.

Targ Isa 54:1:

> Sing, O Jerusalem who was as a barren woman who did not bear; shout in singing and exult, [you who were] as a woman who did not become

pregnant. For the children of desolate Jerusalem will be more than the children of inhabited Rome, says the Lord.

This all leads to the interesting conclusion that the interpretation found in Targ Isaiah does concur, at least in its broad outline, with the Jewish exegesis mentioned by Jerome in his commentary: Isa 25:2a and 26:5 are about the strong city of Rome, and Isa 26:1 is about the city of Jerusalem. A very specific interpretation is expressed in Targ Isa 25:2b: 'the temple of the peoples', as planned by the Roman emperor Hadrian, 'shall never be built in Jerusalem'.

3. Septuagint

We now turn to the most ancient interpretation of the book of Isaiah, LXX Isaiah, dating to the second century B.C.E. The relationship between LXX and MT (+ the witnesses from Qumran, esp. 1QIsa-a [henceforth 1Qa]) is a rather complicated matter, and this applies in particular to chapters 24–27 of the book.[17] Just as with Vulgate and Targum of Isaiah we will concentrate on the Old Greek as it stands, both as text and as prophecy.

a. Isa 25:1–3

(1) Κύριε ὁ θεός μου, δοξάσω σε, ὑμνήσω τὸ ὄνομά σου,
ὅτι ἐποίησας θαυμαστὰ πράγματα, βουλὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀληθινήν·
γένοιτο, κύριε.
(2) ὅτι ἔθηκας πόλεις εἰς χῶμα,
πόλεις ὀχυρὰς τοῦ πεσεῖν αὐτῶν τὰ θεμέλια·
τῶν ἀσεβῶν πόλις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα οὐ μὴ οἰκοδομηθῇ.
(3) διὰ τοῦτο εὐλογήσει σε ὁ λαὸς ὁ πτωχός,
καὶ πόλεις ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων εὐλογήσουσί σε·

[1] Lord my God, I will glorify you, I will sing to your name;
for you have done wonderful things, the ancient (and) faithful counsel. So be it, O Lord.
[2] For you have made cities a heap, strong cities so that their foundations fall;
the strong city of the wicked men shall not be built forever.
[3] Therefore, the poor people shall bless you,
and cities of injured men shall bless you.

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[17] For a discussion of the method of analysis see A. van der Kooij, "Accident or Method? On "Analogical Interpretation in the Old Greek of Isaiah and in 1QIs-a", BiOr 43 (1986), cols 366–76, and A. van der Kooij, The Oracle of Tyre (Leiden, 1998), pp. 8–19.

Instead of the singular of MT (cf.1Qa) LXX offers plural forms in v. 2a: 'cities', and 'strong cities'. The singular in Hebrew is apparently taken in a general sense. The plural 'cities' turns out to be typical of LXX Isa 24–26: it is also found in 24:12 and 26:5 (see below); compare also 24:10 ('each city'; MT without 'each').

The second part of v. 2a reads in LXX, 'strong cities so that their foundations fall'. This rendering reflects a syntactical reading of the text, different from MT: 'their foundations' is given as translation of {nWMR>}, and this means that, unlike MT, this word has been interpreted as belonging to the previous clause. The rendering 'foundation', a rather surprising one for the Hebrew ארמון, is also found in LXX Amos 1–2 (passim). The expresssion as such, the fall of foundations, has a parallel in LXX Ezek 30:4: καὶ συμπεσεῖται τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς (MT ונהרסו יסודתיה). It conveys the idea of a complete destruction of the strong cities.

LXX v. 2b reads, 'the city of the wicked (men) shall not be built forever'. The phrase, 'the city of the wicked', seems to represent a rendering of the Hebrew words זרים מעיר (MT-1Qa).[18] The rendering ἀσεβεῖς for the Hebrew זרים is also found in v. 5 of the same pericope: ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀσεβῶν (MT זרים שׁאון, cf. 1Qa). However, v. 4 should also be seen where the Hebrew מזרם (MT-1Qa) has been interpreted as ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν. The rendering 'wicked' for a Hebrew זר, 'stranger', is found only in LXX Isaiah (see also 29:5), and nowhere else in the Septuagint. At other places in LXX Isaiah, the Hebrew word involved is translated as ἀλλότριος (1:7; 43:12), or ἀλλογενής (61:5).

The expression, 'the city of the wicked', does not occur elsewhere in LXX Isaiah, nor in the other parts of LXX. The question is whether this city is meant in a general sense, or whether it refers to a particular place. The second option seems to be the most plausible one, because otherwise one would have expected, in line with the other places, a plural in Greek ('cities'), or the expression 'each city' (as in 24:10, and 25:4).

What does it mean therefore when it is said that 'the city of the wicked shall not be built forever'? Which specific city might be referred to in this verse of LXX Isaiah? The setting of the events as prophesied in LXX Isa 24–26 is 'the inhabited world' (cf. οἰκουμένη in 24:1,4), and the 'wicked' (ἀσεβεῖς) are the ungodly persons, rich and powerful, on earth (see 24:8; 26:10). So 'the city of the wicked ones' must be an important city dominating the earth. In the context of the book of LXX Isaiah as a whole this city is best understood as referring to the city of Babylon (see LXX Isa

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[18] It has been suggested that LXX reflects here the Hebrew word זדים (see J. Ziegler, Untersuchungen, p. 82, and see BHS), but this is not likely for a number of reasons (1Qa supports the reading of MT, and the Greek word involved is never an equivalent of the Hebrew זד).

13 and 47). The idea that the most powerful city will never be rebuilt (25:2b) is fully in line with LXX Isa 13:20: after its fall the city of Babylon will never be inhabited again. For the use of ἀσεβής see 13:11.

> LXX v. 3 ('Therefore, the poor people shall bless you, and cities of injured men shall bless you') shows remarkable differences from MT (cf. 1Qa):
> LXX, 'the poor people' - MT, 'the strong people'
> LXX, 'cities of injured men' - MT, 'the city of strong nations'.

It is important to note that both versions, MT (cf. 1Qa) and LXX, present a text coherent in itself:

> MT: 'strong people' // 'city of strong nations'
> LXX: 'poor people' // 'cities of injured men'.

As has been argued by scholars, LXX Isa 25:1–5 represents a free translation, reflecting the ideas of its author more than the contents of the underlying Hebrew text.[19] The passage as a whole evokes the picture of poor people that suffered injustice from 'wicked' and 'bad' persons. It therefore makes good sense, that the poor people will bless God, and that the city of the wicked men who did them wrong will never be rebuilt (see vv. 2b–3a).[20]

b. Isa 26:1–6

– Vv. 1–2:

> (1) τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ᾄσονται τὸ ᾆσμα τοῦτο ἐπὶ γῆς Ιουδα λέγοντες
> (2) Ἰδοὺ πόλις ὀχυρά, καὶ σωτήριον ἡμῶν θήσει τεῖχος καὶ περίτειχος.
> ἀνοίξατε πύλας, εἰσελθάτω λαὸς φυλάσσων δικαιοσύνην καὶ φυλάσσων ἀλήθειαν,
>
> [1] On that day they shall sing this song in the land of Judah:
> Behold, a strong city; and he shall set our salvation (its) wall and outer wall.
> [2] Open the gates, let the people that keeps righteousness and keeps truth enter.

Compared with MT (and 1Qa) the Old Greek version contains the following differences: the active form, 'they shall sing', instead of the passive form as in MT; the plus of 'behold', and the phrase '*our* salvation' which reflects a syntactical exegesis different from MT (the pronominal form לנו belongs in MT to the previous clause). So the song does not begin with, 'We have a strong city' (= MT-1Qa), but with, 'Behold, a strong city, and our salvation [. . .]'. The difference here is not a matter of a different

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[19] See I. L. Seeligmann, The Septuagint Version of Isaiah (Leiden, 1948), p. 112, and J. M. Coste, "Le texte grec d'Isaie XXV 1–5", RB 61 (1954), pp. 36–66.

[20] For the 'poor' people of our text see also LXX Isa 24:6 (the notion of 'poor people' is not found in MT-1Qa of this verse).

Vorlage, but can very well be seen as an interpretation in line with LXX Isa 33:20a:

ἰδοὺ Σιων ἡ πόλις τὸ σωτήριον ἡμῶν
οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ὄψονται Ιερουσαλημ, πόλις πλουσία

Behold, Sion, the city of our salvation;
your eyes shall see Jerusalem, the rich city[21]

A group of righeous people (33:15!), being addressed here, will see the city of Jerusalem, the city of their salvation, and it will be for them a place to live in (v. 21). In the light of this related passage the clause of 26:1, 'Behold, a strong city', may well be understood as being sung by a group that is approaching Jerusalem. Verse 2 then seems to refer to the moment of entering the city by a group of righteous people.

– Vv. 5–6:

(5) ὃς ταπεινώσας κατήγαγες τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν ὑψηλοῖς·
πόλεις ὀχυρὰς καταβαλεῖς καὶ κατάξεις ἕως ἐδάφους,
(6) καὶ πατήσουσιν αὐτὰς πόδες πραέων καὶ ταπεινῶν.

[5] who did humble and bring down them that dwell on high;
strong cities you shall throw down, and bring down to the ground;
[6] and the feet of the gentle and humble shall tread upon them [i.e. cities]

As has been observed above, v. 5 is one of the places in LXX where the plural rendering '(strong) cities' is used. Another difference between LXX and the Hebrew text as attested by MT and 1Qa pertains to the adjective: 'strong' in LXX, and 'towering, high' in MT. Like the Targum, LXX presents a rendering in harmony with 25:2.

As to v. 5 as a whole it is to be noted that LXX differs from MT (cf. 1Qa) in two respects: first, LXX has a clause introduced by ὅς, relating in this way part of the verse with the previous verse, whereas MT offers a כי-clause; secondly, in LXX 'strong cities' figures as the object of the verbs of v. 5b, whereas in MT the expression 'towering city' belongs to the first clause of the verse.

Summarizing, it may be stated that from our discussion of the above mentioned passages in LXX Isaiah the following picture emerges: the passages of Isa 25:2a and 26:5 are about the fall and destruction of 'strong cities' (plural). The Greek version of 25:2b seems to have a particular city in mind, presumably the city of Babylon (cf. LXX Isa 13). Isa 26:1–2

[21] MT: 'Look upon Zion, the city of our appointed feasts; your eyes will see Jerusalem, a quiet habitation.'

testifies to the hope that righteous people will return to the city of Jerusalem, the city of their salvation; and 'people that keeps righteousness' will be allowed to enter that city (cf. LXX Isa 33:15ff.).

Both the Latin version (Vulgate, plus the commentary of Jerome) and the Aramaic one (Targum) of the passages under discussion turned out to represent not only a translation of a Hebrew *text,* but also an interpretation of the text of Isaiah as *prophecy.* Targ Isaiah clearly show traces of an actualizing interpretation of prophecies of Isaiah, based on the idea that ancient prophecies such as of Isaiah are to be read and interpreted as oracles about events of the time of its translator. This becomes particularly clear for instance in texts in which Jerusalem is contrasted with the city of Rome. This way of understanding ancient prophecies is also typical of LXX Isaiah, as has been argued by scholars.[22] This needs not surprise us, because it fits in fully with the ideas of the time (the Hellenistic period): ancient prophecies were considered predictions about the present and the near future. Notable examples are to be found in Dan 9 and in the *pesharim* of Qumran.

What does this mean for our passages from LXX Isa 25 and 26? LXX Isaiah, having been written about the middle of the second century BCE, at the time when Jerualem and Judah were part of the Seleucid empire, contains clear indications that prophecies about Ashur and Babel were understood as referring to the Seleucid empire. It is therefore plausible that the phrase 'the strong cities' of 25:2a and 26:5, denoting a world wide power, alludes to the power and might of the Seleucid empire, the more so since in these chapters, together with ch. 24, 'the inhabited world' is the setting of the coming events. Cities, and strong cities all over the world were typical of an empire like that of the Ptolemies and/or of the Seleucids.[23] In LXX Isa 10:5ff. about 'the Assyrians', actually understood as a cipher for the Seleucid rulers, the idea of world power is expressed by πάσας τὰς χώρας λήμψομαι (v. 10; MT-1Qa different) and by τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην καταλήμψομαι (v. 14; MT-1Qa different). It is interesting to see that at two places in this chapter, v. 6 and v. 13, the term 'cities' is found in LXX

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[22] Cf. Seeligmann 1948; J. C. M. das Neves, A Teologia da Traducao Grega dos Setenta no Livro de Isaías (Lisboa, 1973); Van der Kooij 1981; J. Koenig, L'herméneutique analogique du Judaïsme antique d'après les témoins textuels d'Isaïe (SVT 33; Leiden,1982).

[23] See texts like 1 Macc 1:2,19. See also M. Hengel, Judentum und Hellenismus (Tübingen 1973), pp. 23ff.

as an explicative plus: 'the Assyrians', i.e. the Seleucid rulers, would like to conquer all cities on earth, thus establishing their empire.[24]

The same may apply to the city of Babylon, the city referred to in LXX Isa 25:2b: that city was associated too, in the second century BCE, with the Seleucid empire. The elegy of the king of Babylon of Isa 14 has been interpreted in the Septuagint version as an oracle predicting the death of the Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV.[25]

Synoptically, the three versions of the books of Isaiah display the following picture as witnesses of an early interpretation of the passages in Isa 25 and 26 which are about a city:

Vulgate (= Comm.):

25:2a.b	-> Jerusalem on earth	(Jews: Rome)
26:1–2	'salvator'! -> Jerusalem in heaven	
26:5	-> Jerusalem on earth	(Jews: Rome)

Targum:

25:2a	'open cities'; 'strong city' -> Rome
25:2b	no pagan temple in Jerusalem
26:1–2	Jerusalem, city of salvation
26:5	'strong city' -> Rome

Septuagint:

25:2a	'strong cities' -> Seleucid empire
25:2b	'city of the wicked' -> Babylon
26:1–2	'city of salvation' -> Jerusalem
26:5	'strong cities' -> Seleucid empire

The three translations (Vulgate: + commentary) illustrate how in different ages, in different communities, and from different theological perspectives (Christian [Vulgate] and Jewish [Targum; Septuagint]) the passages about 'the city' in Isa 25 and 26 have been interpreted. All reflect, however, the same hermeneutical stance by reading the prophecies as predicting events in the recent past, the present and the near future of the authors and their communities.

Part of the differences are on the level of meaning of words, and on that of grammar, in particular the syntactical understanding of the Hebrew. At least some of these differences serve a particular actualizing interpretation of the ancient prophecies: e.g., the rendering 'salvator' in

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[24] On LXX Isa 10:5ff. see Van der Kooij 1981, pp. 34–38. See also M. Fishbane, Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel (Oxford, 1985), p. 490 (on the application of Ashur prophecies in Isaiah to the Seleucids in the Book of Daniel).

[25] On LXX Isa 14, see Seeligmann 1948, p. 84, and Van der Kooij 1981, pp. 39–43.

Vulg Isa 26:1; the rendering 'a temple of the gentiles' in Targ Isa 25:2, or 'strong cities' in LXX Isa 25:2. A marked difference between the Vulgate (+ commentary), on the one hand, and Targum and LXX, on the other concerns the interpretation of the city in Isa 26:1: Jerome's interpretation, based on that of Eusebius of Caesarea, testifies to the fact that it was impossible for him from a Christian perspective (unless one would adhere to a millenarist view) to consider that city the city of Jerusalem on earth: Quae est ista urbs? Quae in monte sita latere non potest (Comm. ad locum).

Both Jewish actualizing readings of the prophecies (Targum; LXX) are more in line with the contents of the Hebrew text, moving along the lines of the contrast between the city, or cities, of the dominating world power of the time, on the one hand, and the city of Jerusalem in the land of Judah, on the other. This, of course, raises the question, again, which might be the meaning of the Hebrew text itself, but this is another matter. Whatever the primary sense may have been, it is interesting to see that the most ancient versions of Isa 25–26 (Targum; LXX) assign a concrete historical meaning to the anonymous cities of these very intriguing chapters.

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Moral Economy, Little Tradition, and Hidden Transcript: Applying the Work of James C. Scott to Q

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As long as Q was understood in terms of individual sayings carried by itinerant radicals who had abandoned normal social life to pursue a "countercultural" lifestyle, the ways in which it arose from and addressed people embedded in ongoing political-economic-religious life was not an issue. Somewhat of a consensus is emerging recently, however, at least among North American interpreters, that Q consists of discourses/speeches, not just individual sayings (see Robinson 2000:lxii–lxvi), and arose from and/or was addressed to a movement or "communities" in Galilee (Arnal, Horsley, Kloppenborg, Reed, among other recent books). Further analysis of the interrelation of those discourses and their particular political-economic circumstances thus emerges as a matter of considerable importance. In this connection the work of the distinguished political scientist and social theorist James C. Scott may be of considerable interest and help to interpreters of Q.

For many biblical scholars, reading Scott's books and articles will seem like stepping into an alien culture. Standard Western biblical scholarship is rooted in modern Western individualistic assumptions and approaches and focuses on ancient texts and history as if they were (only or primarily) religious, somewhat separate from political-economic life. Most interpreters of Jesus and the Gospels, moreover, understand Jesus and his followers as far removed from or in pointed opposition to anything that might seem like revolt or resistance. Scott's broad purpose, on the other hand, is to understand revolt and resistance in their complex conditions and manifestations (as indicated in the titles of his publications: Scott, 1976, 1977; 1985; 1990). In virtually all the materials he considers,

moreover, he finds religion and morality inextricably intertwined with political-economic life. While those of us trained in established biblical studies are unaccustomed to dealing with political-economic structures in which the power and privilege of ruling elites are based on the systematic extraction of resources from the agrarian producers Scott deals directly with the impact of this arrangement on historical and contemporary peasantries. In that context—while biblical scholars tend to focus on religious ideas and ethical values separately—Scott insists that since they are inseparable, economics, politics, and culture/religion cannot be understood in separation. ". . . [C]lass struggle is first and foremost a struggle over the appropriation of work, production, property, and taxes. . . . It is impossible to divorce the material basis of the struggle from the struggle over values—the ideological struggle" (1985: 296–97).

Scott, besides reading widely in historical and ethnographic studies of various peasant and slave societies and rebellions, has lived in a Malaysian village, making copious field notes about the close interaction among the villagers struggling with the dramatic impact of the transformation to a capitalist economic order. Biblical scholars' recent recognition of just how fragmentary and insecure their sources are for the historical social context of their texts, however, is leading also to the recognition that comparative materials may well offer considerable help in asking more appropriate questions about the contexts and texts they wish to interpret. We greatly appreciate James Scott's generosity and patience in joining our deliberations on Q.

The following attempt to bring the work of James Scott to bear on Q in a general and provisional introductory way will proceed by Scott's individual published works, drawing possible implications for interpreting Q and/or Q materials in presumed historical context in each step. First, implications of Scott's earlier research and reflection come to a climax of sorts in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (1990). His observations in that book have serious implications for historical method and for our understanding of Q in a broadened historical social context. Second, Scott's earlier work on the important differences between the "little tradition" and the "great tradition" in "Protest and Profanation: Agrarian Revolt and the Little Tradition" (1977) also have important implications for how we read or "hear" the Q discourses in broader historical context. Third, Scott's earlier work *The Moral Economy of the Peasant* (1976) leads us into highly suggestive comparative material and theoretical framework for understanding Q discourses in the inseparably political-economic and cultural-moral dynamics of peasantries subject to disintegrative impact by outside forces. Finally, another look at *Domination* offers some possible further subtlety in approaching Q discourses. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1985), contains a

number of suggestive observations that would help New Testament scholars understand the patterns and dynamics of peasant villages and their attempts to adjust to determinative outside forces. Since it focuses on a village rapidly changing under the impact of the world capitalist system (therefore not very analogous to ancient Galilean villages), however, and otherwise draws on some of the same rich range of studies of peasantries as *Moral Economy*, it makes sense to sandwich a few references to it in the context of fuller discussion of the latter book.

Assessment of Our Sources, Especially Q, and Their Circumstances

In the obvious first step, Scott's work offers suggestive insights on how to assess and use our sources in historical reconstruction and textual interpretation—including the social location and social stance of Q itself. This can be seen most sharply in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (1990). There Scott laid out a probing analysis of communication midst the structural conflict characteristic of power relations in which "those subject to elaborate and systematic forms of social subordination" (the worker to the boss, the serf to the lord, the slave to the master, etc.) are forced into a public performance of subordination (e.g., out of fear, prudence, the desire to curry favor, etc.). The "open interaction between subordinates and those who dominate" he labeled the *public transcript* (2). The latter, however, tells only part of the story of such power relations. For "every subordinate group creates, out of its ordeal, a 'hidden transcript' that represents a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant," usually in sequestered sites (xii). (Of particular interest for Jesus and gospel materials) Behind a few anti-elite actions lies "a far more elaborate hidden transcript, an entire discourse, linked to . . . culture, religion, and the experience of colonial rule" (15). "The powerful, for their part, also develop a hidden transcript representing the practices and claims of their rule that cannot be openly avowed" (xii). Moreover, "the frontier between the public and the hidden transcripts is a zone of constant struggle between the dominant and the subordinate" (14). Scott's purpose was to explore how we can "study power relations when the powerless are often obliged to adopt a strategic pose in the presence of the powerful and when the powerful may have an interest in overdramatizing their reputation and mastery" (xii).

As should be immediately evident, recognition of the existence of these "hidden transcripts" creates serious problems for interpreters of literature and historians. Most ancient literature, that comprises the bulk of our historical sources, is part of the public transcript. But "the public

transcript, where it is not positively misleading, is unlikely to tell the whole story about power relations. It is frequently in the interest of both parties to tacitly conspire in misrepresentation" (2). Reliance mainly or exclusively on the public transcript in scholarly studies of the subordinate and their resistance is particularly problematic, for the public transcript is "systematically skewed" in the direction of the discourse of the dominant. "History and social science, because they are written by an intelligentsia using written records. . . are simply not well equipped to uncover the silent and anonymous forms of class struggle that typify the peasantry" (1985, 36–37). Scott suggests that "a comparison of the hidden transcript of the weak with that of the powerful and of both hidden transcripts to the public transcript of power relations offers a substantially new way of understanding resistance to domination" (1990: xii, 15).

If only we had access to the hidden transcript of the subordinated! The subordinated almost never leave records, since generally they have been illiterate. Not surprisingly, Scott must depend heavily on American slave narratives, other oral history, and the literary characters rooted in modern novelists astute observations of power relations. Scott's further analysis, however, may be particularly useful to biblical scholars—and in potential repayment of the debt, certain "overwritten" biblical materials may be of interest to Scott. Hidden transcripts must of necessity be cultivated in safe sites such as the slave house or the peasant village. Scott suggests that these carefully cultivated hidden transcripts provide the basis of the ability of subordinated peoples to endure, to engage fairly regularly in hidden forms of resistance, and on rare occasions, to mount organized collective forms of resistance and even revolts. Of particular interest are those rare occasions in which a spokesperson for the subordinate "breaches" the divide, declaring in public the true views—and powerful resentment—of the subordinate, which typically leads to swift repression and/or further words and acts of resistance.

This rupture of the political *cordon sanitaire*, making public the previously hidden transcript of the subordinate, may be particularly interesting to students of Jesus and the Gospels. In New Testament studies we tend to deal with texts as texts, with at most minor distinctions between literature from the scribal elite, such as Ben Sira or the rabbis and literature from lower on the social scale, such as Mark or Q. And we treat our texts as if they were, in Scott's terms, all part of the "public transcript." But once we have read Scott, it would be difficult to classify Mark's narrative or the Q discourses as "public transcript," since even "Jesus'" prophetic statements against the Pharisees or the Jerusalem ruling house are really addressed to the "in-group" of the movement. Yet Mark and Q are not simply from the "hidden transcript" of Galilean villagers. Insofar as a new movement has arisen, something that goes beyond life as usual in

the sequestered site of the hidden transcript has happened. Both Mark and Q portray "Jesus" as having boldly declared the hidden transcript in the face of the power-holders. (In the Q session with Scott, Alan Kirk will further explore "Breaching the Frontier: Going Public with the Hidden Transcript in Q 11.") The older view of politics in general and of Jesus and his movement(s) in particular was focused on what may be command performances of acquiescence in the established political-economic order or open rebellion against it are too limited, and inadequate to unrecorded realities. Instead Mark and Q—if it is no longer simply taken as a collection of Jesus' sayings carried by a few counter-cultural itinerant—can be viewed as representing and reflecting a no longer so hidden mobilization of the subordinate into a village based movement on the basis of the hidden transcript long cultivated in the Galilean villages. In Scott's terms, moreover, Q and Mark represent relatively more "cooked" rather than "raw" forms of the (ostensible) bold declaration of the hidden transcript in the public arena. "Cooked declarations are likely to be nuanced and elaborate because they arise under circumstances of offstage freedom among subordinate groups, allowing them to share a rich and deep hidden transcript" (216–17). Such, apparently, were the circumstances in Galilee where Q materials developed.

Many of Scott's observations about how the hidden transcript is cultivated in safe sites such as peasant villages, however, can illuminate how the Jesus movements connected with Mark or Q could arise and spread in precisely such places, away from the direct surveillance of rulers and their representatives (assuming we do not take Mark's pronouncement stories involving the Pharisees' surveillance at face value!).

If we are to pursue the potentially illuminating implications of Scott's insights regarding hidden and official transcripts, then we may need to make adjustments in our overall approach to Q and other Gospel materials. Recent scholarship on Q has sought to control the document with every more sophisticated and finely-grained analysis of genre, rhetorical forms (following Hellenistic-Roman models), literary development, redaction, and compositional criticism. Work such as Scott's pushes us, if anything, to "loosen up" in order to appreciate the integral relationship between particular cultural expressions such as Q discourses and social forms and power relations the better to appreciate how those discourses arise from and address people in particular historical circumstances.

Little Tradition vs. Great Tradition

Scott's work that has perhaps received more attention in Gospel studies than others to date is the sustained theoretical and comparative study, "Protest and Profanation: Agrarian Revolt and the Little Tradition" (1977). Robert Redfield and other anthropologists had established a basic distinction between the "great tradition" and the "little tradition" to distinguish the interrelated lines of culture carried by the urban elite and ordinary people in the countryside, respectively. Focusing on agrarian societies, Scott believes that "more or less in keeping with Redfield's concepts, we may define the little tradition as 'the distinctive patterns of belief and behavior which are valued by the peasantry of an agrarian society'; the great tradition is the corresponding patterns among the society's elite" (8). The great tradition was sometimes and to a certain degree written, whereas the little tradition was almost always cultivated orally. Scott widened the focus from mainly religion, ritual, and myth to issues of economic organization and political authority and added the word 'valued' since much peasant behavior may be coerced and not a normative aspect of peasants' own culture. Scott also finds more of a difference in the "little tradition" than simply "a parochial version of cosmopolitan forms and values." If there are differences between elite and popular culture in modern society which has highly effective integrative mechanisms in the mass media, then "in the absence of these integrative factors, the contours of non-elite beliefs are likely to diverge more strikingly from elite beliefs and the variety of beliefs *among* non-elites is also likely to be greater" (7). Indeed, one can discern "what amounts to 'a shadow society'—a pattern of structural, stylistic, and normative opposition to the politico-religious tradition of the ruling elites" (4). "The material and symbolic hegemony normally exercised by ruling institutions does not preclude, but rather engenders, a set of contrary values which represent in their entirety a kind of 'shadow society'" (19). In some societies the folk culture functions, "both in form and content, as a symbolic criticism of elite values and beliefs. . . . Under certain circumstances . . . such forms of symbolic conflict may become manifest and amount to a political or religious mobilization of the little tradition" (12).

For some time now I have been utilizing this basic distinction to help explain the distinctive popular Judean, Samaritan, and Galilean "messianic" and prophetic movements in late second-temple times that seem to be informed by Israelite traditions of popular kings such as Saul, David, and Jehu, and prophetic leaders such as Moses and Elijah. (Horsley, 1984, 1985; as Scott comments, 1977: 240: "the little tradition achieves historical visibility only at those moments when it becomes

mobilized into dissident movements which pose a direct threat to ruling elites."). The "little tradition" concept is implicit throughout my treatment of Jesus and the Jesus movement, and explicit at certain points (1987: esp. ch 5; and 1989: chs 6–7). The distinction has since been used for popular movements and/or Gospel materials by others such as Burton Mack (1988) and John Dominic Crossan (1991). The distinction played an important role in my tentative explanation of Galilean culture that resulted from such a different regional history by contrast with that of Jerusalem and Judea (1995: esp. chs 2, 6). Kloppenborg provides a brief summary of Scott's exposition, with qualified acceptance for the interpretation of what he sees as the "main redaction of Q" (2000: 206–208). And I drew heavily on Scott in an attempt to come to grips with the prominent appearance of Israelite traditions in Q discourses, particularly insofar as these traditions are clearly contested. (1999: ch 5; summary of Scott, 99–104; discussion of contested Israelite traditions in Q, 104–22). Since these summaries and applications are easily available, there is no point in summarizing them. Kloppenborg agrees with my earlier "diagnosis of the sources of tension in Roman Galilee and . . . view of Q as proposing local renewal" (208). His principal concern, apparently, in connection with understanding Q along the lines of Scott's analysis of the "little tradition," is that Q is written, and thus must have been composed by people who could write, i.e., by definition, scribes; but since Q is apparently (rooted in) Galilean "little tradition," these must have been "village scribes."[1] I have recently attempted to understand Q as oral performance, an "oral derived text" at some point written down (by a scribe), but having developed in continuing oral performance—and firmly rooted in Israelite popular tradition. With those different twists, therefore, we apparently agree fundamentally that Q can be understood in terms of Galilean Israelite "little tradition."

For a survey of popular and contested Israelite traditions in Q, as well as fuller explorations of Q 6:20–49; 9:57–10:16; 3:7–9, 16–17; 22:28–30; 7:18–35; 13:28–29, 34–35; 11:39–52, I refer the interested reader to the relevant sections in *Whoever Hears You* (pp. 104–122, and chs. 9, 10, 12, 13,

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[1] Kloppenborg, 2000:195, 200–201; see also Arnal, 2001:151–52. I am less confident in the attractive hypothesis of "village scribes" as an explanation for the composition of Q. Except for a sarcastic threat by Herod's older sons against their half-brothers cited by Josephus (*War* 1.479; *Ant.* 16.203, the only textual references to village scribes (*komogrammateis*) come from Egypt, and may be of questionable transferability to Galilee. Moreover, the papyri that mention "village clerks" in Egypt indicate that some of them were functionally illiterate and that few of them would have been capable of literary composition. Their competence, keeping records and copying formulas, was more like what has been called "craft-literacy."

respectively). In retrospect on those explorations applying the implications of Scott's work to Q discourses, I would only emphasize a few general observations. First, both in terms of their occurrence in several Q discourses and by comparison with biblical materials and contemporary Judean texts such as DSS, certain themes are strikingly prominent in Q, some previously ignored or downplayed in Q studies: renewal of Israel (Q 3:7–9, 16–17; 7:18–35; 9:57–10:16; 11:2–4; 22:28–30), covenant, covenant law, and covenant renewal 6:20–49; 11:2–4; 12:22–31; 16:16–18), and prophets and prophetic forms (3:7–9, 16–17; 7:18–35; 9:57–10:16; 11:39–52; 13:28–29, 34–35). Second, by comparison and contrast with biblical and contemporary Judean texts, it is surprising (to me, at least) how readily apparent the differences are between Q's use/versions/emphases of Israelite traditions and scribal texts' uses/versions/emphases and how often those differences correlate with differences in social location. Third, since neither Q nor, often, the contemporary Judean scribal texts were drawing on written scriptural texts, it is clear that we must learn to deal with cultural memories/traditions as well as with texts, which will require more subtle approaches. Fourth, in the latter connection, it is evident that some of those cultural traditions operative behind and in Q and contemporary scribal literature were of broader scope than we usually consider (given our orientation to particular finite texts); for example, broader patterns of covenant (renewal), prophetic woes, and prophetic roles. Fifth, were we to recognize the difference between the "great tradition" as evident in certain scribal literature such as the DSS and the "little tradition" that comes to articulation in Q (and Mark, etc.) as a primary distinction in late second temple/Roman Palestine, then we need to clean up our interpretative vocabulary, dropping the standard dichotomous concepts "Jewish" and "Christian" and "cultural/conventional" vs. countercultural/ unconventional" in discussion of Q—and take a different evaluative stance toward key self-legitimating symbols in the great tradition. Finally, recognition of the eclectic character of popular culture should make us cautious in our reception and analysis of Q materials; for what appear to us as eclectic elements that do not fit our conception of sayings of discourses may have been part of an eclectic popular culture, not the result of deliberate editing by an editor or redactor (we cannot project, e.g., Luke's handling of Q onto a hypothetical editor of Q itself).

Any number of Scott's particular observations in "Protest and Profanation" are highly suggestive for interpretation of Q discourses and themes. I single out only a couple of related comments. "Ideology . . . may often be experienced by peasants . . . as a kind of magic charm, an esoteric religious knowledge that is capable, by itself, of transforming the world" (220). This observation takes us well beyond the attempt, some

decades ago, by Norman Perrin and others to use a concept such as "tensive symbol" to understand the phrase "the kingdom of God," which, in its key position in most Q discourses, clearly forms the dominant theme of Q. If the audiences of Q speeches heard "blessed are you poor, for yours is the kingdom of God" as a declaration of God's new action of deliverance and "seek first the kingdom of God and [food, clothing, shelter] will be added" as an exhortation, then they would have been almost magically enabled to "love your enemies, do good and lend" and not to worry about their threatened subsistence, since the world was obviously being transformed! Also with regard to the "kingdom of God:" Scott comments that in some popular movements religion and politics become joined in a utopian vision of a revolutionary new order, a religious charter becomes the basis for more far reaching revolutionary goals (225). Such an observation provides an overarching perspective from which to comprehend how the Q discourses in 6:20–49; 7:18–35; 11:2–4; 12:22–31; and 22:28–30 might have resonated with their audiences.

The Moral Economy of the Peasant

Scott's broad purpose in his first book was to explain the occurrence of peasant revolts—in twentieth century Southeast Asia and more generally (as he read widely in studies of particular instances and comparative studies of peasant revolts). He found unsatisfactory previous approaches to peasants as individual actors with particular goals and previous explanations of the motivation of popular rebellion, as rooted in the quantitative degree of exploitation or in "relative deprivation" or in the "J" curve of "rising expectations." Scott laid out an alternative theory, which (with apologies to Scott for oversimplification) might be summarized in six steps/paragraphs, then applied to Q in corresponding steps.

(1) In close examination of southeast Asian peasant societies and more general historical and ethnographic studies, Scott discerned what he called the "moral economy" of the peasantry, which he thinks can be shown to be virtually ubiquitous. Obliged by custom and often by force to meet the demands for their products by lords, landlords, the state, and/or creditors, peasant families are faced annually with the problem of feeding themselves (vii, 2–3). Besides its physiological dimension of enough calories to "reproduce" the producers, moreover, subsistence has "social and cultural implications. In order to be a fully functioning member of village society, a household needs a certain level of resources to discharge its necessary ceremonial and social obligations. . . . To fall below this level

is not only to risk starvation. It is to suffer a profound loss of standing within the community and perhaps to fall into a permanent situation of dependence" (9; cf. 1985: 236–40). Peasantries develop a common sense of their right to minimum subsistence, which is a matter of social-economic justice. Scott's emphasis on economic rights and a sense of social participation or failure recognizes that peasants, like elites, have a sense of the moral structure of their society and a political consciousness. Peasants judge others as morally responsible for their predicament and act to claim their rights when they are violated (1976: 189).

(2) Scott then lays out how "the precapitalist [village] community was organized around" this problem of subsistence for its constituent households to minimize the risk to which they were exposed by their obligations for taxes, rents, weather, etc. Peasantries developed reciprocity principles, redistributive mechanisms, and other social arrangements to assure subsistence to the members of village communities (5–6, 9, 176). "The essence of the village community moral standards is a crude notion of equality, stressing the justice and necessity of a minimum of land [resources] for the performance of essential social tasks. These standards usually have some sort of religious sanction, and it is likely to be in their stress on these points that the religion of peasants differs from that of other social classes." [Barrington Moore, Social Origins, 497–98.] Central to the religious sanction of these moral standards is that they are deeply rooted in tradition (Scott, 10). "Village egalitarianism in this sense is conservative not radical; it claims that all should have a place, a living, not that all should be equal. . . . Given control over their local affairs, peasants choose to create an institution that normally insures the weakest against ruin by making certain demands on the better-off villagers. . . . The informal guarantees of village life . . . are [also] sustained by local opinion. . . . They [are] a living normative model of equity and justice. . . . a peasant view of decent social relations" (40–43). "These rights to subsistence tended to be observed in the precapitalist agrarian order . . . and was the moral principle to which the poor appealed" (176–77). In Andalusia, for example, "The idea that he who has must give to him who has not is not only a precept of religion, but a moral imperative of the pueblo" (Pitt-Rivers, *People of the Sierra*, 62).

(3) Recognition of this moral economy among peasantries leads to a different approach to the occurrence of revolts and resistance movements. Instead of looking for the percentage or amount of the peasant product taken by lords and/or the state, we must begin with peasants' traditionally grounded belief in their fundamental right to subsistence and then examine peasants' relationships to other villagers, to elites and to the state with regard precisely to this economic right (5). "This moral principle forms the standard against which claims to the surplus by landlords and

the state are evaluated. . . . The test for the peasant is more likely to be 'what is left' than 'how much is taken'" (7, 19, 31). "The moral economy of the subsistence ethic can be clearly seen in the themes of peasant protest. . . . Two themes prevailed: first, claim on peasant incomes by landlords, moneylenders, or the state were never legitimate when they infringed on what was judged to be the minimal culturally defined subsistence level; and second, the *product* of the land should be distributed in such a way that all were guaranteed a subsistence niche (10). Scott has thus arrived at a much more precise sense of the basis of peasant politics and, given the rarity of peasant protest and especially peasant revolt midst the ubiquity of intense exploitation, of understanding why and when protests and revolts occur.

(4) Political-economic transformations under modern colonial practices, including the transformation of land and labor into commodities, tended to violate the moral economy and threaten the subsistence rights of peasants, some in ways that led to the conditions susceptible to peasant revolts (3–4, 9, 196). In southeast Asia "colonial regimes were likely to press even harder in a slump so as to maintain their own revenue. . . . In the midst of a booming export economy, new fortunes for indigenous landowners, officeholders, and moneylenders, there was also growing rural indebtedness and poverty and an increasing tempo of peasant unrest. . . . The explanation . . . [is] new insecurities of subsistence income to which the poorer sector was exposed" (10). The experience of the southeast Asian peasantry with the fiscal practices of the colonial state is analogous in many respects to the experience of the European peasantry, where taxation was the most prominent single issue in the large-scale rebellions during the European state-making of the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries (96).

(5) Given the moral economy of the peasantry increasingly violated by escalating exploitation resulting from transformative effects of the state and a new economic system, Scott finds that certain factors tend to lead to revolt or non-revolt. One of the most important is the state's power of repression (195). "Tangible and painful memories of repression must have a chilling effect on peasants who contemplate even minor acts of resistance" (226). "The central role of security for the peasantry implies that downwardly mobile peasants may resist most bitterly at those thresholds where they risk losing much of their previous security. One such threshold occurs at the point where self-sufficient smallholders lose the land that gives them their fairly autonomous subsistence . . . and they face having to become dependent clients. A second threshold occurs when the subsistence guarantees within dependency collapse (39). These thresholds also have a cultural dimension insofar as they involve minimal cultural decencies, such as caring for elderly parents and crucial rituals, as

well as subsistence economic resources (177–78). The ability of village communities to adjust to the transformed conditions and to protect its component members, however, can delay the crossing of that first threshold (194). The social strength of this moral economy and its traditional mechanisms that protected the village poor, "varied from village to village, region to region. It was strongest in areas where traditional village forms were well developed and not shattered by colonialism. . . . It is precisely in areas where the village is most autonomous and cohesive that subsistence guarantees are the strongest" (40–41). On the other hand, similar social composition "makes some peasantries inherently more insurrection-prone. Peasantries with strong communal traditions and few sharp internal class divisions are more explosive. First, it follows that a more undifferentiated peasantry will experience economic shocks in a uniform fashion since structurally more of its members are more or less in the same boat. Second, communitarian structures have a greater capacity for collective action. Organizational barriers are reduced, recourse to an existing structure of local cooperation that has remained intact; their 'little tradition' is a ready-made vehicle of action. . . . The more communal a village structure, the easier it is for it to collectively defend its interests" (201–2).

(6) Scott, finally, points out that even "false starts" of revolt and social-religious movements (e.g., Hoa Hao and Cao Dai in southern Vietnam, Iglesia Ni Cristo in the Philippines) can often reinforce the bonds between peasants and serve (paradoxically) as both an alternative and as a prelude and stimulus to revolt (207, 219–20). "It is possible to find clear evidence of growing symbolic withdrawal in the culture of those who are exploited but have little prospect of revolt. The values of an oppressed group [perhaps as indicates in a social-religious movement] . . . are one of the clearest tests of their symbolic alignment or of their symbolic opposition to elite values and homilies" (231). "A cult is not simply mystic evasion. It provides a critique of the existing order and an alternative symbolic universe that is so potentially explosive. . . . It also nurtures among the oppressed social links and cultural dissent that lie in wait for the future" (237). "Since peasants' freedom to define and elaborate their own culture is almost always greater than their capacity to remake society, it is to their culture that we must look to discover how much their moral universe diverges from that of the elite. . . . This symbolic refuge is not simply a source of solace, an escape. It represents an alternative moral universe in embryo—a dissident subculture, which helps unite its members as a human community" (238, 240).

(1–2) Reading Scott's *Moral Economy of the Peasant* might be more compelling at first glance to those of us who (also) deal with the Hebrew

Bible than those who deal only with Synoptic Gospel materials. The Mosaic covenant, the covenant law code in Exodus 21–23, and many provisions in the Deuteronomic code and the Holiness code are immediately intelligible as articulations of the "moral economy of ancient Israelite peasants." All of those provisions included in various covenantal codes—exhortation to lend liberally to a needy neighbor, gleaning, prohibition of interest, sabbatical rest of the land, sabbatical release of debts and debt-slaves, redemption of land by the next of kin—constituted the social mechanisms by which Israelite villages (followed by Deuteronomic and Levitical codes) attempted to keep each member household economically viable. It is also evident what the prophet Micah was referring to in 2:5—the periodic redistribution of (communal) land. Underlying all of these provisions, of course, was the principle that the land belonged ultimately to Yahweh and had been parceled out as a gift to each family or lineage as its own inheritance (e.g., Lev 25:23). A story such as that about Naboth's vineyard 1 Kings 21 indicates that Israelite kings were put on notice that the peasantry as well as their prophetic spokespersons such as Elijah had a clear sense of their social-economic rights. Most of the social mechanisms mentioned in Israelite law codes were designed to keep the land, the basis of subsistence, in those lineages. Subsistence rights and the broader "moral economy" of the peasantry were thus deeply rooted in Israelite tradition. Judging from elite sources such as Josephus, moreover, at least some of these social-legal mechanisms to protect the subsistence rights of peasants were still practiced in late second-temple times. The sabbatical rest for the land was still observed, apparently sanctioned by the temple-state, in early Roman times and the sabbatical cancellation debts was still practiced, as evidenced in the *prosbul* devised by Hillel to circumvent it. If some of these social-legal mechanisms were still officially observed and discussed, then almost certainly they were still alive among the Judean and Galilean villages, in the "little tradition."

This must lead us to take much more seriously the references/allusions to traditional Israelite covenantal laws and teachings in Q discourses. Before the implications of the operation of a "little tradition" among ordinary people (in distinction from the "great tradition" to which we have access in extant texts of the Torah) for our use of sources had "sunk in" to my head, I listed a number of the possible texts that the cluster of sayings in Luke/Q 6:27–36 might be alluding to (1986; 1987:255–73). If we take Scott's and others' work seriously, we would now recognize that this portion of the discourse in Q 6:20–49 is referring to core covenantal teaching and some of the mechanisms by which the moral economy of the Israelite peasantry was practiced in Israelite little tradition. Our only access to that "little tradition" being referenced in Q 6:27–36 is quite indirect, through extant texts from the Jerusalemite "great tradition" that

we believe was at least somewhat operative in late second-temple times (cf. the reformulation of procedure in *Whoever Hears You*, chs 5, 7, 9). However we may wish to classify the individual sayings or clusters taken out of the context of the speech in Q 6:20–49 according to modern scholarly literary categories, it is clear that the 6:27–36 section of this speech consists of covenantal teaching that stands in and refers to the Israelite "little tradition" of covenantal moral economy and its mechanisms. This recognition is reinforced by the discernment of similar or parallel references to covenantal traditions in the woes against the Pharisees speech in Q 11:39–52 and the series of sayings in Q 16:16–18. If we hear Q discourses against the background laid out by Scott in *Moral Economy*—rather than in the Lukan resetting or other contexts less concerned about subsistence or in connection with individual itinerant radicalism—then we would discern in Q 12:22–31 a speech addressing ordinary people's anxiety about subsistence. (It may be significant that Matthew includes Q 12:22–31 with the covenantal teachings of Q 6:27–36 in the longer covenantal speech of Jesus, Matt 5–7.) It is striking that the sequence of petitions in the "Lord's prayer" part of the discourse on prayer, Q 11:2–4, combine the concern for subsistence with one of the key Israelite social mechanisms by which families/households were to be kept viable in the village community, the cancellation of debts.

Jesus materials from elsewhere in the synoptic tradition parallel these concerns for subsistence and the mechanisms of the moral economy for the viability of peasant families. Matthew includes the parable about forgiveness/cancellation of debts in Matt 18:23–33, and Mark had Jesus address the problem in conversation with the wealthy young man in 10:17–22. We also happen to have evidence from a generation before and a generation after Jesus' activity in Galilee and the early development of Q discourses that concern about unjust seizure of their produce in taxes and debts to wealthy creditors, i.e., basic threats to the basis of their subsistence, could drive them to protest and revolt. According to Josephus accounts, the popular messianic movements just after Herod's death attacked royal fortresses/storehouses in order to "take back" the goods that had been seized (and taken) there (*Ant.* 17.271–76). And one of the first actions of the insurrection in Jerusalem in 66 was to burn the archives in order to destroy the records and to prevent recovery of debts (*B.J.* 2.427).

(3) Were we to follow Scott's different approach to peasant protest and revolt as rooted in the people's right to subsistence, we would no longer seek to establish the percentage or absolute amount of taxation, but rather look for the factors that combined to threaten their subsistence. (Moreover, once we have learned from Scott's *Weapons of the Weak* about peasants' hidden forms of resistance such as sequestering

produce from the tax collectors, which render the official rate of taxation functionally irrelevant, we are forced to devise a more subtle and nuanced approach anyhow.) Also, more directly pertinent to interpretation of Q, if its discourses reflect and/or were addressed to and supposedly resonated with Galilean and other common people, then we must take into account not just their poverty and indebtedness, but both the social-cultural meaning of the threat to their subsistence and their indignation at the injustice of their circumstances. Both the blessings and woes that begin the covenant-renewal discourse in Q 6:20–26 and the speech addressed to anxiety about subsistence in Q 12:22–31 appear directly to address the discouragement and self-doubt that poor indebted villagers might feel about their "failure" as members of the community. And the prophetic declarations of woes against the Pharisees in Q 11:39–52 and of condemnation of the Jerusalem ruling house in Q 13:34–35 (and the not-so-veiled commentary on Antipas in Q 7:24–25), as well as the blessings and woes in Q 6:20–26, appear to articulate their indignation. (In the Q session with Scott, Milton Moreland will examine "Imagining the Peasant in Roman Galilee: Archaeology, Q, and the Modern Theorist.")

(4) As Scott points out, despite high levels of exploitation, peasants have seldom mounted outright revolt. But both in 4 BCE after the death of Herod and again in 66 CE, widespread revolt erupted among the Galilean and Judean peasantry. In between emerged the Jesus movements, one of which produced/resulted in Q. With Scott's more nuanced approach, we can look for how the new order imposed by Rome through client kings was impacting the Galilean (and Judean) peasantry. Different from but corresponding to the dramatic changes that accompanied the introduction of the capitalist system under colonial rule of nineteenth and twentieth century peasantries, Roman imperial rule brought dramatic and relatively sudden changes that seriously impacted peasants in Palestine. Prior to the Roman conquest, there was one layer of rulers, the Jerusalem temple-state. When the Romans imposed Herod as king, and he in turn retained the high priestly and Temple apparatus, the peasant producers suddenly came under multiple layers of rulers and demands on their produce. According to Josephus, moreover, even as a young military governor of Galilee, Herod was renowned for being rigorous and ruthless in his collection of revenues. The rigor of tax collection may have been an even more decisive factor under Antipas in Galilee. Before Roman and Herodian rule, Galilee had been ruled and taxed by distant rulers, under whose rule they had grown accustomed to being able to use some of those hidden forms of resistance, sequestering crops, etc. and paying only part of taxation. (Given the less than rigorous apparatus in modern Malasia, "the official collection of the Islamic tithe in paddy is only a small fraction of what is legally due, thanks to a network of complicity and misrepre-

sentation," 1985: 31.) Antipas, however, immediately rebuilt Sepphoris in the center of western Galilee as his capital and within twenty years built a new capital city, Tiberias, on the Lake. From these capital cities conveniently located with commanding surveillance over and immediate access to every village in Galilee, tax-collection was suddenly more rigorous and hidden forms of popular resistance less effective. The presence of their rulers directly on the scene in Galilee must have become a major factor in the increasing pressure on Galilean peasant subsistence. Like the booming economy under modern colonial regimes, the booming economy of the new Roman imperial order in Palestine—Herod's lavishly rebuilt Temple and newly founded cities in honor of the emperor, the high priestly families newly built mansions in the New City in Jerusalem, the burgeoning estates of Herodian families in NW Judea, and Herod Antipas's spanking new cities in Galilee—coincided with increasing poverty among peasant producers. And similar to the increase in rulers' demands that aggravated peasant conditions in early modern times in Europe, the suddenly unchallengeable political-economic power of the Roman client regimes of the Herodians and Jerusalem temple-state ratcheted up the pressure on ancient Palestinian peasants.

(5) Scott's generalizations based on fairly wide selection of comparative materials are particularly suggestive for historians of early Roman Palestine and students of the Jesus movements, including the one connected with Q. It has to be striking, given the infrequency of widespread peasant revolt, that Galileans and Judeans put up a fierce resistance to Herod's conquest of his "kingdom" in 40–37 BCE, then revolted when the tyrant died in 4 BCE, and mounted an even more widespread revolt again in 66–70 CE. Similarly striking is the seeming quiescence of the people during the reign of Herod the Great and again under Antipas and the early Roman governors. Striking, finally, is the emergence of the Jesus movements more or less midway between the increasingly tightened new Roman-imperial order in Galilee under Herod and Antipas, and the steadily expanding unrest in the 60s and the outbreak of the great revolt in 66. The new and continuing new economic pressure on the peasantry under Roman rule, following the weakness of late Hasmonean rule—along with the strength of the tradition of independent rule integral to Israelite popular tradition—has to be part of the explanation of why revolt occurred in Judea and Galilee. Survey of the location and circumstances of large (royal) estates in Palestine (see Applebaum, Fiensy, and Horsley 1995), the ability of Galilean and Judean peasants to organize and take common action (Galilean peasants were more like those in Morelos in 1910 than like those in Sedaka in 1980, cf. Scott, 1985: 242–44), and the concern of Jesus movements with debt as well as poverty and hunger, all suggest that the new pressures were

pushing the Galilean and Judean peasants toward the first threshold Scott mentions where downwardly mobile peasants, out of indignation at the violation of their subsistence rights, may resist most bitterly, i.e., when previously self-sufficient smallholders were threatened with loss of their land (and not at the second threshold, when they had already become mostly dependents). (In the Q session with Scott, Douglas Oakman will address "Jesus the Tax-resister: The Meaning of Resistance and the Resistivity of Meaning in Early Jesus Traditions.")

(6) Scott's comments that traditional communal structures of peasant villages that have not decisively disintegrated from the pressures of outside forces can function both as a factor contributing to revolt or a factor deterring revolt is highly suggestive for Jesus movements such as the one linked with Q. On the one hand, the people living in an intact communal village structure can more easily mount cooperative action rooted in their "little tradition" and communal structure. On the other hand, the more communal structures enable the villagers to redistribute the pressures so as to avoid or postpone subsistence crises. Suggestive in the same direction are his observations about how a "false start" or a religious movement may serve as prelude to revolt. Both of Scott's observations point to the possible effects of the Jesus movement, its effective interaction/interrelationships with the Galilean people. Again, if we assume that Q consisted of discourses addressed to ordinary people (and was not simply a device for preservation of Jesus-sayings), then discourses such as 6:20–49; 11:2–4, 9–13; 12:22–31 were concerned with people threatened with poverty, hunger, and debt, encouraging them to respond to God's bringing the kingdom with mutual caring and renewed cooperation in their communities. (While the underlying values of the peasant moral economy are similar, the disintegration of the communal structures in "Sedaka" had progressed beyond what Q discourses represents in ancient Galilean villages; cf. Scott, 1985: 178, 180–81, 191, 235). Indeed, since we may project that these discourses must have resonated with audiences of people or they would not have been perpetuated, these discourses would have built and reinforced horizontal bonds among community members. If other Q discourses resonated similarly with Galileans, we can imagine that Q 7:18–35; 12:2–12; 11:39–52 and 13:28–29, 34–35 helped solidify their dissent from the values represented by Antipas, the Jerusalem rulers and their scribal and Pharisaic representatives. ("While folk culture is not coordinated in the formal sense, it often achieves a 'climate of opinion' which, in other more institutionalized societies, would require a public relations campaign. The striking thing about peasant society is the extent to which a whole range of complex activities . . . are coordinated by networks of understanding and practice. . . . No formal organizations are created because none are

required [given the communal village structures]." Scott, 1985: 300–301. I.e., Jesus and the Q performers did not have to organize new communities.) Virtually all Q discourses articulated an alternative symbolic universe of Galilean Israelites, focused in the symbol of the kingdom of God, which weaves through the sequence of discourses like a thematic red thread. That is, in terms of Scott's concept of "moral economy," Q discourses crystallize and renew a "moral universe that diverges from that of the elite." Scott's exploration of how peasant politics are rooted in this "moral economy" thus provides a new vision for the hungry historical imagination of biblical interpreters. Scott provides an alternative to the old debate about whether Jesus and his movements, like certain contemporary popular movements in Palestine, constituted what was in effect a revolt, or must be reconstructed as absolutely anti-revolutionary. Approaching Q discourses with the help of Scott's "moral economy" might lead to the conclusion that, in their time, Q discourses must have supplied cultural dissent, an alternative symbolic universe, and social links among the oppressed. Q represented "an alternative moral universe in embryo—a dissident subculture, which help[ed] unite its members as a human community and as a community of values" (238).

Illumination of Q from *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*

Finally, I want to return to Scott's *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* to single out a few observations that seem potentially illuminating for Q discourses, concentrating first on some pertinent to the covenant renewal discourse in 6:20–49 and the woes against the Pharisees in 11:39–52. Scott's points regarding the function of the hidden transcript seem even more poignant about these Q discourses in which "Jesus" is again brought to voice declaring the hidden transcript in the hearing or even "in the face" of the dominant. Cultivating the hidden transcript in safe sites, says Scott, creates a discourse of dignity, negation, and justice (114). This seems to be a principle function of "Jesus'" declaration of the blessings and woes in Q 6:20–26 and the woes against the Pharisees in 11:39–52. Similar "broadsheets of the world turned upside down" figure prominently in many peasant rebellions (166, 171). Just as Brer Rabbit stories lent a sense of pride and satisfaction to slave audiences (164), so Jesus' covenantal admonitions in Q 6:27–42 would have lent a similar sense to ancient Galilean audiences called to respond to God's gift of the kingdom. As Scott comments about the "counter ideology" contained in the hidden transcript, so the proclamation of the kingdom of God and renewed covenant in Q 6:20–49, along with the Lord's Prayer and the

discourse in 7:18–35, presented a counter ideology that enabled people to resist their rulers and their pressures that were threatening to disintegrate their family and village community lives. Such "symbolic reversals of folk religion" constitute the equivalents of radical counterideologies (in modern movements), for "both are aimed at negating the public symbolism of ideological domination" (199). Regarding the woes against the Pharisees in particular (Q 11:39–52), such "expression in language of that anger will necessarily impose a disciplined form to it" (119). The use in this Q discourse of the traditional Israelite prophetic form of a series of woes suggests that this had become a standardized form of the articulation of such anger in language and of the declaration by a prophet in public of anger cultivated in the secure sites of the hidden transcript. Scott's related observation that such an expression of anger has no existence as pure thought, but only as articulated or enacted (119), as in the "speech act" or performative utterance of these woes in Q 11:39–52. From such observations we can begin to sense more adequately the function of the Q discourses in performance, whether "read" or recited.

Others of Scott's observations have considerable potential for illuminating Q and its functions more generally. Just as "the hidden transcript is continually pressing against the limit of what is permitted on stage" (196), in potential resistance of the subordinated to the dominant, even more does Q's presentation of Jesus as declaring the agenda and resentment of the people "on stage" as it were push against and expand the limit of what is permitted. This is partly because "it is only when this hidden transcript is openly declared [*as in the Q discourses*] that subordinates can fully recognize the full extent to which their claims, their dreams, their anger is shared by other subordinates with whom they have not been in direct touch" (223). That we have the Q discourses at all must mean that they resonated with people in such a way that the movement expanded and these very discourses "lived to tell about it."

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Reading Romans through the Macro-Structure of the Diatribe

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There have been comprehensive discussions about diverse diatribe traits of Epictetus's *Discourses*, as the prime of the Cynic-Stoic diatribe, and Paul's adoption of the same diatribe techniques.[1] The distinct markers of the diatribe belonging to both Epictetus and Paul should be now distilled: first, the vivid dialogue mode; second, emergences of imaginary second-

[1] Epictetus' *Discourses* is generally deemed as a typical Cynic-Stoic diatribe, and the similarities between *Discourses* and Romans have been largely investigated with respect to not only their rhetorical features but also their moral teachings/philosophies. Thus, it was possible for Halbauer to claim that Epictetus' diatribe precisely fits the ancient definition of the diatribe (Stowers, *The Diatribe and Paul's Letter to the Romans* [Chico, Ca.: Scholars Press, 1981], 28–29). In his dissertation, Bultmann compared Romans with eight diatribal writings, but his actual investigations heavily relied on three figures: Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch, and most primarily Epictetus (Rufolf Bultmann, *Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910]). Stowers also in his dissertation, *The Diatribe and Paul's Letter to the Romans*, predominantly compares Romans and *Discourses*. Stowers proclaims that "Epictetus' style, syntax, and in certain areas, his vocabulary, are so similar to Paul's that scholars have engaged in a major debate over whether Paul used Epictetus, or Epictetus used Paul" (Stanley K. Stowers, "The Diatribe," in *Greco-Roman Literature and the New Testament: Selected Forms and Genres*, ed. David E. Aune [Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1988], 76–77). See also Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1987. 200–202; Luke T. Johnson, *Reading Romans: a Literary and Theological Commentary* (New York: Crossroad, 1997), 12; and Robin Scroggs, "Paul as Rhetorician: Two Homilies in Romans 1–11," in *Jews, Greeks and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity: Essays in Honor of William David Davies*, ed. Robert Hamerton-Kelly and Robin Scroggs (Leiden: Brill, 1976).

person singular interlocutors;[2] third, characteristic rejection phrases, especially *mē genoito* ("by no means") and its characteristic formula;[3] fourth, characteristic apostrophic vocatives such as *anthrōpe*. However, former investigations focused their attention primarily on the micro-elements of the diatribe, not touching on its macro-structure. Consequently, the rhetorical techniques of the diatribe in Romans have been often ignored as simply a mood and minor writing techniques, rather than a literary system covering the whole epistle and, further, a genre.

The task of this essay is to analyze the macro-structure of Epictetus's diatribe as a whole, identifying the characteristics of its beginning, middle, and ending parts. The analysis is adapted to the structure of Romans.

Position of Thesis

In *Discourses*, a diatribe begins with a thesis statement, and focuses on the discussion of the thesis.[4] In this regard, *Discourses* is distinct even among Cynic-Stoic diatribes.[5] There are just a few exceptions: the

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[2] In most cases in *Discourses*, the second-person singular functions as a representative singular for a group of people. The "you" is not actual but fictional. This fact is simply proven by its interchangeability with other pronominal expressions, particularly with the second-person plural. For example see, in particular, I.1; I.4; I.6; I.8; I.9; I.14; I.20; I.27; I.29; II.1; II.6; II.11; II.21; II.22; II.23; III.7; III.9; III.13; III.16; III.20; III.22; III.23; IV.1; IV.4; IV.10.

[3] Malherbe has successfully argued that Paul's use of *mē genoito* does not have a counterpart in the pagan diatribe, in general, but does in Epictetus. The characteristic rejection usage *mē genoito* is not a single exclamation, but part of a larger form: that is, an objection/false conclusion with a characteristic particle such as *oun* or *ti oun*, the *mē genoito* rejection, then, some supporting statements introduced with a particle like *alla*, *gar*, or *de* ("*Mē Genoito* in the Diatribe and Paul," in *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989]. This essay was originally published in 1980 [*HTR* 73:231–40]).

[4] Expounding the diatribe, Bloomqist also observes that "We know . . . that there was probably one speaker alone (often combined with an imaginary adversary) and *one main topic* [emphasis mine] . . ." (L. Gregory Bloomquist, "Methodological Considerations in the Determination of the Social Context of Cynic Rhetorical Practice: Implications for our Present Studies of the Jesus Traditions," in *The Rhetorical Analysis: Essays from the 1995 London Conference*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Thomas H. Olbricht [Sheffield, Eng.: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997], 207).

[5] Seneca's works also often begin with a thesis. However, this characteristic is more distinct in Epictetus' *Discourses* than Seneca's works.

beginning sections sometimes simply begin with the depiction of the circumstance as in II.14; III.1; III.9, or with other rhetorical devices such as an "example" as in I.16; I.19; II.2; II.14; III.5; III.10; III.26; IV.7. Except for these limited instances, most of the other diatribes in *Discourses* begin with a thesis. This observation is easily demonstrated by comparing the title and the beginning section of a diatribe of Epictetus. For example, *Discourses* I.6 is entitled "Of providence" and the verse 1 is as follows:

> From everything that happens in the universe it is easy for a man to find occasion to praise providence, if he has within himself these two qualities; the faculty of taking a comprehensive view of what has happened in each individual instance, and the sense of gratitude.[6]

The title of *Discourses* II.8 is "What is the true nature of the good?" and verse 1 reads:

> God is helpful; but the good also is helpful. It would seem, therefore, that the true nature of the good will be found to be where we find that of God to be.

The title of IV.1, one of the longest diatribes, is "of freedom." Verse 1 is certainly the thesis of the diatribe:

> He is free who lives as he will, who is subject neither to compulsion, nor hindrance, nor force, whose choices are unhampered, whose desires attain their end, whose aversions do not fall into what they would avoid.

Likewise, the thesis of Romans appears in the beginning of the diatribe, that is, 1.16–17:

> I am ashamed, by no means (*ou gar*),[7] of the gospel; for it is the power of God for salvation to everyone who believes, to the Jew first and also to the

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[6] This study is based on Schenkl's text. The translations are indebted to W. A. Oldfather, *Epictetus: the Discourses as Reported by Arrian*, 2 vols. LCL (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998). I make only partial changes where either clarity or accuracy is necessary.

[7] Even though the majority of commentators translate *gar* here as "for," most of them do not interpret verse 16 as a real subordinate clause to the directly preceding verse. With respect to its content, it seems there is no direct connection between verse 16 and the preceding passage. Grammatically also, as Moo well points out, "subordinating clauses frequently stand out in importance by virtue of their content—especially in Greek, with its love of subordinate clauses (hypotaxis)" (Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* [Grand Rapids, Mich.; Cambridge, U. K.: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Corp., 1996], 64). Dunn and Harrisville also articulate the light connecting function of *gar* (James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8* [Dallas, Tex.: Word Books, 1988], 38). *Gar* in this context may be

> Greek. For the righteousness of God is revealed in it from faith to faith; as it is written, "The one who is righteous from faith will live."

This passage[8] has been argued by many scholars as the thesis of Romans,[9] and the function of the beginning of Romans is appropriate for the *Discouses*-like diatribe. This structural uniqueness of Romans is evident compared to other New Testament writings. The beginning of any other letter's "body" in the New Testament is not generally considered the thesis of the letter while the very beginning of Romans' "body" has been widely argued as the thesis of the epistle.[10] This characteristic of Romans is consistent, in fact, with the macro-structure of the diatribe. Thus, the diatribe of Romans starts not at verse 18, as Stowers argues,[11] but with verse 16, at the very beginning of what is considered the "body" of Romans.

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appropriately translated as "by all means," "certainly," "in fact," or "indeed" (see Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, rev. Gordon M. Messing [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984], 637; and BAGD, 152). Fitzmeier translates *gar* here as "now" (Joseph A. Fitzmeir, *Romans* [New York: Doubleday, 1993], 255).

[8] There have been debates whether the thesis statement consists of verses 16–17 or of verses 16b–17 or simply of verse 17. For this debate, see E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1977), pp. 27, 73, and 86–102.

[9] For this line of interpretation, see F. F. Bruce, *The Letter of Paul to the Romans: an Introduction and Commentary*, 2nd ed. (London: Tyndale Press, 1963), 73–77; Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1980), 3; David E. Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1987), 220; Antoinette Clark Wire, "'Since God is One': Rhetoric as Theology and History in Paul's Romans," in *The New Literary Criticism and the New Testament*, ed. Elizabeth Struthers Malbon and Edgar V. McKnight (Sheffield, Eng.: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 212; Robert Jewett, "Ecumenical Theology for the Sake of Mission," in *Pauline Theology, Volume III: Romans*, ed. David M. Hay and E. Elizabeth Johnson (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 91; Stanley Porter, "A Newer Perspective on Paul: Romans 1–8 through the Eyes of Literary Analysis," in *The Bible in Human Society: Essays in Honour of John Rogerson*, ed. M. Daniel et al (Sheffield, Eng.: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 366–92, especially 374–77; and Dunn, *Romans* 1–8, 37.

[10] Referring to Grayston, Johnson rightly points out this characteristic: "Romans is distinctive among Paul's letters for having a thesis that will be argued throughout the letter" (Luke T. Johnson, *Reading Romans: a Literary and Theological Commentary* [New York: Crossroad, 1997], 24).

[11] Stowers identifies 1:18–31 as the first diatribe section (a diatribal "indictment") in Romans (Stowers, *Diatribe and Paul's Letter*, 79).

Relationships among Diatribe Markers

In *Discourses*, each diatribe marker has its own unique characteristics, and there are some relationships among them. These relationships shed light on the macro-structure of the middle section of the diatribe.

Relationship between diatribe vocatives and the second-person singular expressions

In the Greek diatribe, many characteristic vocatives appear.[12] Greek teachers prefer one or another or various ones of them. For example, Libanius prefers *ō gennaie*[13] but never uses *talas, mōre, andrapodon, dustēne,* or *Epikoure.* However, Epictetus employs various vocatives, except *ō gennaie,* to address his fictitious dialogue partners, such as *talas* ("wreched/poor man!"),[14] *mōre* ("stupid man!"),[15] *Epikoure* ("Epicurean!"),[16] *talaipōre* ("miserable man!"),[17] *beltiste* ("dear!")[18] *dustēne* ("disastrous man!"),[19] *andrapodon.* ("slave!"),[20] and most conspicuously *anthrōpe* ("man!").[21]

These vocatives have two unique features especially with respect to the relationship with the second-person singular expressions. First, the

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[12] For example, *ō anthrōpe, ō hetaire, ō mōre, Epikoure, ō kakodaimoō, ō katagelaste, ō schetlioi, ō tetuphōmene, ō kenoi phrenōn, ō tēs pleonexis, ō ponēre, aphrōn, talas, talaipōre, ō gennaie, andrapodon, asebesate, ō thaumasioi, infelix, miser, stulte* (Stowers, *Diatribe and Paul's Letter,* 85).

[13] The vocative is used, for example, in Libanius *Epistulae* 97.6.2; 153.4.1; 173.4.3; 208.4.2; 215.4.1; 389.3.1; 658.1.1; 801.4.1; 820.3.2; 834.1.1; 867.3.1; 873.2.1; 911.1.5; 923.2.2; 924.4.2; 959.7.1; 1074.2.1; 1122.3.1; 1369.2.1; 1467.1.1.

[14] *Discourses* II.16.32; II.17.34; II.18.28; III.2.9; III.22.31; IV.1.21.

[15] *Discourses* II.16.13; III.13.17; III.22.85; III.23.17; IV.10.33.

[16] *Discourses* I.20.18; 2.23.21.

[17] *Discourses* I.4.11; III.22.26, 44; III.26.3; IV.6.18.

[18] *Discourses* I.1.16; II.12.24; II.24.23.

[19] *Discourses* II.13.23; III.26.36.

[20] *Discourses* I.4.14; I.6.30; I.7.31, 32; I.9.20; I.12.24; I.13.3; I.22.21; I.24.17; I.29.16; II.7.13; II.13.18; II.20.2; II.22.31; III.10.10; III.21.11; III.24.74; III.26.19.

[21] *Discourses* I.1.23; I.2.33; I.4.19; I.17.21; I.18.9; I.19.26; I.21.2; I.22.20; I.25.27; I.29.41; II.1.35; II.4.3; II.6.17; II.7.6; II.14.2; II.15.3, 7, 18; II.16.41; II.17.27, 33, 35; II.19.16, 17, 19; II.20.4, 9, 28; II.21.21; II.23.5, 37, 42; II.24.22; III.1.23, 30; III.5.15; III.7.21; III.8.6; III.12.10; III.14.2, 5; III.15.9; III.17.6; III.19.5; III.20.4, 5, 16; III.21.13, 14; III.22.51, 81; III.23.23; III.24.77, 83; IV.1.134; IV.4.20; IV.8.35, 39; IV.9.6; IV.11.34; IV.13.10.

vocatives addressed by the Teacher[22] in *Discourses* are, as a rule, used in the singular forms; they seldom occur in their plural forms. This fact is quite evident. There are just few exceptions in this regard: once of *talaipōroi*,[23] twice of *anthrōpoi*.[24] For *andrapodon*, *mōre*, *Epikoure*, *beltiste*, and *dustēne*, only the singular vocatives occur. Seventeen uses of singular *andrapodon* and about sixty uses of singular *anthrōpe* by the Teacher are not accidents. Rather, when he addresses a fictitious interlocutor, Epictetus tends to use only the singular vocatives intentionally. In *Discourses*, there are some occurrences of the plural form of vocative *anthrōpoi*.[25] However, except for the above-mentioned two occurrences, i.e., I.9.16; II.1.23, the other cases are not spoken by the Teacher; *anthrōpoi* is employed by the Interlocutor or occurs in quotations from other people.

In this regard, *Discourses* II.20.5–9 deserves to be noted. Here, both *anthrōpe* and *anthrōpoi* occur:

> . . . The Academics say "O men (*ō anthrōpoi*), give your assent to the statement that no man assents to any statement; believe us when we say that no man can believe anybody."
>
> So also Epicurus, when he wishes to do away with the natural fellowship of men with one another, at the same time makes use of the very principle that he is doing away with. For what does he say? "Be not deceived, men (*anthrōpoi*), not led astray, nor mistaken; there is no natural fellowship with one another among rational beings; believe me. Those who say the contrary are deceiving you and leading you astray with false reason." Why do you care then? Allow us to be deceived. Will you fare any the worse, if all the rest of us are persuaded that we do have a natural fellowship with one another, and that we ought by all means to guard it? Nay, your position will be much better and safer. Man (*anthrōpe*), why do you worry about us, why keep vigil on our account, why light your lamp, why rise betimes, why write such big books? . . .

The Academics and Epicurus address the audience with the plural vocative *anthrōpoi*. However, Epictetus employs the singular vocative

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[22] In *Discourses* the questions and answers are solely Epictetus' creation. Thus, it may be more reasonable to title Epictetus, who is instructing, as the "Teacher" and the imaginary interlocutor as the "Interlocutor." The conventional way of titling each part simply as "Epictetus" and "Interlocutor" may confuse readers to imagine actual dialogues between them.

[23] III.22.44.

[24] I.9.16; II.1.23.

[25] In addition to the exceptional cases above (n. 24), II.20.5, 7; III.13.11; III.22.26; IV.8.27, 30; IV.11.23.

anthrōpe and singular "you." It is not the case that Epictetus uses the singular "you" and "man" because he is addressing one specific person. He is teaching his students, plural. Epictetus's selective use of the singular vocatives is a consequence solely of Epictetus's rhetorical technique.

Second, by employing the characteristic vocatives, Epictetus's teaching often shifts to the phase of a dialogue with the second-person singular from a dialogue with other pronouns. In other words, the characteristic diatribe vocatives are often placed at the beginning of a new phase in the dialogue with the singular "you."[26] Some of them even stand at the beginning of new paragraphs.[27]

Discourses II.23 shows a good example. Here, *anthrōpe* occurs three times, and all of these appearances are placed at the beginning of a new paragraph. Each of the occurrences is in the singular form, spoken by the Teacher, and makes a shift to a new dialogue section with the second-person singular:[28]

> 5 [Teacher] Man (A*nthrōpe*), be (sg.) neither ungrateful for these gifts, nor yet forgetful of the better things, but for sight and hearing, yes and, by Zeus, for life itself and for what is conducive to it, for dry fruits, for wine, for olive oil, give thanks unto God . . . . . .
>
> 36 [Interlocutor] What then, generally takes place? Men act like a traveler on the way to his own country who stops at an excellent inn, and, since the inn pleases him, stays there. 37[Teacher] Man (*Anthrōpe*), you (sg.) have forgotten your purpose; you were not traveling to this but through it. [Interlocutor] "But this is a fine inn." . . . . . .
>
> 42 [Teacher] Man (*Anthrōpe*), your (sg.) purpose was to make yourself competent to use conformably with nature the external impressions that came to you, in desire not to fail in what you would attain, and in avoidance not to fall into what you would avoid, never suffering misfortune, never ill fortune, free, unhindered, unconstrained, conforming to the governance of Zeus. . . .

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[26] I.1.23; I.4.10; I.19.26; I.20.18; I.21.2; I.22.20; II.6.17; II.16.13; II.7.6; II.17.35; II.20.28; II.23.5, 37, 42; II.24.22; III.1.30; III.5.15; III.12.10; III.14.2; III.17.6; IV.6.18; IV.8.35, 39; IV.9.6; IV.13.10. In some cases, the characteristic vocatives follow immediately after the first singular "you" sentence in the shifted pronominal section, for example, I.2.33; II.15.3; II.21.21; III.26.36; IV.4.20.

[27] I.2.33; I.19.26; II.20.28; II.23.5, 37, 42; IV.6.18; IV.9.6; IV.13.10.

[28] In this diatribe, extensive discourses with non-second person singular pronouns are positioned before and after the discourses with the second-person singular introduced by the word a*nthrōpe*. Note, particularly, the *mē genoito* formula centering verse 23 and plural "you" in verse 26.

Relationship between the mē genoito *formula and the dialogue section with the second-person singular interlocutor*

The *mē genoito* formula[29] in *Discourses* is not usually joined with the second-person singular.[30] which is an opposite phenomenon to the case of the diatribe vocatives. *Mē genoito* had become a fixed rejection form in the Hellenistic world, so it was used for rejecting any questions with any pronominal expressions, but usually not with the second-person singular. Accordingly, *the mē genoito formula and the dialogues with the fictitious singular "you" are not overlapped.* Rather, the *mē genoito* formula often makes a transitional point from dialogues with the second-person singular to other pronominal expressions. The section with the changed pronominal expression is sometimes brief, but at other times, quite extensive. For example, in *Discourses* II.23, the *mē genoito* section is quite extensive:

> 22 . . . Come, do you (sg.) confess that you (sg.) have something superior to the flesh, and you (sg.) are not insane, either? Are you (sg.), in all truth, so blind and deaf?
> 23. Well, what then (*Ti oun*)? Does a man despise his other faculties? By no means (*mē genoito*)! Does a man say there is no use or advancement save in the faculty of moral purpose? By no means (*mē genoito*)! That is unintelligent, impious, ungrateful towards God. . . . 26. when, therefore, I say this, let no one suppose that I am bidding you (pl.) neglect speech, any more than I bid you (pl.) neglect eyes, or ears, or hands, or feet, or dress, or shoes. 27. But if you (sg.) ask me. . . .

In this diatribe, the diatribe technique addressing the second-person singular occurs only until verse 22, and the technique is resumed from verse 27. For the *mē genoito* formulae in verses 23–26, only non-second person singular pronouns are employed.

In addition, there is one more important relationship between the two diatribe markers—the *mē genoito* formula and the second-person singular dialogue—with respect to their relational positions in the macro-structure of the diatribe. Except for only one case, II.8.2, the *mē genoito* formula occurs after the beginning phase of Epictetus's diatribes. In contrast, the characteristic dialogues with the second-person singular occur in the beginning phase of the diatribe. Consequently, in *Discourses*, dialogues with the second-person singular usually precede the *mē genoito* formula.

In Romans, as in *Discourses*, by adopting the characteristic *singular vocative*, "o man" (*ō anthrōpe*) Paul's teaching changes to dialogues with

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[29] See n. 3 above.

[30] There are only a few exceptions: I.9.32; III.1.44; III.23.14; and IV.7.26.

the singular "you" from dialogues with other pronouns. Until the first occurrence of *anthrōpe* in Romans 2.1, the teaching was performed mainly with "they." With the introduction of the vocative *anthrōpe*, however, the pronominal case shifts to the second-person singular. Preceding the third *anthrōpe*, more specifically up to Romans 9.18, a well organized *mē genoito* argumentation[31] is posited; then, the second-person singular and *anthrōpe* occur in verses 19–20.[32] Before verse 19, the dialogues occur without the second-person singular; however, with the apostrophic vocative, Paul's diatribe shifts to a dialogue with the second-person singular.

Further, as in *Discourses*, the 'erroneous objections/questions' and 'supporting statements' of *mē genoito* in Romans are not used with the second-person singular expressions but rather in diverse combinations with the non-second person singular expressions. In Romans, the "objections" and "supporting statements" before and after the *mē genoito* rejection are performed by the second-person plural and the second-person plural,[33] the first-person plural and the second-person plural,[34] the third-person and the first-person singular,[35] the first-person singular and the first-person singular,[36] the first-person singular and the third-person,[37] and the third-person and the third-person.[38]

Consequently, the particular relationship between the discourses addressing the second-person singular and the *mē genoito* formula lends itself to a unique formulation of the "body" of Romans. Argumentation using the *mē genoito* formula follows the dominant use of the second-person singular in chapter 2. The occurrences of *mē genoito* in Romans are gathered in the middle of the diatribe. The first *mē genoito* occurs in 3:4, and the last in 11:11. All the *mē genoito* rejections have the well-constructed formula: an objection/false conclusion introduced by the characteristic particles, *mē genoito*, and substantiations. The substantiations with

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[31] 9.14–18: a false conclusion introduced by *ti oun*, *mē genoito* rejection, supporting statements with examples from history (Moses and Pharaoh) introduced by *gar*.

[32] Actually the apostrophic vocative "*ō anthrōpe*" occurs right after the emergence of one second-person singular sentence. This is the same case as in *Discourses* I.2.33; II.15.3; II.21.21; III.26.36.

[33] The arguments with *mē genoito* in 3.31; and 6.2.

[34] The argument with *mē genoito* in 6.15.

[35] The argument with *mē genoito* in 7.7 (with Paul's characteristic *ti eroumen*).

[36] The argument with *mē genoito* in 11.1.

[37] The argument with me *mē genoito* 11.11.

[38] The arguments with *mē genoito* in 3.3, 6; 7.13; and 9.14 (with Paul's characteristic *ti eroumen*).

numerous and extended "examples," as the diatribe convention, should be noted. Because of the paramount use of the *mē genoito* formula, the second-person singular rarely appears in the middle of Romans. The singular "you" only occurs twice in 9:19–20 and 10:9. After the predominant *mē genoito* formula, Paul resumes the technique of discoursing with the fictitious second-person singular, which begins at 11:17 and lasts up to the end of chapter 14. The structure of the diatribe Romans is like a sandwich, viz., dialogues using the fictitious second-person singular in the beginning and the end, and the *mē genoito* formulae in the middle.

Textual Problems of Romans and Their Meaning with Respect to Romans as the Diatribe

Recent scholarship on diatribe principally by Stowers and Malherbe has identified that "Paul's use of the style of the diatribe in Romans is conscious and intentional"[39] and "the dialogical element in Romans is not just a marginal stylistic phenomenon, but is central to the expression of the letter's message."[40] Moreover, they have convincingly demonstrated that Paul adopted a rhetorical convention of the Socratic indictment-protreptic process of the diatribe; hence, the dialogical elements of the diatribe were used for a pedagogical purpose, not for an expression of a polemic or an attack on the opponents of philosophy/religious position. Paul's diatribe is not a form of mass propaganda by wandering Cynic street preachers on street corners or market places; instead, the diatribal form and its function, closely resembling Epictetus's diatribe, presuppose a student-teacher relationship in a schoolroom situation. Further, as Aune well points out, because one of the crucial features of the diatribe is the dialogues with imaginary interlocutors, Paul's diatribe in Romans validates that Romans is not a circumstantial letter written in response to the actual situation of Roman Christians; rather, the theological arguments simply reflect Paul's position on important issues unconnected with the situation in Rome.[41]

However, when the diatribe scholars maintain that Romans is diatribal, they certainly limit their argument in the "body" of Romans. In this case, how should the other parts, viz., the epistolary beginning and

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[39] Stowers, *Diatribe and Paul's Letter*, 178.

[40] Ibid., 179.

[41] David E. Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1987), 200 and 219–20.

closing be categorized? Do these parts also belong to the diatribe? No scholar has argued this[42] and neither do I think that the argument can be successfully demonstrated. If so, the next questions should naturally arise: It seems evident according to the beginning and closing sections in Romans that the letter was sent to the church in Rome since the recipient was clearly specified in those sections; there, Paul shows his intimate knowledge of the situation in Rome including even the names of the important figures in the Roman church. Even in this case, can one argue that Romans does not disclose any specific situation in the Roman church since the "body" is a diatribe? Can one still assert that the teaching should be generalized, not specified for the church?

Certainly, the fact that the "body" of Romans is a diatribe does not allow one to dismiss the fact that the "beginning" and the "closing" of Romans are factual. In the classical letter, the "beginning" and "closing" are crucially important. The importance of these crucial parts in Romans, which include the specific name of Rome and many persons' names, cannot be disregarded. The "body" of Romans is fully diatribal, so the teaching in it can and should be generalized; but the "opening" and "closing" are fully epistolary, so the content is very specific and cannot be generalized. How can we overcome this dilemma?[43]

We may settle this dilemma by resorting to a shorter form of Romans. The long, ongoing debates on shorter forms of Romans and its literary integrity[44] are primarily based on the last two chapters of Romans, but the

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[42] Bultmann articulates that the very epistolary sections such as the beginning of Romans do not tend to adopt the diatribe techniques (Bultmann, 72–73).

[43] Dunn confesses that "The tension between these two different literary forms [the "opening" and "closing" and the "body"] in Romans has never been resolved with complete satisfaction" (*Romans 1–8*, lix). Kümmel conceptualizes the similar impression as "double character": the "opening" and the "closing" of the epistle seem to be addressed to the Gentile Christians at Rome, with a concrete purpose in mind, but the "body" of the epistle seems to focus on Jewish issues, on an abstract level (Werner Georg Kümmel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 17th ed. [Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1973], 70–71).

[44] There have been numerous debates on this issue. In 1893, F. J. Hort argued that the language and style of the doxology in Romans are consistent with both the epistle (e.g., Romans 11.33–36) and Paul's writings elsewhere (e.g., 1 Corinthians 16.22). Sanday, Headlam, Hurtado, Gamble, and others followed Hort's scholarship. They all maintain that the language in Romans is not impossible for Paul to have written (W. Sanday, and A. C. Headlam, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895]; and L. W. Hurtado, "The Doxology at the End of Romans," in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger*, ed. E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee [Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford

University Press, 1981]). Gamble's work is appreciated as the most comprehensive study in this regard. He has charged the weakness of the theory that dissociates chapter 16 from Romans. His point is that there is neither a text-historical nor an epistolographic basis for separating Romans 15 from 16 (Harry Jr. Gamble, *The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans: a Study in Textual and Literary Criticism* [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1977]. Concerning the argument against Gamble, see Morman R. Petersen, "On the Ending[s] to Paul's Letter to Rome," in *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester*, ed. Birger A. Pearson [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991], 337–47). On the contrary, J. K. Elliott claims that "most commentators argue that the doxology is non-Pauline" ("The Language and Style of the Concluding Doxology to the Epistle to the Romans," *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Älteren Kirche* 72, no. 1/2 [1981]:125). Lightfoot, Kirsopp Lake, John Knox, and others claimed that Paul himself was the originator of *the fourteen chapter form* of Romans (J. B. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays* [London; New York: Macmillan, 1904], 315–16, 319; Kirsopp Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of Saint Paul: Their Motive and Origin* [London: Rivingtons, 1911], 362–65; John Knox, "A Note on the Text of Romans," *NTS* 2 [Fall 1956]:191–93). Dodd considered chapters 9–11 an earlier piece of Paul's writings (C. H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* [MNTC; New York: Harper, 1932], 150). Manson did not regard chapter sixteen as original and argued that Romans is a circular letter addressed to several congregations (Thomas W. Manson, "St Paul's Letter to the Romans-and Others." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 31 [1948]:224–40). Jurji Kinoshita and Walter Schmithals not only factor the entire letter into its components but also trace the Romans to an editor. Schmithals divides Romans into three letters, Romans A (1.1–11.36 and 15.8–13), Romans B (12.1–15.7; 15.14–33; and 16.21–23), and the rest of Romans 16. Romans B is written some time later to those willing to share his view of the gospel (Walter Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief als historisches Problem*, SNT 9 [Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1975]). Kinoshita argues that an editor combined several writings of Paul: three manuals about the Jewish problem in Rome and the original letter to the Romans. Accepting Manson's scholarship, he claims that chapter 16 of Romans was originally a separate letter (Junji Kinoshita, "Romans—Two Writings Combined: a New Interpretation of the Body of Romans" *NovT* 7 [1965]:258–77). Robin Scroggs argues that Paul himself combined two homilies so different that they could not have been created together: chapters 1–4 + 9–11 and chapters 5–8 ("Paul as Rhetorician: Two Homilies in Romans 1–11" in *Jews, Greeks, and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity: Essays in Honour of William David Davies*, ed. Robert Hamerton-Kelly and Robin Scroggs [Leiden: Brill, 1976], 271–98). For this line of scholarship, see also Helmut Koester, *History and Literature of Early Christianity* (New York; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1982), 52–53; Heinrich Schlier, *Der Römerbrief: Kommentar* (Breisgaru; Basel; Wien: Herder, 1977); and Ernst Käsemann *An die Römer* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1973). For more studies, see J. I. H. MacDonald, "Was Roman XVI a Separate Letter?," *NTS* 16 (1969–70):369–72; Donfried, "A Short Note on Romans 16," *JBL* 89 (1970):441–49; and Norman R. Petersen, "On the ending(s) to Paul's Letter to

issue is involved also with the textual variation in the "opening" of Romans.[45] The text on which Origen's commentary and Ambrosiaster's commentary on Romans were based lacks "in Rome" in Romans 1.7. The reference to Rome in this verse is also absent in the Greco-Latin codex G. G also omits "who are in Rome" in Romans 1.15. Further, the doxology in Romans 15–16 is missing in G and in some codices known to Jerome. In breves (chapter summaries) in *Amiatinus* and a few other Vulgate codices, most of Romans 15 and 16 are missing. Even though arguments based on silence are always precarious, it is noteworthy that Romans 15 and 16 are never quoted by Irenaeus, Tertullian, or Cyprian. Meeks summarizes this textual problem: "There is manuscript evidence that the letter circulated in three forms of varying lengths: one, a text of sixteen chapters as commonly printed today; one equivalent to only the first fourteen chapter; and another to the first fifteen. There also was one version that omitted all reference to Rome (1:7, 15)."[46]

It cannot be denied in any case that there were originally variant texts concerning the specified recipient of Romans. Even Gamble, who accepts all 16 chapters as genuine, admits that "The existence at an early time . . . of a text of Romans ending with ch. 14 is clearly demonstrated by the textual evidence."[47] If we simply accept the shorter text of Romans, the epistle is not necessarily connected with Rome. It should be noted that "in the textual history of Romans the witnesses to the omission of the Roman reference in 1.7, 15 belong to the tradition which attests the fourteen-chapter edition, not the fifteen-chapter edition."[48] Therefore, once one fully recognizes the carefully crafted macro-structure of the diatribe in Romans, it seems more persuasive and reasonable to regard the "body" of Romans in its entirety as an authentic diatribe, and the "opening" and the "closing" as attachments to the "body."

My hypothesis is that the "body" of Romans was originally a real diatribe which was performed before Paul's students; the diatribe was recorded by one of his students; then, the diatribe could be later used to send Paul's message to Rome or other places. When the diatribe was sent

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Rome," in *The Future of Early Christianity*, ed. Birger A. Pearson (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 337–47.

[45] See Gamble, 29.

[46] Wayne A. Meeks, *The Writings of St. Paul* (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1972), 68.

[47] Gamble, 96. For the summary of Gamble's argument, see n. 44 above.

[48] Bruce, *The Letter of Paul*, 29.

to some place, the content could be modified to a certain extent according to the situation.[49]

Ending of the Diatribe

If one regards Romans 1.18–14.23 as the diatribe, does its last passage fit Epictetus's diatribe? Romans 14.21–23 reads:

> It is good not to eat meat nor drink wine nor anything in which your brother stumbles. The faith that you (sg.) have, keep to yourself before God. Blessed is the one who does not condemn himself because of what he approves. But the man who doubts is condemned if he eats, because he does not act from faith. For everything which is not from faith is sin.

This certainly does not fit the "closing" of a letter. How about as the diatribe?

Diatribes have diverse endings. Epictetus's diatribes end with indicatives, imperatives, quotations, or even questions. However, the *abrupt ending* of *Discourses* deserves to be noted. Epictetus's diatribes do not end with a phrase such as "Finally, I say." In Epictetus's diatribe, an abrupt ending is characteristic.

Another characteristic of *Discourses*' ending is its cynical mode. Epictetus's diatribe, as the prime example of the Cynic-Stoic diatribe, is characteristically cynical; however, its cynical ending is still one of the notable features. Over half of the diatribes in *Discourses* end in a cynical mode, and the ending often includes hyperbole. For example, in I.9.27ff. Epictetus scorns a certain person who asked him to write a recommendation. Below are the last two verses of the diatribe:

> 33. But when a man is cowardly and abject, what else can one possibly do but write letters in his behalf as we do in behalf of a corpse: "Please to grant us the carcase of so-and-so and a pint of paltry blood?" 34. For really, such a person is but a carcase and a pint of paltry blood, and nothing more. But if he were anything more, he would perceive that one man is not unfortunate because of another.

The cynical ending of I.22 begins with the characteristic "man" (*anthrōpe*):

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[49] Probably, major modifications did not happen because there is no major text variation that has words such as "in Rome" in the body of Romans. If, by modification, some one really had been eager to make the epistle appear to have been sent to Rome or some other place such as Ephesus, the person should have put the words like "in Rome" even into the "body" of Romans. However, this is not the case.

> Man (*Anthrōpe*), why, then, do you censure me, if I know? What shall I say to this slave (*andrapodō*)? If I hold my peace, the fellow bursts with indignation. So I must say, "Forgive me as you would lovers; I am not my own master; I am mad."

Discourses II.22 is "of friendship." The ending section in verses 34–37 are thoroughly cynical and hyperbolic:

> And let every one of you (pl.)[50] who is eager to be a friend to someone himself, or to get someone else for a friend, eradicate these judgements, hate them, banish them from his own soul. When this is done, first of all, he will not be reviling himself, fighting with himself, repenting, tormenting himself: and, in the second place, in relation to his comrade, he will be always straightforward to one who is like him himself, while to one who is unlike he will be tolerant, gentle, kindly, forgiving, as to one who is ignorant or is making a mistake in things of the greatest importance; he will not be harsh with anybody, because he knows well the saying of Plato, that "every soul is unwillingly deprived of the truth." But if you (pl.) fail to do this, you may do everything else that friends do—drink together, and share the same tent, and sail on the same ship—and you may be sons of the same parents; yes, and so may snakes! But they will never be friends and no more will you, as long as you retain these brutish and abominable judgements.

In the above examples, the Teacher's instruction to the Interlocutor is exaggerated so that the effect of the teaching becomes maximized.

The last instruction of Romans 14 may fit this diatribe ending well. In chapter 14, Paul argues about the eating habits of "the weak" and "the strong." Yet, verse 21a is perplexing: "It is good thing not to eat meat nor drink wine nor anything in which your brother stumbles." Such a restriction, particularly to wine, is too harsh and has not been established among the Jews.[51] Furthermore, Paul does not here clearly say *eidōlothuta* ("meat offered to idols") as in 1 Corinthians 8.1, 4, 7, 10 and 10.19. Thus, Cranfield argues that Paul is speaking hypothetically here.[52] This instruction may be read as the diatribal exaggeration. Paul may not actually mean that 'Do not eat meat nor drink wine' here. Rather, the

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[50] This last paragraph starts at verse 31 by adopting the second-person singular, which was lead by the characteristic vocative "slave" (*andrapodon*). But, from here verse 34, the pronominal expression shifts to the second-person plural. There is no contextual change. As mentioned earlier (n. 2 above), these interchanging pronominal expressions are characteristic in Epictetus' diatribe.

[51] See Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 826–27.

[52] C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, Eng.: T. & T. Clark, 1977), 725.

instruction is appropriately interpreted as a hyperbole, not a literal imperative.

The last phrase is also noteworthy: "everything which is not from faith (*ek pisteōs*) is sin." This phrase is maybe theological, but not literal; thus, this aphorism has required many commentators' painstaking exegetical trials.[53] I argue that the last passage is more likely rhetorical, more specifically hyperbolic. Dunn claims that in this last phrase "the echo of the indictment of 1:18–3:20 is not accidental."[54] In fact, in this last phrase the echo of the thesis statement of 1.16–17 is not accidental. Romans 1.16–17 and 14.23 are closely related to each other under the same theme of "faith" and, moreover, strikingly, the same term *ek pisteōs* (twice in 1.17 and twice in 14.23). This close relevance cannot be ignored. Thus, the ending of the diatribe Romans is also argued as the characteristic diatribe ending.

Conclusion

For most biblical scholars the structure of the "body" of Romans is difficult to describe, and consequently their propositions are very rough.[55] Stowers also acknowledges that "Modern epistolary research has found very little to say about the body of the letter."[56] But, the whole structure of the "body" of Romans follows that of the diatribes in *Discourses*. The similarities between the two in this regard should not be underestimated even though Romans has techniques unique to itself: e.g., Paul primarily uses the *mē genoito* formula while Epictetus predominantly adopts

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[53] Many scholars argue that the passage must be restricted to the matter at hand, that is, eating food (See Ibid., 728; Franz J. Leenhardt, *L'épître de saint Paul aux Romains* [Neuchatel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1961], 359; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: a New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [New York: Doubleday, 1993], 700; Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans* [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1998], 738; and J. A. Ziesler, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* [London: SCM Press, 1989], 335).

[54] Dunn, *Romans 9–16*, 835.

[55] J. L. White, *The Form and Function of the Body of the Greek Letter: a Study of the Letter-Body in the Non-Literary Papyri and in Paul the Apostle* (Missoula, Mont.: University of Montana, 1972), 102 n. 6; L. Ann Jervis, *The Purpose of Romans: a Comparative Letter Structure Investigation* (Sheffield, Eng.: JSOT Press, 1991), 43–44; and Duane F. Watson, "The Integration of Epistolary and Rhetorical Analysis of Philippians," in *The Rhetorical Analysis of Scripture* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 399–400.

[56] Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Westminster Press, 1986), 22.

dialogues with the second-person singular. As in *Discourses*, the diatribe in Romans begins with the thesis (1.16–17). Next, an indictment (1.18–32) and dialogues with a fictitious second-person singular (chapter 2) follow. Then, arguments with the *mē genoito* formula dominate the middle part of the diatribe.[57] In the middle of chapter 11 (11.17), the phase changes back from the dominant *mē genoito* formula to dialogues using the second-person singular. Similar to in *Discourses*, the ending of the diatribe Romans includes a cynic and hyperbolic statement. Accordingly, the "body" of Romans as a whole, not partially, may well be considered a Epictetus's *Discourses*-like diatribe that was performed in the so-called "Pauline school."[58]

In this regard, the words "school style"[59] and "the type of schoolroom instruction"[60] used by Malherbe and Stowers need to be more clarified. They do not clearly mention that Paul was teaching before his students; rather, they use more ambiguous terms, "school style," "the type of schoolroom instruction," and the like. In the conclusion of his dissertation, Stowers argues that "the dialogical style of Romans is evidence for what might best be described as Paul's school."[61] However, he never states that Romans was a teaching actually delivered before his students. This is an unavoidable situation for Stowers who accepts all chapters of Romans as originally an authentic letter[62] and does not think

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[57] For the most part, the middle section of Romans can be interpreted in the *mē genoito* formula. In this regard, numerous occurrences of "historical examples" there should be noted in terms of their characteristic function as a diatribal convention for substantiating the *mē genoito* rejection.

[58] Conzelmann argued that there was a "school of Paul" where one methodically pursued 'Wisdom' or carried on theology as wisdom-instruction (Hans Conzelmann, "Paulus und die Weisheit," NTS, 12 [1965]:233). For a more recent studies about this issue, see Loveday Alexander, "Paul and the Hellenistic Schools: the Evidence of Galen," in *Paul in His Hellenistic Context*, ed. Troels Engberg-Pedersen, (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 60–83.

[59] Stowers, "The Diatribe," 77.

[60] Malherbe, "*Mē genoito*," 32.

[61] Stowers, *Diatribe and Paul's Letter*, 183.

[62] Stowers asserts that "In the late first or early second centuries some person or persons excised the specific addresses to the Gentile believers in Rome (1:15, 17) and removed chapters 15 and 16 with their historically and locally specific materials" (Idem, "Text as Interpretation: Paul and Ancient Readings of Paul," in *Judaic and Christian Interpretation of Texts: Contents and Contexts*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Ernest S. Frerichs, [Lanham, Md.: Universit Press of America, 1987], 19–20). He claims that excluding chapter 16 results from "the lack of a textual basis" (Idem, *Diatribe and Paul's Letter*, 183).

of Romans as a genre diatribe. He alludes that Paul adopted diatribe techniques in writing the "letter," like Seneca.[63] However, Romans does not bear close resemblance to Seneca's works as it does to Epictetus', which were executed in a real school room. The resemblances between *Discourses* and Romans are more far-reaching than Stowers has observed.

Therefore, the diatribe in Romans is more appropriately categorized as an "epistle" or a "literary letter" rather than a "true letter."[64] Romans was not a real letter, but a highly rhetorical teaching that was appropriated as a letter later. The teaching was performed before his students. Among them Jews as well as Gentiles could be present. However, Paul was not addressing the Roman church. As a result, the diatribe Romans does not disclose any information about the situation in the Roman church even if the later attached epistolary "opening" and "ending" may relate information on the church. In the diatribe, Paul was teaching to his students, and Jews, Gentiles, and all human-beings. His teaching was not directed to a specific group of people, viz., the Christians in Rome, but rather intrinsically universalized. Therefore, the message is intrinsically even more powerful for us.

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63 Thus, Stowers' last evaluation of Seneca's works as a source of the diatribe is about the setting of the epistles: "It is as if Lucilius were present in the school of Seneca" (Ibid., 75). However, Seneca's works are widely evaluated as a collection of essays rather than actual letters. It should be noted that "the recipient is often mentioned by name; but his identity is secondary to the main purpose" (Richard M. Gummere, *Seneca: Ad Luciliun Epistulae Morales*, vol. 1. rev. LCL [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press; London, Eng.: William Heinemann Ltd., 1967], x). In addition, even the identification of Seneca's works as diatribe itself is still very controversial, as Stowers himself admits: "*recently*, scholars have displayed a *cautious* acceptance of the view that Seneca's works owe much to the diatribe [emphasis mine]" (Stowers, *Diatribe and Paul's Letter*, 69).

64 Deissmann distinguished "true letters" which are occasional, natural, and personal from "literary letters" or "epistles" which are conscious, artistic, and intended for the public. Deissmann regarded all of the "authentic letters of Paul" and 2–3 John as "true letters," but the Pastorals and most of the Catholic letters (Hebrews, James, 1–2 Peter, Jude) as "epistles" (Adolf Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 4th ed. [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1923], 192–213).

"Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism": A Collage of Working Definitions

April D. DeConick, editor
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A number of scholars have contributed their personal working definitions of "Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism" to this article. The purpose of this piece is to provide a basis for a roundtable discussion when the Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism Group meets at the 2001 Society of Biblical Literature convention. I hope that this discussion will be fruitful, bringing together in the same space a number of scholars who have been engaged in the study of early Jewish and Christian mysticism over many years.

Since the study of this subject is still in its infancy, there is a great amount of diversity in our understanding of this subject as well as an astounding number of similarities. This article and the consequent discussion in Denver is not meant to create some definitive statement on the subject like the conference on the "Origins of Gnosticism" tried to do for the terms "gnosis" and "Gnosticism" in Messina, Sicily, 1966. Our agenda is less ambitious. The hope is that we can come together for a few hours and begin to analyze differences and similarities in our working definitions.

The piece only contains the views of scholars who chose to participate in the discussion and therefore is not exhaustive or necessarily representative of all contemporary opinions. Since scholars were asked to compose short concise *working* definitions that reflected their own opinions, interaction with other scholars' works or opinions was discouraged. Each scholar's definition is presented in alphabetical order. At the end of the collage, a select bibliography of the major works of each scholar has been

provided, works in which the scholar's ideas about early Jewish and Christian mysticism are expressed more fully.

Daphna Arbel
University of British Columbia

Maintaining the view that scholarly analysis of mystical phenomena is primarily textually based, my discussion of early Jewish mysticism focuses on the mystical tradition of the *Hekhalot* literature of late antiquity. None of its writings introduces a coherent mystical doctrine conveyed in a methodical fashion. Yet, despite some inconsistency, its diverse statements do not create a controversial tension. Rather, they complement each other, disclosing interconnected experimental and theoretical aspects of one tradition. Its goals, religio-spiritual attitudes, practices, revelations, and exegetical perceptions demonstrate specific mystical traits which, despite its noncanonical status, endured over a long period of time. These aspects could be illustrated, in a concise manner, in a question which Rabbi Akiva, a central figure of the *Hekhalot* literature, poses:

> Rabbi Akiva said:
> Who is **able to contemplate** the seven palaces
> and to **ascend** and **behold** the heaven of heavens
> and to **see** the palace's chambers of chambers
> and to **say**: **"I saw** the chamber of YW?" (*Synopse* #554)

This question suggests an outlook which transcends traditional approaches by replacing the concept of divinely initiated revelation with a mystical one, initiated by humans. It posits a spiritual process in which able adepts contemplate and meditate upon seven celestial palaces; it speaks of visionary voyages to heaven in which adepts behold and perceive the divine; it denotes how these experiences and their attendant revelations are expressed through wording and sayings. It is these aspects of early Jewish mysticism that I wish to address.

Two notions are significant in this mystical tradition—spiritual journeys and the divine revelations which they entail. These are often depicted in a dialectical manner. Descriptions present abstract and spiritual dimensions of these notions. Yet at the same time they depict them in a concrete manner by utilizing mythological language, pictorial images, visual metaphors, and tangible illustrations. Echoes from familiar ancient near eastern mythological traditions, biblical and Mesopotamian, are likewise prominent.

Journeys are described as contemplative or ecstatic processes of crossing conceptual-spiritual boundaries, which take place in the adepts'

imagination and mind. These are also depicted as actual, corporeal ascents to heaven which take place in a mythological cosmos. Adepts are portrayed as heroes embarking on dangerous voyages out of this world. They tour unknown paths of bright heavens in which winged sacred beasts roam, glowing angels fly, and horses of fire wander. They cross bridges over rivers of fire, enter blocked gates, appease angry guardians, show magical seals, repeat secret passwords, experience merciless ordeals, pass paradoxical tests, and overcome harsh dangers before they reach God's throne. Feelings of fear and awe are personified, spiritual difficulties are made tangible. The shift of awareness and consciousness is often presented by applying mythological patterns of a symbolic death and rebirth and of corporeal transformation.

The mystical concept of the divine is also formulated in a mythological language. God's spiritual character, transcendent nature and sublime qualities, all far beyond human or angelic perception, are addressed. These dimensions are expressed through the application of pictorial images and concrete imagery, as well as through mythological near eastern themes such as enormous physical size, exclusive kingship, exceptional beauty, and tangible supremacy. God of the *Hekhalot* is a king, huge in body and size, draped in regal garments and wearing a royal crown. He sits on his glorious throne in his celestial palaces, while divine beings praise him, glorify his name and accept his rule in unison. These revelations do not unfold in isolation. They are rather dependent upon spiritual comprehension and exegesis. The concrete, anthropomorphic figure of God is revealed only to qualified adepts when they reach the end of their journey. At this elevated stage, their human perception coincides with that of the divine. They behold visions of God, gaze at his beauty, and are able to interpret the meaning of these visions. Thus they conceive God's transcendent essence behind his physical appearance, and speak of his spiritual and inconceivable nature, describing it in images of "spirit, soul and the breath of life".

Early Jewish mysticism offers qualified individuals a contemplative-spiritual path which leads to the attainment of God. It employs mythological imagery to formulate this conception. Such imagery is not deciphered by traditional midrashic or symbolic methods, frequently used in rabbinical or in later kabbalistic traditions. Instead, it becomes an integral part of the mystical content. It is noteworthy that mythological images are not present in their original form; they are rather interiorized, spiritualized, and reinterpreted through mystical lenses. This mode of expression is applied to convey new spiritual notions in the Judaism of late antiquity. Perhaps it is also applied to impart mystical teachings which, by their nature, are not clearly represented by conventional language.

Cameron Afzal
Sarah Lawrence College

Mysticism is erotic theology. What binds together early Jewish and Christian texts commonly seen to contain "mystical elements" has to do with the desire on the part of the reader to "know" or experience God, and with the author's attempt to properly demarcate the boundaries within which these desires can be fulfilled. Mystical texts are texts reflecting a desire for God. Having asserted this, it must also be acknowledged that inherent to this theology is a profound paradox. What is desired must be conceived. It must be held in the grasp of one's understanding in order to be attained. While this is fine for an orange or even wealth and power, it is much more problematic when the object of desire is God, the creator of the universe.

Early Christian theologians began to ponder this paradox with a synthesis of a Biblical theology of divine revelation together with Platonic rhetoric involving the expression of desire for the ultimate good, truth, or beauty. This mystery is informed on the one hand by the anthropology of desire set forth by Plato in, for example, the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus* where Eros is defined as the motive force of the soul; it moves the soul, a chariot which ascends, toward what is desired. Eros is the motive force behind the entire universe inexorably driving all things to reproduce; it is creation (the verb that is). This language is taken up by the Neoplatonists and applied to a cosmology of reproductive emanations, an out flowing from a single source of endless levels of reality each mimicking the last but further from the truth. Philosophy itself is thus understood as the love of truth, beauty and the good, which is effected by the ascent of the soul towards, the object of desire.

Inheriting the tradition of Biblical prophecy, early Christians also believed the God of Israel, the creator of the universe, reveals himself to those who are called. Revelation changes the status quo, and is not the result of human effort. This is the experience of the burning bush, Amos's trek away from his sycamore trees, and Isaiah's cry on the temple mount at the shock of being thrust into the presence of the King. So, how does one *want* God of Sinai? The creator not bound by what is created, transcendent in every way, but whose community believes has indeed been revealed.

If one can only desire what one already has possession of in terms of the world of ideas (like knows like), conceiving the idea of the thing, desiring it, and then rising to fully comprehend the idea by becoming united to it, how can one desire something which cannot by definition be delimited by an idea conceivable to the human mind? If the object of

one's desire is beyond one's own ability to comprehend or even hold on to, how can one ever achieve what is wanted as the fulfillment which eros implies? Yet, the early Christians read in their Bibles, that one should "*love the Lord* their God with all their hearts," that God the logos is revealed in Jesus, whom one should love, follow, and "*in whom one should abide.*" They are warned to set their hearts (treasure) upon the Kingdom. It seems in response they developed a language of desire some called a mystical theology. It is a theology which enables the soul (to use some paradoxical phrases so beloved by Gregory of Nyssa) to attain a "sober inebriation," "watchful sleep," to penetrate the "luminous darkness" and therefore to love what it cannot know, understand what it cannot conceive, and yet conceive in one's self the wholly other and behold what no eye has seen.

James R. Davila
University of St. Andrews

"What am I talking about when I use the phrase or write about the subject 'early Jewish' or 'early Christian mysticism'?" To tell you the truth, I try to avoid both phrases entirely because of that sticky word "mysticism," for which I cannot work out a useful definition that doesn't smuggle in confessional or metaphysical assumptions I am not willing to grant. A starting definition might be something like "the union of the soul with the Absolute" (which summarizes Evelyn Underhill's approach). But her understanding and approach is theistic and Eurocentric and does not work well from the perspective of most Asian religions. R. C. Zaehner's attempt at a crosscultural typology of forms of mysticism—"nature mysticism," "monistic mysticism," and "theistic mysticism"—is a step forward but is marred by his tendency to privilege theistic mysticism and to misinterpret the doctrines of some religions in order to fit them into his schema, as pointed out by Ninian Smart. Smart takes all forms of mysticism to be the same, phenomenologically speaking, although they are interpreted differently in different religious traditions, an assumption that can hardly be proven and that would privilege his *etic* definition over the *emic* definitions found in specific religions. Steven T. Katz has pointed out the weakness in Smart's approach and he argues that the experiences of the mystics and not just their interpretations of their experiences are grounded in their own cultures and ideologies and cannot be assumed to be the same thing. If he is right, we then need to ask why we should use the single term mysticism to describe these varied experiences.

Ultimately this debate is (in Kantian terms) about "phenomena," things accessible to us through our senses and the processing powers of our brains, over against "noumena," raw reality—the things in themselves.

Neither we nor the mystics have access to the unmediated reality that supposedly generates their experiences and therefore we have no way of knowing whether these experiences arise from union with unmediated reality or from various other causes. For this reason I would drop the term "mysticism" from the academic study of religion and replace it with better defined or definable social roles (e.g., prophet, intermediary, shaman, medium); culturally-defined descriptions of altered states of consciousness (e.g., meditation, possession, soul-flight, *satori*); and psychologically- and neurologically-based descriptions of altered states of consciousness (e.g., dream, drug-induced hallucination, Arctic hysteria, temporal lobe syndrome, schizophrenia). It seems to me we would lose nothing by moving in this direction (apart from our having to call this Group something else) but we could gain much in terms of more concrete and better-informed descriptions of what we are talking about.

April D. DeConick
Illinois Wesleyan Univerity

My main interest lies in studying early Christian mysticism in the first two centuries. To describe it is to talk about the very core and essence of Christianity and its beginnings. It is profoundly and fundamentally experiential, and it lies at the root of ancient christologies, soteriologies, and the development of the Christian ritual praxis. Essentially, it is a Jewish tradition during most of this period, beginning to take on its own individuality by the mid-second century.

We are fortunate to have very early firsthand references to mystical experience in Paul's letters. His testimony cannot be emphasized enough, because it demonstrates that the first Christians believed that they were recipients of ecstatic experiences both in the form of rapture events (Gal 1:12; 1 Cor 15:8) and invasions of heaven (2 Cor 12:2–4). In the context of this latter discourse, Paul also implies that he knows of other Christian-Jews, perhaps associated with the mission of the Jerusalem church, who boast of mystical experiences (cf. 2 Cor 11:21–12:11). This is implied by the author of Colossians too (2:16–18). We have a quite strong tradition that the disciples and members of Jesus' family who formed the initial church in Jerusalem had visions of Jesus following his death (1 Cor 15:5–7). To Paul's firsthand witness we must also add the waking visions of John of Patmos and the dream visions of the Pastor Hermas. Of course, the evidence for mystical experience from secondhand accounts is staggering, ranging from the transfiguration of Jesus (Mk 9:2–8 and //s) to the postresurrection appearances (Mk 16 and //s; Jn 20; Gos. Pet. 12–14) to the vision of Stephen (Acts 7:55–56).

The descriptions of all of these accounts of ecstatic experience, however, seem to be imaged and fashioned after the accounts of the heroes from Jewish biblical and postbiblical literature, particularly Moses, Enoch, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Isaiah. The Christian accounts at some level served to reinterpret and make contemporary these early Jewish accounts, imposing Christian meaning on the older Jewish texts. Therefore mystical traditions found in early Christian literature evolved within the context of exegesis. The accounts invariably reflect Christian exegetical reflections on of passages like Exod 33, 1 En 14, Ezek 1, Dan 7, and Isa 6. Thus recognizable Jewish mystical themes are depicted in the early Christian texts: ascent journeys through the heavenly temple; throneroom visions; descriptions of angels and their realms; accounts of celestial worship; appearances of God's Glory; transformations of righteous humans; and revelations of divine secrets.

The question regarding the actuality of the mystic experiences recorded in the biblical and extrabiblical materials is not really a substantive question for me. In fact, the distinction that has been made between literary and experiential literature seems to me to be a modern imposition altogether. I think it is more historically accurate to regard this literature as part of ancient *living* religious traditions, to acknowledge that the texts are filled with feelings about and hopes for religious experience.

So what is the substantive issue for me? – that *the early Christians who were reading these texts believed that the stories were reports of actual encounters with God.* Thus, the images and descriptions in these texts deeply affected the way that the first Christians described and interpreted their own experiences, and the way they framed their hopes for future experiences. I think that we find parallel situations with the Qumranites, the Therapeutae, and Philo, all of whom also belong to this first-century mystical tradition.

I have come to realize lately the importance of the connection between this mystical tradition and eschatological fever. It has been noted previously that mystical and eschatological traditions are intertwined in the apocalyptic literature. But what I am beginning to see is that mystical experience and end-of-the-world thinking have a symbiotic relationship. Because the early Christians were so convinced of the imminence of the eschaton, they believed that they lived in an age when the traditional boundary between earth and heaven was starting to collapse and God was beginning to break into the world. This resulted in a situation where access to God was more readily available to humans who sought it.

In particular, the early Christian mystical tradition had a profound impact on the development of christologies. For instance, Paul describes Jesus as the "image" or "form" of God (2 Cor 4:4, Col 1:15; Phil 2:6). In John's gospel Jesus is depicted as God's Glory or *kavod* descended to earth

(1:14; 2:11; 11:40; 12:23, 28, 41; 13:32; 17:1–5, 22–23). Descriptions of Jesus as the High Priest of the heavenly temple (Heb 3:1; 4:14–16; 5:1–10; etc.) and depictions of Jesus as the Lamb (Rev 5:6–14; 7:13–8:1; 14:1–5) have been equally impacted by this tradition.

As far as salvation schemes, many of the first Christians contemplated their own ascensions into heaven and bodily transformations, believing that Jesus' exaltation and transformation had opened heaven's gate for them. For instance, Paul believed that the faithful could start experiencing the transformation into the image of God while still on earth but that full glorification would only occur after death (Rom 7:24; 8:10, 13, 29; 2 Cor 3:18; Phil 3:21; 1 Cor 15:49; Col 3:9; 2 Cor 5:15–6:1). Others promoted premortem flights into heaven and full transformation in the present as the result (Gos Thom 15, 19, 37, 50, 59, 83, 84, 108). Still others felt that the Holy Spirit had descended after Jesus' death to continue to reveal God's heavenly Glory to those who were not fortunate enough to have an ascent experience. The final transformation, however, was postmortem (Asc Isa 6.8–10; 7.25; 8.15, 23–28; 9.36; 10.6).

Perhaps most important are the rituals and liturgies that the early Christians developed. They should be understood as the vehicles that transported humans into the realms of the sacred, as the means by which *ordinary* people could regularly encounter the divine presence. This concept was carried to such an extreme that some felt that the rituals and liturgies actually effected a spiritual reality, transporting them through the celestial temple as I have argued was the opinion of the Valentinians. Such notions also informed portions of Hebrews, Revelation, and the *Apocryphon of James*. Suffice it to say, I am becoming convinced that these ancient mystical traditions are the very soul of early Christianity.

Celia Deutsch
Barnard College/Columbia University

What am I talking about when I speak or write about early Jewish and early Christian mysticism? This is a challenging question. I approach early Jewish and early Christian mysticism from the perspective of one who teaches a general introductory undergraduate course "Mysticism." So, even without footnotes or explicit references, my remarks will be shaped by conversation with the broader field of the study of mysticism. Echoes of many of your own as well as other modern and contemporary scholarly voices, will be apparent.

When I speak or write about early Jewish and early Christian mysticism, then, I apply the same patterns of analysis to those texts as I do to later material. "Mysticism" refers to the experiential component of

religion. It implies a particular intensity to the discrete experience. This is reflected in a variety of ways: the shimmering quality of some of the hymns in apocalyptic texts, including the Qumran material; the sensual imagery of the ascent passage(s) in 1 Enoch 12–15; Philo's use of mystery language to describe his and others' experiences; Origen's use of the Song of Songs to describe the relation between Christ and the soul; John the Seer's use of the conventions of apocalyptic visions, and so on.

In all the pertinent materials, there are two particularly dominant qualities. In one way or another there is an expression of paradox, and the experience has a noetic or objective quality. It is paradoxical; the same experience holds together in tension seemingly contradictory and exclusive aspects. Thus, in 1 Enoch, the innermost part of the heavenly palace is "hot like fire and cold like ice" (14:13). Philo speaks of the Sinai revelation and the voice which was seen. And he tells on the one hand of a God who possesses him in a mantic fury, and on the other hand of God as the Existent whose essence cannot be seen. The paradoxical nature of these texts says something about the ways in which the subjects perceive their experiences to be ineffable—beyond the capacity of words and language. And yet—another paradox—to be given utterance.

Early Jewish and early Christian mysticism is also characterized by a noetic element. Something other than the self is known. The self experiences God and/or another heavenly being. Often there is content pertaining to some aspect of the community's life and teaching.

Early Jewish and early Christian mysticism is mediated through the tradition—Jewish, Christian, Greco-Roman. The texts articulate mystical experience through metaphors derived from the canon: the Sinai revelation, the heavenly court from Isaiah and Ezekiel, the chariot from Ezekiel, the figure of Jesus as Son of Man, the hymnic traditions, etc. Sometimes those are augmented by the categories of Greco-Roman culture (the Platonic tradition, mystery religions). The intertextual nature of the experience is circular, for while the mystic's experience is articulated in terms of the tradition, the mystic also interprets the tradition in light of her/his experience.

While "mystical experience" implies a discrete moment, I use "mysticism" to refer not only to the ultimate stage of spiritual development, but the entire process or Way. That way includes, not only the observance proper to the entire community, but a praxis which includes techniques to induce altered states of consciousness (fasting, meditation exercises, night vigils, weeping, study of sacred texts).

Charles A. Gieschen
Concordia Theological Seminary

For the purpose of this brief discussion, early Christian mysticism is the experience of the presence of YHWH in the person of Christ as evidenced in Ante-Nicene Christianity. Such mysticism has its roots in Jewish and early Christian apocalypticism, which is the visionary experience of divine mysteries about what is above and below as well as what has happened or will happen. Although Jewish and early Christian apocalyptic literature includes a visionary experience of a wide variety of subjects (e.g., the mysteries of astronomy and nature in *1 Enoch* 72–82), nevertheless the visible image of YHWH, especially on his throne, is often the central visionary experience in apocalyptic documents. This is due to the impact of Ezekiel 1 on subsequent mystical experience and apocalyptic literature during and immediately following the Second Temple period.

Jewish mysticism, which preceded early Christian mysticism and essential for study of its origin, developed from interest in this central visionary experience of YHWH's presence as depicted in apocalyptic literature. This interest YHWH's presence in the heavenly sanctuary was fueled in part by problems in the temple cult and its eventual destruction. There are two types of Jewish mysticism that are especially important for the experience of YHWH's presence. *Merkavah* ("chariot") mysticism has the divine chariot throne featured in Ezekiel 1 as its focus. *Shi'ur qomah* ("measure of the stature") mysticism focuses on the body of the Glory of YHWH that may become visible during mystical experiences.

Many of the earliest Christians were faithful Jews. They, therefore, sought to understand the relationship between Jesus and YHWH. The New Testament holds significant evidence that these earliest Christians understood Jesus to be the Glory of YHWH, namely YHWH's visible image or form as depicted in the OT, in human flesh (e.g., John 1:14; 2 Cor 4:6). There is evidence that this conclusion is based in part upon some early visionary experiences of Jesus as the Glory of YHWH (e.g., the transfiguration, Paul's conversion experience, and the visions of Christ in the Book of Revelation). This identification of Christ with YHWH's visible image is foundational for the worship of Jesus and the confession that he is "Lord".

A very intriguing area of study in early Christian mysticism is the role that the "mysteries" of Baptism and the Eucharist played in the experience of Christ's presence within the life of the church already in the first century. The Book of Revelation, for example, evinces early Christian baptismal praxis wherein the initiate received a mark that was the bestowal of the Divine Name as a seal. This reception of the Divine Name, washing,

and clothing in white was understood to be the foundational priestly preparation for early Christian mystical experience of the presence of God, especially in the Eucharist. Revelation 4–5 and the other scenes of worship that follow are visual depictions of the hidden-to-the-naked-eye heavenly worship in which the church participates. As such, they serve as a vivid commentary on what is happening in worship, especially in the Eucharist, where the Paschal Lamb who shed his blood and gave his body is present sharing his victory through this meal. A congregation who listened to this apocalypse from start to finish is reminded that heaven and the presence of Christ is neither a distant "up there" reality nor a future reality "far down the road" of time: it is an accessible and present reality that the baptized on earth enter and mystically experience in worship, especially in the celebration of the Eucharist.

Alexander Golitzin
Marquette University

"Mysticism" is a tricky word, and a novel one, French (I think) in origin and not much more than three hundred years old. In so far as I use it at all, I understand it to mean what Eastern Christian writers meant when they wrote of "mystical theology", or even, quite simply, when they used the single word, "theology". The latter, in post-Western medieval times, came to mean "rational discourse about divinity", but while one can indeed find that definition for "theologia" in G. W. H. Lampe's "A Patristic Greek Lexicon", it is not the first definition given, nor the second, nor even the third. Rather, it stands at the bottom of a hierarchy of meanings. The hierarchy begins with divinity itself: "theologia" means first of all God in Trinity; second, it denotes the experience ("peira") or vision ("theoria") of God in Trinity; third, it means the worship of God, which is to say, the liturgy of a) the angels and saints , and b)the Church on earth; fourth, "theologia" is a synonym for the Holy Scriptures; and fifth, last indeed and decidedly least, it means "rational discourse about divinity". What I do to earn my daily bread at the university, for example, is definitely number five, but what I believe I am often talking or writing about is more often numbers one through four. "Mysticism", so far I undertand it, means "theologia".

The experience of God (number two), and even—if only momentarily on this side of the eschaton—is a continuous feature of Eastern Christian literature, in particular of its ascetical and, since the fourth century, monastic writers. This is the tradition in which I stand, from which I judge, and out of which I write. I do so, moreover, not merely out of some generalized fidelity to so many ancient texts and concepts, to a set of

abstractions, but from the conviction that I have seen, met, spoken to, and in part have been shaped by three holy men, monks of Mount Athos, two of whom were hermits while the third was the abbot of the monastery where I lived for quite the most formative year of my adult life. The mark of those three men, and especially of that abbot, is on everything I have ever written. While two of the three, the hermits, were simple, roughly educated men, Greek peasants in short, all three were "theologians", at least according to the classical understanding of Greek patristic thought, which is to say that they were all men of experience, "peira", in the things of God—"mystics" I suppose we would say—and thus were perceived, including by me, as speaking with a special authority about those things.

Thus my approach to the materials which are of common interest to this group is perhaps the most simple and literal of anyone here, though I confess I would gladly yield the palm of simplicity and, I suppose, naivte to anyone here who might wish to claim it. I do not come armed with the latest in literary theory, nor with the tools of sociological inquiry, nor ready and eager to apply whatever other set of questions has excited scholars in recent decades, be that semiotics or psychoanalysis. The texts we discuss interest me theologically, in all the sense of that word, "theology", that I noted above. My excitement about this group and its work stems from the glimpses I think I catch of a continuity extending from the Second Temple era to my three monks. That excitement stems as well from my consequent conviction that these ancient sources are speaking, or at least trying to speak, about Realities with an uppercase "R"—indeed, about God.

I daresay that my three monks would scarcely appeal as a criterion of judgement to most of the SBL, nor even to most of this group. I will add, though, and conclude by saying that I have never regretted the questions they gave me to use in reading ancient (or not so ancient) texts, nor have those questions ever failed to yield me a richly fascinating harvest.

Alon Goshen-Gottstein
Institute for the Study of Rabbinic Thought

The larger part of scholarly attention, in the quest for rabbinic mysticism, has been devoted to issues around *Mishna Chagiga - Ma'ase Bereshit* and *Ma'ase Merkavah,* judged to be relevant to the study of mysticism in the rabbinic period. However, there are considerable difficulties in locating mysticism in either of these two bodies of teaching. Mysticism involves some form of religious experience or awareness. The study of esoteric matters is not in and of itself mysticism. I have demonstrated that *Ma'ase Bereshit* is completely unrelated to any mystical

concerns, and is best seen against the background of ancient near eastern myths. There is also no inherent connection between *Ma'ase Bereshit* and *Ma'ase Merkava.* Concerning the latter, there is significant scholarly debate as to whether the rabbinic materials relevant to *Ma'ase Merkava* should be seen in conjunction with *Hekhalot* materials, or independently of them. On this matter I side with Urbach, Halperin, Schaefer and others. Following this position, it is uncertain if we can locate mysticism in the study of the *merkava,* or whether such study is itself another form of exegesis, which is not mystically informed. While it is clear that there is a relationship between *Ma'ase Merkava* and visionary experience, rabbinic mysticism does not necessarily consist of the study of *merkava* texts. This is certainly true for the tannaitic texts, and even amoraic references to the *merkava* do not necessarily enable us to access the experiential and mystical components of the rabbinic religious life.

Beyond these difficulties, I find it on principle hard to limit mysticism to a narrow area of study, such as listed in *mishna Chagiga.* Mysticism is a total worldview, and cannot be contained in a narrow field of study. Put differently, mysticism grows out of an entire religious system. Rituals, beliefs and experiences, that belong to the entire religious system, are heightened and reach a special intensity in the mystical dimension of religion. Therefore one must seek expressions of the mystical life in relation to the key religious doctrines and practices that characterize rabbinic Judaism, and not relegate mysticism to a narrow body of doctrine or teaching. Something of this understanding is expressed by Max Kadushin who speaks of rabbinic religiousity as "normal mysticism". The application of the term mysticism to daily life suggests the presence of God is accessed through the entire religious structure.

I believe the study of rabbinic mysticism must seek to find ways in which the mystical dimension can be recognized through the traditional forms of religion. Hence, study of Torah, performance of commandments, observance of the *Shabbat* etc., can be seen as transformative moments, that are seats of the mystical dimension of the religious life. Similarly, various great historical moments, such as the theophany at Sinai, can be understood as moments of mystical potential, as indeed Chernus has suggested.

Following such an understanding, rabbinic literature must be combed through for those expressions of spirituality and of religious experience that exceed the norms of ordinary consciousness, thereby raising the possibility that underlying the text is a mystical understanding, possibly informed by a mystical experience. The nature of the literature, its collective character and editorial processes, all make such discovery very complicated. However, patterns of thinking indicative of and appropriate to a mystical understanding can be recognized throughout rabbinic

literature. These must be catalogued and analyzed as a first step towards liberating the study of rabbinic mysticism from the narrow confines of *Ma'ase Merkava.* Only after such work has been done, will we be able to determine to what extent we can find within rabbinic literature vestiges of mystical experience, or whether the literature only offers us a mystical theology, but bars us, due to its literary and editorial characteristics, from direct access to the mystical experience of the sages.

Andrea Lieber
Dickinson College

How did Jews of late antiquity describe encounters with the divine, both individual and communal? What sort of language and what kind of metaphors did they use? What scriptural passages and exegetical traditions did they draw upon to understand such experiences? Can such analysis allow us insight into the religious imagination of early Jewish communities? Is early Christian literature a valid source for understanding early Jewish mysticism? Do we see in the literature of early Judaism any antecedent of *kabbalah,* the Jewish mystical tradition represented in medieval works like the *Zohar, Sefer ha-Bahir* or the theurgical compositions of Abraham Abulafia?

These are the questions that drive my interest in the field we have come to call "Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism." I consider "mystical" those texts that attempt to articulate the divine-human encounter, and I am particularly interested in public prayer and communal worship as a vehicle for that encounter. I believe that "mysticism" can refer to collective as well as individual experiences, and that such experiences are foundational for the religious identity of both individuals and groups.

Since cultic sacrifice is a primary vehicle for expression of the divine-human encounter in biblical sources, I am especially interested in the way sacrificial metaphors are employed in sources from the post-temple era to describe visionary experiences of God and the divine realm. Thus, these early Jewish (and Christian) "mystical" texts are significant in that they can show us how memory of the temple plays a real and active role in the religious imagination of post-temple Jews.

Esoteric knowledge (of divine names, supernal mysteries, etc) often plays a significant role in narratives I would call "mystical." In some instances the acquisition of such knowledge is the outcome of the divine-human encounter, and in others it is esoteric knowledge that enables or facilitates the divine-human encounter. Theurgical techniques or rituals are sometimes, but not always, characteristic of these "mystical" texts.

The sources I am drawn to, and those that have received the most attention in our group, share a preoccupation with visionary experience, heavenly ascent and quite often, heavenly enthronement. However, I hesitate to suggest that these features must be present for a work to be defined as "mystical." While the focus on ecstatic vision and heavenly ascent/enthronement isolates two important motifs in the expression of religious experience in late antiquity, to suggest that only those narratives that contain these very elements be categorized as "mystical" is too narrow a definition for my purposes.

My understanding of the term "mystical" when applied to literature of this period is intentionally broader than those employed in classic academic discussions of mysticism, which tend to center around the phenomenon of the ineffable *unio mystica*, or the individual contemplation of supernal mysteries. As other scholars have noted, such classical definitions of the "mystical" are not always appropriate when evaluating sources from late antiquity, given the rarity of such testimonies among the sources from this period. For this reason, I suggest that a broad understanding of what constitutes the "mystical" is the best tool for understanding post-temple and pre-medieval esotericism.

Dan Merkur
The University of Toronto

In forthcoming encyclopedia articles, I define mysticism for comparative purposes as "a practice of religious ecstasies (that is, of religious experiences during alternate states of consciousness), together with whatever ideologies, ethics, rites, myths, legends, magics, and so forth, are related to the ecstasies." The diversity of early Jewish and Christian mysticism precludes any more restrictive definition.

Consider the variety of ecstasies. In late antiquity, Jewish apocalypses documented practices of visions whose contents were either symbolic (eg., Daniel) or adhered to a mythological narrative, such as an ascension to heaven (eg., Enoch). Mystical death experiences were also known. Philo knew and approved of symbolic visions; but wedding biblical prophetism to Aristotelian contemplation, he privileged internal dialogues with the Logos. Philo also mentioned, somewhat negatively, the type of solipsistic ("monadic") experience that was called "standing" or "rest" by Platonists and Gnostics. The New Testament Gospels and Revelation reflect a Jewish apocalypticism that fused the two Jewish categories, making a symbolic use of the myth of ascension to heaven. Already Philo had interpreted Enoch's transformation into an angel as an allegory of moral regeneration; the Gospels identified angelification ("transfiguration") as a

type of personality change. Paul, who was similarly keen on producing personality change, used unitive language in order to discuss mystical deaths (with Jesus) and conforming in life with the personality of Jesus. Paul additionally referred to a variety of early Christian mystical practices, most particularly, speaking in tongues, which was a mediumistic state of possession by celestial powers. Mediumship had previously been alien to Jewish sensibilities. It was widespread, however, in Greek culture and presumably entered Christianity from that source.

Rabbinic mysticism abandoned the millennialism but otherwise mostly followed the symbolic school of Jewish apocalypticism; there was also minority interest in personality change, conceptualized as becoming a *hasid. Hekhalot* mysticism, by contrast, can be treated as the postmillennial successor to the imaginal school of Jewish apocalypticism. The *hekhalot* mystics also added a practice of *sar torah* magic whose phenomenology was perhaps an adaptation of mediumship to Judaism. Like the *hekhalot* literature, early Christian apocalypses partly agree in type with the imaginal school of Jewish apocalypticism, but also occasionally portray trance states, consistent with Greek interest in mediumship.

By the second century, early Christian mysticism had developed in several further directions. Platonism may be traced from Philo through John the evangelist to Clement of Alexandria and his successors. A blend of imaginal apocalyticism, Platonism, and acosmism emerged among the Gnostics, most of whom regarded themselves as Christian. The mainline reaction against Montanism, perhaps more importantly than against Gnosticism, was often to radically limit the varieties of mysticism that were considered acceptable; yet pseudo-Macarius tolerantly insisted on the diversity of the Holy Spirit's manifestations.

Not only did different Jews and Christians pursue a variety of ecstasies, but their many points of agreement and disagreement in matters of doctrine, ethics, rites, and so forth, only compound the complexity of "mysticism" in late antiquity.

Phillip B. Munoa III
Hope College

What am I talking about when I use the phrase or write about the subject "early Jewish" or "early Christian mysticism"? I am talking about what began as an interest of Jewish apocalypticism and came into prominence by the second century BCE. Called by some "vertical apocalypticism," because it was interested in the secrets of heaven, particularly that of seeing God upon his throne, it differed from what can

be called "linear apocalypticism" and its interest in the secrets of the future, like the time of the kingdom and judgment.

The vision of the God upon his throne is the basic element of early Jewish and Christian mysticism. It can be traced to the exilic era and Ezek 1:26–28, where Ezekiel describes his vision of an enthroned manlike figure who is identified as "the appearance of the likeness of the Glory of the LORD." According to Ezekiel, this "Glory" is the human form of God. The second century BCE text of Daniel builds upon Ezekiel's vision and demonstrates an emerging Jewish interest in the "secret" of God's enthronement and court in heaven. The description of God in Dan 7:9 as an enthroned being known as the "Ancient of Days" illustrates how anthropomorphic detail has been given to the "Glory" (i.e., hair "like pure wool)." Daniel demonstrates that early Jewish mysticism hypostasized "the Glory of the LORD," believing that a human form should be given to the Glory, and that human beings could safely look upon this form.

This version of apocalypticism, now called *Merkavah* (Hebrew for "chariot" or "throne") mysticism, is found in Jewish and Jewish-Christian texts of the late Second Temple era. *1 Enoch* includes the elements of what came to be common to *Merkavah* mysticism: an ascent to heaven, the idea of a house within a house, the terror felt by the visionary, and the vision of God upon his throne in his court. The Revelation of John shares three of these characteristics, lacking only the idea of a house within a house, and testifies to the early Christian use of pre-Christian Jewish mysticism. John also "Christianizes" *Merkavah* mysticism by placing Jesus on God's throne. Paul likewise modifies *Merkavah* mysticism when he identified Jesus as "the Glory of the LORD."

"Linear" apocalypticism's interest in God's enthroned form met with resistance from some Jewish communities. The *Testament of Abraham* studiously avoids a physical description of God when describing Abraham's heavenly ascent and tour of heaven, explicitly identifying God as invisible. Other texts like *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* bear witness to this reluctance among apocalyptic texts to speak of God's form (in contrast for instance to *2 Enoch*). The idea of enthroned beings besides God was a particular concern to Jewish groups. An ancient tradition preserved in *b. Sanh.* 38b describes how Rabbi Akiva was rebuked for suggesting that the Davidic messiah is to be enthroned next to God. Mark's description of Jesus' condemnation by the high priest, for speaking about his enthronement besides God, is best understood against this background of an intra-Jewish controversy rooted in early Jewish mystical interests (14:62–63).

With the demise of "linear" apocalypticism in the second century CE, "vertical" apocalypticism continued in its own right, but with a growing emphasis on ascending to heaven in order to journey through the

heavenly palaces, gaze upon the Glory on the throne, and serve in heaven. Thus emerged that form of Jewish mysticism known as *Hekhalot* (Hebrew for "palace") mysticism, a later development of *Merkavah* mysticism. The texts of these mystical traditions appear to be based on both exegetical speculation and religious experience, with *Hekhalot* texts having a liturgical interest geared towards the experiential.

Christopher Rowland
Oxford University

The terms mysticism and apocalypticism are ways by which we seek to interpret certain characteristics within texts (e.g., angelic appearances, auditions, dreams and ascents to heaven) and the religious convictions and practice to which these texts bear witness. Mysticism, as we find it in early Christian texts contemporary with the Second Temple Jewish apocalyptic texts and the emerging *merkavah* and *hekhaloth* texts, contrasts with one form of later Christian mysticism (the *apophatic*) in its willingness to expound, often in minute detail, the mysteries opened up for the seer as he enters the heavenly world.

The apocalypses of Second Temple Judaism are the form that the mystical and prophetic religion took in the Greco-Roman period, although there is a widespread skepticism that the texts have anything to do with the religious experience of individuals. Assuming that they contain the visionary experiences of frequently anonymous visionaries, we find in these texts examples of those moments when human experience moves beyond what is apparent to physical perception to open up perceptions of other dimensions of existence and with them other perspectives on ordinary life, which a purely analytical or rational approach would miss. Such experiences may for the visionary have their origin in an approach to texts in which the pursuit of the meaning of the text is not a detached operation but may involve the interpreter as a participant in the narrative of the biblical texts (such as John's experience of the actualization in his own vision of what had appeared to Ezekiel in Rev 1 and 4). Thereby he (and it was probably frequently a man) becomes a recipient of insight rather than one whose rational powers imposes meaning on the text. It is a way of reading in which the reader seeks to be open and to bring his mind into submission to the text and its effects. It contrasts with the situation when the reader seeks to understand and master the intricacies of the text, by comparing it with other texts or by using those techniques of interpretation by which their enigmas can be mastered, the modes of reading typical of the various midrashic methods, both ancient and modern. There is a significant difference between these visionary appro-

priations and, say, the 'closed' readings of the Habakkuk Commentary, where the text has a clearly defied meaning as a result of the insight of the inspired interpreter. Although there are affinities between the apocalyptic reading and the Habakkuk commentary in their common belief that there is an inspired reading which leads beyond the letter to new insight, in effect the more 'open-ended' approaches in the majority of the rabbinic midrashim, are more akin to the visionary potential of the mystical readings.

So, in some forms of the interpretation of Ezekiel 1 the meaning of the text may come about as the result of 'seeing again' what Ezekiel saw. This may arise in the form of a vision (as appears to have been the case for John the visionary on Patmos), rather than by an explanation of the details of what Ezekiel saw. The visionary's own experience of what had appeared to Ezekiel becomes itself the interpretation of the text, therefore. This kind of exegesis involves the apprehension of divine wisdom which is normally beyond ordinary human perception and is dependent on a disposition which is open to the visionary or revelatory potential of the text. For the visionary who appropriates the text in this way the earthly and the heavenly are linked and the visionary may experience the sense of being transformed into an angelic existence.

Mysticism concerns the apprehension of the divine and the heavenly secrets. I think of mysticism and apocalypticism as closely related. If I had to attempt a differentiation between them, I would do so on the basis of suggesting that the New Testament Apocalypse offers a particular form of mysticism, anticipated in the biblical prophetic texts (especially the book of Daniel) in which historical and eschatological dimensions to the divine knowledge unveiled are particularly prominent and which relates to existence of a group or groups rather than merely the spirituality of the individual visionary or mystic.

This 'visionary mode' is similar to allegorical exegesis which presupposes that the letter of the text because of its allusiveness points to another level of reality whereby other dimensions of meaning may be opened up. Understanding, therefore, demands a perception which pierces beyond the letter. This is the moment of apocalypse when the veil is removed and repentance and epistemological renewal coincide. For the ancient readers of Ezekiel the prophet's visionary report offered a gateway for visionary perception. For Paul the words of Scripture offered a gateway to Christ, a possible, though, not necessary, means of discerning the divine mystery, which was, in the last resort, 'apart from the Law'. Paul is an exponent of a kind of allegorical hermeneutic in which the apocalyptic/mystical tradition, with its contrasts between above and below, appearance and reality, offers him a hermeneutical device to explain the basis of his departure from hegemonic hermeneutics. Paul inherited from

the Bible the belief in revelation, but in his case it was used to subvert dominant ways of reading via a conviction that the spirit enabled a deeper (christological) understanding of Scripture to come to the fore. The apocalypses also promoted the quest for a deeper meaning. Imagination and allegory are a gateway, which opens up a way to eternal verities hidden with God in the heavens.

Alan F. Segal
Barnard College, Columbia University

My definition of Jewish mysticism has been entirely functional, serving me in my research. It is based on and arises out of the religious phenomena that I have seen in the *Hekhaloth* texts and related related literature. So I have not tried to include in my purview phenomena which succeeded *Merkavah* mysticism, including Kabbalah, and Hasidism, though they may clearly be considered Jewish mysticism. It has since occurred to me that all these traditions have behind them Daniel 12, the first clear reference to resurrection in the Hebrew Bible and a few clearly related other biblical passages. This passage is apocalyptic in nature but the result of a revelation. It describes the final consummation, saying that some will be resurrected and some not and that the *Maskilim* will shine like the brightness (*zohar*) of the heavens, like the stars, forever. This, I take to mean that they will become angels as stars and angels were related from ancient times. Indeed, even the later literature are to a certain extent discussions of this pattern. The *Zohar* takes its title from Daniel 12, through a series of later developments.

I began by looking at the *Hekhaloth* texts, using the religious phenomena therein contained, and then by analogy included related phenomena in Jewish apocalyptic literature and even in Philo when he seemed to mirror these traditions. It seemed probable that some material in the *Hekhaloth* literature was later than the Hellenistic period and now it seems even clearer. But there are not yet clear criteria for determining early contributions from later ones. But some of the phenomena seem certainly to be early—the heavenly ascent motif, the vision of an exalted angel, angelomorphic transformation, theurgy, use and interest in religiously altered states of consciousness, like trance and dreams, for example. It actually seems to me that the notion of ascent is one of the major metaphors for religiously interpreted states of consciousness during this period. These phenomena are actually better evidenced in the apocalyptic and sectarian literature of the first few centuries than they are in the *Hekhaloth* literature itself, though it is certainly there. And these motifs are also emphatically present in Christianity, though their

significance has been hardly noted by New Testament scholars until recently.

It seems to me that the phenomena that are clearly evidenced in the Jewish Mystical corpus, the *Hekhaloth* literature, can also be seen in rabbinic literature, the Dead Sea Scrolls, occasionally in Philo, Josephus, and other Hellenistic writers, apocalyptic literature. These phenomena especially lie behind Paul's revelations and the literature of the New Testament. In apocalyptic literature one sees the heavenly journey motif, angelomorphism and astral immortality, and the use of religiously interpreted states of consciousness to demonstrate the truth of these notions. The same is certainly true in the Pauline corpus, where Paul himself reports revelations and visions and uses them to demonstrate the resurrection of Christ, the resurrection of those who believe in him, and their future heavenly journeys and astral transformations. Similar notions are now emerging from the Qumran material as well.

Recently, I have been investigating the use of religiously altered states of consciousness. It seems to me that a great deal of the material which we see can be best understood as the gifts of states of consciousness which are interpreted as revelations. These states of consciousness cannot be described in great detail because we lack the subjects reports and a very wide variety of states of mind can be included under the category. Some are as simple as the religious interpretation of dreams, a state which we all experience unbidden. Others may involve more complicated praxis and ritual preparations, and even the ingestion of psychotropic substances. What unites them, however, is that they are all interpreted by the practitioners as being self-validating revelations that demonstrate the religious truths that the group wishes to promulgate.

Elliot Wolfson
New York University

As historians of religion have noted "mysticism" is a notoriously difficult term to define. In the last few decades, scholars have become sensitive to the fact that mysticism has to be understood in relationship to a particular cultural context. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that some understanding of the phenomenon has to be presumed before one can even attempt to chart out the specific contours as they apply to a given setting.

In applying the term to Late-Antique Judaism and early Christianity, mysticism will denote the primacy accorded vision of the divine in the constitution of pious devotion, that is, genuine piety is dependent on seeing God. This vision encompasses a confluence of several distinct

phenomenological elements, viz., a luminous form that appears to the visionary in the shape of an *anthropos*, often in the posture of sitting upon the throne. The apocalyptic tradition cultivated by small circles of Palestinian Jews from this period linked the visionary experience to a heavenly ascent that resulted in the transformation of the human into an angelic being, a transformation marked by a of characteristics including being seated upon a throne. The epitome of this tradition is the depiction of the translation of Enoch and his transformation into Metatron.

The possibility of encountering the visible form of the invisible God was appropriated by some of the earlier followers of Jesus and the Jewish mystical doctrines are applied to him. In particular, the identification of this visible form, the anthropomorphic image of God, as an angelic being who bears the most sacred of divine names, the *Tetragrammaton*, is a crucial doctrinal point that serves as a common thread connecting ancient Jewish mysticism and angelomorphic Christianity. The transformation that is consequent to the vision of God is a key theme appropriated by followers of Jesus from Jewish apocalyptic mysticism. The mystical praxis, which evolved into sacramental ritual in the Church, facilitated psychic ascent and the *ontic* reintegration of the individual into the divine in an experience that is considered to be on a par with prophecy. The visual experience is fostered as well by previous visions recorded in texts that served as the basis for ongoing meditation practices. The merging of revelation and interpretation represents another crucial component of Jewish mysticism that informed early Christian spirituality.

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The Silence of the Lands: The Ecojustice Implications of Ezekiel's Judgement Oracles

Norman Habel

Introduction

My aim in this paper is to illustrate how the hermeneutic espoused by the Earth Bible Project helps us gain a fresh understanding of Ezekiel's fundamental orientation to Earth as God's creation and more particularly to the 'lands' of Earth which are threatened with desolation in his judgement oracles.

The six basic ecojustice principles that inform the Earth Bible approach are outlined in the initial volume of the series, *Reading the Bible from the Perspective of Earth* (Habel 2000). At the risk of oversimplifying this approach, let me emphasise a number of considerations that are significant in tackling a complex literary work like the book of Ezekiel.

The first relates to the assumed posture of the reader. In the Earth Bible Project we seek to read from the perspective of Earth. We are not simply exploring Earth as a theme or topos, an object of detached scholarly investigation, another odd image in Ezekiel's gallery of the bizarre. As Earth beings we are concerned about our Earth and how Ezekiel, a fellow Earth being, treats Earth.

We also seek to see things from Earth's perspective: is Earth honoured, ignored, treated unjustly, or viewed in some other way. Admittedly, such a reading remains an approximation. We would argue, however, that this reading remains a necessary—if precarious—task in the current ecological context. The critical state of the planet is an existential condition which affects all of us. We are, moreover, an integral part of Earth. When we seek to detach ourselves from Earth as the space and substance of our being, we establish a false dualism that tends to view

reality from a strictly anthropocentric perspective and silences Earth as an active participant in the interpreting process.

Our application of ecojustice principles to any given text involves a basic hermeneutic of suspicion and retrieval. Because biblical texts have been written by historical human beings, there is every likelihood that they will biased in favour of human interests at the expense of Earth's interests. Similarly, because most influential interpreters of the biblical text—until recent times—have been embedded in a Western culture intent on human progress at the expense of the environment, such readings of the text are also likely to ignore rather than honour Earth as a participant in the interpreting process.

We also recognise that, precisely because of the anthropocentric bias of most past interpreters, there may well be texts in the book of Ezekiel where Earth is not dismissed or silenced within the text itself, but which these interpreters have overlooked. The retrieval of these texts is an exciting and significant part of the Earth Bible Project. We are, however, wary of theological 'cherry picking', selecting a collection of these texts and subsequently declaring that the Bible is 'eco-friendly'. Our task is to identify where Earth has experienced justice or injustice, whether at the hands of writers or readers, and where Earth is a subject within the text, whether honoured or suppressed.

In any given reading of a text, we focus on those ecojustice principles which tend to be pertinent rather than discuss how all six of the principles may apply to the text. In this analysis of the book of Ezekiel, I shall consider especially the principle of intrinsic worth which states that *the universe, Earth and all its components have intrinsic worth/value*, and the principle of voice which states that *Earth is a subject capable of raising its voice in celebration and against injustice.*

It is important to acknowledge from the outset that these are ecological principles developed in dialogue with ecologists. They are not cryptic theological principles designed to uncover an ecotheology latent in the biblical text. So, from the outset, the fact that a given text may appear to be theocentric rather than anthropocentric does not necessarily imply it is eco-friendly. In a given text, Earth may experience injustice at the hands of God just as readily as at the hands of humans.

Ezekiel's Cosmos

How does Ezekiel construct the world? What parts of his cosmos are valued or devalued in that construct? What roles do Earth and members of the Earth community play?

Ezekiel preserves no creation narrative similar to Genesis 1 and no portrait of creation's designs as in Job 38–39. And, as David Peterson demonstrated in an earlier paper for the Ezekiel Seminar, 'we have found no evidence that Ezekiel has used biblical creation traditions in his rhetoric' (Peterson 2000: 9). This absence of creation traditions may suggest that Ezekiel is less interested in the events of a creation narrative than in the events of history—whether recent or past. Does this lack of focus on the creation events imply, however, that Ezekiel has a negative attitude toward the natural world? Not necessarily! One possible way of discerning Ezekiel's attitude to creation/nature is to identify where creation's/nature's components are located in the construct of his world.

A. The City

A key image in Ezekiel's cosmology is revealed when God announces to the prophet that 'This is Jerusalem; I have set her in the centre of the nations, with lands all around her' (Ezek. 5.5). Jerusalem is the centre of the Ezekiel's world because YHWH has chosen this city to be locus of the divine presence, the mountain sanctuary where the *kabod YHWH* dwells (cf. Ezek. 20.40). In anticipation of the omphalos image of Jewish Midrashim, Jerusalem is tantamount to the *umbilicus terrae* (Alexander 1999).

Ezekiel records no cosmogony in which Earth emerges pristine and latent with potential from the deep primal waters, as appears in Genesis 1. Nor is there any suggestion of primordial rejoicing with wisdom, any celebration of the celestial host or any divine play with creatures of the deep. Instead we are confronted with what might be designated an urban cosmogony—one centred on the city—whose rhetoric tends to subvert the very symbolism of a creation cosmogony (Ezek. 16).

The location for the birth of the sacred centre is in the land of the Canaanites—hardly an auspicious place of origin. The parents are portrayed as possessing much less than pure primal stock. The child, unwanted and abandoned in an open field, is a bloody and miserable sight. Yet YHWH loves this rejected orphan, enters into a covenant with her and transforms her into a beautiful city, adorned with magnificent finery. She becomes a wealthy queen, and the rumour of her beauty spreads to all the surrounding nations.

With a city at the centre of his cosmos, Ezekiel seems to be essentially an urbanite. He apparently has a *polis* perspective on the world: an urban orientation that influences the way he views land and the lands which surround his sacred city centre. His perspective, then, is quite distinct from the rural orientation of texts like Leviticus 25–26 where YHWH quite explicitly says, 'The land is mine' rather than 'The city is mine'. In this

Leviticus passage the writer is concerned about the long-term welfare of the ancient land holdings. The locus of YHWH's presence is not primarily in the city, but in the countryside where YHWH 'walks' as YHWH once walked through the garden of Eden (Habel 1995: 97–114).

For Ezekiel, the urbanite, Jerusalem is the centre, the locus of YHWH's presence and the focus of his cosmological construct. The *kabod YHWH* may reside temporarily among the exiles, but it belongs in the holy city and must ultimately return there. The transformed cosmos in the final chapters of the book of Ezekiel also has the holy city as the source and centre. A stream flows from the threshold of the temple and creates a romantic landscape with unnatural patterns—including trees that produce fruit every month (Ezek. 47.1–12). This cosmos, it seems to me as a youth from the country, suits the lifestyle of a city dweller. Ezekiel's world apparently begins and ends with the city.

B. Land and Lands

In the Ezekiel cosmos, the city of Jerusalem is located in the land of Israel which is surrounded by other lands. The image appears to be one of a city located within one land—the land of Israel—which is encircled by many other lands. How does Ezekiel view these lands?

The land of Israel is not just another land, but the 'most glorious (*tsebi*) of all lands', the promised land, the land in which God and God's people dwell (Ezek. 20.6). This land is also differentiated from other lands by the frequent use of the designation *'adamah* (e.g., Ezek. 7.1), rather than *'erets,* which is the standard term for land in Ezekiel. The 'land of Israel', it seems, is supposed to be the ideal settled and cultivated land (*'adamah)* under the supervision of the sacred city centre. The *'adamah yisrael* is 'the land belonging to Israel', the 'homeland' of God's people as distinct from any other 'land' (*'erets*) surrounding Israel (cf. Galambush 2000: 13).

At several points in the text of Ezekiel the term 'lands' (*'erets*) is paired with 'nations' (Ezek. 5.5–6; 20.32; 22.4, 5). This pairing suggests an overlap in semantic content between peoples and places. Elsewhere 'land' (*'erets*) is paired with 'city', which suggests a similar overlap in meaning between *polis* and place (Ezek. 7.23; 12.20). Land and lands are not simply geographical locations that bear a given name, but settled environments structured and ordered by human beings.

These findings are consistent with those of Julie Galambush in a previous paper for the Ezekiel Seminar; Galambush points to the pairing of waste land and ruined town, both of which are restored in the transformed cosmos. Galambush claims, quite correctly I believe, that in these contexts 'land' is:

coterminous with sown and settled land. This privileging of the settled over the wild is emphasised to the point that the land is 'promised' not only fertility but urban development (2000: 17).

C. Beyond the Lands

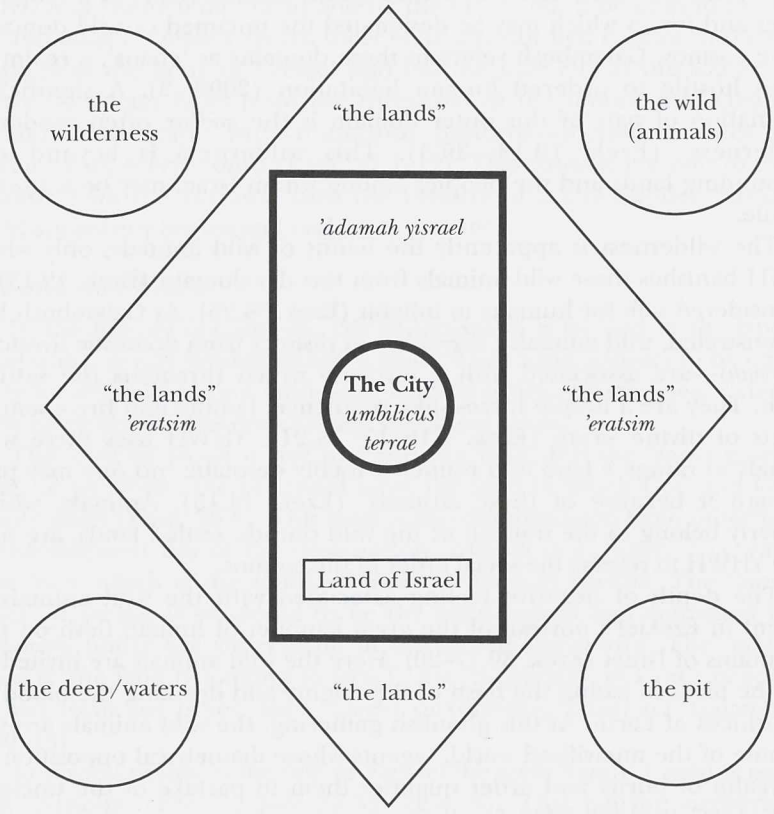
Beyond the wider circle of settled lands, Ezekiel refers to a range of places and forces which may be designated the untamed or wild domains of the cosmos. Galambush refers to these domains as 'chaos', a realm of forces hostile to ordered human habitation (2000: 3). A significant designation of part of this outer domain is the *midbar*, often rendered 'wilderness' (Ezek. 19.13; 29.5). This wilderness is beyond the surrounding lands and the peoples among whom Israel may be scattered in exile.

The wilderness is apparently the haunt of wild animals; only when YHWH banishes these wild animals from this dry domain (Ezek. 19.13) is it considered safe for humans to inhabit (Ezek. 34.25). As Galambush has demonstrated, wild animals (*chayyoth*)—as distinct from domestic livestock (*behemah*)—are associated with a territory which threatens the settled realm. They are a hostile force—like pestilence, famine and fire—sent as agents of divine wrath (Ezek. 5.16–17; 14.21). YHWH uses these wild animals to ravage a land and render it totally desolate: 'no one may pass through it because of these animals' (Ezek. 14.15). Animals, which properly belong to the domain of the wild outside settled lands, are sent in by YHWH to reverse the social order of the cosmos.

The depth of negative feeling associated with the wild animals is evident in Ezekiel's portrait of the great banquet of human flesh on the mountains of Israel (Ezek. 39.17–20). Here the wild animals are invited to join the birds in eating the flesh of the mighty and drinking the blood of the princes of Earth. At this ghoulish gathering, the wild animals are the epitome of the uncivilised world, 'agents whose diametrical opposition to the realm of purity and order qualifies them to partake of the unclean sacrifice' (Galambush 2000: 5).

That Ezekiel's negative classification of the world of the wild is not necessarily the accepted cultural perspective of other segments of Israelite society is apparent from the descriptions of the wild kingdom in Job 39. The domains of creatures such as the hawk, the lion, the mountain goat and the wild ox reflect patterns of wisdom that exhibit a mysterious design, an alternative ordering of the cosmos that humans have yet to comprehend. For Ezekiel, however, the world of the wild is a terrifying untamed chaos beyond the control of humans but accessible to YHWH as a source for agents of destruction.

Other realms of destruction beyond the ordered lands of the nations include the great waters of the deep (*tehom*) and the pit in the realms below (Ezek. 26.19; 28.8; 31.15; 32.25). These destructive deeps of the underworld represent a watery counterpart to the barren wilderness that lies beyond the settled lands of the civilised world. Beyond the 'lands' lie the desert and the deep, the untamed and untameable world of the wild.



Relative Worth

What is Ezekiel's attitude to the various components of his cosmos? Does he value the natural world as originally created by God? If I as a reader dare to identify with Earth as distinct from the human settlements on Earth, do I feel affirmed and honoured, or negated and devalued?

Clearly the centre of Ezekiel's cosmos has supreme worth because it is the chosen locus of God's sanctuary, the abode of the *kabod YHWH*. Even Jerusalem as such, however, has no intrinsic worth (Ezek. 16.1–5), but is

endowed with value by virtue of the special transformation effected by YHWH, the loving 'husband'. The mountain at the centre of the cosmos is not valued as a cosmic mountain or a primordial peak, a primal *umbilicus terrae*; the mountain only becomes holy because YHWH has chosen this site as the sacred centre.

Similarly, the 'land of Israel', as the settled land in which this mountain is located, has no value as part of Earth. 'Lands', as ordered human habitations, can actually disappear and cease to exist (Ezek. 25.7).

In several key passages, 'land' seems to be divided into at least two components: the life and the landscape. In the act of desolating a given land, all livestock are removed along with all humans (Ezek. 32.13,15). More specifically, what is removed from the landscape is its 'fullness' (*melo'*), which presumably refers to all forms of life (Ezek. 12.19; 30.12; 32.15). Some translations refer to the 'contents' of the land; others use the term 'inhabitants'. These renderings, however, do not preserve the full force of the term as an expression for the life force of the land. Without the 'fullness' the land is dead; it is *terra nullius,* totally devalued.

In the famous vision of Isaiah, the seraphim make their famous cry (Isa. 6.1):

> Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts,
> His glory (*kabod*) is the fullness (*melo'*) of all Earth (*'erets*)

For Isaiah in this text, the *kabod* is not a mobile presence in Jerusalem, but the very 'fullness' of land/Earth. The fullness of land/Earth in Isaiah is more than a life force; it is the divine life force/presence. For Ezekiel, removing the fullness of the land may not have the significance removing the *kabod,* but neither can it be reduced to something as neutral as 'contents'. The fullness of the land, I suggest, is the very life of the land, especially ordered life in Ezekiel's terms (cf. Ps. 24.1). In a later passage (Ezek. 37.1–14), the image of a valley filled with dry bones and graves seems to reflect the reality of this lifeless landscape.

Ezekiel's message of judgement against the land is so absolute that it seems not only to proclaim doom and destruction for the peoples of a given land, including Israel, but also to devalue both the land and life on the land by reducing all to desolation. From the perspective of Earth, both land and life seem to be cheap in Ezekiel—Earth has no obvious intrinsic worth as a structural component of Ezekiel's cosmos.

Patterns of Injustice against Nature

In the second part of this analysis I will focus on the principle of voice as a hermeneutical guide for an Earth reading of the text. This principle

recognises that Earth and the Earth community as subjects in the narrative, subjects with a right to justice and a right to be heard. A discussion of voice as more than metaphor is such contexts can be found in 'The Voice of Earth: More than Metaphor?' (Habel & Wurst 2001).

Most of us, having been conditioned by a Western education—whether in school or society—view Earth and nature as objects to be appropriated for human benefit or as data to be analysed with scientific detachment. In spite of a handful of Gaia advocates, green poets and ecoliturgists, most of us are surrounded by a Western educational context in which Earth is an object, not a subject. To speak of Earth as subject, of course, does not mean Earth is a human subject; Earth is a subject in its own right—and a distinctive component of the cosmos.

If we grant, in accordance with this principle, that Earth—or more specifically the lands of Earth—have a right to justice, we are faced with the obvious question: do these subjects suffer injustice at the hands of other characters in the text or at the hands of the writer of Ezekiel? In my opinion, the answer is an unequivocal yes!

A. Burning the Forest

One passage which offers a clear example of this injustice is the destruction of the forest of the fields (*ya'ar hasadeh*) in the Negeb (Ezek. 20.45–49; H. 21.1–5). Ezekiel claims to have been commissioned by God to 'preach against the South and prophesy against the forest land in the Negeb' (Ezek. 20.46). Ezekiel addresses the forest as a living subject and announces:

> Behold I am kindling a fire in you, and it shall consume every green tree in you and every dry tree; the blazing flame shall not be extinguished, and every face from south to north will be scorched by it.
>
> And all flesh shall see that I, YHWH, have kindled it; it shall not be extinguished (Ezek. 20.47–48; H. 21.4–5).

Many interpreters (e.g., Eichrodt 1970: 287; Zimmerli 1979: 423–4) have pointed out that the Negeb of Israel has no forest as such, but only rather modest scrub. They tend to see this passage as a parallel variation of the oracle against Jerusalem and the sanctuaries of Israel in the oracle which follows (Ezek. 21.1–7; H. 21.6–13); the south, from the vantage point of the Babylon, is Judah and Jerusalem. But why the forest should be a metaphor for Jerusalem remains unclear and no such connection is made in the text. When the wood metaphor is used of Jerusalem in Ezek. 15.6–8, the inhabitants are vines, not forest trees. While the south may refer to more than the Negeb as such, the forest is specifically the forest or trees—living vegetation—of the field.

Who sees this great fire? Not the peoples in the lands nearby, but all flesh (*kol basar*), all living creatures. All life forms of the north and the south watch this destruction of natural habitat by God. This burning is not a natural process; it is not a fire ignited by a lightning strike or some such phenomenon. This fire is so total, so overwhelming, that all living creatures will know YHWH has destroyed their homes.

Adopting the perspective of the Earth community we may ask: what has the forest done to deserve this disaster? Why should the trees—the habitat for creatures of the field—suffer such a fire at God's hands? The trees have not sinned and yet they have experienced the wrath of God. No crime, human or non human, is cited as the justification for this destructive deed of YHWH. The only reason given is that all flesh will see that YHWH has caused the disaster. There appears to be no justice for the trees or life of the field. Even if we seek to interpret this oracle as a symbolic reference to Jerusalem, the destruction of harmless trees and the suffering of innocent life remains an ugly image of injustice. Earth is portrayed as suffering without cause.

B. Clearing the Mountains

The same innocent suffering happens, I would argue, in many other contexts; the lands or some part of the land suffer unjustly because of YHWH's judgement on the peoples of the land. Ezekiel's oracles against the mountains of Israel illustrate a similar pattern of injustice (Ezek. 6.1–14). Ezekiel announces doom on the mountains and valleys because they are the locations where Israelites have erected the idols, altars and high places unacceptable to God. The mountains presumably stand for the people—an example of metonymy. But why should the mountains and valleys as such be destroyed? It could perhaps be argued that the oracle only affects the people polluting the mountains. In the end, however, the whole land is made desolate, cleared of all life—regardless of whether all components of the land deserve God's judgement. The injustice suffered by the mountains is more than metonymy.

Kalinda Rose Stevenson has paid close attention to the oracles against the mountains. She claims:

> As metonymy, 'the mountains' refer to the people who live in Edom and Israel, substituting the mountains for the people, the container for the contained. As synecdoche, 'the mountains' stand for the whole land, a figure of speech that substitutes a part for the whole. In the complicated figurative language of Ezekiel, the mountains are both a metonymy for the people and a synecdoche for the whole land. This figurative language itself obscures Earth. From our anthropocentric bias, we cannot see the mountains for the metonymy (2001: 157).

In her article in volume 4 of *The Earth Bible Series* she recreates a court trial in which Earth appears as a prosecutor charging YHWH with crimes against the mountains.

> Through synecdoche, you have made the mountains stand as the representatives of my hills, my ravines, my valleys and my watercourses. What you have done to the mountains, you have done to the whole Earth. We charge you with assault, transference of guilt and discrimination. As evidence of these crimes, we submit your own words as quoted by your prophet Ezekiel (Stevenson 2001: 159).

What happens to the mountains, in the context of Ezekiel's cosmology, happens to the rest of Earth. They are part of the settled land and the removal of human activities means the clearing of life from the mountains—even though the mountains are themselves innocent of any wrongdoing.

C. Defending the Divine Ego

God's defence for these injustices against creation, according to Ezekiel, is summarised in the formula: 'Then they/you shall know that I am YHWH'. Ezekiel uses this formula more than fifty times in a wide range of contexts. No matter what violence is imposed upon humans, lands or other parts of Earth, it is justified by appeal to this formula. Some commentators have maintained a detachment from the negative force of this formula by designating it an 'acknowledgment formula' or a 'recognition formula' (Zimmerli 1979: 37–8; Eichrodt 1970: 15).

In the oracle announcing the burning of the forest cited above, the only reason given for the fire is that creatures may see that YHWH has caused the disaster. Why is a fire needed to vindicate YHWH's name? Why should the forest suffer so that, according to Ezekiel, YHWH's obsession with the divine name can be satisfied? In a similar passage (Ezek. 15.6–8), where fire is threatened against Jerusalem, the primary rationale for the destruction is so that 'you will know that I am YHWH'. Removing the sin or sinners of Jerusalem does not seem to carry the same weight as the need for YHWH to vindicate the divine name. Compassion for human beings, lands or Earth plays no role.

A closer analysis of the formula in question reveals that Ezekiel in not only obsessed with the name of YHWH, but with making known the reality of YHWH. Ezekiel seems to portray YHWH as a deity with an ego problem: YHWH has an incessant need to have his name and his identity displayed as the banner associated with every violent deed. This formula could perhaps be more appropriately designated a 'divine ego formula'.

The focus of most judgement passages in Ezekiel is not on the need for the Israelites to change their hearts and repent, not on the anguish of

God over the sins of the people, not on the past compassion of their God. The focus is on the acts of violence and destruction that will create such a total devastation that it could only be accredited to YHWH in person; the extent of the devastation ensures that YHWH's name is proclaimed as the perpetrator.

The use of the divine ego formula in the oracle against the mountains (Ezek. 6.1–13) illustrates the prophet's obsession with publicising the divine name/identity in the context of violence. In the aftermath of destruction, amid the slain, the name/identity is known (Ezek. 6. 6). All this disaster is not in vain, because the name/identity is known (Ezek. 6.10). When the land is totally desolate and devoid of settlements, the name/identity is known (Ezek. 6.14). Any hint of justice for Earth or the community of Earth seems to be suppressed in order to promote YHWH's identity and satisfy YHWH's divine jealousy for his name.

Blaming the Victim

Julie Galambush (2000) has demonstrated quite convincingly, I believe, that Ezekiel treats creation as property. Creation has no intrinsic value and can be burned, battered or burned at will by acts of violent judgement. Both Earth and the Earth community suffer unjustly as YHWH makes the landscape desolate.

Reading from the perspective of Earth, however, I would like to revisit one of the findings of Galambush. At one point she writes:

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. 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 (2000: 15).

I agree that in Ezekiel we do not find YHWH, the prophet, or any other party suffering with the land or defending the lands. The lands have no allies, no one to give them voice. That fact in itself makes the lands victims. For the lands as such, and the landscape or the creatures of these lands to be accused of sins that the people of the lands have committed is a typical case of blaming the victim.

Ezekiel proclaims:

> When a land sins against me by acting faithlessly, and I stretch out my hand against it, and break its staff of bread and send famine against it, and cut off from it human beings and animals, even if Noah, Daniel and

> Job, these three were in it, they would save only their own lives by their righteousness (Ezek. 14.13–14).

Land may indeed refer to settled and inhabited land, but a distinction is also made between human beings and the rest of the land—specifically animals—in this passage. Yet they are all declared guilty—humans and nonhuman creatures of the land. All the land is made totally desolate and handed over to wild animals who are the agents of chaos. The landscape and the nonhuman creatures are made victims on two counts—they are objects of transferred guilt and unwarranted destruction. Because there is violence in the land, the land itself and the fullness of the land is guilty by association (Ezek. 9.9; 12.19–20). The land is condemned to suffer with those who deserve to suffer. Even the righteous may not escape the fury of God's wrath (Ezek. 21.3).

It may also be possible to interpret the violence towards Earth in terms of the theory of Rene Girard (cited in Hamerton-Kelly 1992). Blame is extended by God to land/Earth as an innocent victim; God, however, does not recognise the innocent nature of the victim. The lands and life of Earth experience violence and death at the hands of a jealous God. But whether Earth can be viewed as a genuine scapegoat or a surrogate victim seems dubious to me. The violence of God seems to be so encompassing that all lands where humans have settled or worshipped must be reduced to desolation.

Silencing the Victim

Not only are the lands and all the fullness of life within them forced to suffer, die and become desolate at the hands of a jealous overlord, their voice is also silenced. Ezekiel effectively suppresses the possibility that any party will identify with the victims and let their blood cry out for justice. The possibility of the land responding to disaster is evident when the land is appalled at the raging of a young lion (possibly Jehoahaz) in its midst (Ezek. 19.7). The land and its creatures have a potential voice, but that voice is silenced in the context of Ezekiel's razed-Earth policy.

All the lands condemned in Ezekiel are destined to become desolate, their voices silenced in the face of violent forces of death. This silencing is encompassed in the recurring formula of desolation. After the desolation, all voices of former life forms cease—whether they are voices of the landscape or of other life forms. The physical silencing of life and landscape through divine acts of desolation symbolises the silencing of their voices as subjects who have a right to be heard because they are innocent victims.

Keith Carley (2001) has examined the formula of desolation in volume 4 of *The Earth Bible Series*. He interprets the desolation *(shemamah)* as a horrifying devastation, transforming a fertile and flourishing landscape into a barren wasteland (Ezek. 6.14; 12.20; 20.48; H. 21.4; 33.28–9). This desolation is so complete and so repulsive that no human will pass through the land. This process of desolation, moreover, is not confined to Israel but extends to a range of lands including Ammon, Moab, Edom, Philistia, Tyre and Egypt.

The judgement of Edom (Mount Seir), for example, results in a perpetual desolation and wasteland with mountains full of slain bodies and streams polluted with rotting corpses (Ezek. 35.1–9). The voices of the mountains and the streams, the animals and the land itself, who all suffer this desolation, are silenced with the dead. It is a sad testimony to the attitude of Ezekiel, that on the one occasion that Earth is given a voice to rejoice, Earth rejoices over the desolation of Edom. Earth is portrayed as expressing a *Shadenfreude* that effectively silences the cries of the victim—Earth herself (Ezek. 35.14).

When the land of Egypt is made desolate, it too is stripped of all its life, its fullness. The women of the other nations raise a lament, but the voice of the victims—the livestock and land of Egypt—is suppressed (Ezek. 32.13–15). Neither Ezekiel, nor the God he—as a prophet—seeks to represent, seem to have any sympathy for the victims or willingness to let their voices be heard. Ezekiel must suppress every form of grief—even his own grief for his wife. As Carley says:

> There is no hint within the book of Ezekiel that the prophet himself was concerned about the impact on Earth of the judgement he delivered. His older contemporary, Jeremiah, whose activity Ezekiel is likely to have known, heard the mourning of the desolated land (Jer. 12.2, 11). But Ezekiel appears to have had feeling only for his wife, and he claimed God told him to suppress every sign of grief even for her death (Ezek. 24.15–17).

Ezekiel proclaims the existence of a range of divine agents designed to devastate and silence the lands: famine, pestilence, wild animals and sword. The agent which brings home to me the horrific silent scenario reflected in this desolation is fire (Ezek. 15.2–8; 19.45–9; H. 21.1–5; 21.31–2; 22.31; 30.8, 16; 39.6). A total burning reduces all settlements to ashes, destroys all livestock, and renders the landscape a barren wasteland. All life is killed and all voices are silenced.

As a youth in the Australian outback I experienced bushfires where thousands of acres of countryside were made desolate. On a typical fire day, when the hot wind blew from the north—like the enemy in Jeremiah 4—my father would sit on the verandah and watch the horizon for smoke.

When a bushfire raged through the land, we escaped the area to save our lives.

To walk through the landscape next day was heartrending—the scene was black as far as the eye could see. We faced bloated dead sheep, blinded kangaroos, smouldering stumps and twisted implements.

And the silence! Wherever we walked the land suffered in silence—a suffering I could not help but feel deeply. In those walks through the bleak bush I believe I knew, already then, something of what it meant to be one with the land, with Earth, with all flesh.

Ezekiel hears none of the suffering of the lands—or if he does, he does not permit their pathos to be expressed. Some readers may choose to move from these silent wastelands to the transformed cosmos Ezekiel envisages in the future with mountains shooting branches, fields sown, abundant fruit and inhabited towns (Ezek. 36.8–10, 29–30; cf. Ezek. 40–48). These scenarios of new life, however, do not negate the acts of injustice and devastation wrought on innocent life and lands. Divine acts of rejuvenation do not excuse divine acts of injustice against Earth. Giving life back to the land does not excuse the suffering and silencing of the victim. Ultimately, the land—though a part of creation and thereby of value—is not the reason for rejuvenation nor is it God's compassion for the chosen people of Israel. Renewal happens 'for the sake of my holy name' (Ezek. 36.22).

Conclusion

Reading the judgement oracles of Ezekiel from the perspective of Earth exposes a decidedly negative bias towards creation. For the urbanite Ezekiel, the cosmos is intended to be a series of settled lands with God's chosen city as the sacred centre. Beyond these lands lie realms of disorder. The natural world is not portrayed as having intrinsic worth, but as property at the disposal of those who make it a human habitation.

Ezekiel's portrayal of God's judgement on the peoples of these lands is a depiction of extreme violence. The outcome of this violent divine action is that the lands are made desolate and all life on the lands is destroyed. The lands and life on the lands suffer unjustly: they have done nothing to deserve the desolation they experience. They are victims of a divine rage against any nation who has offended YHWH. For Ezekiel's God, publicising the divine name is more important than compassion for creation.

Not only do these victims suffer unjustly; they are also included among those identified as the guilty objects of YHWH's wrath. Ezekiel portrays YHWH as an angry God who blames the victims along with the

perpetrators of the crime. In addition, these suffering victims, who are forced to share the blame, are silenced. The lands have no voice, no advocate, no venue for crying out against the injustice they experience. All is desolate. The silence of the lands is total.

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