

The Scriptures of Israel in Jewish and Christian Tradition

Essays in Honour of
Maarten J. J. Menken

SUPPLEMENTS TO NOVUM TESTAMENTUM 148

EDITED BY

*Bart J. Koet, Steve Moyise,
and Joseph Verheyden*

BRILL

The Scriptures of Israel in Jewish
and Christian Tradition

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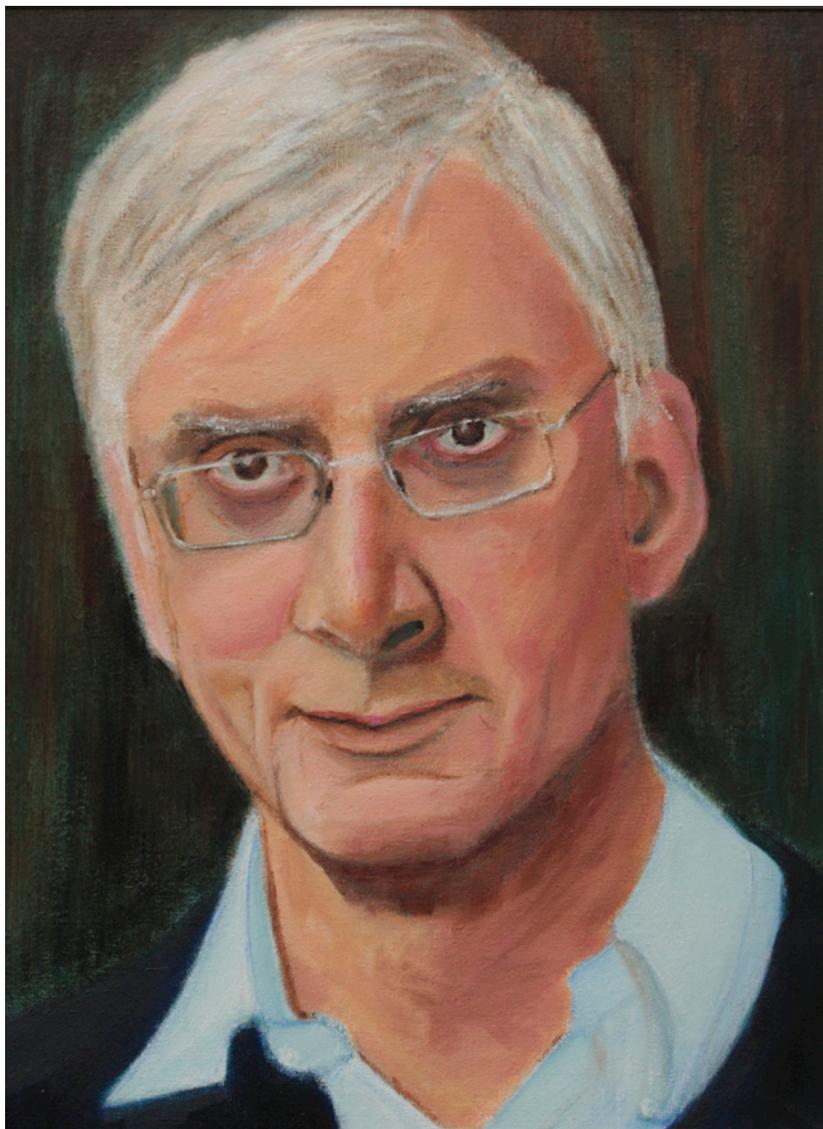
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Maarten Menken as seen by his wife, Corja Menken-Bekius
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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	D.N. Freedman (ed.), <i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> (6 vols; New York: Doubleday, 1992)
ABG	<i>Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte (Bonn)</i>
ABR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
ACEBTS	Amsterdamse Cahiers voor Exegese en bijbelse Theologie Supplement
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJBI	<i>Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute</i>
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i>
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
BAGD	Bauer, W., W.F. Arndt, F.W. Gingrich, and F.W. Danker, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> (1979)
BBET	Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BDAG	Bauer, W., F.W. Danker, W.F. Arndt, and F.W. Gingrich, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> (3d ed. Chicago, 1999)
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
<i>BJS</i>	<i>Brown Judaic Studies</i>
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar. Altes Testament
BThSt	Biblich-Theologische Studien
BU	Biblische Untersuchungen
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly, Monograph Series
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina
CJ	<i>Corpus inscriptionum judaicarum</i>
CJT	<i>Canadian Journal of Theology</i>
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica, New Testament
CQS	Companion to the Qumran Scrolls
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres</i>
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad novum testamentum
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSJH	Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible</i>
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
EHAT	Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
EHS.T	Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 23: Theologie
EKK	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar
ETL	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
EWNT	<i>Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
ExpTim	<i>Expository Times</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FThSt	Freiburger Theologische Studien
GCS	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller
GTA	Göttinger theologischer Arbeiten
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
HeyJ	<i>The Heythrop Journal</i>
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTKAT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IBS	<i>Irish Biblical Studies</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JDT	<i>Jahrbuch für deutsche Theologie</i>

<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>The Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods: Supplement Series
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	Lectio Divina
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
NA ²⁷	Nestle and Aland, <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 27th edn., 1993)
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum: Supplements
NTA	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
ÖTK	Ökumenische Taschenbuch-Kommentar
OTS	Old Testament Studies
PL	Patrologia Latina
QD	Quaestiones disputatae
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RBén</i>	<i>Revue bénédictine</i>
<i>RBL</i>	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>ResQ</i>	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
<i>RevistCatTeol</i>	<i>Revista Catalana de Teologia</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>

<i>RevScRel</i>	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testaments
SBAB	Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände
SBB	Stuttgarter Biblische Beiträge
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
SBLSBS	SBL Sources for Biblical Studies
SBLSCS	SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSP	SBL Seminar Papers
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBLTT	SBL Texts and Translations
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SC	Sources chrétiennes
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum graecum</i>
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTA	Studiorum Novi Testamenti Auxilia
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra pagina
<i>STK</i>	<i>Svensk teologisk kvartalskrift</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>THAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>TTZ</i>	<i>Trierer theologische Zeitschrift</i>
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
<i>TWAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
<i>TWNT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>UBS⁴</i>	<i>United Bible Societies Greek New Testament, 4th edition</i>
UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher
VC	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
VCSup	Vigiliae christianae, Supplements
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i> , Supplements

WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZRGG	<i>Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

DAVID ALLEN is Tutor in New Testament at the Queen's Foundation for Ecumenical Theological Education (UK) and author of *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews: A Study in Narrative Re-presentation* (Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

PANCRATIUS C. BEENTJES is Emeritus Professor of Old Testament Exegesis and Hebrew in the Faculty of Catholic Theology of Tilburg University (The Netherlands) and author of *Happy the One who Meditates on Wisdom: Collected Essays on the Book of Ben Sira* (Peeters, 2006) and *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles* (Brill, 2008).

GILBERT VAN BELLE is Professor of New Testament Studies at the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies of the KU Leuven and has published extensively on the Gospel of John.

MARTINUS C. DE BOER is Professor of New Testament at VU University Amsterdam and author of *Galatians: A Commentary* (Westminster John Knox Press, 2011).

ULRICH BUSSE was Professor of Biblical Theology at the Universities of Duisburg and Essen until 2008 and is now Associate Professor at the University of Pretoria and author of *Das Johannesevangelium: Bildlichkeit, Diskurs und Ritual* (Peeters, 2002) and *Jesus im Gespräch: Zur Bildrede in den Evangelien und der Apostelgeschichte* (Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2009).

JOHN M. COURT is Honorary Senior Research Fellow in Biblical Studies, University of Kent, Canterbury and author of a comparative study of seven British New Testament scholars of the 1920's and 1930's to be published in the Deo series "History of Biblical Interpretation."

MARGARET DALY-DENTON is Wallace Adjunct Assistant Professor in the School of Religions and Theology at Trinity College Dublin and author of *David in the Fourth Gospel: The Johannine Reception of the Psalms* (Brill, 2000) and *Psalm-Shaped Prayerfulness: A Guide to the Christian Reception of the Psalms* (Columba, 2010; Liturgical Press, 2011).

ADELBERT DENAUX is Emeritus Professor of New Testament of the KU Leuven and was Dean of the Tilburg School of Catholic Theology (2007–2012). He is the author of A. Denaux and R. Corstjens, in collaboration with H. Mardaga, *The Vocabulary of Luke: An Alphabetical Presentation and a Survey of Characteristic and Noteworthy Words and Word Groups in Luke's Gospel* (Peeters, 2009) and *Studies in the Gospel of Luke: Structure, Language and Theology. Collected Essays* (Lit Verlag, 2010).

PETER DOBLE is Visiting Fellow, School of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Leeds and author of *The Paradox of Salvation* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

SUSAN DOCHERTY is Principal Lecturer in Biblical Studies and Head of the Department of Theology at Newman University College, Birmingham and author of *The Use of the Old Testament in Hebrews* (Mohr Siebeck, 2009).

HARM W. HOLLANDER was Lecturer in New Testament Studies, University of Leiden (The Netherlands), until 2012. His research centred on the teaching of the apostle Paul in his letters to gentile Christian communities, in particular in 1 Corinthians, and on the Jewish-Christian pseudepigraphon 'The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs'.

PIETER W. VAN DER HORST is Emeritus Professor of Early Christianity and Ancient Judaism of Utrecht University and member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences and author of *Jews and Christians in Their Graeco-Roman Context* (Mohr Siebeck, 2006) and *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek* (De Gruyter, 2008).

HENK JAN DE JONGE was Professor of New Testament exegesis and Early Christian literature at Leiden University from 1991 to 2006. Several of his recent publications deal with the earliest history and the shape of the Christian gathering. He is also supervisory editor of the critical edition of *The Correspondence of Joseph Scaliger* (Droz, 2012).

BART J. KOET was the first promovendus of Maarten Menken (1989). He is currently Assistant Professor of New Testament and Professor of Early Christian Literature at the Tilburg School of Theology. He is author of *Dreams and Scripture in Luke–Acts: Collected Essays* (Peeters, 2006) and editor of *Dreams as Divine Communication in Christianity: From Hermas to Aquinas* (Peeters, 2012).

MICHAEL LABAHN, Privatdozent at the Theological Faculty—Institute of Biblical Exegesis of the Martin-Luther-University in Halle-Wittenberg, Germany and External Research Collaborator of the Faculty of Theology, North-West University (Potchefstroom-Campus), South Africa, is author of *Der Gekommene als Wiederkommender: Die Logienquelle als erzählte Geschichte* (Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2010).

STEVE MOYISE is Professor of New Testament at the University of Chichester and author of *Evoking Scripture: Seeing the Old Testament in the New* (T&T Clark, 2008) and *Paul and Scripture* (SPCK, 2010). He is also co-editor with Maarten Menken of the Series “The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel” (5 vols.).

TOBIAS NICKLAS is Professor of New Testament at the University of Regensburg, Germany. His main fields of research are: Johannine literature, Reception history of the New Testament, History of Canon and Christian Apocrypha.

LIONEL NORTH, formerly at the Universities of Hull and Durham and author of “‘Thou shalt commit adultery’ (Exod. 20:14, AV 1631): A First Survey of Alteration involving Negatives in the Transmission of the Greek New Testament and of Early Church Responses to it,” *JTS NS* 60 (2009) 22–69.

WENDY NORTH is Honorary Research Fellow in the Theology and Religious Studies Department at the University of Durham and author of *The Lazarus Story within the Johannine Tradition* (Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

ERIC OTTENHEIJM is Associate Professor at Utrecht University, Department for Religious Studies and Theology and did his PhD on the Halakhic disputes between the Pharisaic schools of Hillel and Shammai (2004).

HUUB W.M. VAN DE SANDT is retired Senior Lecturer in New Testament Studies at the Tilburg Department of Culture Studies. He published many articles on the Didache, Old Testament quotations in the Acts of the Apostles, and various other subjects. He is co-author (with the late David Flusser) of *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Van Gorcum, 2002) and editor of *Matthew and The Didache: Two Documents from the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu?* (Van Gorcum, 2005).

JOOP F.M. SMIT is Emeritus Lecturer New Testament of the Catholic University at Utrecht and author of *Opbouw en gedachtengang van de Brief aan de Galaten* (Nijmegen, 1986) and *'About the Idol Offerings': Rhetoric, Social Context and Theology of Paul's Discourse in First Corinthians 8:1–11:1* (Peeters, 2000).

JOOST SMIT SIBINGA (1927–2012) was Professor of New Testament exegesis and Early Christian Literature at the University of Amsterdam from 1969 to 1989. He was the supervisor of Maarten Menken's Ph.D. thesis (1985). Most of his research concerned numerical composition techniques in New Testament writings. His publications on this subject include his study "From Anointing to Arrest: Some Observations on the Composition of Mark 4:1–52," *Filología Neotestamentaria* 23 (2010) 3–35.

GERT STEYN is Professor of New Testament Studies at the University of Pretoria and author of "Torah Quotations Common to Philo, Hebrews, Clemens Romanus and Justin Martyr: What is the Common Denominator?," in *The New Testament Interpreted: Essays in Honour of Bernard Lagrange* (eds. C. Breytenbach, J.C. Thom and J. Punt; Brill, 2006).

JOSEPH VERHEYDEN is Professor of New Testament Studies at the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies of the KU Leuven and editor of *Prophets and Prophecy in Jewish and Early Christian Literature* (Mohr Siebeck, 2010) and co-editor of *The Collected Essays of William L. Petersen* (Brill, 2012).

ARCHIBALD L.H.M. VAN WIERINGEN is Associate Professor of Old Testament at the School of Catholic Theology of Tilburg University and has published extensively on the book of Isaiah, using communication-oriented exegesis.

INTRODUCTION

MAARTEN MENKEN: A PORTRAIT IN WORDS

Bart J. Koet

It was in 1974, during my first year as a student at the Catholic Theological Institute in Amsterdam, that I first heard about Maarten Menken. Liet van Daalen, who taught Hebrew at the Institute and at the Theological Faculty of the University of Amsterdam, mentioned his name to an older student. I had been waiting to ask her a question about a Hebrew form after one of her lectures at the Oudemanhuispoort, one of the most idyllic parts of the University. She was discussing with someone whether there had been an increase of interest among Catholics for scholarly biblical research since Vatican II, and whether there would be a return to the Scriptures as a source for theology in the Catholic Church. I heard her say with a positive undertone: "This year Maarten Menken is reading exegesis in Rome." I have never forgotten this, not knowing that he would one day become my supervisor and that we would work together (with a small interruption) for nearly thirty years. I had to wait another eight years until June 1983 before I met him in person and it was in Heerlen, where our working relationship began.

In these thirty years I have witnessed most of Maarten's academic career and thus it seems fitting that I, as one of the three editors of this volume, should offer a sketch of his academic life as a biblical exegete. Maarten Menken was born on 13 March 1948 and went to study in 1959 at the minor seminary of the newly founded diocese of Rotterdam (1956). In those days, a secondary boarding school created for the specific purpose of enrolling teenage boys who have expressed (some) interest in becoming priests, was still quite common in the Netherlands. However, since there was not yet a building, Maarten first went to Stoutenburg and then to Hageveld in Heemstede. From 1962 until 1965, he was one of the first pupils of Leeuwenhorst, the new diocesan institute. At the same time he was one of the last pupils of the same minor seminary, because in 1970, the school became a normal secondary school.

Vatican II caused a fundamental change in the way that Catholic theology was studied in the Netherlands and this affected the young seminarian who began his study of theology at the major seminary in Warmond in the last two years of its existence (1965–1967). Most of the seminaries of the dioceses, the Orders and Congregations, which had all suffered

quite a substantial loss of students, were closed and new theological academic institutions were founded. The aim was to provide a higher level of instruction and in particular, a focus on the early sources, both Patristic and Biblical.

Maarten changed his status of seminarian to theology student and thus the world witnessed a “change from black shoes to brown!” In the early years the young Catholic Institution was validated by the theological faculty of Amsterdam and so the students would mix together. Maarten read theology and biblical exegesis (KTHA/University of Amsterdam; 1967–1972) and became a student assistant of the department of Biblical Studies during the time of the flamboyant professor of New Testament, Ben Hemelsoet. In 1972 Maarten became a teacher at Leeuwenhorst, the school where he had been a pupil himself, and in 1974–1975 he went to the Pontificio Istituto Biblico in Rome. From 1975 until 1977, he was again a teacher of religion in Noordwijkerhout and in this period he wrote his “blockbuster:” an introduction to religion for secondary schools. The royalties rolled in!

In 1977 he became assistant professor at the Theological Institute in Heerlen, a city in the most southerly part of the Netherlands, and part-time professor of New Testament in 1989. When the Institute of Heerlen combined with the Faculty of Theology of the University of Nijmegen (1992–1993), he became full-time professor of New Testament at the Catholic Theological University in Utrecht (1993–2006). He remained in this position when this was merged with the Faculty of Theology of the University of Tilburg to become the Tilburg School of Theology.

Maarten’s dissertation on *Numerical Literary Techniques in John: The Fourth Evangelist’s Use of Numbers of Words and Syllables* (NovTSup 55; Leiden: Brill, 1985), was written under the supervision of Prof. Dr Joost Smit Sibinga. Maarten was the only promovendus of this precise and intricate scholar and his dissertation was clearly inspired by his supervisor’s fascination with counting syllables and words as a tool for analysing the literary structure of biblical writings. Having worked at a deep level with the words of the Gospel, Maarten acquired an intimate knowledge of John’s Gospel, which would later lead to his detailed studies of the scriptural quotations in the book. It will be a great pleasure for the Jubilar to find Smit Sibinga’s last article in this volume. He was the first author to send an article to the editors, long before the deadline, because he wanted to be sure that he could honour his former promovendus. Unfortunately, Smit Sibinga passed away in March 2012, before he could see any of the other essays in this volume.

After his dissertation Maarten did not return to counting syllables and words but changed his focus and started to work on the Old Testament quotations in the Gospel that he now knew so well, that of John. He became interested in the theme of the interpretation of the Old Testament in the New because in those days he guided my dissertation on the interpretation of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts. The articles he wrote on the textual form and interpretation of the quotations in John's Gospel during this time were later collected and published as *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form* (CBET 15; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996). In the following years, he turned to the quotations in Matthew's Gospel, and the articles were also collected together (and augmented) in his *Matthew's Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist* (BETL 173; Leuven: Leuven University Press—Peeters, 2004).

It will be no surprise that Maarten has acted as chair for the Johannine Writings group at SNTS and the Old Testament in the New Testament group at SBL/EABS. He was the Manson Memorial Lecturer in 1997 at the University of Manchester and has been an honorary member of the New Testament Society of South Africa since 2006. His acumen is also valuable in his activities as editor. He has been on the editorial board of *Novum Testamentum* since 1989 and the *Novum Testamentum* Supplement Series from 1989–1997. However, perhaps his most important contribution as editor will prove to be the joint venture with Professor Steve Moyise for the series, "The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel" (T&T Clark). Each volume consists of a series of studies on the use of a particular Old Testament book or group of books in the New Testament. Five volumes have been published (Genesis, Deuteronomy, Psalms, Isaiah, Minor Prophets) and are often quoted in scholarly articles and books.

The theme of this Festschrift matches the most important part of Maarten's work and concerns all aspects of the use of Israel's Scripture in the New Testament and in early Christianity. The studies will look at questions of method, textual form, interpretative technique, comparative literature and hermeneutical practice. The title *The Scriptures of Israel in Jewish and Christian Tradition* suggests an on-going engagement with these writings, both continuing traditional lines of interpretation and opening up new perspectives.

Although Maarten has held a number of administrative positions in the universities in which he served, his main focus was always teaching and research. As a teacher Maarten was as accurate as he was in his scholarship and taught his students to work precisely and logically. He was a critical but honest judge of the scholarly work of his students and he can be

proud that he taught the craft of the exegete to so many young people. He directed a large number of Masters' theses (or equivalents of that degree in the Dutch system) and as professor, guided the doctoral dissertations of myself, Piet van Veldhuizen and Tineke de Lange (and no doubt more will follow).

I was never one of his undergraduate students but have often been told me that his lectures were characterized by clarity of exposition. During one of our sessions in Utrecht, he told me with a smile that he feared that his lectures were sometimes on the dull side, though I find it difficult to believe that his fine sense of humour was not in evidence. This supposition is not without basis as a few months ago, I met one of his (and my) students from his years in Heerlen. She started studying theology when she was quite young and had a class with Maarten first thing on Monday mornings. During a coffee break, she admitted that this was sometimes too much for her on a Monday morning and she still remembers Maarten's reply after more than twenty-five years: "It is a bit dull on Monday mornings for me as well!"

This remark fits one of Maarten's other virtues: a certain modesty. Although he was proceeding step by step, or should I say article by article, to his important contribution to the interpretation of the Old Testament in the New, where he is now a recognized authority, he has never sought the podium to advertise this expertise. Indeed, he has generally waited to be asked rather than seeking opportunities himself. One of the most fruitful requests came in 1997 when he was invited by Dr Wendy North, who had favourably reviewed Maarten's book on the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel, to read a paper to the Annual Seminar for the Study of the Old Testament in the New, of which Wendy was then secretary. It was founded by Professors Anthony Hanson (Hull) and Max Wilcox (Bangor) and now meets every Spring in the residential Gladstone library (Hawarden, North Wales). It was there that Maarten not only met Steve Moyise, with whom he co-edits the Series, "The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel," but also co-chaired the meetings and invited a number of scholars to its beautiful surroundings, including myself. Since that moment, "Utrecht" has been represented each year by one of us giving a paper, one year by Maarten and the next year by me. Often we were accompanied by a student or another scholar from the Netherlands.

Another of Maarten's qualities is his ability to focus. *In der Beschränkung zeigt sich der Meister*. At the same time he is not a workaholic. He always took time to relax and enjoy the pleasures of life. I remember that in those Heerlen days at the end of each academic year, he invited me to

a barbecue, a ritual to show that work was over. "Now it is holiday," he declared with obvious joy and we had a fine barbecue with his wife Corja and their gentle and lively sons Ruben and Marco. And of course there were animals: charming dogs and opinionated cats and there was even, before I became his assistant in Heerlen, a pony!

Here we definitely cross the boundary between Maarten's academic life and his personal life, which is of course, both real and fictional. As for his personal life it is clear that Corja Menken-Bekius is his companion on the path of life, with whom he walked through Europe even to Siena. She is a perfect match with Maarten. In fact, in a certain sense, they even embody the complementarity of the Old and New Testament. Corja Bekius, daughter of a Protestant minister, was, when they met, one of the most promising students of the Old Testament at the Theological Faculty of the University of Amsterdam and she taught some Old Testament courses under the famous Professor Beek. Later, in Heerlen, she also taught at the Institute where Menken taught New Testament. However, she chose the ministry and became a pastoral counsellor and scholar of practical theology. As well as her scholarly gifts, Corja Menken-Bekius is highly gifted creatively and thus it is appropriate that in addition to this introductory sketch of Maarten Menken in words, it is "her" portrait of him which is placed opposite the title page.

INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

MATTHEW'S BIBLE IN THE INFANCY NARRATIVE

Steve Moyise

Introduction

Although the rise of literary, sociological and ideological forms of interpretation have challenged the centrality of redaction criticism, it is still true that most commentators explain the form of Matthew's biblical quotations by reference to his own theological or apologetic purposes. And it is not difficult to see why. In the first explicit quotation (Matt 1:23/ Isa 7:14), Matthew follows the LXX's choice of παρθένος ("virgin") to render עַלְמָה ("young woman") in order to support the statement that Mary's child was conceived by the Holy Spirit (Matt 1:20). However, Isa 7:14 goes on to say that the woman will name the child Emmanuel but Mary's child is called Jesus. The difficulty is solved by changing the second person singular καλέσεις ("you will call") to the third person plural καλέσουσιν ("they will call") and explaining that the meaning of the name Emmanuel is "God with us" (Matt 1:23). Mary's child is not called Emmanuel but the later Christian community will come to see him as "God with us" (Matt 28:20; 2 Cor 5:19).¹

There are even greater differences in Matthew's second quotation. Herod asks the visiting Magi where the Messiah is to be born and they reply by quoting from Mic 5:2(1), a text that envisages a future ruler (מֶלֶךְ/ ἄρχοντα) of Israel coming from Bethlehem, "one of the little clans of Judah." Matthew's quotation contains the word οὐδαμῶς ("by no means"), so that Bethlehem is now "by no means least among the rulers of Judah" (Matt 2:6). He also has a different word for "ruler" (ἡγούμενος) and adds content to it by drawing on words from either 2 Sam 5:2 or 1 Chr 11:2 ("to shepherd my people Israel"). According to Davies and Allison, "The text has been freely altered by Matthew in order to make it best serve his ends."²

¹ So R.H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution* (2nd edn; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1994) 25.

² W.D. Davies and D.C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew 1: Commentary on Matthew I–VII* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988) 242.

The third quotation comes from Hosea 11:1, where the words, “out of Egypt I called my son” are a reference back to the Exodus. The “son” in question is Israel and the LXX appears to have translated *ad sensum* and used the plural τέκνα (“children”). Matthew’s quotation contains the singular υἱός (“son”) instead of τέκνα and the explanation is readily apparent: he wishes to apply the text to Jesus and therefore needs the singular “son” (Matt 2:15). Matthew will go on to narrate Jesus’ baptism, where the heavenly voice announces, “This is my son” (Matt 3:17), and his temptation, where the devil invites him to exploit it (“If you are the Son of God, command these stones to become loaves of bread”—Matt 4:3). It appears that Matthew has translated the Hebrew for himself so that he can give prominence to the singular “son,” which he identifies as Jesus.³

The fourth quotation is from Jer 31:15 (LXX 38:15), where the distress of captivity is described by the words: “A voice is heard in Ramah, lamentation and bitter weeping. Rachel is weeping *for her children*; she refuses to be comforted *for her children*, because they are no more.” It is possible that the MT is corrupt for there is considerable variety among the LXX manuscripts. LXX^A has ἐν τῇ ὑψηλῇ (“in the height”) instead of Ramah, separate nouns (“wailing and weeping and lamentation”) for “lamentation and bitter weeping” and only one of the “for her children” clauses (the first). LXX^B agrees with the MT on the name Ramah (“Ραμά”) and with LXX^A on “wailing and weeping and lamentation” but retains the second “for her children” clause and has Rachel refusing to “rest” (παύω) rather than be “comforted” (παρρακαλέω). Matt 2:18 appears to be an eclectic mix of these traditions: he agrees with MT/LXX^B in naming Ramah; he agrees with MT in using an adjectival expression (“loud lamentation”); he retains the first “for her children” clause (LXX^A); and has Rachel refusing comfort (MT/LXX^A). However, his use of the adjective πολὺς (NRSV: “loud lamentation”) is unique. It would appear that Matthew is responsible for the unusual form of the quotation.⁴

Finally, the infancy narrative ends with the quotation, “He will be called a Nazorean” (Matt 2:23), which appears to be a Matthean creation. The “text” is quoted in support of Joseph and Mary leaving Egypt and settling in Nazareth but since the town of Nazareth is never mentioned in Scripture, no such text exists. Most commentators suggest some sort

³ R.T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew* (NICNT; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2007) 80.

⁴ G.M. Soares Prabhu, *The Formula Quotations in the Infancy Narrative of Matthew: An Enquiry into the Tradition History of Mt 1–2* (AnBib 63; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1976) 104–106, 253.

of word-play, either with the “Nazirite” (נזיר) of Judg 13:5 or the “branch (ענף) of Jesse” of Isa 11:1. Either way, the “quotation” exists only in Matthew’s mind.

Matthew’s Bible according to Maarten Menken

Contrary to prevailing opinion, Maarten Menken has advanced the bold hypothesis that very few of these changes were made by Matthew himself but were present in his Scriptural text.⁵ This has been argued before in terms of Matthew’s dependence on a collection of Christian testimonies but Menken’s hypothesis is that most of the changes had already been made in a revised LXX text. We know from the later versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, as well as texts found at Qumran and Nahal Ḥever, that there was a strong impulse in Judaism to bring the (known) Greek text into closer conformity to the (known) Hebrew text. Menken thinks that such a text, even though it is no longer extant, offers a better explanation of the form of Matthew’s quotations than either Matthean redaction in the light of the Hebrew text or dependence on a testimony source. In order to accomplish this, Menken must demonstrate two things: (1) the majority of the textual differences are not specifically Christian or Matthean but could have arisen through the “revisionist” tendency mentioned above; and (2) such explanations have a greater probability than those that derive from the other main theories. It is the purpose of this chapter to evaluate this proposal with respect to the five explicit quotations in Matthew’s infancy narrative.⁶

Isa 7:14 in Matt 1:23

Matthew’s first quotation lends support to at least the possibility of Menken’s hypothesis, for if we only possessed the Hebrew text of Isa 7:14, we would have assumed that Matthew’s rendering of עֲלְמָה by παρθένος is apologetically motivated. Matthew wanted a proof text that Jesus was conceived without the agency of a human father and since such a text

⁵ Maarten J.J. Menken, *Matthew’s Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist* (BETL 173; Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 2004).

⁶ It should be noted that Menken sees the greatest evidence for his hypothesis in the fulfilment quotations and these form Part 1 of his book. A full evaluation of his hypothesis would require us to do likewise but because of limitations of space, I confine myself to Matthew’s first five quotations.

does not exist, he created one by modifying Isa 7:14. However, as we know, παρθένος was already present in a Greek translation of the Hebrew and so it is at least a possibility that the third person plural καλέσουσιν (“they will call”) was also present. This is what Menken sets out to demonstrate. He first notes that the impulse to change the second person singular (תקרא) into a third person singular (תקרא) is already present in 1QIsa^a, perhaps to dissociate the naming of the child from the evil Ahaz (2 Kings 16; 2 Chr 28).⁷ The third person singular is probably intended in an impersonal sense (“one will call”), much as Matthew’s third person plural καλέσουσιν. It is therefore quite possible that Matthew knew a text that read καλέσουσιν.

However, Menken’s main point is that the dissonance between the meaning of Jesus (“God saves”) and Emmanuel (“God with us”) is largely in the mind of modern commentators. He notes that the theme of God’s presence in Scripture is closely linked with ideas of “prosperity, protection, victory, deliverance, or empowerment”⁸ and in some texts, verbal forms from עשׂ/שׂצו are used (Judg 2:18; Jer 15:20; 2 Chr 20:17). This coincides with the final verses of the Gospel (Matt 28:19–20), where the abiding presence of Jesus is linked with baptism, which is of course linked with forgiveness and salvation. The promise of Jesus’ presence is also found in Matt 18:20 (“For where two or three are gathered in my name, I am there among them”) and it is particularly significant that when he takes over the promise of Mark 14:25 (“Truly I tell you, I will never again drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God”), he introduces the phrase μεθ’ ὑμῶν (“with you”).⁹ Menken concludes that Matthew saw no conflict between the meaning of Jesus (“God saves”) and Emmanuel (“God with us”) and had he found καλέσει in his biblical source, he would have had no reason to change it. It is likely, therefore, that καλέσουσιν was present in his biblical text.

There are two points where this explanation could be vulnerable. The first is that Matt 28:20 is a promise to the post-resurrection community in their particular task of evangelizing the nations. According to Matt 10:6 and 15:24, Jesus confined his public ministry to the “house of Israel” and so Matt 28:20 clearly represents a new phase. That being the case, one could argue that the promise of unbroken presence belongs to this new

⁷ Menken notes that *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar* (§74g) regards the verbal form of the MT as an alternative form of the third person singular (“she will call”) but he thinks there is very little evidence for this.

⁸ Menken, *Matthew’s Bible*, 128.

⁹ Matt 26:29. There is a further example in Matt 17:17 (Mark 9:19).

phase and the redactional change in Matt 26:29 (“drink it new with you *in my Father's kingdom*”) is also directed at the post-resurrection (or post-parousia) community. However, if Matthew wanted to connect the statement “they shall call him Emmanuel” specifically to the post-resurrection community, one would have expected the promise to speak about the abiding presence of God. The fact that it speaks about the abiding presence of Jesus suggests that the emphasis is on continuity: the fellowship they have enjoyed during his earthly life will continue even though he will no longer be physically present with them.

The second point is that Matthew's redactional changes to Mark 9:19 and 14:25 show that he is quite prepared to change his sources if the result better suits his argument. Thus a change from *καλέσεις* to *καλέσουσιν* is quite plausible given Matthew's redactional habits. However, Menken's point is not that Matthew is a conservative editor who would never make changes to his sources; it is that there is little reason to accept that this is the sort of change that Matthew would make in this case. Had he found *καλέσεις* in his source, he would most likely have reproduced it. I conclude that for this quotation, Menken has met both the conditions outlined above.¹⁰

Mic 5:2(1) in Matt 2:6

For this quotation, Menken does not argue that Matthew has drawn on a revised LXX text of Mic 5:2(1); rather, he thinks that the form found in Matthew was present in his narrative source. Matthew was responsible for adding the words from either 2 Sam 5:2 or 1 Chr 11:2 (“to shepherd my people Israel”), which he connects with the Micah quotation by his favourite *ὅστις*.¹¹ The change from the second person *ποιμανεῖς* (“you will shepherd”) to the third person *ποιμανεῖ* (“he will shepherd”) was necessary in order to combine the two texts. Menken's argument takes two forms. First, he seeks to show that there are no “unmistakably Matthean traits, and it even shows some un-Matthean traits.”¹² For example, while *οὐδαμῶς* (“by no

¹⁰ Menken also thinks Matthew's expression for “pregnant” (*ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει*) comes from the revised LXX, the original reading being *ἐν γαστρὶ λήμψεται*. However, both Rahlfs and Ziegler think that *ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει* is original, which neither adds nor subtracts from the evidence for Menken's position.

¹¹ 29x in Matthew, compared with 5x in Mark and 18x in Luke. More significantly, Matthew has a tendency to add it to his sources, as in Matt 12:50 (Mark 3:35); 13:12 (Mark 4:25); 19:29 (Mark 10:29); 21:33 (Mark 12:1); 21:41 (Mark 12:9); 27:55 (Mark 15:40).

¹² Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 263.

means”) has clearly been added for theological reasons, it is a *hapax* in Matthew (and the New Testament) and thus not what one would have expected.¹³ As for the choice of ἡγεμῶν (“governor”), Menken accepts that it could be said to be Matthean (10x in Matt; cf. 1x in Mark, 2x in Luke) but it is also a standard LXX rendering of הַגִּבּוֹר (57x); it is what any reviser would use. Similarly with the replacement of the archaic Εφραθα (“Ephra-thah”) by γῆ Ἰουδα (“land of Judah”). Menken acknowledges that Matthew does have a “certain preference for the substantive γῆ in general and for γῆ followed by a geographical proper noun,”¹⁴ but notes that it is common in the ancient Greek versions and in other Christian literature.

As for un-Matthean traits, he suggests that had Matthew been translating for himself, he would be more likely to have rendered מִמֶּנּוּ (“from you”) with ἀπὸ σοῦ than with the ἐκ σοῦ found in his quotation. The evidence is only slight in terms of overall usage (ἀπό—115, ἐκ—82) but when Matthew wishes to express movement out of a place, he uses ἀπό on 6 occasions (3:13; 4:25; 15:1; 19:1; 20:29; 27:55) but never ἐκ. Second, while it is clear that the additional γάρ (“for”) in the quotation has been caused by the insertion of οὐδαμῶς (“by no means”) and is frequent in Matthew (123x), the word order (ἐκ σοῦ γάρ) is unusual for Matthew, who normally puts the conjunction after the preposition (12:33, 34, 37; 15:19; 22:30).

His second point is that Matthew appears to be dependent on at least two sources for this section of the infancy narrative, one that identified Bethlehem as the birthplace of the Messiah through the quotation of Mic 5:2(1), and one that identified it through the movement of the star.¹⁵ Now although we know that Matthew has a tendency to insert biblical quotations into his sources (4:14–16; 8:17; 12:17–21; 13:35; 21:4–5; 27:9–10), it is hard to imagine a source where Herod asks the scribes where the Messiah was to be born and they reply “Bethlehem,” without any supporting evidence. And since there is only one text in Scripture that provides this information, it is very likely that some form of Mic 5:2(1) was included in the source. Lastly, Menken notes that this is the only quotation in Matthew introduced by οὕτως, further evidence that Matthew found it in his source and is not responsible for inserting it.

¹³ Menken suggests that it might have been legitimated by reading להיית as לא היית, a common technique among Jewish scribes.

¹⁴ Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 257.

¹⁵ As also argued by R.E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah* (Updated edn; New York: Doubleday, 1993) 111–116.

It is difficult to say whether this meets our two conditions, for Menken is not arguing that the quotation in Matt 2:6 comes from a pre-Christian revision of the LXX. His point is that it belonged to a “Herod” source which had already added the obviously Christian οὐδαμῶς... γάρ. I find this broadly convincing but it is still an open question as to whether all of the textual differences can be explained in this way. Robert Gundry, for example, is convinced that the quotation is thoroughly Matthean; it uses typical Matthean vocabulary (οὕτως, γάρ, γῆ) and helps to explain his choice of three other terms: γῆ Ἰούδα (“land of Judah”), ἡγεμῶν (“governor”) and ἐλάχιστος (“least”).

His argument for the first is that it strengthens the connection with the “Judah” mentioned in the genealogy (Matt 1:2–3) and draws on the messianic overtones of Gen 49:10 in order to “heighten the stress on Jesus’ kingship.”¹⁶ An earlier source might have considered “Epathrah” as archaic and replaced it with “land of Judea” but the specific mention of “Judah” is most likely Matthean. Second, the use of ἡγεμῶν is significant because it is Matthew’s word for Pilate (8x—contrary to Mark). Thus Matthew introduces into the infancy narrative the claim that Jesus is the “true governor of Judah.”¹⁷ We might also mention the cognate term ἡγούμενος (“ruler”), which Matthew has instead of ἡσῆ/ἄρχοντα. Menken suggests that this is not part of Matthew’s rendering of Mic 5:2(1) but represents the transition to 2 Sam 5:2/1 Chr 11:2, where the one who will shepherd Israel is also to be its ἡγούμενος. This is probably correct but it then gives another reason why Matthew might have changed χιλιάσιν (“thousands”) to ἡγεμόσιν. Third, Gundry notes that the use of ἐλάχιστος (LXX: ὀλιγοστός) represents Matthew’s distinctive way of highlighting the importance of something that others regard as insignificant (Matt 5:19; 25:40, 45).

Some of these can have counter-arguments. For example, Matthew’s source may have replaced the archaic Εφραθα with γῆ Ἰούδα because Ἰούδα occurs in the next phrase (ἐν χιλιάσιν Ἰουδα). Indeed, the emphasis on Judah concerns the land in which the action is set; there is no evidence that Matthew has Gen 49:10 in mind.¹⁸ But it has to be said that Menken’s arguments are not obviously stronger than those of Gundry and so we must acknowledge that some of the textual differences may have come from Matthew, though probably not all of them. I conclude that this

¹⁶ Gundry, *Matthew*, 29.

¹⁷ Gundry, *Matthew*, 29.

¹⁸ NA²⁷ only recognises allusions to Gen 49:9–10 in Heb 7:14 and Rev 5:5.

example does not provide additional evidence that Matthew's Bible is a revised LXX.

Hos 11:1 in Matt 2:15

The third quotation is from Hos 11:1 and appears to be used as a proof-text for the holy family remaining in Egypt, mentioned by the angel in Matt 2:13 and the narrator in 2:15. Since Matthew's fulfilment quotations generally follow the narrative to which they refer, Gundry concludes that "Matthew is not highlighting Jesus' later departure from Egypt as a new Exodus, but God's preservation of Jesus in Egypt as a sign of his divine sonship: God cares for Jesus as a father cares for his son."¹⁹ However, most commentators think that the words "out of Egypt" are a clear reference to the departure mentioned in Matt 2:20–21 and cannot refer to a sojourn in Egypt. Thus Davies and Allison suggest that since Egypt is the focus of Matt 2:13–15 and the land of Israel the focus of 2:19–21, the quotation that names Egypt is best situated after the Egypt material.²⁰

Matthew's quotation (ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου) differs from the LXX by using the simple καλέω instead of the rarer compound μετακαλέω (LXX only 1 Esd 1:48; Hos 11:1, 2) and agrees with the Hebrew in speaking of "my son" instead of the LXX's "his children." Since both of these changes are what one would expect from a revision of the LXX, as can be seen from the later versions,²¹ it is difficult to evaluate the strength of the argument that Matthew modified the LXX in order to apply it to Jesus. Many commentators either suggest that Matthew translated the Hebrew for himself²² or simply note that he is in agreement with it.²³ Menken acknowledges that the matter is finely balanced but has one argument that he thinks tilts the balance in favour of Matthew's use of a Greek text rather than translating the Hebrew for himself. It is the one we have

¹⁹ Gundry, *Matthew*, 34.

²⁰ So Davies and Allison, *Matthew 1–7*, 262. They suggest that Matthew was led to the text via Num 24:8 ("God who brings him out of Egypt"), which receives a messianic interpretation in the LXX.

²¹ LXX:	ἐξ	Αἰγύπτου	μετεκάλεσα	τὰ	τέκνα	αὐτοῦ
Aq:	ἀπὸ	Αἰγύπτου	ἐκάλεσα	τὸν	υἱόν	μου;
Symm:	ἐξ	Αἰγύπτου	κέκληται		υἱός	μου;
Theod:	ἐξ	Αἰγύπτου	ἐκάλεσα	αὐτὸν	υἱόν	μου.

²² C.S. Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1999) 108; Davies and Allison, *Matthew 1–7*, 262.

²³ J. Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2005) 123.

already mentioned, namely, Matthew's propensity to use *ἀπό* rather than *ἐκ* for motion away from a place. Thus had he been translating מִמִּצְרַיִם ("out of Egypt") for himself, it is more likely that he would have used *ἀπό* (as Aquila did) than *ἐκ*.

If we grant that this is (minor) evidence that Matthew used a Greek text, then we have to decide which of the following is more likely: (1) Matthew knew a text that read ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱὸν μου, even though there is no early evidence for it; or (2) Matthew changed μετακαλέω to καλέω for stylistic reasons and τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ to τὸν υἱὸν μου in order to apply it to Jesus. Unfortunately, the evidence of the ancient versions can be used to support both of these positions. Thus if Hos 11:1 existed in a variety of forms by the second century, it is quite likely that a revised text existed in Matthew's day. On the other hand, the versions show that there was a strong tendency to modify the LXX in the light of the Hebrew text, which could be used to support the view that Matthew has done likewise. It does not seem to me that either of these can be shown to be more probable but one point is worth noting: the explanation that Matthew's changes are dictated by Christology is weak. It is just as likely that they are stylistic (καλέω) and revisionist (τὸν υἱὸν μου).

Jer 31(38):15 in Matt 2:18

The fourth quotation is from Jer 31(38):15 and differs significantly from both the MT and LXX. Menken's arguments that this also supports his hypothesis of a revised Greek text are as follows. First, he shows that it is unlikely that the text was part of a testimony collection. It is not difficult to imagine Jer 31:15 being used as a paradigmatic expression of Israel's mourning but Matthew appears to be aware of the discrepancy between Ramah (8 km north of Jerusalem) and Bethlehem (7 km south of Jerusalem) when he says that Herod sent orders to kill the children "in and around Bethlehem" (Matt 2:16). It is difficult to see how this text could have functioned as a Christian testimony outside of the context that Matthew has provided.²⁴

He then looks at the character of the Greek quotation in Matt 2:18 and acknowledges that ὄδυρμός πολὺς ("loud lamentation") is best understood as Matthean redaction of a Greek text. This is because the meaning of תַּמְרוֹרִים is "bitterness," as seen by Aquila and Symmachus (both

²⁴ Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 146–148.

πικραμμῶν), a sense that is lacking in the LXX's ὄδυρμός. The fact that Matthew also uses ὄδυρμός is strong evidence that he is using a form of the LXX but what of his omission of the first noun “wailing” (θρήνος) and the addition of πολύς? Menken thinks the best explanation is that θρήνος was understood to mean much the same thing as ὄδυρμός and so it was omitted and a compensating adjective (πολύς) added. Now although πολύς cannot be said to be characteristic of Matthean redaction,²⁵ it does coincide with the exaggerations present in verse 16: Herod is very (λίαν) angry; he wants to kill all (πάντας) the young children; it will take place in all (πάσιν) the surrounding regions. Menken concludes that Matthew is most likely drawing on a Greek text (ὄδυρμός), which he then abbreviated and added πολύς.²⁶

The main evidence that Matthew is drawing on a revised LXX is the presence of τέκνα (“children”) instead of the LXX’s υἱοί (“sons”) to translate בְּנֵי. Matthew’s narrative makes it clear that Herod is wishing to eliminate a rival king, and so if Matthew had a text in front of him that spoke of grief over the loss of “sons” (υἱοί), it is hard to see why he would change it to τέκνα (“children”). On the other hand, if Matthew is working with a Hebrew text that read בְּנֵי, he would surely have translated it with υἱοί to coincide with his narrative. Thus according to Menken, the best explanation is that Matthew is drawing on a revised LXX text that read τέκνα.²⁷

Gundry, however, believes there is an explanation for why Matthew wanted to use τέκνα here; he wanted to connect it with the self-imposed curse of Matt 27:25, where the people are reported as saying: “His blood be on us and on our children! (τέκνα).” He explains: “By taking Herod’s side and forcing Pilate’s hand in their rejection of Jesus, the Jewish leaders will bring sorrowful consequences on their innocent children... To prepare for this correspondence, Matthew here replaces ‘sons’ (so the MT and LXX) with ‘children’.”²⁸ The suggestion receives cautious support from Davies and Allison²⁹ but two things count against it. First, if this was

²⁵ He adds it to Mark 6:47 (Matt 14:24) and Mark 14:43 (Matt 26:47) but omits it from Mark 4:33 (Matt 13:34) and Mark 9:14 (Matt 17:14).

²⁶ Menken, *Matthew’s Bible*, 156–157.

²⁷ Menken, *Matthew’s Bible*, 157–158.

²⁸ Gundry, *Matthew*, 36.

²⁹ Davies and Allison, *Matthew 1–7*, 270. They point to Matt 22:24 as supporting evidence, where Matthew is summarizing the levirate law of Deut 25:5 and use τέκνα, whereas the Hebrew has בֶּן (“son”). But this is easily answered for Matthew is drawing on Mark 12:19, which uses τέκνον. Matthew has changed it to a plural but the example simply shows that when Matthew found τέκνον in a Greek summary of Scripture, he preserved it. It is hardly evidence against Menken’s hypothesis.

Matthew's intention, he would surely have used τέκνα instead of παῖδας when describing Herod's actions ("he sent and killed all the *children* in and around Bethlehem"). Second, it is unlikely that Matthew would use a less appropriate word in the immediate context (killing of the young boys) for the sake of a parallel to a very distant one. It is surely more likely that if Matthew did want to make such a connection (which is by no means obvious), he chose τέκνα in 27:25 to link back to 2:18.

Menken also notes that Matthew almost certainly found Ῥαμᾶ in his Greek text for he had to expand the reference to Bethlehem to include the surrounding regions (καὶ ἐν πάσι τοῖς ὀρίοις αὐτῆς) in order to accommodate it. This either means that the tradition represented by LXX^B was original or that it represents a revision of ἐν τῇ ὑψηλῇ (LXX^A) that was known to Matthew. The latter would provide more support for Menken's position but as he himself acknowledges, it is more likely that scribes changed Ῥαμᾶ to ἐν τῇ ὑψηλῇ, which the Hebrew can tolerate (רַמְתָּה). In conclusion, though the evidence is not strong, this example supports Menken's hypothesis that Matthew was working with a revised LXX, although he also introduced some changes of his own (πολύς).³⁰

"He will be called a Nazorean" (Matt 2:23)

In arguing that Matthew is dependent on Greek texts for this "quotation" rather than a word play on either נִזְיָר (Judg 13:5) or נִזְיָר (Isa 11:1), Menken has both defended his hypothesis and offered an ingenious new solution. His first point is that since Matthew is writing in Greek, the wordplay is most likely to function at the level of the Greek. It is of course possible that Matthew's readers knew some Hebrew but since he felt the need to translate "Jesus" (1:23), "Golgotha" (27:33) and "Eli, Eli, lema sabachthani?" (27:46) for them, it seems unlikely that they would have detected a נִזְיָר or נִזְיָר behind the word Ναζωραῖος, especially as the Hebrew נִזְיָר is usually rendered in Greek by σ. What is more likely is that Ναζωραῖος would remind them of Ναζιραῖος (Judg 13:7 LXX^A), which only differs by a single letter. Furthermore, although most commentators take the opening ὅτι as introducing the quotation (recitative), Menken suggests that it is part of the quotation since Judg 13:7 LXX^A reads: ὅτι ναζιραῖον θεοῦ ἔσται. Thus

³⁰ Nolland (*Matthew*, 124) does not quite commit himself to Menken's view but he does say that the "details of the text form seem to have no particular significance for the role Matthew gives the citation."

Menken agrees with those who find a Sampson/Jesus parallel in Matt 2:23 but on the basis of the Greek text rather than the Hebrew.

However, it is the proposed change from ἔσται to κληθήσεται that constitutes the innovative aspect of Menken's proposal. Those who think that Matthew has the Hebrew of Judg 13:5, 7 in mind usually suggest that he then went to Isa 4:3 (ἄγιοι κληθήσονται) because some Greek manuscripts render the 𐤇𐤍𐤏 of Judg 13:5, 7 by ἅγιος or ἀγιάζω.³¹ But Menken suggests that a more likely solution is that Matthew went to Isa 7:14, a text he has just quoted and has considerable affinity with Judg 13:7, for the birth of Samson is announced with the words: ἰδοὺ σὺ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχεις³² καὶ τέξῃ υἱόν ("you shall conceive and bear a son"). As we have seen, Isa 7:14 goes on to say that the child will be called (καλέσεις) Emmanuel and this is what lies behind Matthew's κληθήσεται ("he will be called") here in 2:23. Menken says that by this change, "Matthew achieves the effect that according to the first fulfilment quotation in the infancy narrative Jesus will be called Emmanuel, and according to the last one he will be called a Nazorean."³³

Finally, Menken thinks that this also explains the unusual introductory formula ("what was spoken by the prophets might be fulfilled"), which speaks of "prophets" in the plural and omits the customary λέγοντος ("saying").³⁴ Of course, the plural could simply indicate the dual source of the quotation but Menken suggests that it is particularly apt for a reference to the former prophets, for it does not appear that they were known by their individual authors, as the latter prophets were. He also suggests that this might explain the absence of λέγοντος, for they do not "speak" as prophets but record historical events.

This proposal clearly meets our first condition of plausibility. The move from Ναζιραῖος to Ναζωραῖος only involves a single letter and the announcement of the conception and birth of Sampson is very close to that of Emmanuel. Is it more convincing than the suggestion that Matthew's κληθήσεται comes from the κληθήσονται of Isa 4:13? Since both suggestions involve Matthew changing the form of the verb, either from plural to singular (κληθήσονται/κληθήσεται) or active to passive (καλέσεις/

³¹ LXX^A Judg 13:5 has ὅτι ἡγιασμένων ναζιραίων ἔσται; LXX^B Jud 13:7 has ὅτι ἅγιον θεοὺ ἔσται.

³² LXX^A reads ἔξεις.

³³ Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 175.

³⁴ Matt 1:22; 2:15, 17; 3:3; 4:14; 8:17; 12:17; 13:35; 21:4; 22:31; 27:9. It is missing from Matt 2:5 because it is the magi who tell (εἰπὼν) Herod about the quotation rather than Matthew introducing it.

κληθήσεται), the decisive factor has to be context. In favour of Isa 4:3 is the correspondence between one who is called holy and Matthew's emphasis on Jesus' conception by the Holy Spirit (Matt 1:18, 20) and perhaps the fact that the previous verse (Isa 4:2) speaks of the "branch of the Lord," using a synonym (קנצ) of ענב.³⁵ In favour of Isa 7:14 is the close parallel in the announcement of the conception and birth of a special son and the significant fact that Matthew has just quoted it. Though certainty is impossible, I am inclined to think that an explanation that relies on the language in which Matthew is writing is more likely than one that relies on Hebrew, especially as Matthew feels the need to translate the names Jesus and Emmanuel for his readers. Though the evidence is slight, this example also adds to the evidence of Menken's proposal.

Conclusion

Although the evidence presented above confirms that Matthew was willing to make changes to his Scriptural quotations, Menken has convincingly shown that it is a mistake to try and explain all such differences as apologetically or theologically motivated (*pace* Gundry). Thus Matthew's text of Hos 11:1 almost certainly contained the word *καλέω* and his text of Jer 31(38):15 almost certainly contained the word *τέκνα*. It is also likely that his text of Mic 5:2(1), probably drawn from a narrative source, contained the phrase *ἐκ σοῦ*, though the evidence is slight. The same is true for the *καλέσουσιν* of Isa 7:14, since the explanations that Matthew would have found *καλέσεις* problematic are unconvincing. More debatable are whether Matthew found *γῆ Ἰούδα* ("land of Judah"), *ἡγεμών* ("governor") and *ἐλάχιστος* ("least") in his text of Mic 5:2(1) and *υἷόν μου* ("my son") in Hos 11:1. But even if these are discounted, Menken has demonstrated that Matthew is working from a text that differs from the major uncial manuscripts (represented by Rahlfs) or the reconstructed text of the Göttingen series. Since he has shown that it is unlikely that these texts come from a testimony source, the most likely scenario is that Matthew made use of a revised LXX text. It may not have contained all of the readings that Menken has suggested, but that does not invalidate his central hypothesis. As a result of Menken's book, it would be a mistake to simply explain

³⁵ This is the view of Gundry (*Matthew*, 40) but not as a transition from Judg 13:5, 7 but because he thinks that Matthew's starting point was the Hebrew of Isa 11:1.

differences in Matthew's quotations as apologetically or theologically motivated. Some might be but on the evidence of the five quotations in the infancy narrative, some undoubtedly belonged to the biblical text that he was using, a text that can be described as a revised LXX.³⁶

³⁶ It is a pleasure to dedicate this paper to Maarten in appreciation of his scholarship and friendship. In particular, it was at a café in Berlin (2002), where we first had the idea of a series of books on the theme, *The Scriptures of Israel and the New Testament*. At our last meeting, we decided to call this project to a halt with five volumes published by T&T Clark: Psalms (2004), Isaiah (2005), Deuteronomy (2008), Minor Prophets (2009) and Genesis (2012). Many people have told me how useful these volumes have been and, in no small way, this is due to the rigour and attention to detail that Maarten brought to the editing role. I wish him well in his retirement and if I have correctly understood his intentions, look forward to a volume on *Barnabas's Bible* in the future.

THEME AND VARIATIONS: ISAIAH'S SONG OF THE VINEYARD
AND ITS INFLUENCE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Joost Smit Sibinga†

1.1 As scholars must have noted long ago, the Hebrew text of Isaiah's Song of the Vineyard in Isa 5:1–7 uses exactly one hundred words.¹ The way in which these are distributed over the several parts of the poem can be illustrated and verified in several ways: See Tables 1A and 1B.

Table 1A. Isaiah 5:1–7, MT: The Number of Words

Isa 5:1	6,					6
	6:	6				
2	4 + 3 + 4,	11				
	3 + 2:	5	22	22		
3	5, 5:	10				
4	7, 6:	13	23			
5	4 + 5, 4 + 4:	17				
6	9, 6 :	15	32	55		
7	6 + 4, 4 + 3:	17	17	39	100 words	

Table 1B. Isaiah 5:1–7, MT: The Number of Words

Isa 5:1–2					28
3–4	23				
5–6	32			55	
7			17	45	100 words

1.2 The basic structure of the passage is quite simple: the middle section, v. 3–6, addresses the people of Jerusalem and the men of Judah in direct discourse; in the closing lines of v. 7 the reader learns the symbolic meaning of the main elements of the parable told in v. 1b–2, which opens in v. 1a with “Let me sing...”: “the vineyard is the house of Israel,” etc.

1.3 Both v. 3 and v. 5 mark a new section or subsection with the word “(And) now...,” ועתה. In v. 5 it divides the passage into 51 + 49 (= 100)

¹ In 1QIs^a the second word of v. 1, אג, is omitted.

words. That is to say, the two words rendered as “it (*i.e.*, the vineyard) yielded only bad fruit” (NIV), *וַיֵּשׁ בְּאֵשִׁים*, at the end of v. 4, repeated from v. 2 where they close the parable, and interpreted in v. 7b as the opposite of *justice* and *righteousness*, form the center of our poem ($49 + 2 + 49 = 100$ words). The image for the main charge against the accused is at the heart of the passage.

1.4 In fact, the ensuing context threatens them with adequate punishment. In order not to isolate the “Song of the Vineyard” (a) unduly from its context² we will, briefly, pay attention to its function in relation to a central section (b), the sixfold “Woe . . .” against certain vices and sins of the well-to-do in Isa 5:8–23 and to a third part of the chapter (c), leading up to the description of the invading enemy’s advancing army in v. 24–25, 26–30. An analysis in three parts, based on the hypothesis of a numerical composition technique, is worth considering.

Isaiah 5:1–30, MT: Survey of the Number of Words

a	Isa 5: 1–7:	Song of the Vineyard	100	
b	8–23:	Sixfold ‘Woe . . .’		168
c	24–30:	The advancing army	116	216 384 words

The size of the central section, 168 words,³ is equal to 6×28 (or six times the triangular number of *seven*); the sum-total of the framing sections, 216 (or 6^3) words, is equal to 6×36 , that is six times the triangular number of *eight*.⁴ The size of the entire chapter, 384 words, is equal to six times the square number of eight: $384 = 6 \times 64$. As we will discuss below, the sum-total of two adjoining triangular numbers is equal to the square of the larger one. Here we see that the organisation of the entire chapter, as evident from the above survey, shares this basic principle with the composition of the first section, v. 1–7. But let us first return to the Song, or the Parable, of the Vineyard.

² Cf. B.S. Childs, *Isaiah* (Louisville KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001) 49: “It is highly important that the chapter be read as a whole, and that vv. 1–7 and 8–30 be interpreted together.”

³ The second “Woe,” Isa 5:11–17, uses 72 words, the size of the other five “Woes” together is 96 words: $(3 \times 24) + (4 \times 24) = 7 \times 24 = 168$ words.

⁴ In section c, v. 24, 25 and 26–30 use $25 + 25 + 66$ words: two times the square number of *five*, followed by the triangular number of *eleven*.

1.5 Schedl takes the first line, v. 1a, separately and combines v. 1b–2, the “parable,” with v. 7, where it is interpreted⁵ (see Table 1A). In this way one observes that v. 7, which mentions the name YHWH, reaches the number 39. And 39, or $26 + 13$, is the sum-total of the letters of this name: $10 + 5 + 6 + 5 = 26$ plus those of the Hebrew numeral *one*, יחט , that is $1 + 8 + 4 = 13$. There is, to my mind, no doubt that sometimes this symbolism is intended; however, in this case more examples of this device from the text of Isaiah would be welcome.⁶

1.6 Table 1B on the other hand illustrates the fact that the 45 words of v. 1–2 and v. 7 together are divided over the first and final paragraphs in 28 plus 17 words—a division according to the golden ratio.⁷ 28, moreover, is a perfect number⁸ and, as noted before, the triangular number of *seven*.

In the central section, v. 3–4 and v. 5–6, the 55 words divide into 23 + 32 words, a noteworthy sequence which, as again Schedl has pointed out, may have to be associated with the so-called (small) *tetractis*.⁹

1.7 However, the main impression of the design of Isa 5:1–7 as it becomes visible in our Tables, seems to be that the Hebrew text of Isa 5:1–7 illustrates an elementary mathematical thesis: the sum of two consecutive triangular numbers is equal to the square of the larger one.¹⁰ In this particular case: the triangular numbers of *nine* and *ten* add up to the square of *ten*: $45 + 55 = 100$ words. More in general:

Numbers:	...	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	...
Triang. numbers:	...	28	36	45	55	66	78	91	105	...
Square numbers:	...	49	64	81	100	121	144	169	196	...

⁵ C. Schedl, *Baupläne des Wortes* (Vienna: Herder, 1974) 94–96, 243. Surprisingly few, if any other scholars seem to have paid attention to the numerical aspects of the Song of the Vineyard.

⁶ More suggestive, or perhaps convincing is, e.g., the arrangement of the text in Gen 41:38–40, where Pharaoh makes Joseph, “in whom is the Spirit of God,” viceroy, telling him “Since God has shown you all this . . .” In v. 38, 39, 40 one reads $11 + 15 + 13 = 26 + 13 = 39$ words.

⁷ The Fibonacci series beginning with 1, 5, 6, 11 . . . continues with 17, 28, 45 . . .

⁸ It is equal to the sum of its divisors: $1 + 2 + 4 + 7 + 14 = 28$.

⁹ Compare, e.g., Gen 15:17–18a, 18b–21, God’s covenant with Abraham: 23 words of N(arrative) followed by 32 words of D(iscourse), i.e. God’s promise. Cf. Schedl, *Baupläne*, 40–41, 49 and *passim*.

¹⁰ Cf. M.J.J. Menken, *Numerical Literary Techniques in John* (NovTSup 55; Leiden: Brill, 1985) 28, with references to Nicomachus of Gerasa, *Intr. Arithm.* II. 12 and Theon of Smyrna. For Nicomachus, see I. Thomas, *Selections Illustrating the History of Greek Mathematics* (LCL; London: Heinemann, Cambridge MA: Harvard U.P., 21951) I, 94–99.

Comparing the second and the third row one finds that the square number of n is always equal to the sum of the two adjoining triangular numbers $n-1$ and n . There is reason, as we shall see in a moment, to expand the series a little further:

Numbers:	...	15	16	17	18	19	20	...
Triangular numbers:	...	120	136	153	171	190	210	...
Square numbers:	...	225	256	289	324	361	400	...

Nowadays we have our algebra to prove the thesis just mentioned. But one may also, in the way of the “geometrical mathematics” of the ancients, use one’s pebbles, make a square—or, if you prefer, a lozenge—with a side of n elements, to be called ABCD, and count the elements contained in the triangle ABC. This is a triangle with three sides of n elements, by definition the triangular number of n . The triangle that is left, almost but not quite covering ADC, has a side of $n-1$, because the corner elements at A and C are part of the other, larger triangle ABC. And as the side of this second triangle is $n-1$, its contents form the triangular number of $n-1$. The square of n is equal to the triangular number of n plus the triangular number of $n-1$, Q.E.D.

The question now to be asked is: Do we find the elementary mathematical thesis, observed in Isa 5:1–7 and its context, *i.e.* the entire chapter 5, also in what might be called the reception history of Isaiah’s Song of the Vineyard? We will limit our investigation to part of this tradition, but, welcoming this opportunity to honour our friend Maarten Menken, we shall try to document some of our findings in a way not unfamiliar to him.

2. In the LXX version of Isa 5:1–7 there are no major textual problems. The translation provides evidence of a numerical composition technique based both on the number of words and on the number of syllables used. Table 2A shows the number of words. Apparently v. 2, the heart of the parable, is in the centre of an $a-b-c-b'-a'$ pattern. It is framed in v. 1b and v. 3 by 28 words, and once again in v. 1a and v. 4, also by 28 words. At v. 5, $\nu\delta\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\dots$, the two parts of the segment v. 1–6 conform to a proportion of *three* to *two* on a basis of twenty-eight words.

In order to understand the function of v. 7 we will study the context of the entire chapter in Table 2B.

Table 2A. Isaiah 5:1–6, 7 LXX: The Number of Words

Isa 5:1a	10				
1b		9			
2			28		
3		19	28		
4	18		28	84	
5	26				
6	30		56	56	140 words
7					27

As to the fact that v. 7 falls outside this scheme one may recall that among many illustrious commentators Vitringa (1714) divided Isa 5 in two parts: v. 1–6 and v. 7–30, for the reason that v. 7 mentions “the Lord of hosts” in the same way as v. 9, (12,) 16, 24, (25)—so from v. 7 onwards it is the prophet himself who speaks and interprets the parable.¹¹ Table 2B offers a provisional survey¹² of the entire chapter. One may note, among other things, that in v. 1–6 and 7–30 we count 140 + 525, or $(4 \times 35) + (15 \times 35)$ words, and that the sixfold “Woe . . .” in v. 8–23 uses 294 or $6 \times 49 = 6 \times 7^2$ words. The Table does not show the interesting feature that from v. 20 onwards the last three of the “Woe” oracles are composed in (v. 20) 28 + (v. 21–23) 36 = 64 words: the sum-total of the triangular numbers of *seven* and *eight* is equal to the square number of *eight*.

Table 2B. Isaiah 5 LXX: Survey of the Number of Words

Isa 5:1–6		140			[= 20 × 7]
7	27				
8–10		63			[= 9 × 7]
11–23		231			[= 33 × 7]
24–25	86				
26–30	118	231	525	665 words	[= 95 × 7]

¹¹ Campegius Vitringa, *Commentarius in Librum Prophetiarum Jesaiae* (Leovardiae: Fr. Halma, 1714) I, 108.

¹² At the end of Isa 5:29 we read, with Rahlfs (1935): ὁ ῥυόμενος αὐτούς—so \aleph BQ^{mg} etc. Cf. J. Ziegler, *Isaias* (Septuaginta . . . 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1939) 64, who prefers the short text without αὐτούς (AQ*) which agrees with the MT. His argument ‘da auch sonst A-Q den ursprünglichen Text haben’ is unconvincing.

Table 2C gives the text of Ziegler's edition (1939) and counts the number of syllables.¹³ Clearly, the translator has chosen to make a main division between v. 4 and v. 5, that is: at the second instance of "(and) now . . .", in this case νῦν δέ . . .,¹⁴ after the speaker of the parable has addressed those whom he asks for their judgment, *i.e.* the people of Judah and of Jerusalem, and before his own answer announces what he is going to do with his property.

Table 2C. Isaiah 5:1–7 LXX: The Number of Syllables

1	Ἄισω δὴ τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ ῥῆσμα τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ τῷ ἀμπελώνι μου. ἀμπελών ἐγενήθη τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ ἐν κέρατι ἐν τόπῳ πίονι.	9 13 13 10	22 23
2	καὶ φραγμὸν περιέθηκα καὶ ἐχαράκωσα καὶ ἐφύτευσα ἄμπελον σωρηχ καὶ ὠκοδόμησα πύργον ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ προλήνιον ὠρυζα ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔμεινα τοῦ ποιῆσαι σταφυλήν, ἐποίησε δὲ ἀκάνθας.	14 10 13 11 11 8	24 24 19 67 90
3	καὶ νῦν, ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Ἰουδα καὶ οἱ ἐνοικούντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ, κρίνατε ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀνά μέσον τοῦ ἀμπελώνός μου.	2 6 12 17	37
4	τί ποιήσω ἔτι τῷ ἀμπελώνι μου καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησα αὐτῷ; διότι ἔμεινα τοῦ ποιῆσαι σταφυλήν, ἐποίησε δὲ ἀκάνθας.	12 8 13 8	41 78 190
5	νῦν δὲ ἀναγγελῶ ὑμῖν τί ποιήσω τῷ ἀμπελώνι μου ἀφελῶ τὸν φραγμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσται εἰς διαρπαγὴν, καὶ καθελῶ τὸν τοίχον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσται εἰς καταπάτημα,	18 8 8 9 9	52

¹³ In Isa 5:1 J.S. Kloppenborg Verbin, "Egyptian Viticultural Practices . . .," *NovT* 44 (2002) 134–159, see p. 138, and also his monograph *The Tenants in the Vineyard* (WUNT 195; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006) 152, prints Ἄϊσω. It is difficult to see why. Cf. H.StJ. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: U.P., 1909) I, 231, 258. Ἰουδα (v. 3, 7) is counted as two syllables, Ἱερουσαλημ (v. 3) as five. There is uncertainty at this point.

¹⁴ A. Laurentin, "We'attah—Kai nun: Formule caractéristique des textes juridiques et liturgiques," *Bib* 45 (1964) 168–197, 413–432, see p. 178, mentions ἡππγ/καὶ νῦν in Isa 5:3, but, as far as I can see, not v. 5 ἡππγ/νῦν δέ. On *nun de* in general, however, see p. 169, n. 3.

Table (cont.)

6	καὶ ἀνήσω τὸν ἀμπελώνά μου	10			
	καὶ οὐ μὴ τμηθῆ οὐδὲ μὴ σκαφῆ,	10			
	καὶ ἀναβήσεται εἰς αὐτὸν ὡς εἰς χέρσον ἄκανθα	16	36		
	καὶ ταῖς νεφέλαις ἐντελοῦμαι	9			
	τοῦ μὴ βρέξαι εἰς αὐτὸν ὑετόν.	10	19	107	
7	ὁ γὰρ ἀμπελῶν κυρίου σαβαωθ οἶκος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐστίν	19			
	καὶ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Ἰουδα νεόφυτον ἠγαπημένον	16	35		
	ἔμεινα τοῦ ποιῆσαι κρίσιν, ἐποίησεν δὲ ἀνομίαν	18			
	καὶ οὐ δικαιοσύνην ἀλλὰ κραυγὴν.	11	29	64	171 361 syll.

The division at v. 4/5, used also in the design recorded in Table 2A, will raise no problems: this is a major turning point. So, observing the size of 5:1–4 (190 syll.) and of 5:5–7 (171 syll.), we state the fact that the text illustrates the thesis mentioned earlier: the square of *nineteen*, 361, or 19^2 , is the sum-total of 190, the triangular number of *nineteen* plus 171, the triangular number of *eighteen*. The answer to our question, asked at the end of 1.7 is clear: choosing v. 5 as the main division, and using his syllable technique, the LXX translator was able to apply the thesis with perfect precision.

3.1 In Mark 12:1–12, the earliest New Testament variant of the Song of the Vineyard, we use the text of N-A²⁵. We have no space for an adequate discussion of the variant in v. 9, printed as part of the text between [] in N-A^{26–27}.¹⁵ The [] indicate that the editors were not able to reach a decision on the particle οὖν, absent from BL 892* *pc* . . ., but attested in the *textus receptus* as well as in \aleph ACDWΘΨ^f¹³ . . . They may well have been in need of new and better criteria. In any case, in v. 9 we read τί ποιήσει and not τί οὖν ποιήσει¹⁶ and present a count of the number of syllables used in Mark 12:1–12. See Table 3A on the next page.

¹⁵ So earlier R.F. Weymouth, ed., *The Resultant Greek Testament* (London: James Clarke, [1886], 21905). There is no mention of the variant in B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London/New York: U.B.S., 1971, 2002). One may consult C.H. Turner, "Notes on Marcan Usage", VII (1926): (4) "Particles absent from Mark"; see J.K. Elliott, ed., *The Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark* (NovTSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 1993) 79–81.

¹⁶ J.S. Kloppenborg, "Isa 5:1–7 LXX and Mark 12:1, 9, again," *NovT* 46 (2004) 12–19, see p. 15 and *The Tenants in the Vineyard* (2006) [see note 13], 235 accepts the reading τί οὖν ποιήσει without discussing it.

Table 3A. The Parable of the Wicked Tenant-Farmers: The Number of Syllables

12:1a	13.	13	13	13	13
1b	11, 8 + 9 + 8, 10, 6.	52			
2	15, 20'	35			
3	6 + 10.	16	103		
4	14' 14.	28			
5	7' 7, 5, 5, 7.	31	59	162	
6a	6, 6'	12			
6b	12 + 4 + '9'.	25	37	37	
7	14 + 2 + '9' 9, 11'.	45			
8	10 + 14.	24	69		
9	13; 13 + 10.	36	36	105	304
10a	11'	11	11		
10b	15, 13'	28			
11	11 + 12	23	51		
12a-c	9, 9, 4 + 12.	34	34	96	
12d	9.	9	9	9	105 422 syll.

3.2 In a nutshell:

Table 3B. Mark 12:1-12, Survey of the Number of Syllables

Mark 12:1a: intro	13
1b-9: the parable	304
10-11: γρᾶφή 11 + '51':	62
12a-c: reaction + ἐπίλυσις	34 96
12d: exit	9
	+ -----
Mark 12:1-12:	22 + 400 = 422 syllables

A main body of text uses 400 syllables, the frame 22. One may distinguish N, the N(arrative), *i.e.* Mark 12:1a and 12, from D(iscourse), the spoken part, *i.e.* the parable and the quotation that follows. One will also want to apply this distinction within D: in Mark 12:1b-9 we have D^D at the end of v. 6 and in v. 7; the rest is D^N. The size of D^D is "9" + "29" = "38" syll., and D^N measures 266 syll. That is to say, for the proportions within the parable we find a formula "38" + (7 × 38) = 8 × 38 = 304 syll. Moreover, the psalm quotation in v. 10-11 is presented in 11 + "51" = 62 syll.—and one wonders: does this supplement the spoken phrases of the parable according to the golden ratio: 38 + 62 = 100 syll.?

3.3 The golden ratio may also help us to understand the proportions in the following outline, with a division between the first part of the parable, (a), *i.e.* v. 1b–5, and the dramatic moment of v. 6a, ‘He had now only one left to send: his own dear son (*or*: his only son)’—so the New English Bible (1961).

Table 3C. Mark 12:1–12, Another Survey of the Number of Syllables

Mark 12:1a		13			
1b–5	parable (a)			162	
6	(b)	28 + ‘9’ = 37	50		
7–9	(c)	105			
10–12		105	210	260	422 syllables

After the crucial event of v. 6b: “In the end he sent him . . .”, the rest of the passage uses two times 105 syllables, first to finish the parable in its section (c), and next (v. 10–12) to bring the entire dispute to its conclusion.¹⁷ The golden mean divides 422 in $260.796 + 161.204$; $260 + 162$ comes very close. As one sees: the first part of the parable, (a), giving its basic elements (v. 1b–2) and still covering the treatment of the earlier messengers (v. 3–5), forms the *minor*, and all the rest, beginning in v. 6, with the sending of the only son, forms the *major* of the composition as analyzed according to the number of syllables.

3.4 The parable has a remarkable feature in v. 6, in the words (or thought) of the only son’s father, the owner of the vineyard: “They will respect my son” (RSV, NEB). We shall call it, for a moment, v. 6d. The position of these words deserves our attention.

Table 3D. The Position of the Words Spoken in Mark 12:6

Mark 12:1a:		13			
1b–5: the parable, (a)	$52 + 51 + 59 =$	162			
6: N(arrative)	$12 + 12 + 4 =$	28	190		
D(iscourse)					« 9 »
7–9: the parable (c)	$45 + 24 + 36 =$	105			
10–12: γρᾱφῆ etc.	$62 + 34 + 9 =$	105	210	400	422 syll.

¹⁷ On 105, see above 1.7.

What is the position of v. 6d? Before, the parable uses $190 = 5 \times 38$ syll.; these are followed, in the rest of the parable, up to and including v. 9, by $9 + 105 = 114$ syll., that is 3×38 syll. So the beginning of the owner/father's words in v. 6d divides the parable, *i.e.* v. 1b–9, roughly according to the golden ratio in $(5 \times 38) + (3 \times 38)$ syllables. One will remember the use of the aliquot part of 38 syllables in the $38 (D^D) + 266 (D^N) = 304$ syllables of Mark 12:1b–9 (see above, 3.2).

3.5 Our display in Table 3D, however, places the father's consideration "They will respect my son," in a class by itself. Evidently, it is preceded and prepared by 190 syllables and followed by 210 syllables, carefully, it seems, made up of $105 + 105$ syllables in v. 7–9 and v. 10–12. A striking feature of the entire passage emerges: the square number, in this case 400 syllables (or 20^2), the size of Mark 12:1b–12 before and after but not including v. 6d, is made up of two consecutive triangular numbers: 190 is the triangular number of 19, and 210 is the triangular number of 20,—their sum is equal to the square of the larger number, *i.e.* 20. It follows that the final words of v. 6 are in a special position, which may well serve to indicate their special significance. Commentaries usually do not pay much attention.

3.6 Studying the composition of Mark 12:1–12 we should also look into Mark's use of the number of words. We have space for two observations. First, let us point out the balanced pattern of the parable in v. 1–9, dividing it at v. 1a/b and at v. 5/6.

Mark 12:1–12: Number of words

Mark 12:1a,	1b,	2,	3–4,	5,	6,	7–8,	9.	
Words: 6								= 6
	18	18	18	14				= 68
					16	30	16	= 62 136

The first section of the parable, (a), v. 1b–5, uses 68 words, *i.e.* half of the sum-total, neatly arranged. The second half, v. 6–9, starting with ἔτι ἐνα εἶχεν . . ., adds 62 words in a symmetrical disposition. At this point we may remind ourselves that the letter value of the word *ὄϊς* according to the letters' position in the alphabet, is: $20 + 9 + 15 + 18 = 62$.

3.7 Second: the position of the owner's expectation in Mark 12:6: "They will respect my son" is, again, worth our attention. The full size of Mark 12:1b-12 is 175 words. Our next chart shows the position of v. 6b... λέγων ὅτι ἐντραπήσονται τὸν υἱὸν μου.

The position of the owner's thought concerning his only son in Mark 12:6

Table 4. Mark 12:1-12, The Number of Words

Mark 12:1b-5		68			
6a	ἔτι... ἀγαπητόν	5			
6b	ἀπέστειλεν... αὐτούς	5	10	78	
	λέγων... υἱὸν μου				6
7-9			46		
10-12			45	91	169
					175 words

We find the phrase after 78 words of the parable, and there are 91 words to follow. 78 and 91 are the triangular numbers of twelve and thirteen, and the 6 words in special position are framed by 169 words;—and 169 is 13^2 . The special feature found in the syllable composition (see Table 3D) is present here also, though on a different scale and with a slightly larger central element: in addition to the four words of direct discourse the two preceding words λέγων ὅτι are now included.

4.1 Let us compare the parallel versions of the parable of the Wicked Tenants in Matthew and Luke. At the end of the parable Luke follows Mark closely, see Luke 20:15b: "What then will the owner of the vineyard do to them?"—a question answered by the speaker himself in v. 16a: the consequences will be disastrous. But in 20:16bc Luke adds the hearers' reaction: "When the people heard this, they said, 'God forbid!'" (NIV). So far, Luke's parable has used $100 + 24 = 124$ words, so divided over N(arrative) and D(iscourse) as well as sequentially.¹⁸

¹⁸ In Luke 20:9 N-A²⁶⁻²⁷ print ἄνθρωπός [τις]. The extra word τις adapts the text to the more frequently used expression elsewhere in Luke and should not be accepted.

Table 5. Luke 20:9b-16, The Number of Words

Luke 20:9b-15a	D ^N	D ^D	D ^D	Sum-total	
	78	22		100	
15b-16a	19	–	19		
16bc	3 [100]	2 [24]	5	24	124 words

4.2 In Matthew, the hearers react directly to the question of the landowner and answer it themselves, even expanding the words he uses about the future disaster in Mark (and Luke). But while Luke—see Table 5—rounds off a first section of 124 words with the listeners' reaction to the answer, that is, with Luke 20:16c: ... μὴ γένοιτο, Matthew does so before the direct answer they give, *i.e.* before Matt 21:41 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· κακούς κακῶς...), having them, as it were, pronounce the verdict themselves.

In Table 6A one finds the evidence for the early part of the parable in Matthew, Table 6B shows the proportions within the larger context of Matt 21:33-43.

Table 6A. Matt 21:33b-40, The Number of Words

Matt 21:33bc	D ^N 24	D ^D	Sum-total 24		
34-36	45	–	45		
37-40	39 [108]	16 [16]	55	100	124 words

Both Matthew and Luke's versions of the parable begin with a segment of 124 words, but instead of Luke's 100 + 24 we find 24 + 100 words in Matthew. In Mark we had reason to mention the ψῆφος of the word υἱός—see 3.6. Considering that both the other two evangelists show a preference for a (sub)section of 124 words, that is two times 62, one wonders: did they all have a special reason for using this number?¹⁹

¹⁹ When Peter in Matt 16:13-14, 15-16 states his view on Jesus as “the Son of the living God,” this takes 84 + 40 = 124 syllables. The annunciation to Joseph, Matt 1:18-25, is also a case in point. See the ‘Coda’, below, 6-10.

Table 6B. Matt 21:33–43, The Number of Words

Matt 21:33a, b–d	3	24		
34–40			100	
41	21	24	48	
42–43			48	196 words

After the parable and its climax, the condemnation in v. 41, we have, in v. 42, the reference to Psalm 117 (118), quoted in 20 words just as in Mark, and (v. 43) the prediction concerning the “kingdom of God” that will be given to others, in $29 + 19 = 48$ words, balancing the earlier $24 + 24 = 48$ words that frame the central part of the parable, v. 34–40. The 196 words of this section, we may add in passing, supplement the 104 ($52 + 52$) words of Matt 21:28–31a, 31b–32, the “parable of the two sons,” and are followed, in Matt 21:44–22:46, by 700 words: Matt 21:28–22:46 forms a large complex of $300 + 700 = 1000$ words.²⁰

4.3 For the moment, however, the interesting feature of Matthew’s design of the parable is the fact shown in Table 6A: the central part is made up of $45 + 55 = 100$ words, two consecutive triangular numbers adding up to the square of the larger one.

Luke’s version of the parable divides the 100 words of v. 11–15a at v. 9/10 and at v. 12/13. The middle part, v. 10–12, dealing with the tenants’ maltreatment of the first three messengers, uses 45 words, and these are framed in v. 9b and v. 13–15a by $11 + 44 = 55$ words: the same result, achieved in a somewhat different way.

5. We are now in a position to answer the question of 1.7: do we find the elementary mathematical thesis, observed in the composition of the Song of the Vineyard, Isa 5:1–7 MT, also in the elements of its “reception history”? Time and again the answer is: yes. It is found in the LXX and in three gospels.

It is too early to say anything on the obvious question whether the fact that our authors, in several different ways, combined two consecutive triangular numbers so as to form the square of the base of the larger one, is perhaps due to a specific influence of the passage in Isaiah. We do not

²⁰ The textual details cannot now be discussed in the way they deserve.

know how widespread the use of this device may have been.²¹ However, the similarities we found at this point between the source text and its New Testament variations remain impressive.

Coda: Concerning the Composition of Matt 1:18b–25

6.

Chart A. The Number of Syllables

Matt 1:18	13.	13	13	13
	15, 7 + 9 + 7.	38		
19	8, 4 + 10, 12.	34	72	72
20	10, 16 + 2'	28		
	« 6, 16' 17.	39		
21	6, 12' 10 + 9. »	37	104	
22	8 + 13 + 9'	30		
23	« 11 + 6, 11 + 4,	32		
	10 + 6. »	16	78	182
24	12 + 18 + 11,	41		
25	8 + 8'	16		
	13.	13	70	70
				324 syll.

7.

Chart B. Matt 1:18b-25: The Number of Syllables in N(arrative) and D(iscourse)

Matt 1:18bc	N 38	N	D	D	Sum-total
19	34				
20a	28	100			
b–d			39		
21a			6		
b			12		
c			19	76	

²¹ The following survey of the verbal forms used in Mark 11:1–25 is worth our attention.

Mark 11:1–10	N 16	D 18	Sum-total 34
11–19	32	4	36
20–25	7	23	30
Mark 11:1–25	55	45	100 verbal forms

Chart B (*cont.*)

Matt 1:18bc	N 38	N	D	D	Sum-total
22	30				
23			17 + 31	48	
24–25	70	100			
Matt 1:18b–25		200	+	124 =	324 syll.

8. The text is NA^{26–27}.

9.1 Matthew's story on the annunciation of the birth of Jesus to Joseph in Matt 1:18b–25, as documented in our Charts A and notably B, is strictly organized in such a way that one may—in modern terminology—consider the Fibonacci sequence beginning with 2, 5... as its basis. The sequence continues with ... 7, 12, 19, 31, 50, 81, and these terms are all in clear evidence, if one realizes that the values found in our Charts, 28, 48, 76, 124, 200 and 324 are equal to these terms, multiplied by *four*.²²

9.2 For 28 syllables, see the introduction to the angel's words in 1:20a; for 48 syllables, see v. 23; 76 syllables is the size of the angel's message in v. 20b–21. As to the bottom row of Chart B: the golden mean of the sum-total, 324 syllables, falls at 200.232 and 123.768, when one uses $\varphi = 0.618$, and more simply at 200 + 124 in the Fibonacci sequence just mentioned; the distribution over N(arrative) and D(iscourse) is 200 + 124 syllables.

9.3 The words spoken by the angel in Matt 1:20b–21 are preceded by 100 syllables. The prophecy quoted and partly translated in v. 23 is introduced in v. 22 by 30 syllables, and v. 24–25 conclude the episode in 70 syllables: once more 100 syllables. That is to say: the N-part of the story, measuring 200 syllables, is divided into 100 + 100 syllables.

9.4 In the spoken parts there is a small but striking contrast between *καλέσεις* in the angel's command (v. 21) and *καλέσουσιν* in the prophecy from Isa 7:14 quoted in v. 23.²³ There is also a noteworthy similarity: as Chart A tells us, in v. 21a and v. 23a the phrases *τέξεται δὲ υἷόν* and *καὶ*

²² Compare the sequences numbered A 001060 and A 013655 in N.J.A. Sloane's On-Line Encyclopedia of Integer Sequences.

²³ See M.J.J. Menken, *Matthew's Bible* (BETL 173; Leuven: University Press/Peeters, 2004) 117–131.

τέξεται υἰόν are each followed by 31 syllables: $12 + 10 + 9 = 31$ syllables in v. 21 and $11 + 4, 10 + 6 = 31$ syllables in v. 23. The internal proportions within the spoken parts of the pericope can be shown as follows:

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{The angel: v. 20b–21a, 21bc:} \quad 45 + 31 = 76 \\ \text{The prophet: v. 23a, 23b:} \quad 17 + 31 = 48 \\ \hline \phantom{\text{The prophet: v. 23a, 23b:}} \quad + \\ \phantom{\text{The prophet: v. 23a, 23b:}} \quad 62 + 62 = 124 \text{ syllables.} \end{array}$$

Earlier it was mentioned that in Mark 12:6–9 the use of the number 62 suits the number value of the word υἰός, calculated according to the position of its letters in the alphabet.²⁴ Whether the evangelists were aware of this ψῆφος and had any intention of giving, in this way, their text any sort of “deeper” meaning, we will never know. However, the significance of the pericope concerning the announcement of the birth of the ‘son’ in Matthew’s gospel as a whole cannot easily be overestimated. So the possibility should not be overlooked.

10. It is fair to conclude from these data that the author studied every detail of this passage most carefully when he composed it. Now an eminent scholar has extensively argued that Matthew probably was *not* the person responsible for the reading καλέσουσιν (instead of καλέσεις in the LXX) in 1:23b,—a difficult task anyway.²⁵ In our display showing the proportions in the D-part of the episode (9.4) it is essential that v. 21bc and v. 23b both use exactly 31 syllables. So there is this small problem: would not Matthew have realized that only the non-LXX reading καλέσουσιν fits the pattern of $31 + 31 = 62$ syllables of which v. 23b is part? He had a strong motive: the matchless precision of his composition, and he had the opportunity. Are we sure: just in case his Isaiah text had the LXX reading καλέσεις—would he have resisted the desire and the necessity of improving on it?²⁶

²⁴ Above, 3.6.

²⁵ Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 126–131.

²⁶ I am grateful to Dr S.P. Brock of Oxford, UK, who kindly checked and corrected the English of this contribution.

THE FUNCTION OF THE TWO QUOTATIONS
FROM ISAIAH IN LUKE 3-4

Joop Smit

In the two-volume work of Luke, the prophet Isaiah plays an important role. Besides a number of allusions, we find in Luke-Acts seven places where Luke unmistakably quotes this prophet.¹ These quotations mark without exception important turning-points in the story. They are the beginning of the preaching of John the Baptist (Luke 3:4-6; Isa 40:3-5), the beginning of the ministry of Jesus (Luke 4:18-19; Isa 61:1-2 and 58:6), the beginning of the passion (Luke 22:37; Isa 53:12), the conclusion of the speech of Stephen (Acts 7:49-50; Isa 66:1-2), the beginning of the proclamation among the gentiles (Acts 8:32-33; Isa 53:7-8), the conclusion of Paul's preaching in Antioch of Pisidia (Acts 13:47; Isa 49:6) and the conclusion of Acts itself (Acts 28:26-27; Isa 6:9-10).

According to Luke, God has made his plan known to deliver his people from of old "by mouth of his holy prophets" (1:70). Among these prophets, Isaiah is for him without doubt the most important one.² The quotations indicate that, for Luke, the book of Isaiah is a kind of charter in which God has stated in writing in advance his purpose to save Israel and the nations. In this respect it is remarkable that Luke at the beginning of the preaching of John the Baptist and also at the beginning of Jesus' ministry explicitly states that he quotes from the book of the prophet Isaiah (3:4; 4:17). These quotations stand out because their origin is explicitly mentioned and also because they are introduced at such important moments. The similar introductory formula and the comparable exposed position at the beginning of the ministry of the two protagonists also connect them with each other. Therefore, in this article I intend to answer the following two questions: how do these quotations relate to each other and what function do they fulfil in the layout of Luke's story.³

¹ For a survey of Luke's use of Isaiah see J.A. Sanders, "Isaiah in Luke," *Int* 36 (1982) 150; B.J. Koet, "Isaiah in Luke-Acts," in *Isaiah in the New Testament* (ed. S. Moyise and M.J.J. Menken; London/New York: Clark, 2005) 79-100.

² In this respect also the quotation from Joel 3:1-5 in Acts 2:17-20 is significant.

³ For the important function which quotations and allusions from the Old Testament fulfil in Luke-Acts see R. Tannehill, "Israel in Luke-Acts," *JBL* 104 (1985) 69-70.

Comparison

The Similarities

The two quotations from Isaiah in Luke 3:4–6 and 4:18–19 show many similarities. Therefore, they may easily be compared. The following survey gives evidence of this.

The Presentation of the Quotation

The origin of both quotations is stated in the same terms:

“as it is written in the sayings of the book of the prophet Isaiah” (3:4)
 “the book of the prophet Isaiah . . . where it is written” (4:17)

The Structure of the Quotation

Each of the two quotations consists of three similar parts:

- First the messenger is presented:

“A voice cries in the wilderness” (3:4)
 “The spirit of the Lord has been given to me” (4:19)

- Then follows his message:

“Prepare a way for the Lord etc.” (3:4–5)
 “to bring the good news to the poor etc.” (4:18)

- Finally the aim of the message is stated:

“and all mankind shall see the salvation of God” (3:6)
 “to proclaim the Lord’s year of favour” (4:19)

The Structure of the Message

In both quotations the message consists of a threefold, synthetic parallelism. The first part has the character of a summary. It is elaborated in the two following parts:

“Prepare a way for the Lord, make his paths straight” (3:4)

is elaborated in Luke 3:5.

“He has sent me to bring good news to the poor” (4:18b)

is elaborated further in Luke 4:18cd.⁴

The Position of the Key Terms

In both quotations the message is surrounded by two key terms:

“Prepare (ἐτοιμάσατε) . . . the salvation of God (τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ)”
 “to bring good news (εὐαγγελίσασθαι) . . . the Lord’s year of favour (ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτόν)”

The Differences

The structure of both quotations exhibits the same pattern. In this respect they form a parallel. This similarity highlights the differences which mark each one of the two quotations. An overview of these differences is now given.

The Presentation of the Quotation

In Luke 3:4–6 Luke interrupts his story on the preaching of John the Baptist to insert a quotation from the prophet Isaiah, which he applies to John.

In Luke 4:18–19 the quotation from the prophet Isaiah forms the center of a separate scene in which Jesus publicly reads the passage concerned and then emphatically applies it to himself: “This text is being fulfilled today even as you listen” (4:21). The importance of the quotation is enhanced by the special framework in which it is set. The introduction to and the winding up of the reading form an inclusion around the text of Isaiah: Jesus stood up—they handed him the scroll—he unrolled it, and after the reading of the text: he rolled it up—he gave it back—he sat down (4:16–17, 20).⁵

⁴ See R. Albertz, “Die ‘Antrittspredigt’ Jesu im Lukasevangelium auf ihrem Alttestamentlichen Hintergrund,” *ZNW* 74 (1983) 187.

⁵ For this inclusion see B.J. Koet, *Five Studies on Interpretation of Scripture in Luke-Acts* (Leuven: Peeters, 1989) 27–28; J.B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997) 209.

The Messenger

In Luke 3:4 Luke presents John the Baptist as a prophet who prepares the way for another person who is more important than himself: the lord. With the title lord undoubtedly God is meant. However, the text is ambiguous. In Luke 1:43; 2:11 also Jesus is called lord and therefore he qualifies for this title here too.⁶ So John has the function of preparing the coming not only of God but also of Jesus, the Lord on whom the entire story turns.

In Luke 4:18a Jesus presents himself with the words: “The spirit of God has been given to me” as a prophet, but also as more than that. In the light of his preceding baptism in Luke 3:21–22 he qualifies himself with these words also as son of God.⁷ Moreover, by adding: “for he has anointed me” he introduces himself as the anointed one, the christ, the messiah (cf. Luke 2:11, 26).⁸

The Message

In the quotation relating to John the message consists of an urgent appeal for a change of behaviour to thereby prepare the coming of the Lord (3:4–5). In fact the future tenses function as imperatives.⁹ The various exhortations are connected with each other by a repeated ‘and’ (*polysyndeton*). In view of the context the preparation of the roads should be taken in a metaphorical sense as an appeal to conversion (cf. 3:3, 7–14).

In the quotation relating to Jesus the message consists of a proclamation of deliverance and forgiveness (ἄφεσις).¹⁰ The infinitives define the saving action for which the messenger is sent. They are enumerated successively (*asyndeton*).

⁶ This ambiguity of the title lord in Luke 3:4 is remarked among others by R. Laurentin, *Structure et Théologie de Luc I–II* (Paris: Gabalda, 1957) 38–42; Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 171; C.G. Müller, *Mehr als ein Prophet: Die Charakterisierung Johannes des Täufers im lukanischen Erzählwerk* (Herders Biblische Studien 31; Freiburg: Herder, 2001) 167.

⁷ So also R.C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation* (Volume 1: *The Gospel according to Luke*; Philadelphia PA: Fortress, 1986) 58; Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 207.

⁸ Scholars disagree about the precise meaning of the title messiah in this context, see: J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke I–IX: Introduction, Translation and Notes* (AB 28; Garden City NY: Doubleday, 1981) 530; J. Nolland, *Luke 1–9:20* (WBC 35A; Dallas TX: Word Books, 1989) 196.

⁹ See F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, Translated and revised by R.W. Funk* (Chicago IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1961) 183.

¹⁰ The double sense of ἄφεσις is explained by Nolland, *Luke 1–9:20*, 197; Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 210–213.

The Purpose of the Message

In the quotation relating to John the message is a preparation of the saving action of God which still lies in the future: “and all mankind shall see the salvation of God” (3:6).

In the quotation relating to Jesus the message forms the beginning of God’s saving action. The message is “the proclamation of the Lord’s year of favour,” and by way of this proclamation this year at the same time breaks in. For, as Jesus himself confirms: “today is the time of fulfilment” (4:21).

This comparison between the two quotations in Luke 3:4–6 and 4:18–19 shows that they are adapted to one another. Their connection is one of surpassing parallelism. On the one hand John as well as Jesus are announced by Isaiah as prophets whose task it is to proclaim the salvation of God. And on the other hand, John is the prophet who by his preaching prepares the coming of the Lord, i.e. of God and of Jesus, whereas Jesus is the son of God and the messiah who by his proclamation brings God’s salvation into effect.

The special correspondence between the two quotations from Isaiah which Luke connects with John and Jesus evokes the question whether this is an isolated phenomenon or that it forms part of a larger comparison between John and Jesus which encompasses more than this instance alone. To be able to determine the function of the two quotations we should first look more closely into this question.

John and Jesus in Luke 1–2

It is generally recognised that Luke arranges his material on John and Jesus in Luke 1–2 into two diptychs and that he, in doing so, applies the pattern of surpassing parallelism.¹¹ The first diptych contains the announcements of the births of the two principal characters (1:5–38). The second diptych tells the events surrounding their births (1:57–2:40). According to the most current opinion each diptych is still followed by a complementary episode (1:39–56; 2:41–52).¹²

¹¹ For a survey of a number of analyses of Luke 1–2 see R.E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke* (Garden City NY: Doubleday, 1977) 248–249. M. Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium* (HNT 5; Tübingen: Mohr, 2008) rejects the current opinion that Luke 1–2 has been composed in the form of diptychs.

¹² We find this division among others in Laurentin, *Luc I–II*, 32–33; Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke I–IX*, 313–314.

In my view this division of Luke 1–2 is very plausible. However, I make a restriction with regard to the two so-called complementary episodes. My proposal is to include these episodes in the panels which deal with the course of life of Jesus. The first episode is the visit of Mary to Elisabeth (1:39–56). This visit links up with the announcement of Jesus' birth directly preceding it. At that announcement as well as at the following visit Mary remains the principal character. In addition, Elisabeth praises Mary because she believes that the promise which the angel has given her in the preceding scene will be fulfilled. The second episode is the appearance of the twelve year old Jesus in the temple (2:41–52). This appearance links up with the reception of Jesus in the temple immediately preceding it. The place of action remains the temple in Jerusalem. As Simeon has predicted in the former passage, in this episode Mary is gravely pained by the conduct of Jesus. Besides, this scene illustrates the summary on Jesus' growing up which directly precedes it (2:40) and which at the end is repeated by way of conclusion (2:52). This leads to the following division of Luke 1–2.

I	Announcement of the birth of John (1:5–25)	Announcement of the birth of Jesus (1:26–38, 39–56)
II	John's birth (1:57–58)	Jesus' birth (2:1–20)
	circumcision and naming (1:59–66)	circumcision and naming (2:21)
	manifestation (1:67–79)	manifestation (2:22–39)
	growing up (1:80)	growing up (2:40–52)

By arranging his material in such a manner, Luke invites his readers to compare John and Jesus with each other. He uses the rhetorical technique of *synkrisis*.¹³ The similarities between John and Jesus show that both will be great messengers of God (1:15, 32). The differences prove that Jesus, the son of the Most High, is much greater than John, the prophet of the Most High (1:32, 76). Their relationship is one of surpassing parallelism. This is also expressed by the sequence in which they are introduced: John precedes Jesus as his precursor. Moreover, much more verses are dedicated to Jesus than to John.¹⁴

¹³ Müller, *Mehr als ein Prophet*, 49–58 gives a survey of the theory and the practical use of *synkrisis* in the literature of Classical Antiquity.

¹⁴ The surpassing parallelism between John and Jesus is noticed by many authors among whom Nolland, *Luke 1–9:20*, 13, 37; Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke I–IX*, 315; Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 51.

In the first diptych the parallel between John and Jesus cannot be missed. The announcements of their births follow an identical pattern (1:5–25, 26–38). In the second diptych the parallel is less strict. But for readers who by the two birth announcements have been induced to compare the two storylines, the parallel course of events during and shortly after the births of John and Jesus is clearly recognisable. So in the whole of Luke 1–2 Luke uses the pattern of surpassing parallelism between John and Jesus. In the case of the two quotations from Isaiah we did find the same pattern (3:4–6; 4:18–19).

John and Jesus in Luke 3–4

Coming from Luke 1–2 the reader is inclined to pursue further the parallel between John and Jesus and to continue comparing the two.¹⁵ Fact, however, is that henceforth, when John and Jesus become active, the similarity between their careers is far less obvious. So current opinion holds that from Luke 3 onwards the series of similar scenes of Luke 1–2 gives way to a number of detached parallel elements.¹⁶ My conviction is that the similarity between John and Jesus in Luke 3–4 is more substantial than is usually assumed. According to my view, especially Luke 3:1–4:30 shows the contours of a third diptych.

With the list of names of authorities in Luke 3:1–2 a new episode in the story begins. By means of this list, Luke sketches the political situation in which first John and after him also Jesus take action. The remark: “the word of God came to John, son of Zechariah, in the wilderness (ἐρημος)” (3:2) puts us on the track of a new parallel. From Luke 3:21 onwards Luke mentions with regard to Jesus three corresponding elements: firstly, the Holy Spirit descends on him, then follows his genealogy as the son of Joseph and after that driven by the Spirit, he sets out for the wilderness (ἐρημος). When we follow this track we discover the following parallel:

¹⁵ This is pointed out by J.A. Darr, *Herod the Fox, Audience Criticism and Lukan Characterization* (JSNTSup 163; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) 152.

¹⁶ Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah*, 239–241 argues that Luke 1–2 is relatively independent of Luke 3. He does notice however (250, n. 44) for Luke 3–4 a number of resemblances between John and Jesus. C.H. Talbert, “Prophecies of Future Greatness: The Contribution of Greco-Roman Biographies to an Understanding of Luke 1:5–4:15,” in *The Divine Helmsman: Studies on God’s Control of Human Events, Presented to Lou H. Silberman* (ed. J.L. Crenshaw and S. Sandmel; New York: Ktav, 1980) 129–130 in his turn argues that Luke 1:5–4:15 forms a coherent unit. Müller, *Mehr als ein Prophet*, 80 n. 30 mentions a number of authors who hold that the parallel between John and Jesus after Luke 1–2 still continues in Luke 3–4. This is also the opinion of Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 49.

<i>The ministry of John (3:1–20)</i>	<i>Beginning of the ministry of Jesus (3:21–4:30)</i>
• The political situation	• The political situation
The leading figures (3:1–2)	The leading figures (3:1–2)
• The mission	• The mission
The word of God came to John (3:2)	The Holy Spirit descends on Jesus (3:21–22)
• The identity	• The identity
The son of Zechariah (3:2)	The son of Joseph . . . son of God (3:23–37) ¹⁷
• The place of action	• The place of action
The wilderness (3:2)	The wilderness (4:1–13)
• Place of first preaching	• Place of first preaching
In all the region of the Jordan (3:3)	In Galilee, in all the region (4:14–15)
• Quotation from the book of Isaiah	• Quotation from the book of Isaiah
A prophet who calls up to prepare the way of the Lord (3:4–6)	A prophet who proclaims the good news (4:18–19)
• Rejection of exclusive rights	• Rejection of exclusive rights
Do not say: we have Abraham for our father (πατήρ; 3:7–9)	Do not say: Physician, heal yourself. Do the same here in your own home town (πατρις; 4:23–27) ¹⁸
• Status	• Status
John is not the messiah (3:15–17)	Jesus is the messiah (4:18)
• Negative reaction	• Negative reaction
Herod shuts John up in prison (3:19–20)	Nazareth tries to kill Jesus (4:29–30)

In my opinion the similarities which this survey shows are sufficient to consider also Luke 3:1–20 and 3:21–4:30 as a diptych. Because the beginning of Jesus' ministry is much more elaborated than the entire preaching of John preceding it, the two panels are not balanced well. Besides, John's preaching also offers a preview of the entire ministry of Jesus. Especially his social message (3:10–14) is found again throughout the further story of Jesus.

These findings regarding the structure of Luke 1–4 justify the following conclusion. The two quotations from Isaiah in Luke 3:4–6 and 4:18–19 form

¹⁷ This parallel is pointed out by Müller, *Mehr als ein Prophet*, 81.

¹⁸ Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts 1*, 70 also notices this parallel.

part of a threefold comparison which Luke in 1:5-4:30 arranges between John and Jesus. They reflect the pattern of surpassing parallelism between the two protagonists, which Luke elaborates in each of the three diptychs. Now we shall look more closely into the function which both quotations fulfil in this wider context.

The Expectations in Luke 1-2

The announcements in Luke 1-2 of the births of John and Jesus and also their births themselves give rise to great expectations about their future careers. These prospects regard the overall plan in which they will perform their tasks as well as the roles they will fulfil. First of all we now chart these expectations. After that we shall examine how both quotations from Isaiah relate to these expectations.

The Plan

The plan within which John and Jesus will be active is God's purpose to save his people Israel (1:46-55, 68-75).¹⁹ He, the God of Israel, "has come to the help of Israel his servant" (1:54). In doing so he sticks to "the oath he swore to our father Abraham" (1:73 cf. 1:55) and to the promise which he made known "by the mouth of his holy prophets from ancient times" (1:70). The intended salvation consists of a social revolution (1:51-53) as well as of a political liberation (1:68-75).

The Roles

To execute his plan God causes two children to be born. The task to be a prophet is assigned to John and as such to call the children of Israel to conversion. He "shall be called prophet of the Most High" (1:76). He has to go before the Lord to prepare (ἐτοιμάσαι) "a people fit for the Lord," respectively "his ways" (1:15-17, 76-79). The Lord before whom he will go is undoubtedly God. The fact that Jesus is also twice called Lord makes this ambiguous (1:43; 2:11). This means that John will also be the precursor, who prepares the way for Jesus.

Jesus "will be called son of the Most High" (1:32, 35). He is the messiah from the house of David (2:11), whose task it will be to take "the throne

¹⁹ Compare Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 52.

of his ancestor David” and to be king over “the house of Jacob” (1:32–33 cf. 1:69). Next to God, also Jesus is the Lord for whom John will prepare the way.

The Destination of God's Plan

At first the salvation announced appears to be destined for Israel only.²⁰ The plan originates with the God of Israel and the tasks assigned to the intended executors are focused especially on the people of Israel. The promises made to “our ancestors,” Abraham and David, will now be fulfilled (1:72).

In this respect, Simeon’s announcement forms a great surprise (2:29–32).²¹ For this breaks open the preceding Jewish exclusivity. In the exclusive Jewish context of temple and commandments of the Law he, “an upright and devout man who looked forward to Israel’s comforting,” nevertheless foresees that Jesus, “the messiah of the Lord,” will bring God’s salvation to all nations, to the gentiles as well as to his people Israel. Here, within this pronounced Jewish setting, the scope of God’s plan of salvation is unexpectedly widened. Thereby, nothing is taken back from the promises given earlier to Israel. Israel is God’s people and remains the first for whom this salvation is destined. In this regard also Simeon’s second announcement is of great importance in view of the future. “You see this child: he is destined for the fall and for the rising of many in Israel, destined to be a sign that is rejected” (2:34). In my opinion, this second prediction of Simeon is closely connected to the first one.²² The universal salvation will be attended by a dark shadow. The opening to the gentiles will be contested in Israel and many will resist it as a violation of their exclusive right.

The Function of the Quotations

Against the background of the expectations regarding John and Jesus which have been made known in Luke 1–2, we now elaborate further the

²⁰ See Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 88.

²¹ See Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke I–IX*, 422; Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts 1*, 37.

²² So also Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts 1*, 42. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 150 does not connect the two predictions of Simeon with each other.

meaning of the two quotations from Isaiah with which Luke introduces their ministries.

Isaiah on John

There is good reason why Luke explicitly ascribes to Isaiah the quotation which he introduces at the beginning of John's preaching: "as it is written in the sayings of the prophet Isaiah" (3:4). From of old, through the prophet Isaiah God has stated in writing his plan to save Israel and the nations. By quoting from his book Luke invests the following preaching of John with divine legitimation. This ministry does not happen by chance. The quotation makes it part of the plan that God has made known from of old through the prophet and within which John now fulfils the role assigned to him.

The qualification of John as "a voice crying in the wilderness" (3:4) corresponds with the announcement that he "shall be called prophet of the Most High" who waits in the wilderness for the moment of his appearance (2:76, 80).

The description of his message as "Prepare (ἐτοιμάσατε) the way of the Lord, make his paths straight" (3:4) matches with his task to go before the Lord, respectively God and Jesus, and to prepare their paths (ἐτοιμάσαι) (1:17, 76).²³ The elaboration of the metaphor of the way of life (3:5) concurs with the preaching of conversion which has been assigned to him already at the announcement of his birth (1:16–17).

Finally the quotation places the preaching of John in an universal perspective: "and all mankind shall see the salvation of God" (3:6). This perspective goes along with the destination of God's salvation for all nations, Israel and the gentiles, which Simeon has announced with foresight (2:30–32). Simeon sees Jesus as "your (God's) salvation" (2:30). That John by his preaching prepares "the salvation of God" shows once again that he is the precursor of Jesus. Interesting in this respect is also that John directly after the quotation from Isaiah protests against the exclusive view as if the salvation should be destined only for the children of Abraham (3:7–8). This agrees with the warning of Simeon that Jesus will be a sign that is rejected, for that through him many in Israel will fall or rise (2:34).

²³ The Lord in Luke 3:4 may be referred also to Jesus while τὰς τρίβους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν of the LXX has been replaced by τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ. We find this change also in Mark 1:3; Matt 3:3.

The quotation from Isaiah in Luke 3:4–6 establishes a connection between the expectations which have been expressed about John as a child and his appearance in Luke 3:1–20. The quotation confirms that the earlier expectations are now being fulfilled by his preaching. By way of this quotation Luke provides John's preaching with a double legitimation. On the one hand his ministry agrees with the expectations at his birth which were inspired by God. On the other hand it corresponds also with the plan of salvation which God caused Isaiah to write down beforehand and with the role which God reserved for him in that plan.

Isaiah on Jesus

What holds for John, also holds for Jesus. In his case too Luke explicitly mentions that the quotation which he reads at the beginning of his ministry comes from "the book of the prophet Isaiah." By expanding the scene in which Jesus publicly reads it, Luke bestows added relief to this quotation (4:17, 20). After the preaching of John, now, also the ministry of Jesus becomes part of the plan of salvation which God has stated in writing through the prophet Isaiah. By means of this quotation which Jesus reads and subsequently applies to himself Luke endows his ministry with a divine legitimation. Both John and Jesus form part of the same plan of salvation which God from of old has revealed through the prophet Isaiah.

Jesus presents himself by means of the first line of the quotation: "The Spirit of the Lord has been given to me, for he has anointed me" (4:18). In view of the sentence that a prophet is never accepted in his own country and the examples of Elijah and Elisha (4:24–27) Jesus qualifies himself with these words as a prophet.²⁴ The addition: "for he has anointed me" further suggests that he is the messiah. Herewith, he confirms the status of messiah which was conferred upon him already at his birth (2:11, 26). It is characteristic for the relationship between John and Jesus that the Baptist earlier in the story has rejected this qualification for himself (3:15–17). However, with the words "The Spirit of the Lord has been given to me" Jesus presents himself first of all as son of God. This evidently follows from his baptism, during which the Holy Spirit descended on him and a voice from heaven declared: "You are my son, the beloved" (3:21–22).²⁵ This is

²⁴ See L.T. Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke* (SP 3; Collegeville MN: The Liturgical, 1991) 81.

²⁵ This connection between Luke 3:21–22 and 4:18 is often noticed. See among others Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke I–IX*, 529; Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts 1*, 58; Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 207.

in accordance with the revelation of the angel at the announcement of his birth that he would be called “son of the Most High” and “son of God” (1:32, 35). After John, the precursor who prepared the way of the Lord, now the Lord in person enters the scene.

The description of Jesus’ mission “to bring the good news to the poor” and the ensuing elaboration of it (4:18) may be taken in a material as well as in a spiritual sense. This also holds for the central notion of liberation (ἄφεσις) which may refer to remission of debts as well as to remission of sins. Probably both meanings are valid here. The responsibility of the rich for the poor and also the duty of the righteous to go to table together with the sinners are themes which dominate the further career of Jesus in Luke. This mission realises the social revolution and also the remission of sins which Mary and Zechariah have set in prospect (1:51–53, 77). John’s preparatory work (ἑτοιμάσατε) actually gives way to the proclamation of the good news (εὐαγγελίσασθαι) that God’s deliverance begins now.

The conclusion: “to proclaim the Lord’s year of favour” (4:19) implies that now, in the ministry of Jesus, God’s salvation is breaking in. As announced by John, this salvation has a universal scope (3:6). That this also holds for Jesus’ ministry is shown in particular by his genealogy (3:23–38). In my opinion, this succession of names does not regard so much Jesus’ origin as his destination. Indications supporting this interpretation are the position of the genealogy immediately after Jesus’ mission and also the ascending line in which it progresses. The list of names climbs from the putative son of Joseph through David and Abraham up to Adam and God. In this manner next to Israel all mankind comes into view. As son of David (cf. 1:27, 32, 69; 2:4, 11) and son of Abraham (cf. 1:55, 73; 3:8) Jesus is destined for Israel, but as son of Adam he is also sent to all Adam’s children. That is the universal mission he has as son of God.²⁶

There is still a second indication that the Lord’s year of favour, which Jesus proclaims, has a universal scope. In this respect the second part of his preaching in Nazareth is significant (4:22–30). To Jesus’ reading of Isaiah his fellow villagers react with the question: “Is not this Joseph’s son?” By way of this question they claim him as a matter of course for themselves. Jesus protests against this. As a prophet he is not sent exclusively to his native village Nazareth nor to his fatherland Israel, but also to the gentiles outside of Israel. This breeds bad feelings with his fellow villagers

²⁶ For a similar interpretation of the genealogy see Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, 72; Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium*, 177.

who feel that he attacks the right they have on him. They now demand back, by force, his life that he received from them among whom he has been brought up (4:16). As son of God Jesus proclaims a universal year of the Lord's favour. Hereby he begins to realise the universal salvation which Simeon has foreseen (2:29–32). At the same time, Simeon's warning becomes true in Nazareth: that he would be a sign that is rejected (2:34–35).²⁷

The quotation from Isaiah which Jesus publicly reads at the beginning of his ministry bestows this ministry with a threefold legitimation. Firstly, it creates a connection between the expectations which through God's inspiration were expressed around his birth in Luke 1–2 and the ministry which now follows. His career will respond to these expectations. The quotation also has a connection with the other quotation from Isaiah that marks the beginning of the preaching of John. Jesus is the Lord whose way is prepared by John and he realises the salvation of God which John announced. That Jesus reads this quotation from Isaiah and applies it to himself also means that his ministry forms part of the plan of salvation which God had Isaiah write down and that he fulfils the role which from of old was reserved for him.

Conclusions

At the beginning of the preaching of John the Baptist and at the beginning of Jesus' ministry Luke each time introduces a quotation from the prophet Isaiah: Isa 40:3–5 in Luke 3:4–6 and Isa 61:1–2 in Luke 4:18–19. The prominent place to which Luke assigns these quotations implies that they fulfil an important role in his composition.

Luke starts his story on the course of the life of Jesus with three diptychs. In these he successively compares the announcement of the birth (1:5–56), the birth (1:57–2:52) and the public appearance (3:1–4:30) of John and Jesus with each other. Within this framework the quotations from Isaiah function as bridges. They connect the expectations evoked by the announcement and the birth of the two children with the mission they perform as adults. The quotations transfer the expectations to the later careers of the two protagonists and confirm that these expectations will

²⁷ See Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, 81–82.

be redeemed by the ministries of John and Jesus of which they mark the beginnings.

Luke emphatically states that the quotations have been taken from the book of the prophet Isaiah. Thereby he refers to the plan of God to save his people Israel and all other nations, which he has stated in writing from of old through the prophet. The quotations show that the preaching of John and the ministry of Jesus form part of God's plan of salvation. The roles they play have been laid down by God himself. By means of these quotations Luke endows both careers with a divine legitimation. The quotations function as the credentials of John and Jesus, issued by God himself.

The quotations are also directed to the future. They contain the programs issued by God which John and Jesus will perform. John receives the task to prepare the way of the Lord. With his arrest and the arrival of Jesus his mission is accomplished. Jesus is sent to proclaim the good news to the poor. The following story tells how he performs his task and how people react to him and his message. Remarkable on this point is the foresight of Simeon. Both ministries correspond with his vision that the salvation is destined for all nations, but that this will be a matter of sharp conflict within Israel.

The two quotations are adapted to each other, but they are not of the same weight. They fit in with the pattern of surpassing parallelism between John and Jesus which Luke applies in each of the three diptychs. The first quotation in a certain sense supports the second one. That Jesus' ministry begins with a special scene in which he publicly reads a passage from the book of the prophet Isaiah and subsequently refers this to himself shows how important this quotation is for Luke. This quotation, in which Jesus reveals who he is, to what purpose he is sent and whose interest he thereby will serve, functions as a motto of at least the first part of his two-volume work.²⁸

²⁸ The quotation from Joel 3:1–5 in Acts 2:17–20 seems to fulfil a similar function for Acts, Luke's second volume.

THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN LUKE 9:51–56¹

Adelbert Denaux

Introduction

It is a well known fact that in his Gospel, Luke makes intensive use of Scripture, mostly, if not exclusively in its LXX form.² His use of the OT, however, is vary varied: “I tend to view the evangelist’s use of the Old Testament as ranging from the obvious to the subtle, that is, from explicit citation and/or comment, to allusion.”³ The story opening Luke’s ‘travel narrative’ (Luke 9:51–56) offers a good example of this variety. Scholars have observed an accumulation of Semitic features in the Greek of Luke 9:51–56, mostly qualified as “septuagintisms”⁴ or “Hebraisms,”⁵ meaning influenced by or borrowed from the Septuagint. The following linguistic

¹ We wholeheartedly dedicate this paper to our collega proximus Prof. Dr Maarten Menken, whose outstanding research in the OT use by NT authors has inspired us greatly. We thank our assistant, Dr Albert Hogeterp, for his efficient help in collecting materials for this paper and our former student, ass. Prof. Dr Hellen Mardaga, who laid the basis in her ‘Examen Paper’, *De beginperikoop van het lucaanse reisverhaal: Een exegetisch onderzoek van Lc 9,51–56* (Verhandeling tot verkrijging van de graad van licentiaat in de Godsdienstwetenschappen aan de K.U. Leuven, 2001).

² See A. Wifstrand, “Lukas och Septuaginta,” *STK* 16 (1940) 243–262; ET: “Luke and the Septuagint,” in Id., *Epochs and Styles: Selected Writings on the New Testament, Greek Language and Greek Culture in the Post-Classical Era*. Edited by Lars Rydbeck and Stanley E. Porter. Translated from the Swedish Originals by Denis Searby (WUNT 179; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2005) 28–45; G.J. Steyn, “Intertextual Similarities between Septuagint Pretexts and Luke’s Gospel,” *Neot* 24 (1990) 229–246.

³ C.A. Evans, “‘He Set His Face’: Luke 9,51 Once Again,” *Bib* 68 (1987) 80–84, 83; see also 84: “Judging by its septuagintal language and numerous allusions to the Old Testament (both to individual texts and to larger units), I think that it is fair to conclude that Luke wrote for an audience that was very familiar with its Greek Old Testament, an audience that was expected to dig out of the Old Testament much about Christ and his Church (see Luke 24,25–27.45–46).”

⁴ H.F.D. Sparks, “The Semitisms of St. Luke’s Gospel,” *JTS* 44 (1943) 129–138, 134: “The bulk of his [Luke’s] Semitisms are to be ascribed to his reverence for, and imitation of, the LXX. They are, in fact, not ‘Semitisms’ at all, but ‘Septuagintalisms’; and St. Luke himself was not a ‘Semitizer’, but an habitual, conscious, and deliberate ‘Septuagintalizer’”; C.A. Evans, “‘He Set His Face’: A Note on Luke 9,51,” *Bib* 63 (1982) 545–548, 546, n. 6: “Luke 9,51–56 is replete with septuagintalisms.”

⁵ M. Silva, “Semantic Borrowing in the NT,” *NTS* 22 (1976) 104–110, 115: ‘Hebraisms’ refer to Semitic borrowings in the NT, which are mediated by the LXX, and ‘Aramaisms’ refer to other examples of Semitic borrowings found in the NT.

features have been qualified as septuagintisms or Hebraisms and could eventually point to Luke's use of Scripture:

- 1.1 ἐγένετο δέ rendering the Hebrew יְהִי ("and it came to pass") (9:51a);⁶
- 1.2 ἐν τῷ + infinitive present construction ("while") (9:51b);⁷
2. συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας ("while the days were being fulfilled") (9:51b);⁸
3. ἀναλήμψις ("ascension") (9:51b);⁹
- 1.3 καὶ with a finite verb ἐστήρισεν (9:51c) approximates ὅτι on analogy with the use of ו in Hebrew meaning "that";¹⁰
4. καὶ αὐτὸς (9:51c);¹¹
5. τὸ πρόσωπον ἐστήρισεν ("he fixed his face") (9:51c);¹²
6. τοῦ + inf. πορεύεσθαι, expressing purpose (9:51c);¹³
7. Ἱεροσολάμη (and not Ἱεροσόλυμα);¹⁴

⁶ H.K. Moulton and W.F. Howard, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*. Vol. 2. *Accidence and Word Formation with an Appendix on Semitisms in the New Testament* (Edinburgh/New York, 1919-29; 21956) 425; Hebraism (Abbrev.: M-H 2); Wifstrand, "Luke and the Septuagint," 32, 40; Evans, "A Note on Luke 9,51," 546, n. 6; J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (AB 28; Garden City NY: Doubleday, 1981) 119.

⁷ M-H 2: 450-451; Wifstrand, "Luke and the Septuagint," 40; M. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek Illustrated by Examples* (Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici 114; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963) § 387-389; Evans, "A Note on Luke 9,51," 546, n. 6; Semitic; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 119.

⁸ Wifstrand, "Luke and the Septuagint," 32; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 119; D. Flusser, "Lukas 9:51-56: Ein hebräisches Fragment," in *The New Testament Age*. FS B. Reicke (Vol. 1, ed. W.C. Weinrich; Macon GA: Mercer University Press, 1984) 165-179, 168: Hebraism.

⁹ Evans, "A Note on Luke 9,51," 546, n. 6; C.F. "Evans (p. 40) sees in the curious *hapax legomenon*, ἀναλήμψις ("taking up" or "ascension"), a possible reference to the *Analēmpsis Mōuseōs* traditions."

¹⁰ M-H 2: 425-426; Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, § 456: more in line with the MT; Evans, "A Note on Luke 9,51," 546, n. 6.

¹¹ Wifstrand, "Luke and the Septuagint," 41: "Here αὐτὸς means 'he' and stands as an emphatic third person pronoun, as it sometimes does in Koiné, although extremely seldom in this particular position and combination. (An example of this occurs again in 9:51); Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 120: unstressed.

¹² A. Plummer, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1896 = 1964) 263; a Hebraism; M-H 2: 451-452; Wifstrand, "Luke and the Septuagint," 32.

¹³ M-H 2: 448; Wifstrand, "Luke and the Septuagint," 40; A. Hogeterp and A. Denaux, *Semitisms in Luke* (forthcoming), chapter Five, 6,2,1.

¹⁴ M-H 2: 148; J.V. Bartlet, "The Twofold Use of 'Jerusalem' in the Lucan Writings," *Exp-Tim* 13 (1901-02) 157-158; I. de la Potterie, "Les deux noms de Jérusalem dans l'évangile de Luc," *RSR* 69 (1981) 57-70; J. Jeremias, "ἹΕΡΟΥΣΑΛΗΜ/ΙΕΡΟΥΣΟΛΥΜΑ," *ZNW* 65 (1974) 273-276; G. Morales Gomez, "Jerusalén-Jerosolima en el vocabulario y la geografía de Lucas," *RevistCatTeol* 7 (1982) 131-186; D.D. Sylva, "Ierousalēm and Hierosoloma in Luke-Acts," *ZNW* 74 (1983) 207-221.

8. ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ (“He sent messengers before his face”) (9:52; cf. 7:27);¹⁵
9. πορευθέντες εἰσῆλθον (“going they went”) (9:52b);¹⁶
10. ὡς ἐτοιμάσαι αὐτῷ (“to make ready for him”) (9:52b);¹⁷
11. τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἦν πορευόμενον (“his face was going”) (9:53);¹⁸
12. the periphrastic construction ἦν πορευόμενον;¹⁹
13. the co-ordinate use of subjunctive εἴπωμεν after θέλειν (“do you want us to say”) (9:54);²⁰
14. πῦρ καταβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (“fire to come down from heaven”) (9:54).²¹

The number of alleged septuagintisms (or in some cases, Hebraisms) present in such a short text is impressive. We count fourteen items, and when we unfold the three parts of the first item, there are sixteen of them. The example of the threefold sentence pattern in item one already shows that we cannot limit the question of Luke’s use of the OT to simple words or phrases. We must also try to look for larger patterns, and even to OT motifs or text units. The latter is especially the case with item three (the ‘ascension’ motif) and item fourteen (an allusion to or even a quotation of a specific OT text), both which point to a conscious parallelism between the main character of Luke’s story and the prophet Elijah. It remains to be seen whether other items of this series can be linked to the Elijah-Jesus parallelism. We will now check the fourteen items to see whether they resist critical assessment. One criterion suggesting OT use would be when a word or phrase occurs rather rarely in non-biblical Hellenistic Greek and frequently in the LXX, in other words, when it has a biblical or Semitic

¹⁵ M-H 2: 466; Wifstrand, “Luke and the Septuagint,” 32–33; Evans, “A Note on Luke 9,51,” 546, n. 6: Semitic; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 115: septuagintism; Flusser, “Lukas 9:51–56: Ein hebräisches Fragment,” 168; M. Zerwick and M. Grosvenor, *A Grammatical Analysis of the Greek New Testament* (“unabridged, 3rd, revised edition”; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1988) 201: “π. προσώπου LXX lit. transl. of Hebr. Idiom”; F. Blass, A. Debrunner and R.W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge/Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1961) § 217,1 (abbrev.: BDF).

¹⁶ Wifstrand, “Luke and the Septuagint,” 33; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 115: septuagintism.

¹⁷ Wifstrand, “Luke and the Septuagint,” 33.

¹⁸ Plummer, *Luke*, 263; Hebraism; Flusser, “Lukas 9:51–56: Ein hebräisches Fragment,” 171.

¹⁹ Plummer, *Luke*, li and lxi: due to Hebrew or Aramaic influence; Sparks, “The Semitisms of Luke’s Gospel,” 131: a characteristically Aramaic expression; Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, § 361: “due to Aramaic influence.”; BDF, § 353.

²⁰ M-H 2: 420–421: “In class. Gr. common with βούλομαι, which is largely replaced by θέλω in NT”; BDF § 366,3.

²¹ Evans, “A Note on Luke 9,51,” 546, n. 6: sees an allusion to Elijah in 2 Kgs 1:10, 12.

flavour. Because of the high rate of septuagintal features in Luke 9:51–56, one could say that Luke deliberately uses ‘biblical language’, not in the sense of a separate language, but in the sense of “a peculiar variety of Greek, which was used for certain purposes by Jewish and Christian writers in the context of the synagogue.”²² In other words, Luke 9:51–56 is a good example of Luke’s biblical or septuagintal ‘style’.

H.F.D. Sparks mentioned three *a priori* possible explanations for Luke’s curious Semitizing style: (1) Luke’s Gospel is a translation of a Semitic original; (2) Luke uses Semitic sources, which either he or someone else translated; and (3) he himself was consciously Semitizing.²³ Disposing of the first explanation, because Luke used at least two Greek sources, Mark and Q, Sparks thinks that the debate is between explanations two and three, though neither explanation is necessarily exclusive of the other. Solution 2 cannot be excluded, since Luke takes over Semitisms from the two sources we know he used, and he could have used other (Semitic or Semitizing) sources. Sparks’ preference tends towards the third possibility, more specifically in the passages peculiar to Luke. In view of the high frequency of Semitic features in Luke 9:51–56, however, it should not surprise us that at least one Jewish scholar has deemed it probable that Luke made use of a Hebrew source.²⁴ We will now examine the fourteen cases mentioned above in order to see how Luke’s biblical language/style is related to the Septuagint and to answer the question whether Luke used a Hebrew source. Special attention will thereby be given to the Elijah-Jesus parallelism in Luke 9:51–56.

1. *The Solemn Opening Sentence (Luke 9:51)*

1.1 *The Threefold καὶ ἐγένετο-Formula*

Luke 9:51 solemnly opens the ‘travel narrative’ with a threefold καὶ ἐγένετο-formula: (1) Ἐγένετο δὲ (2) ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως

²² G. Walser, “The Greek of the Ancient Synagogue,” in *The Ancient Synagogue: From Its Origins Until 200 C.E. Papers Presented at an International Conference at Lund, October 14–17, 2001* (ed. B. Olsson and M. Zetterholm; ConBNT 39; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2003) 260–276, 260, where he adds: “The origin of this peculiar variety used in the synagogue was the translation Greek of the Pentateuch, and the background for the hypothesis is the polyglossic nature of the Greek language, that is, several varieties were used for different genres or situations of speech.”

²³ Sparks, “The Semitisms of St. Luke’s Gospel,” 129.

²⁴ Flusser, “Lukas 9:51–56: Ein hebräisches Fragment.”

αὐτοῦ (3) καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐστήρισεν τοῦ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ. Our literal translation of the sentence is: “And it came to pass, while the days of his ascension were being fulfilled, that he fixed his face in order to go to Jerusalem.” One can distinguish three parts in the formula: (i) an introduction (καὶ ἐγένετο or ἐγένετο δέ); (ii) an expression of time, and (iii) an *apodosis* (often a finite verb, sometimes introduced by καί). The threefold formula is one of the specific characteristics of the Lukan style.²⁵ It occurs no less than 38 times in his gospel²⁶ and may be considered a septuagintism, which Luke likes to insert in his narrative.²⁷ The LXX has several examples of the threefold formula, which are very similar. Some have an infinitive present in the ἐν τῷ-clause:

Gen 35:17 ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ σκληρῶς αὐτὴν τίκτειν εἶπεν αὐτῇ ἡ μαῖα Θάρσει, καὶ γὰρ οὗτός σοί ἐστὶν υἱός (MT: וַיְהִי בְהַקְשֵׁתָהּ בְּלִדְתָהּ לָהּ הַמְלִלָּהּ דָּתָא; וַיְהִי בְּיַגְמֵהּ לָהּ בְּיַגְמֵהּ לָהּ);

Gen 35:18 ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀφιέναι αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν—ἀπέθνησκεν γὰρ—ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Υἱὸς ὀδύνης μου (MT: וַיְהִי בְּצֵאת נַפְשָׁהּ כִּי מָתָהּ; וַיְהִי בְּיַגְמֵהּ לָהּ בְּיַגְמֵהּ לָהּ);

Gen 38:28 ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ τίκτειν αὐτὴν ὁ εἶς προεξήνεγκεν τὴν χεῖρα (MT: וַיְהִי בְּלִדְתָהּ וַיִּתְּנוּ);

Judg A 14:11 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ φοβεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς αὐτὸν προσκατέστησαν αὐτῷ ἐταίρους τριάκοντα, καὶ ἦσαν μετ’ αὐτοῦ (MT: וַיְהִי כִּרְאוּתָם אוֹתוֹ וַיִּקְחוּ; וַיְהִי וַיִּתְּנוּ);

Dan 8:15 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ θεωρεῖν με, ἐγὼ Δανιηλ, τὸ ὄραμα ἐζήτουν διανοηθῆναι, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔστη κατεναντίον μου ὡς ὄρασις ἀνθρώπου (MT: וַיְהִי בְּרְאוּתִי אֲנִי דְנִיְאֵל אֶת־הַחִזְוִן וַאֲבִקְשָׁהּ בִּינָהּ וְהִנֵּה עֹמֵד לְנִגְדִי בְּמַרְאֵה גִבּוֹר).

²⁵ A. Denaux and R. Corstjens, in Collaboration with H. Mardaga, *The Vocabulary of Luke: An Alphabetical Presentation and a Survey of Characteristic and Noteworthy Words and Word Groups in Luke's Gospel* (Biblical Tools and Studies 10; Leuven: Peeters, 2009) 124.

²⁶ The references are: 1:8–9; 1:23; 1:41; 1:59; 2:1; 2:6; 2:15; 2:46 // 3:21–22; 5:1–2; 5:12; 5:17–18; 6:1; 6:6; 6:12; 7:11; 8:1; 8:22; 9:18; 9:28; 9:33; 9:37 // 9:51; 11:1; 11:14b; 11:27; 14:1–2; 16:22; 17:11–12; 17:14b; 18:35; 19:15; 19:29; 20:1; 24:4; 24:15; 24:30; 24:51.

²⁷ Cf. M. Johannesson, “Das biblische KAI EFENETO und seine Geschichte,” *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 53 (1925) 161–212; K. Beyer, *Semitische Syntax zum neuen Testament*. Band I, *Satzlehre* Teil 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962) 29–62; F. Neiryneck, *La matière marcionne dans l'évangile de Luc*, in Id., *L'évangile de Luc* (BETL 32; Gembloux: Duculot, 1973) 157–201 (= Id., *Evangelica* [BETL 60; Leuven: University Press/Peeters, 1982] 37–83, esp. 64–73). Neiryneck (191–193, resp. 71–73) also gives a useful presentation of the Greek text of all the occurrences.

There are even more examples where the ἐν τῷ-clause is followed by an inf. aor.²⁸ An interesting parallel is to be found in the opening sentence of the story about Elijah's ascension: 4 Kgdms LXX 2:1 (1) Καὶ ἐγένετο (2) ἐν τῷ ἀνάγειν κύριον τὸν Ἡλίου ἐν συσσεισμῷ ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν (3) καὶ ἐπορεύθη Ἡλίου καὶ Ελισαιε ἐκ Γαλγαλων ("And it happened, when the Lord was about to take Elijah by a whirlwind as into heaven, that Elijah and Elisha went from Galgala"; MT 2 Kgdms 2:1: יְהִי בְהֵעָלוֹת יְהוָה אֶת־אֱלִיָּהוּ בַּבָּעָרָה 2:1: יְהִי בְהֵעָלוֹת יְהוָה אֶת־אֱלִיָּהוּ וְאִישׁוֹ עִשְׂרָאֵל מִן־הַגְּלָגָל: (הַשְּׂמִימִים יִלְךְ אֱלִיָּהוּ וְאִישׁוֹ עִשְׂרָאֵל מִן־הַגְּלָגָל)). In both Luke 9:51 and 4 Kgdms 2:1 we have an introductory phrase (1), a clause with an allusion to the ascension (of Jesus or Elijah) (2), and a verb of movement with the reference to the place from which or to which the main character of the story is going (3). In the same chapter (4 Kgdms 2:9), we have another threefold sentence with an explicit reference to the ascension terminology: καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ διαβῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἡλίου εἶπεν πρὸς Ελισαιε· Αἴτησαι τί ποιήσω σοι πρὶν ἢ ἀναλημφθῆναι με ἀπὸ σοῦ (MT 2 Kgdms 2:9: וְיְהִי כַעֲבָרָם וְאִישׁוֹ יְהוָה אָמַר לְאִישׁוֹ עִשְׂרָאֵל מַה לְּךָ אֶשְׁׂאֵל מִן־מַעְמַם מְעַמְּךָ).

The LXX renders the Hebrew introductory clause יְהִי either literally by καὶ ἐγένετο or by a more typical Greek formula: ἐγένετο δέ. Luke has chosen here the second possibility.

The phrase ἐν τῷ + infinitive introducing a temporal clause is very common in the LXX and Early Jewish Greek literature;²⁹ it is characteristic of Luke's Greek³⁰ and is unidiomatic in non-biblical Greek.³¹ According to

²⁸ Gen 11:2 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ κινήσαι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν εὐδρον πεδῖον ἐν γῆ Σεννααρ καὶ κατώκησαν ἐκεῖ; Gen 19:29 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐκτρίψαι κύριον πάσας τὰς πόλεις τῆς περιόικου ἐμνήσθη ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Αβρααμ; Gen 24:52 ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀκούσαι τὸν παῖδα τὸν Αβρααμ τῶν ῥημάτων τούτων προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κυρίῳ; 2 Chr 12:11 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἰσελθεῖν τὸν βασιλέα εἰς οἶκον κυρίου, εἰσεπορεύοντο οἱ φυλάσσοντες καὶ οἱ παρατρέχοντες καὶ οἱ ἐπιστρέφοντες εἰς ἀπάντησιν τῶν παρατρέχοντων; 2 Chr 16:5 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἀκούσαι Βαασα ἀπέλιπεν τοῦ μηκέτι οἰκοδομεῖν τὴν Ραμα καὶ κατέπαυσεν τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ; 2 Esdr 11:4 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἀκούσαι με τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐκάθισα καὶ ἔκλαυσα καὶ ἐπένηθσα ἡμέρας καὶ ἡμην νηστεύων καὶ προσευχόμενος ἐνώπιον θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; Isa 37:1 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἀκούσαι τὸν βασιλέα Εζεκιαν ἔσχισεν τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ σάκκον περιεβάλετο καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυρίου; 3 Kgdms 8:1 Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ συντελέσαι Σαλωμων τοῦ οἰκοδομήσαι τὸν οἶκον κυρίου καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ εἴκοσι ἔτη, τότε ἐξεκκλησίασεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμων πάντας τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους Ἰσραηλ ἐν Σιων τοῦ ἀνενεγκεῖν τὴν κιβωτὸν διαθήκης κυρίου ἐκ πόλεως Δαυιδ [αὕτη ἐστὶν Σιων]; 3 Kgdms 11:15 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐξολεθρευῆσαι Δαυιδ τὸν Εδωμ ἐν τῷ πορευθῆναι Ἰωαβ ἄρχοντα τῆς στρατίας θάπτειν τοὺς τραυματίας ἔκοψαν πᾶν ἄρσενικὸν ἐν τῇ Ἰδουμαίᾳ.

²⁹ Cf. A. Hogeterp and A. Denaux, *Semitisms in Luke* (forthcoming), Ch. 5, 6,2,2.

³⁰ Cf. Denaux, Corstjens and Mardaga, *The Vocabulary of Luke*, 212–213.

³¹ J.H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*. Vol. 1. *Prolegomena* (1906) (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1908 [repr. 1988]) 14, 215, 249; C.F.D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959; repr. 1968) 76, noted a "lack of (Koinè Greek) parallels for it in the sense of *during*," as in Luke 1:8; 2:43; 6:1; 9:51; 19:13.

Zerwick, “its frequency, especially in Luke, is to be attributed to the influence of the LXX.”³²

Luke introduces the third part of the formula with καὶ (αὐτός) before the finite verb ἐστήρισεν. The copula has the meaning here of ὅτι, “that”, being a literal rendering of the *Waw* (ו) in the Hebrew original. This usage is all the more remarkable in that in most cases the LXX does not translate the Hebrew *copula* into Greek. Luke seems to be nearer to the Hebrew formula than the LXX!

Unstressed καὶ αὐτός at the beginning of a new clause or sentence is considered to be a Semitic feature, in contrast to the emphatic καὶ αὐτός, which sounds well in Greek. There is discussion, however, about the number of occurrences in Luke. Some scholars speak of 17³³ or even 22³⁴ cases (Luke 9:51 included); others of only 7³⁵ or 6³⁶ cases (Luke 9:51 excluded). The unstressed καὶ αὐτός is a well known feature in the LXX,³⁷ in the OT Apocrypha³⁸ and OT Pseudepigrapha.³⁹ The corresponding Hebrew⁴⁰ and Aramaic⁴¹ expression הוּאֵוְהוּאֵ also occurs in the Qumran literature. However, both the stressed and unstressed καὶ αὐτός are

³² Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, § 387.

³³ E. Schweizer, “Eine hebraisierende Sonderquelle des Lukas?,” *TZ* 6 (1950) 161–185, 167, fn. 20: Luke 1:17, 22; 2:28; 3:23; 4:15; 5:1, 14, 17; 6:20; 8:1; 9:51; 15:14; 16:24; 17:13; 19:2 (twice); 24:14 (compare 5 other similar cases in Luke 8:22, 41, 42, 9:36, 11:14). He calls it one of Luke’s “starke Semitismen” (163).

³⁴ J.R. Edwards, *The Hebrew Gospel and the Development of the Synoptic Tradition* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2009) 134, 294–295: Luke 1:17, 22; 2:28; 3:23; 4:15; 5:1, 14, 37; 6:20; 8:1, 22; 9:51; 15:14; 16:24; 17:11; 19:2 (twice), 9; 22:41; 24:15, 28, 31.

³⁵ W. Michaelis, “Das unbetonte καὶ αὐτός bei Lukas,” *Studia Theologica* 4 (1951) 86–93: Luke 4:15; 15:14; 16:24; 17:13; 19:2 (twice); 24:14.

³⁶ J. Jeremias, *Die Sprache des Lukasevangeliums: Redaktion und Tradition im Nicht-Markusstoff des dritten Evangeliums* (KEK, Sonderband; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980) 37–38: Luke 15:14; 16:24; 17:13; 19:2 (twice); 24:14.

³⁷ Lev 5:18; 1 Kgdms 17:42, 19:9, 23:6, 25:37; 2 Kgdms 4:5, 10, 7:14, 9:13, 12:23, 13:8, 17:2, 19:33; 3 Kgdms 2:35⁷, 16:9, 19:4, 19 (twice); 4 Kgdms 2:18, 6:30, 14:21; 1 Chr 2:21; 2 Chr 10:2; Ps 36(37):5; Job 21:31, 32, 34:29, 37:12; Hos 5:13, 7:9; Hab 1:10 (twice); Zech 13:9; Jer 40(33):1, 45(38):7; Ezek 3:21; LXX/Th Dan 2:21.

³⁸ LXX^S Tob 5:18 καὶ αὐτός; LXX^{BA} Tob 6:11 καὶ αὐτός συγγενής σου ἐστίν (cf. LXX^S Tob 6:11 καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπος συγγενής σου ἐστίν, 4Q197 (4QTob^b ar) 4 i 17 הוּאֵוְהוּאֵ אַבְוּאָהּ מְבַעַת מְבַעַת שׁוֹרְשׁוֹ); Sir 13:3 (twice), 13:5, 15:19, 38:9; Bel Th 33 καὶ αὐτός.

³⁹ καὶ αὐτός, ‘and he’, in 1 *Enoch* 21:5, 24:6; *T. Levi* 18:2; καὶ αὐτός, ‘and he’, in *Jos.As.* 8:1, 19:5, 22:6, 22:9, 22:13; αὐτός, ‘he’, in *Jos.As.* 4:11, 11:13, 12:9, 15:10; *Pss. Sol.* 17:32.

⁴⁰ הוּאֵוְהוּאֵ, ‘(and) he’ in 1QpHab IV 3 (Hab 1:10b); 1QH^a V 20; 4Q372 1 9; והוּאֵה (and) he’ in 1QS III 25, IV 25; 4Q163 (4Qpap plsa^c) 4–6 i 5; 4Q165 (4Qplsa^c) 6 5 והוּאֵה[ו] (Isa 32:8); 4Q186 2 i 3, 4.

⁴¹ הוּאֵוְהוּאֵ, ‘(and) he’ in 1QapGen ar XXII 7, 9, 14; 4Q242 (4QPrNab ar) 1–3 4(bis); [הוּאֵה], ‘(and) he’ in 4Q196 (4QpapTob^a ar) 2 5; והוּאֵ, ‘(and) he’, in 4Q545 (4QVisions of Amram^c ar) 1 i.

characteristic of Luke's Greek.⁴² W. Michaelis does not accept Luke 9:51 as an example of unstressed *καὶ αὐτός*. It belongs to a series of occurrences with *ἐγένετο . . . καὶ αὐτός* (resp. *αὐτοί*): 5:1, 17; 8:1, 22; 9:51; (10:38); 14:1; 17:11; 24:15. When Schweizer accepts an emphatic use in 14:1; 17:11; 24:15, one does not see why it would not be the same in the other cases too, which Schweizer sees as unstressed. Indeed, the function of the *καὶ αὐτός* clause is to make known the subject of the subordinate clause. Michaelis concludes that all these occurrences can be considered as septuagintisms and are examples of Luke's imitation or development of septuagintal language.⁴³ See e.g. 1 Kgdms 23:6 *Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ φυγεῖν Αβιαθαρ υἱὸν Αβιμελεχ πρὸς Δαυιδ καὶ αὐτός* (MT: **ⲛⲓⲛⲓ**) *μετὰ Δαυιδ εἰς Κεῖλα κατέβη ἔχων εφουδ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ*; 4 Kgdms 6:30 *καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραηλ τοὺς λόγους τῆς γυναικός, διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτός* (MT: **ⲛⲓⲛⲓ**) *διεπορεύετο ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους*; 2 Chr 10:2: *καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν Ἰεροβοαμ υἱὸς Ναβατ— καὶ αὐτός* (MT: **ⲛⲓⲛⲓ**) *ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ὡς ἔφυγεν ἀπὸ προσώπου Σαλωμων τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ κατώκησεν Ἰεροβοαμ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ—, καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν Ἰεροβοαμ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου*; cp. Jer 40:1 *Καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ἰερεμῖαν δεύτερον, καὶ αὐτός ἦν ἔτι δεδεμένος ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τῆς φυλακῆς*.

1.2 *The Fulfilment of the Days*

The motif of the “fulfilment of the day(s)” (Luke 9:51 ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας) occurs several times in the LXX, always with the *verbum simplex*: Gen 25:24 *καὶ ἐπληρώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτήν* (cp. Luke 1:57; 2:6–7); Gen 29:21 *πεπλήρωνται γὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι μου*; Gen 50:3 *καὶ ἐπλήρωσαν αὐτοῦ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας*; Lev 8:33 *ἕως ἡμέρα πληρωθῆ*; Lev 12:4 *ἕως ἂν πληρωθῶσιν αἱ ἡμέραι καθάρσεως αὐτῆς* (cp. Luke 2:22); Num 6:5 *ἕως ἂν πληρωθῶσιν αἱ ἡμέραι*; Num 6:13 *ἢ ἂν ἡμέρα πληρώσῃ ἡμέρας εὐχῆς αὐτοῦ*; 1 Kgdms 18:26 var. *καὶ οὐκ ἐπληρώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι* 2 Kgdms 7:12 *ἐὰν πληρωθῶσιν αἱ ἡμέραι σου*; 1 Chr 17:11 *ὅταν πληρωθῶσιν αἱ ἡμέραι σου*; Tob 8:20 *πρὶν ἢ συντελεσθῆναι τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ γάμου*; Tob 10:1 *καὶ ὡς ἐπληρώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς πορείας*; Tob 14:5 *ἕως πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος*; Jer 25:12 *καὶ ἐν τῷ πληρωθῆναι τὰ ἔβδομήκοντα ἔτη ἐκδικήσω τὸ ἔθνος ἐκεῖνο, φησὶν κύριος*; Jer 32(25):34 *ὅτι ἐπληρώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι ὑμῶν εἰς σφαγὴν*; Jer 41(34):14 *Ὅταν πληρωθῆ ἕξ ἔτη*; Lam 4:18 *ἠγγικεν ὁ καιρὸς ἡμῶν, ἐπληρώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι ἡμῶν, πάρεστιν ὁ καιρὸς ἡμῶν*; 1 Macc 3:50 *οἱ ἐπλήρωσαν τὰς ἡμέρας*. In Jer 25:12, Codex A interestingly has *συμπληρωθῆναι* instead of the simplex. Luke

⁴² Denaux, Corstjens and Mardaga, *The Vocabulary of Luke*, 95.

⁴³ Michaelis, “Das unbetonte καὶ αὐτός bei Lukas,” 89–90.

has changed the LXX-expression into the composite verb. He likes *composita* with συν.⁴⁴ We find a similar phrase in Acts 2:1: Καὶ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς.⁴⁵ We may conclude by saying that the phrase is Lukan, but at the same time dependent on the LXX.

1.3 *The Ascension Motif*

What is the exact meaning of the hapax ἀνάλημψις? Three interpretations have been given.⁴⁶ Most scholars give it a very broad meaning: Jesus' ἀνάλημψις refers to the whole chain of events (passion, crucifixion, resurrection) leading up to his ascension. Others believe that ἀνάλημψις refers only to Jesus' death. Several scholars, however, interpret ἀνάλημψις in the sense of (bodily) "ascension."⁴⁷ It seems to me that this is the only possible meaning here, a meaning, which is specific to Luke: he is the only New Testament author, who distinguishes Jesus' resurrection-exaltation (Luke 22:69; 23:42–43; 24:26; Acts 2:32–36; 5:31; 13:30–37) from his bodily ascension (Luke 24:51; Acts 1:2, 9). When one tries to define the exact meaning and function of ἀνάλημψις in Luke 9:51, due attention should be given to the Septuagint, which Luke certainly knew and used and above all to the Lukan context itself (i.e. Luke-Acts) rather than to remote non-biblical texts.

(a) The word group, ἀνάλημψις/ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι, in Luke-Acts is the primary context in which to define the meaning of ἀνάλημψις in Luke 9:51. The hapax ἀνάλημψις should be interpreted first of all in light of Luke's specific use of the verb ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι in the beginnings of Acts. Luke himself thinks clearly of a bodily, visible ascension of Jesus into heaven

⁴⁴ Jeremias, *Sprache*, 86–87.

⁴⁵ The motif of 'fulfilment of time' is also expressed by other verbs ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι (Luke 1:23; 2:6, 21, 22), τελειωσάντων τὰς ἡμέρας (Luke 2:43) and ἐπλήσθη ὁ χρόνος (Luke 1:57).

⁴⁶ See for what follows, a larger discussion in A. Denaux, "The Delineation of the Lukan Travel Narrative within the Overall Structure of the Gospel of Luke," in *The Synoptic Gospels: Source Criticism and the New Literary Criticism* (ed. C. Focant; BETL 110; Leuven: University Press/Peeters, 1993) 359–392 (= Id., *Studies in the Gospel of Luke* [Tilburg Theological Studies 4; Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2010] 3–37, 17–21).

⁴⁷ For ἀνάλημψις in the sense of "ascension," P. Schubert, "The Structure and Significance of Luke 24," in *Neutestamentliche Studien für R. Bultmann* (BZNW 21; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1954) 165–186, 184: "When the time leading to his ascension was in process of fulfilment."; G. Lohfink, *Die Himmelfahrt Jesu* (SANT 26; München: Kösel, 1971) 212; T.L. Brodie, "The Departure for Jerusalem (Lk 9,51–56) as a Rhetorical Imitation of Elijah's Departure for the Jordan (2 Kgs 1,1–2,6)," *Bib* 70 (1989) 96–109, esp. 102–104; A.W. Zwiep, *The Ascension of the Messiah in Lukan Christology* (NovTSup 87; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 80–86.

at the end of his Gospel (24:51: καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν) and in the first chapter of Acts (1:9–10a: καὶ νεφέλη ὑπέλαβεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν. 10 καὶ ὡς ἀτενίζοντες ἦσαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πορευομένου αὐτοῦ). The verb ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι in Acts 1:11, 22, which clearly refers back to the description of Acts 1:9–10a and Acts 1:2, should also be interpreted in the same sense.⁴⁸ In Luke 24:51 and Acts 1:9–10a, Luke himself certainly indicates how he understands the verb. To him it means nothing more than the bodily ascension of Jesus into heaven. Now, it seems plausible that when Luke spontaneously uses the noun ἀνάλημψις in Luke 9:51, the hapax clearly refers to the verb ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι and, therefore, has the same meaning.

(b) In Luke-Acts several key events are introduced by verses of similar structure: “when the time of X was fulfilled, Y occurred,” Y being the action appropriate to X.⁴⁹

Lk 1:57	Τῇ δὲ Ἐλισάβετ ἐπλήσθη	ὁ χρόνος τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτήν,	καὶ ἐγέννησεν υἱόν
Lk 2:6–7	ἐκεῖ ἐπλήσθησαν	αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτήν,	καὶ ἔτεκεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον
Lk 2:21	Καὶ ὅτε ἐπλήσθησαν	ἡμέραι ὀκτώ τοῦ περιτεμεῖν αὐτόν,	καὶ ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦς
Lk 2:22	Καὶ ὅτε ἐπλήσθησαν	αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ αὐτῶν κτλ,	ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παραστήσαι τῷ κυρίῳ,
Acts 2:1–4	ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι	τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς	ἦσαν πάντες ὁμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. 2 καὶ ἐγένετο ἄφνω κτλ
Lk 9:51	Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι	τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήμψεως αὐτοῦ	καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐστήρισεν τοῦ πορευέσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ

⁴⁸ So rightly J. Dupont, “ANEΛΗΜΦΘΗ,” *NTS* 8 (1961–62) 154–157, 156 (= *Études sur les Actes de Apôtres* [LD 45; Paris: Cerf, 1967] 477–480).

⁴⁹ This was rightly seen by J.H. Davies, “The Purpose of the Central Section of St. Luke’s Gospel,” *Studia Evangelica* II (TU 87; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964) 164–169, esp. 165: “In 9:51 X is Jesus’ ἀνάλημψις and Y is his setting his face to journey to Jerusalem, The turning to Jerusalem is his deliberate commencement of the ἀνάλημψις which comprises the entire movement of Jesus from this world to heaven.”

We distinguish three elements in the formula. First, there is a time or a period (αἱ ἡμέραι; χρόνος) of fulfilment. Secondly, there is the term, a precise moment, which forms the purpose and the end of that period. Most commentators understand the genitive completing the notion of time as exegetical or of quality. But the parallelism with Luke 2:6 shows that χρόνος in Luke 1:57 can mean a period of several ἡμέραι, which should be distinguished from the moment of child bearing which under normal circumstances does not take several days! Hence, in Luke 9:51, the complement should rather be taken as a genitive of direction and purpose, as this is the case in Luke 1:57; 2:6.⁵⁰ In Acts 2, we may have to do with an exegetical genitive.⁵¹ Thirdly, we have the element ‘Y’ as the action appropriate to ‘X’. Luke 2:22 is especially illuminating in this regard: a period of several days has come to fulfilment; the purpose of which is the purification of the child Jesus and its appropriate action is the leading of the child to Jerusalem. In light of all this, we may interpret Luke 9:51 as follows: Jesus’ decision to go up to Jerusalem (Y) initiates a period of fulfilment (αἱ ἡμέραι: including the entirety of the rest of Jesus’ life: journey, passion, death, resurrection and ascension), of which the ascension is the final purpose (X). A literal translation of Luke 9:51 would render: “And it happened, when the days leading to his ascension were in process of fulfilment, that he steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem.”

(c) In the Old Testament, there are only two persons, who are taken up alive into the presence of God: Enoch and Elijah. This process can technically be called “rapture,” which A. Zwiep defines as “a bodily translation into the ‘beyond’ as the conclusion of one’s earthly life without the intervention of death.”⁵² Concerning Enoch, there is a short, enigmatic mention of him in Gen 5:24: καὶ εὐηρέστησεν Ενωχ τῷ θεῷ καὶ οὐχ ἠύρισκετο,

⁵⁰ So for Luke 9:51, Schubert, “Structure,” 184, n. 32, with reference to BDF, § 166. The infinitives τοῦ τεκεῖν in Luke 1:57; 2:6 and τοῦ περιτεμεῖν in 2:21 (where the circumcision itself does not last for 8 days!) could also represent a genitive of purpose. This is rightly seen by G. Lohfink (*Himmelfahrt*, 214) with regard to Luke 1:57 and esp. 2:6, which he translates as: “Es erfüllten sich die Tage *im Hinblick* auf ihres Gebärens.” But unfortunately Lohfink does not reckon with the possibility that Luke 9:51 uses the same kind of genitive. The nearest parallel to Luke 2:6 is Gen 25:24. For Luke 2:22, see Lev 12:4, 6.

⁵¹ This is more probable if we consider that πεντηκοστή originally meant “the fiftiest (day).” τῆς πεντηκοστῆς in Acts 2:1 is probably an appositive genitive (BDF, § 167): in that case τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς means literally “the day which is the fiftiest day” or “the day which is the pentecostal day.”

⁵² A.W. Zwiep, “Assumptus est in caelum—Rapture and Heavenly Exaltation in Early Judaism and Luke-Acts,” in Id., *Christ, the Spirit and the Community of God* (WUNT 2.293; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010) 38–67, esp. 46.

ὅτι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός (“And Enoch was well pleasing to God, and he was not found, because God transferred him”).⁵³ In the later tradition, this has been understood as a ‘rapture’, see Sir 49:14: Οὐδεὶς ἐκτίσθη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τοιοῦτος οἶος Ενωχ· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀνελήμφθη ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς (“No one was created on earth such as Enoch, for he was taken up from the earth”). The bodily ascent of Elijah into heaven is described in a more spectacular way in 4 Kgdms 2 LXX. As already stated (in 1.1), the opening verse of this chapter resembles Luke 9:51, as does verse 9, with the threefold καὶ ἐγένετο-formula. The event is well prepared by the sons of the prophets’ twofold question about Elijah’s future:

- 3 καὶ ἦλθον οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν προφητῶν οἱ ἐν Βαιθηλ πρὸς Ελισαίη καὶ εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν
 Εἰ ἔγνωσ ὅτι κύριος σήμερον λαμβάνει (קחל) τὸν κύριόν σου ἐπάνωθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς σου;
- 5 καὶ ἤγγισαν οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν προφητῶν οἱ ἐν Ιεριχω πρὸς Ελισαίη καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτόν
 Εἰ ἔγνωσ ὅτι σήμερον λαμβάνει (קחל) κύριος τὸν κύριόν σου ἐπάνωθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς σου;

Then Elijah announces two times what will happen to him:

- 9 καὶ ἐγένετο (יהי) ἐν τῷ διαβῆναι αὐτοῦς (ברבעב)
 καὶ Ηλίου (יהליא) εἶπεν πρὸς Ελισαίη
 Αἴτησαι τί ποιήσω σοι πρὶν ἢ ἀναλημφθῆναι με (קחלא) ἀπὸ σοῦ·

And when Elisha asks for a double portion of his spirit, Elijah agrees and announces his departure a second time:

- 10 ἐὰν ἴδῃς με ἀναλαμβάνομενον (קחל) ἀπὸ σοῦ, καὶ ἔσται σοι οὕτως·

And then, as a climax Elijah’s rapture is narrated:

- 11 καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν πορευομένων ἐπορεύοντο καὶ ἐλάλουν,
 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄρμα πυρὸς καὶ ἵπποι πυρὸς καὶ διέστειλαν ἀνὰ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων,
 καὶ ἀνελήμφθη (לחי) Ηλίου ἐν συσεισμῷ ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.

⁵³ The MT has a slightly different text: “Enoch walked with God, then he was no more, because God took him away” (ים אלהים ואינו כי לקח אתו אלהים).
 (ויחלך ויהי).”

The verb ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι became the technical term for Elijah's ascension, as is attested in 1 Macc 2:58: *Ἡλίας ἐν τῷ ζηλωσῶσι ζῆλον νόμου ἀνελήμφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν* ("Elijah, by becoming greatly zealous for the law, was taken up into heaven") and in Sirach 48:9: *ὁ ἀναλημφθεὶς (ἠρῶν) ἐν λαίλαπι πυρὸς ἐν ἄρματι ἵππων πυρίνων* ("He who was taken up in a whirlwind of fire").

We cannot but agree with A. Zwiep when he states: "One cannot ignore the strong points of correspondence between the ascension story and the early Jewish rapture-preservation traditions. Luke himself clearly puts us on this track. The terms he uses to describe the ascension immediately call to mind Elijah's spectacular ascent into heaven (cf. 2 Kgdms 2 LXX; 1 Macc 2:58; Sir 48:9–12 with Luke 9:51; Acts 1:2, 9–11). The very first reference to Jesus' ascension in Luke-Acts (Luke 9:51 *red*) is a verbal echo of the opening words of the Elijah story (cf. 2 Kgdms 2:1 LXX)."⁵⁴ Moreover, the rapture terminology ἀνάληψις/ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι is not attested outside the Jewish and Christian realm: "If Luke's wording rings a bell, it is a Jewish or biblical one; if a historical figure comes to mind, it is Elijah!"⁵⁵ Luke's conscious choice of the biblical rapture terminology shows that he wanted to develop the parallelism between Jesus and Elijah. Luke added the story of Jesus' being taken up into heaven to the early Christian tradition about Jesus' death, resurrection and exaltation. By describing the end of Jesus' earthly existence in this way, Luke not only rooted his story in the biblical tradition, but he also chose a motif that could attract pagan Greek readers, who were well acquainted with the Graeco-Roman rapture stories about persons taken away from the human world and transported to the world of gods.⁵⁶ The parallelism, however, is not complete: there are agreements and differences. Agreements are—apart from the terminology and the imagery—the link between rapture and the return at the end of times (cp. Mal 3:22 and Acts 1:11) as well as the link between rapture and the outpouring of the Spirit (cp. 4 Kgdms 2:9–10 and Acts 2:1–11). The main difference with Jewish rapture traditions is that Jesus, by dying, shares the full human condition, whereas Elijah does not.⁵⁷ Furthermore, in contrast to Graeco-Roman rapture traditions, Jesus' ascension is not a

⁵⁴ Zwiep, "Assumptus est in caelum," 59–60.

⁵⁵ Zwiep, *The Ascension of the Messiah*, 82.

⁵⁶ Cf. Lohfink, *Die Himmelfahrt Jesu*, 32–50.

⁵⁷ According to Zwiep ("Assumptus est in caelum," 53), there has always been some reluctance in early Judaism towards the acceptance of the rapture category, because "That a human being would escape death and Sheol is in flat contradiction with the universal rule laid down in Genesis 3:19 ('you are dust, and to dust you shall return')" (cf. Ps 115:16). Even if in the later rabbinic tradition the OT number of two candidates was augmented up

moment of divinisation or deification. This is because his virginal birth signifies his divine identity from the very beginning of his human existence (Luke 1:31–32).

1.4 *Jesus' Firm Resolution: "He Fixed his Face"*

The phrase τὸ πρόσωπον ἐστήρισεν ("he fixed his face") is considered a Hebraism because it is the LXX's literal rendering of לִפְנֵי פָנָיו, "which is so unknown in Greek that it can scarcely have flowed out of Luke's pen by itself."⁵⁸ The expression occurs 12 times in the LXX, twice in Jeremiah and 10 times in Ezekiel. In Ezekiel, most of the time, we find a stereotyped formula expressing a divine commission to the prophet: "Son of man" (υἱ ἐ ἀνθρώπου), "set your face upon" (στήρισον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπί) followed by the object (mountains of Israel, the daughters of my people, this man, them, Jerusalem, etc.) and the imperative of the verb "prophesy" (προφήτευσον), which in fact means that he has to deliver a message of judgment (Ezek 6:2; 13:17; 21:2, 7; 25:2; 28:21; 29:2; 38:2). In other instances, it is the Lord who says: "I set my face against" (στηριῶ/ἐστήρισα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἐπί) a person/persons or the city (Jer 3:12; 21:10; Ezek 14:8; 15:7). In both usages, there is an underlying hostile aspect: it is a prophecy against people, who are not doing God's will. The expression does not figure in OT Apocrypha, OT Pseudepigrapha, Philo or in Josephus. Luke obviously took it from the LXX. The Hebrew formula לִפְנֵי פָנָיו, however, is translated in different ways by the LXX: στηρίζω / δίδωμι / τίθημι / ἐφίστημι τὸ πρόσωπόν.⁵⁹ J. Starcky distinguishes two formulas in the MT, one with a preposition expressing hostility, another with an infinitive expressing

to nine or ten, this was still a very modest figure in comparison to the sheer innumerable rapture claims in the Graeco-Roman world.

⁵⁸ Wifstrand, "Luke and the Septuagint," 32. Wifstrand's statement should be relativized in light of expressions such as "sons of light," which occur in Luke, but not in LXX-Greek.

⁵⁹ LXX idiomatic expressions with πρόσωπον (except with στηρίζω):

- ἐπιστρέψω τὸ πρόσωπον, turn one's face (against/to): LXX Ezek 35:2 ἐπί+ acc.; LXX Dan 11:19 εἰς τὸ infinitive; Dan Th 11:8, 19 εἰς + noun in acc.;
- ἐφίστημι τὸ πρόσωπον: ἐπί + acc.: LXX Lev 17:10; 20:3, 5, 6; 26:17; Jer 51(44):11–12 τοῦ + inf. (purpose); Job 14:20;
- τίθημι τὸ πρόσωπον: LXX 3 Kgdms 2:15, ἐπί + acc. and εἰς+ acc. (purpose); Isa 50:7; Jer 49(42):17, εἰς + acc. and infinitive (purpose);
- τάσσω τὸ πρόσωπον fix one's face to: 4 Kgdms 12:18, with infinitive (purpose); Dan Th 11:17 with infinitive (purpose); δίδωμι τὸ πρόσωπον, set one's face: 2 Chr 20:3, with infinitive (purpose); Jer 27(50):5; 49(42):15, εἰς+ acc. (purpose); Ezek 15:7 ἐπί+ acc.; LXX Dan 9:3 ἐπί + acc. and infinitive (purpose); Dan Th 9:3 πρὸς+ acc. And τοῦ infinitive (purpose); LXX/Th Dan 10:15 ἐπί+ acc.; LXX Dan 11:17 with infinitive (purpose); LXX Dan 11:8 ἐπί+ acc.;
- without a copula/auxiliary verb: 2 Chr 32:2, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ τοῦ inf. (purpose), 'and that his face was set to' (NETS).

the intention to do something. In the LXX, the second formula is never translated by the verb *στηρίζω*.⁶⁰ He suggests that Luke has consciously or unconsciously conflated the two formulas,⁶¹ and might be alluding to Is 50:7 LXX ἔθηκα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ὡς στερεὰν πέτραν (“I have set my face like solid rock”) (MT: שְׁמִתִּי פָנַי בְּחַלְמִישׁ).

There is a discussion among scholars about how to interpret the Lukan usage. When one takes the etymology of the verb *στηρίζω* into account, the obvious meaning of “to set his face” would be: firm resolve, resolute determination.⁶² However, in view of the predominant presence of the expression in Ezekiel and the influence of Ezekiel on other Lukan passages, the notion of judgement might also ring true in Luke 9:51.⁶³ Some argue against this because the preposition ἐπί is lacking in Luke 9:51.⁶⁴ But Luke could have replaced ἐπί + complement (e.g. Jerusalem in Ez 21:7) by τοῦ πορεύεσθαι εἰς + complement (Jerusalem). Jesus’ firm decision to go up to Jerusalem is the first step of the confrontation with the city, the religious centre of the people of Israel, followed by other steps (13:22–35) and leading to the refusal of the city to receive him (19:11–40), Jesus’ lament for the city (19:41–44) and the prophecy of the destruction of the city (21:20–24). The way Luke formulates this dramatic confrontation is dependent on the language of the prophetic tradition, especially Jeremiah (2:2; 4:5, 14–17; 6:1–7, 22–26; 7:34; 22:8) and Ezekiel (4:2, 7, 16; 16:1; 22:1–7, 21–22). A third

ἐφίστημι τὸ πρόσωπον in LXX Lev 17:10; 20:3, 6; 26:17 and *στηρίζω* τὸ πρόσωπον in LXX Ezek 14:8; 15:7a are paralleled by פָּנַי (אַתָּה) נָתַן in biblical Hebrew. וַיִּפְּץ אֱשֶׁת as Hebrew biblical expression in MT Gen 31:21; Lev 20:5; 2 Kings 12:18; Isa 50:7; Jer 21:10; 42:11, 12, 15 (twice); Ezek 6:2; 13:17; 15:7b; 21:2, 7; 25:2; 28:21; 29:2; 35:2; 38:2; Dan 11:17, 18; in LXX Gen 31:21 more Graecised rendering ὤρηγσεν εἰς.

⁶⁰ J. Starcky, “Obfirmavit faciem suam ut iret Jerusalem: Sens et portée de Luch ix, 51,” *RSR* 39 (1951) 197–202.

⁶¹ The expression of Jer 44:11 MT אַתָּה־כֹּל־יְהוּדָה is translated by the LXX (Jer 51:11–12) into: “Therefore thus did the Lord say: Behold, I am setting my face to destroy all those remaining in Egypt (Ἴδου ἐγὼ ἐφίστημι τὸ πρόσωπόν μου 12 τοῦ ἀπολέσαι πάντας τοὺς καταλοίπους τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ).” The MT has the two expressions together, with preposition and with infinitive, the LXX only has the expression with the infinitive, but the verb itself contains an aspect of judgment.

⁶² I.H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1978) 405, with ref. to 2 Kgs 12:18: “And Hazel fixed his face to go up against Ierousalem” (MT: וַיִּשֶׂם הַזָּאֵל פָּנָיו לַעֲלוֹת עַל-); *וַיִּשְׁלֶךְ*; LXX: καὶ ἔταξεν Ἀζαήλ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ). C.H. Giblin, *The Destruction of Jerusalem According to Luke’s Gospel: A Historical-Typological Method* (AnBib 107; Roma: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1985) 31–32; Fitzmyer, *Gospel of Luke*, 823.

⁶³ Davies, “The Purpose of the Central Section,” 167; Evans, “A Note on Luke 9,51,” 548; Evans, “He Set His Face,” 84.

⁶⁴ Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Lukas*, 1913, 398, n. 28; Giblin, *The Destruction*, 32. The latter adds that it would be strange that the Samaritans opposed Jesus in Luke 9:53, while they knew that he intended to pronounce a judgment against Jerusalem. But the Samaritans’ refusal is based on their perception of Jesus being a Jewish prophet.

possibility is that the meaning of divine commission or dispatch, which plays in the Ezekiel texts, is also echoed in Luke 9:51.⁶⁵ Still, this interpretation seems less probable, since in Luke there is no divine commissioning of the prophet Jesus as there is with the prophet Ezekiel.

1.5 *The Purpose: "Going to Jerusalem"*

The genitive of the articular infinitive having a final (or consecutive) sense (Luke 9:51 τοῦ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ) is not unknown in classical Greek, but occurs more frequently in *Koine* Greek.⁶⁶ It occurs very often in the LXX, although the corresponding Hebrew preposition לְ with an infinitive can also be translated by a simple infinitive or by a preposition (ἴνα, πρὸς, ὅπως, ὥστε) with a subjunctive or a noun. In the LXX, the form τοῦ + infinitive present πορεύεσθαι (MT: תִּלְכוּ) occurs in LXX^B Judg 19:7; 2 Kgdms 19:16(15); 3 Kgdms 2:3; 8:25, 58; 16:31, 4 Kgdms 23:3; 2 Chr 6:16; 2 Esd 20:30(29); Prov 2:13; Mic 6:8; Zech 6:7; Lam 4:18 (τοῦ μὴ πορευθῆναι); the form τοῦ + infinitive aorist πορευθῆναι (MT: תִּלְכוּ) occurs in LXX^B Judg 19:5, 9, 27; in 2 Kgdms 15:14, 20; 4 Kgdms 9:15; 1 Chr 21:30; 2 Chr 20:36, 37; 25:13 (τοῦ μὴ πορευθῆναι); 34:31; Ps 106(107):7; Eccl 1:7; 5:14; Job 34:8; Jer 44(37):12; 47(40):5; 48(41):17.⁶⁷ The genitive of the articular infinitive is clearly characteristic of Luke's language⁶⁸ and is another example of his use of septuagintal language in a form that is a literal rendering of the Hebrew source text.⁶⁹

Luke knew the two forms of naming the holy city: Ἱερουσαλήμ, a literal transcription of the Hebrew name (Luke 27×; Acts 36×) and Ἱεροσόλυμα, a Graecized form (Luke 4×; Acts 23×). In non-Christian literature, the first form is virtually found only in Greek versions of the OT and in the apocrypha; it is the only term used in the LXX. The second form is used by non-Jewish authors and by Jewish authors in historical works or propaganda.⁷⁰ Here, we do not need to enter into the discussion about whether the first

⁶⁵ W.H. Brownlee, "Son of Man Set Your Face": Ezekiel the Refugee Prophet," *HUCA* 54 (1983) 83–110; Evans, "A Note on Luke 9,51," 548.

⁶⁶ BDF, § 400; Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, § 382–383.

⁶⁷ Hogeterp and Denaux, *Semitisms in Luke*, ch. 4, 6.2.1.

⁶⁸ Denaux, Corstjens and Mardaga, *The Vocabulary of Luke*, 425.

⁶⁹ C. Tresmontant, *Évangile de Luc* (Paris: O.E.I.L., 1987) 459: "Il [Luc] compose ici une superbe phrase hébraïque avec des mots grecs. Les éléments, à savoir les mots, sont grecs, mais la forme de la phrase, sa structure, sa constitution, est de part en part hébraïque... Même le bon P. Lagrange, *Évangile selon saint Luc*, 284, le reconnaît: 'Tournure hébraïque...'"

⁷⁰ D.D. Sylva, "Jerusalem and Hierosolyma in Luke-Acts," *ZNW* 74 (1983) 207–221, 208.

name is a sacred term and theologically more significant, whereas the second term is a geographical referent, or whether Luke uses the first name in Jewish contexts and the second one in non-Jewish contexts.⁷¹ It suffices here to note that he chose the LXX-form Ἱερουσαλήμ and that this use is characteristic of Luke. The latter is also true for the phrase πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ (Luke 2:41; 9:51, 53; 17:11; cp. Acts 19:21 var.; 20:22), which also occurs in 2 Esdr 40:23; 7:13 (Ἱερουσαλήμ) and Tobit 1:6 (LXX BA and LXX S: Ἱεροσόλυμα).

2. *Jesus Sends Messengers to Prepare Lodging in a Samaritan Village but the Samaritans Refuse to Receive Him (Luke 9:52–53)*

2.1 *Jesus Sends Messengers (Luke 9:52a)*

In Luke 9:52, Jesus ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ (“He sent messengers before his face”). The expression reminds us of Luke 7:27 Ἴδου ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἀγγελὸν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, a quotation from the LXX Ex 23:20 Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἀγγελὸν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου (MT: **וְיִשְׁלַח אֲנִי מַלְאָכִי לְפָנֶיךָ**) ἵνα φυλάξῃ σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ὅπως εἰσαγάγῃ σε εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἡτοιμάσα ἰσοι⁷² (cp. Mal 3:1: ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐξαποστέλλω τὸν ἀγγελὸν μου, καὶ ἐπιβλέψεται ὁδὸν πρὸ προσώπου μου; MT: **וְיִשְׁלַח אֲנִי מַלְאָכִי לְפָנֶיךָ**), where the combination of ἀποστέλλω + ἀγγελον/ἀγγέλους and πρὸ προσώπου + personal pronoun is present.⁷³ There is a similar combination in the MT of Gen 32:4: **וַיִּשְׁלַח יַעֲקֹב מַלְאָכִים לְפָנָיו**, but there the phrase **וַיִּשְׁלַח** is translated more freely in the LXX: Ἀπέστειλεν δὲ Ἰακωβ ἀγγέλους ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ (“in front of him”). See also 4 Kgdms 6:32 ἀπέστειλεν ἄνδρα πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ and 3 Baruch 4:1 ἀπέστειλε γὰρ με πρὸ προσώπου σου. Besides this, the motif of sending messengers (ἀποστέλλω + ἀγγέλους) is very common in the LXX, where it occurs 42 times.⁷⁴ The occurrence of the phrase in 4 Kgdms 1:2

⁷¹ See the studies referred to in footnote 14.

⁷² We have quoted the entire verse Ex 23:20, because in this case, we have not only the motif of “sending messenger(s) before your/his face”, but also the verb “to make ready,” as in Luke 9:52.

⁷³ Obviously, Luke 9:52 uses the plural ἀγγέλους whereas Luke 7:17 uses a singular ἀγγελὸν, which makes an important difference.

⁷⁴ LXX Gen 32:4; Num 20:14; 24:12; Josh 7:22; Judg 6:35 (LXX^B); Judg 7:24 (LXX^B); Judg 9:31; 11:12; 11:14 (LXX^A); 11:14 (LXX^B); 11:17 (LXX^B); 11:19; 1 Kgdms 6:21; 11:3; 16:19; 19:11, 14, 20, 21 (bis); 25:14; 2 Kgdms 2:5; 3:12, 14 (LXX^A), 26; 5:11; 11:4; 12:27; 4 Kgdms 1:2; 14:8; 16:7; 17:4; 18:14; 19:9; 1 Chr 14:1; 19:2, 16; 2 Chr 35:21; 36:15; 2 Esd 16:3 (Neh 6:3); Job 40:6(11); Isa 37:9; Jer 29(49):14; see also OT Apocrypha: Tob 10:9 (LXX^B); Jdt 3:1; 1 Macc 7:10; OT Pseudepigrapha: *Apoc. Sedr.* 8:1; *Jos.As.* 23:2; 24:3; *Apoc. Mos.* 40.7. (Cf. ἀποστέλλω ἀγγελὸν (*singular*) in LXX

should be especially mentioned, because it opens the Elijah story in chapter 1–2: *καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους . . . καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἐπερωτῆσαι δι’ αὐτοῦ.*⁷⁵

The Hebraism *πρὸ προσώπου* ((1)יִפְנֵי) occurs 74 times in the LXX.⁷⁶ According to R. Sollamo, the prepositional phrase *πρὸ προσώπου* (αὐτοῦ) represents “the most slavish manner of translating יִפְנֵי . . . It should be regarded as a phraseological Hebraism, since it is not found in original Greek literature outside the LXX . . . In the LXX, *πρὸ προσώπου* corresponds to local יִפְנֵי 48 times and to intermediate יִפְנֵי 19 times.”⁷⁷

2.2 *The Disciples Preparing Jesus’ Lodging* (9:52b)

The disciples perform what Jesus asked them: *καὶ πορευθέντες εἰσῆλθον εἰς κώμην Σαμαριτῶν, ὡς ἐτοιμάσαι αὐτῷ* (“Going they went to a village of the Samaritans to make ready for him”) (9:52b). The redundant participle with finite verb *πορευθέντες εἰσῆλθον* is, according to Wifstrand, “not out of place in Greek, but it does fit excellently with the language of the LXX, where a participle like that is at times found in the Pentateuch with ἦλθον or similar verbs to represent one of two Hebrew finite verbs (Num 13:26 *καὶ πορευθέντες ἦλθον*, cf. Josh 8:11 *καὶ πορευόμενοι ἦλθον*).”⁷⁸ One can add other examples of the redundant use of the participle with finite verbs: Gen 27:13 *πορευθεὶς ἔνεγκε μοι*; 27:14 *πορευθεὶς δὲ ἔλαβεν*; 37:14 *πορευθεὶς ἰδέ*; Exod 5:11 *πορευόμενοι συλλέγετε*; 5:18 *πορευθέντες ἐργάζεσθε*; Deut 11:28 *πορευθέντες λατρεύειν θεοῖς ἑτέροις*; LXX^B Deut 29:17 *πορευθέντες λατρεύειν*; 29:25 *πορευθέντες ἐλάτρευσαν θεοῖς ἑτέροις*; 23:16 *πορευθέντες λατρεύσητε θεοῖς ἑτέροις*; 4 Kgdms 5:10 *πορευθεὶς λούσαι ἐπτάκις ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ*; 5:12 *οὐχὶ*

Gen 24:7, 40; Exod 23:20; Num 20:16; 4 Kgdms 5:10; 1 Chr 21:15; 2 Chr 32,21, LXX/Th Dan 3:28(95), Dan Th 6:22(23); 2 Macc 11:6, 15:22, 23).

⁷⁵ Cf. Brodie, “The Departure for Jerusalem (Lk 9,51–56),” 104–105.

⁷⁶ LXX Exod 23:20; 32:34; 33:2; 34:6, 11, 24; Lev 18:24; Num 14:42; 27:17; 33:52; Deut 1:21, 30; 2:31, 33; 3:18, 28; 4:38; 5:7; 6:19; 8:20; 9:3, 4; 22:6; 23:14(15); 28:7; 30:1, 15, 19; 31:3, 7; Josh 4:5; 1 Kgdms 18:16; 3 Kgdms 12:8, 10, 30; 4 Kgdms 6:32; 2 Chr 1:13; 19:11; Amos 8:4; Mic 2:13; 6:4 *ἐξαπέστειλα πρὸ προσώπου*; Joel 2:3, 10, 11; Hab 3:5; Zech 3:1, 3, 4, 8; 4:7; 14:20; Mal 3:1, 14; Jer 9:12; 15:1, 19; 17:16; 21:8; Ezek 4:1; 8:11; 14:1, 3, 4, 7; 16:18, 19; 20:1; 22:30; 23:24, 41; 44:12, 15; Dan Th 2:31.

⁷⁷ Cf. R. Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint* (AASF Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 19; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1979) 13–80, 30; see also 13: “The preposition יִפְנֵי is very common in the Hebrew Old Testament (1025 times) and is by far the most frequently used semipreposition. Its renderings in the LXX are many and various. The most used equivalent is ἐνώπιον (218), while ἐναντίον (181) and ἔναντι (153) share the next high frequency, followed by ἔμπροσθεν (80), πρὸ προσώπου (67), and κατὰ πρόσωπον (65). Of the remainder none occurs more than 30 times.”

⁷⁸ Cf. Wifstrand, “Luke and the Septuagint,” 33; see also MT III, 154; BDF § 419 (2); Jeremias, *Die Sprache des Lukas*, 23.

πορευθεὶς λούσομαι ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ καθαρισθήσομαι; Jer 51(44):3 πορευθέντες θυμιᾶν θεοῖς ἐτέροις, LXX Dan 6:20 καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαρείος ὄρθρισε πρωΐ καὶ παρέλαβε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς σατράπας καὶ πορευθεὶς ἔστη ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ λάκκου τῶν λεόντων; OT Apocrypha: 1 Macc 7:7 νῦν οὖν ἀπόστειλον ἄνδρα, ᾧ πιστεύεις, καὶ πορευθεὶς ιδέτω τὴν ἐξολέθρευσιν πάσαν; OT Pseudepigrapha: 3 Baruch 15:4 πορευθέντες εὐλογήσατε, 16:2 πορευθέντες παραζηλώσατε; Philo, *Worse* 5 and 11 πορευθεὶς ιδέ (citations of LXX Gen 37:14).

The disciples went ὡς ἐτοιμάσαι αὐτῷ (“to make ready for him”) (9:52b). According to Wifstrand, “this independent ἐτοιμάσαι, followed by a dative, is extremely rare in Greek, but it does appear in the LXX, where it coincides with Hebrew usage: 1 Ezra 1:14 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἠτοιμάσαν ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν (cf. 2 Chr 35:14), Jer 26:14 εἶπατε Ἐπίστηθι καὶ ἐτοιμάσον. It does not seem to have any direct Aramaic counterpart.”⁷⁹ Only in the first example, the verb lacks an accusative expressing a direct object and is followed by a dative of interest; the second example only has an independent use of the verb, without any qualifying complement.

The verb ἐτοιμάζω (in MT mostly: יָצַו) occurs 173 times in the LXX, and is used in several syntactical phrases, with acc. and dat. (e.g. Gen 24:14; Exod 23:20; Num 23:1, 29; 2 Kgdms 7:24), with infinitive (3 Kgdms A 6:19; Esth 1:1 ἠτοιμάσθησαν ἀπολέσθαι; Job 12:5; Dan 12:11), independently without qualification (e.g. Gen 43:16; Josh B 9:4; 1 Kgdms 23:22; 1 Chr 9:32; 15:12; 2 Chr 35:4). However there are a number of cases where the verb is followed only by a dative as in Luke 9:52b: 1 Chr 12:40 ἠτοιμάσαν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν (“And they were there three days, eating and drinking, for their brothers made provision for them”); 1 Chr 22:5 ἐτοιμάσω αὐτῷ· καὶ ἠτοιμάσεν Δαυὶδ εἰς πλῆθος ἔμπροσθεν τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ (David speaking about Solomon who will build a temple: “I shall make preparations for it. And David prepared in abundance before his death”); 2 Chr 29:36: διὰ τὸ ἠτοιμακέναι τὸν θεὸν τῷ λαῷ (“And Hezekias and all the people were glad on account of the fact that God had prepared for the people”); 2 Chr 35:6 καὶ θύσατε τὸ φασεχ καὶ τὰ ἅγια ἐτοιμάσατε τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὑμῶν (object τὰ ἅγια only in Codex A) (“And slaughter the Pesach, and prepare the holy things for your brothers”); 2 Chr 35:14 καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐτοιμάσαι αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ὅτι οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐν τῷ ἀναφέρειν τὰ στέατα καὶ τὰ ὄλοκαυτώματα ἕως νυκτός, καὶ οἱ Λευῖται ἠτοιμάσαν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῶν υἱοῖς Ααρων (“And after preparing for them and for the priests, because the priests offered the fat and whole burnt offerings until night, the Levites prepared

⁷⁹ Cf. Wifstrand, “Luke and the Septuagint,” 33.

Plummer says that it hardly can be doubted that this circumlocution in Luke 9:53 is Hebraistic. However, he rightly remarks that many of the cases where Luke uses ἦν with present participle as a periphrasis for imperfect “would be admissible in classical Greek, and may be used to imply continuance of action.”⁸⁰ We think that this is the case in Luke 9:53: once Jesus has taken the decision to go up to Jerusalem, he continues his journey without losing sight of his goal. He is directing his face constantly towards the city. The phrase ἦν πορευόμενον is linked to the present infinitive τοῦ πορευέσθαι and can be compared to Luke 9:18 (ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν προσευχόμενον) and Luke 9:29 (ἐν τῷ προσεύχεσθαι αὐτόν).⁸¹ We may conclude that in 9:53, Luke probably is using a periphrastic construction.⁸²

3. *The Opposite Reactions of the Disciples and Jesus (Luke 9:54–55)*

When the disciples James and John saw this, they said: Κύριε, θέλεις εἶπωμεν⁸³ πῦρ καταβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀναλώσαι αὐτούς (Luke 9:54). Their attitude reminds us of Elijah in 4 Kgdms 1:10.12 LXX. The prophet deals two times in a similar way with the officer and his fifty man, who are sent by king Ahaziah: καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ἡλίου καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν πεντηκόνταρχον Καὶ εἰ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγώ, καταβήσεται πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ καταφάγεται σε καὶ τοὺς πεντήκοντά σου· καὶ κατέβη πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς πεντήκοντα αὐτοῦ. The third officer repeats what has happened to the two officers before him (κατέβη πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) and urges Elijah to go down with him to the king. The prophet agrees, but focuses his anger on the king by prophesying his instant death. Luke’s dependence on the text of 4 Kgdms 2:10, 12 LXX cannot be denied, at least for the sentence “fire comes down from heaven.”⁸⁴ For a long time, it has been observed

⁸⁰ Plummer, *Luke*, li.

⁸¹ Moule, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek*, 17. T.V. Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch* (Oxford: University Press, 2011) 221, speaks of a ‘substitute periphrasis’ in Gen 14:12 (ἦν γὰρ κατοικῶν) and 13 (κατάρκει). See also Ezek 1:12 (καὶ ἐκάτερον κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐπορεύετο· οὐδ’ ἂν ἦν τὸ πνεῦμα πορευόμενον, ἐπορεύοντο καὶ οὐκ ἐπέστρεφον).

⁸² So Jeremiah, *Sprache*, 180.

⁸³ The co-ordinate use of subjunctive after θέλειν occurs in Mark 10:36; 10:51 (= Matt 20:32; Luke 18:41); 14:12 (= Matt 26:17; Luke 22:9); 15:9 (= Mt 27:17); 15:12; Matt 13:28; 27:21; Luke 9:54; M-H 2: 420–421: “In class. Gr. common with βούλομαι, which is largely replaced by θέλω in NT”. This seems characteristic for Hellenistic Greek, but is not necessary a septuagintism (see, however, Exod 2:7: Θέλεις καλέσω σοι γυναῖκα τροφεύουσαν ἐκ τῶν Εβραίων καὶ θηλάσει σοι τὸ παιδίον).

⁸⁴ Luke takes over subject, verb, and prepositional phrase. He substitutes ἐκ in Mark 1:25, 26, 29; 5:8, 30; 9:9¹), 17 by ἀπὸ. See ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ also in Luke 17:29 (with πῦρ; 22:11, 43). M. Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium* (HNT 5; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008) 371, thinks

that the *Boanerges*, “the sons of thunder” (Mark 3:17), want to follow in the footsteps of the prophet Elijah, as the scribal addition ὡς καὶ Ηλιας ἐποίησεν (A C D W Θ Ψ f^{1.13} M it sy^{p,h} bo^{p1}; Marc), patristic evidence, later commentaries and secondary literature testify.⁸⁵ Even so, the disciples still want to have Jesus’ approval (θέλεις εἶπωμεν) to do what Elijah did, that is, destroy the enemy.

Contrary to expectation, Jesus rebukes his disciples: στραφεῖς δὲ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς (Luke 9:55). Luke’s choice of the verb ἐπιτίμαω might point to a demoniacal connotation: it is the verb used to describe Jesus’ dealing with evil spirits or demons (cf. Luke 4:36, 39, 41; 9:42). In a similar way, Jesus rebukes Peter when the latter tries to deflect him from the way of suffering and death (Mark 8:33). Jesus refuses this satanic messianology, because it is based on (military) power, and not on vulnerable love. Jesus does not want to be associated with “militant prophecy” in the line of Elijah. His rejection of the prophetic aggression of James and John has to do with the way he understands his mission. Jesus has just started his journey to Jerusalem, with the intention to offer God’s salvation in freedom, at the risk of being rejected and murdered himself by the leaders of the people and the city. His ‘way of suffering’ does not correspond to militant prophecy.⁸⁶ Obviously Luke has, in distinction to Mark and Matthew, who saw John the Baptist as the Elijah *redivivus*, compared Jesus with Elijah: “because in no other Old Testament prophet did the Spirit of God work so mightily.”⁸⁷ Jesus is a prophet superior to Elijah, and his refusal to use violence to promote God’s will is an aspect of this superiority.

that Luke does not go back directly to the text of the LXX, because instead of κατεσθῆεν he has ἀναλίσκειν. Elsewhere ἀναλίσκειν is the usual combination with πῦρ (cf. *VitProph* 21:10; 2 Macc 2:10; Ezek 15:4–6; 19:12; Joel 1:19; 2:3; *TestAvrahA* 10:11). Nevertheless, the verbal agreements of the whole sentence are more important than the disagreement of one word. Moreover, Luke could have avoided κατεσθῆεν, because its unmarked meaning is “to eat,” whereas ἀναλίσκειν does not have that connotation.

⁸⁵ Cf. Brodie, “The Departure for Jerusalem (Lk 9,51–56),” 106–107.

⁸⁶ So J. Dochhorn, “Die Verschönerung des samaritanischen Dorfes (Lk 9,54–55): Eine kritische Reflexion von Elia-Überlieferung im Lukasevangelium und eine frühjüdische Parallel im *Testament Abrahams*,” *NTS* 53 (2007) 359–378. See also D.C. Allison, “Rejecting Violent Judgment: Luke 9:52–56 and Its Relatives,” *JBL* 121 (2002) 459–478.

⁸⁷ W. Wink, *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition* (SNTSMS 7; Cambridge: University Press, 1968) 43; on p. 44, he gives a number of parallels between Luke and the Elijah accounts in 3 Kgdms 17–19:21 and 4 Kgdms 1–2. See also A. Denaux, “L’hypocrisie des Phariséens et le dessein de Dieu: Analyse de Lc., 13,31–33,” in *L’Évangile de Luc. The Gospel of Luke. Revised and Enlarged Edition of L’Évangile de Luc. Problèmes littéraires et théologiques* (ed. F. Neirynck; BETL 32; Leuven: University Press/Peters, 1989) 155–195, esp. 192–194 (= Id., *Studies in the Gospel of Luke* [Tilburg Theological Studies 4; Berlin, LIT Verlag, 2010] 181–222, esp. 214–216); B.J. Koet, “Elijah as Reconciler of Father and Son: From 1 Kings

Conclusion

Our critical examination has shown that all of the 14 alleged septuagintisms in Luke 9:51–56, except one (nr. 13), have qualified as such. At the same time, the following items are characteristic of Luke; they all occur in verse 51: 1.1 ἐγένετο δέ;⁸⁸ 1.2 ἐν τῷ + infinitive;⁸⁹ 4. καὶ αὐτός;⁹⁰ 6. τοῦ + infinitive;⁹¹ 7. Ἱερουσαλήμ;⁹² πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ.⁹³ In certain cases Luke prefers a Hebraistic form of LXX Greek, whereas the LXX also offers more Graecizing forms (the nrs. 1.2, 5, 6, 8 πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, and 11). One can thus say that Luke has consciously used a septuagintal style in writing the opening pericope of the “travel narrative.” Moreover, two items clearly refer to the Elijah story (nr. 3 ἀναλήμψις in Luke 9:51 and 4 Kgdms 2:9–11; and nr. 14 πῦρ καταβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ in Lk 9:54 and 4 Kgdms 1:10, 12, 14), while other items also have a parallel in the Elijah story: nr. 1.1–3: the threefold καὶ ἐγένετο-formula in Luke 9:51 and 4 Kgdms 2:1, 9, 11; nr. 6 πορεύεσθαι in Luke 9:51, 52, 53 and 4 Kgdms 1:4; 2:1, 11; nr. 8 ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους in Luke 9:52 and 4 Kgdms 1:2, 9, 11, 16. It is fair to conclude that Elijah’s departure for the Jordan has played a role in Luke’s description of Jesus’ departure for Jerusalem.⁹⁴ In light of our findings, Flusser’s reconstruction of a Hebrew source behind Luke 9:51–56 seems superfluous.⁹⁵

16:34 and Malachi 3:22–24 to Ben Sira 48:1–11 and Luke 11:3–17,” in *Rewriting Biblical History. Essays on Chronicles and Ben Sira in Honor of Pancratius C. Beentjes* (ed. J. Corley and H. van Grol; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature 7; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011) 173–190.

⁸⁸ Denaux, Corstjens and Mardaga, *The Vocabulary of Luke*, 124.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 424.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 317.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 425.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 298.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 523.

⁹⁴ So rightly Brodie, “The Departure for Jerusalem (Lk 9,51–56),” who identifies five segments or groupings of agreements. However, in our opinion, grouping 3 (“The turning back of the mission”) and 5 (“The journeying from one place to another”) are less convincing.

⁹⁵ Flusser, “Lukas 9:51–56: Ein hebräisches Fragment,” 169, gives the following reconstruction:

(51) ויהי במלאות ימי עלייתו וישם פניו ללכת לירושלים

(52) וישלח מלאכים לפניו וילכו ויבאו בכפר השמרונים כדי להכין לו

(53). ולא קבלו אותו כי פניו אל ירושלים (53). His translation (in German) can be rendered in English: “(51) And it happened, when the days of his pilgrimage were being fulfilled that he fixed his face to go to Jerusalem, (52) and he sent messengers before his face, and they went and came in a village of the Samaritans to prepare for him, (53) And they did not receive him, because his face (was directed) towards Jerusalem.” He understands עלייתו as his “pilgrimage” and stresses the threefold occurrence of the “face” of Jesus, giving it a very strong Christological meaning (the “face” is an indication of his “glory”; cf. Exod 33:14–15; 2 Cor 4:3–6).

THE RECEPTION OF TOBIT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT AND EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LUKE-ACTS

Susan Docherty

1. *Introduction: Did the First Christians Read Tobit?*

Detailed studies of the influence of the deuterocanonical books on the New Testament and early Christian literature are relatively rare, due largely to their post-Reformation status as texts which are secondary to scripture and derivative of it. This, together with the fact that few if any direct citations from the Apocrypha can be detected in the New Testament, has led to the view in some quarters that they have little value for the student of early Christianity. This chapter seeks to re-examine this perception by assessing the reception in selected early Christian writings of one of these deuterocanonical texts, the Book of Tobit. Usually dated between 225 and 175 BCE,¹ Tobit narrates the adventures of a pious Israelite and his son who overcome difficulties and dangers with the help of an angel in human form. On a deeper level, it seeks to edify and encourage its readers by emphasising the certainty of divine protection and reward for those who trust in Israel's God and remain faithful to the Mosaic laws in whatever circumstances they find themselves, especially in a Diaspora context.

On first sight, Tobit would seem to be a particularly unpromising starting point for an investigation of this kind. Firstly, this book has a very complicated textual history, surviving in three main Greek recensions, as well as in Latin and Syriac versions; Aramaic and Hebrew fragments have also been discovered at Qumran.² The uncertainty about which of these traditions should be regarded as having circulated most widely in the first century CE creates a problem for the identification of definite citations of and allusions to Tobit in the New Testament. The last two decades, however, have seen a strengthening of the scholarly consensus that the

¹ See e.g. J.A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003), although an earlier date in the third century BCE is preferred by other commentators.

² See the full discussion of the textual traditions and the probable relationships between them in S. Weeks, S. Gathercole and L. Stuckenbruck, eds., *The Book of Tobit: Texts From the Principal Ancient and Medieval Traditions* (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2004).

longer Greek recension, as found in Codex Sinaiticus, is more likely to be original than the shorter, because it is better supported by the Qumran evidence.³ This issue deserves more detailed treatment than it can be afforded here, but, for the purposes of this study, the longer text will be considered. Secondly, Tobit is heavily influenced by the canonical scriptures, in both form (e.g. Tobit's last speech in chapter 14 resembles the final "testaments" of Israel's patriarchs in Genesis) and content (e.g. Tobit is like Job in his righteous suffering, and Tobias' search for a suitable wife parallels that of Isaac in Gen 24); its close relationship to the thought and language of Deuteronomy has been particularly noted by commentators.⁴ This makes it difficult to assess the extent to which a New Testament writing is making direct use of Tobit, as any similarities may be due to a common dependence on another scriptural passage, or simply reflect a shared late Second Temple Jewish culture.

The possible influence of Tobit on some parts of the New Testament was recognised by two significant commentators of the early twentieth century, despite the negative evaluation of the deuterocanonical writings which generally characterised that period. Thus Simpson notes several parallels between Tobit and the Pastoral Epistles, and suggests that Tobit may have been one of the sources for the gospel accounts of the resurrection and ascension of Jesus.⁵ Rendel Harris likewise argues for a direct citation of Tob 4:9 in 1 Tim 6:19 and points to similarities between the account of the departure of the angel Raphael in Tob 12:16–21 and the Johannine Farewell Discourse.⁶ There has also been considerable scholarly discussion of Tob 4:15, one of the earliest Jewish attestations to the "Golden Rule". The principle is expressed negatively in Tobit ("And what you hate, do not do to anyone . . .") but positively in the gospels (Matt 7:12; Luke 6:31). The negative formulation does, however, occur elsewhere in early Christian literature (see *Did.* 1:2; cf. Acts 15:29 in codex D), but this does not indicate any dependence on Tobit, since this form of the teaching

³ This is the position of recent commentators such as C.A. Moore, *Tobit* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1996) 53–64, although the picture remains complex; the Qumran evidence is explored more fully in J.A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit From Qumran Cave 4," *CBQ* 57 (1995) 655–675.

⁴ See e.g. A. DiLella, "The Deuteronomic Background of the Farewell Discourse in Tob 14:3–11," *CBQ* 41 (1979) 380–389. See also W. Soll, "Misfortune and Exile in Tobit: The Junction of a Fairy Tale Source and Deuteronomic Theology," *CBQ* 51 (1989) 209–231.

⁵ D.C. Simpson, "Tobit," in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* (ed. R.H. Charles; 2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913) 1: 174–241.

⁶ J. Rendel Harris, "Tobit and the New Testament," *ExpTim* 40 (1928) 315–319.

is found in a variety of Jewish sources (see e.g. the *Letter of Aristeas* 207; Philo, *Hypothetica* 7.6; *b. Sabb.* 31a).⁷ It is now becoming more common for major critical commentaries on the New Testament to make reference to various possible links with Tobit, and studies of the linguistic background and theological development of some New Testament concepts also occasionally draw on Tobit to illuminate a particular word, such as “mammon” in Luke 16:9⁸ and “memorial” in Acts 10:4.⁹ These scattered observations about individual passages do not, however, allow for a full evaluation of the extent to which the Book of Tobit as a whole may have formed part of the “intertext”¹⁰ of early Christian literature.

The fullest treatment to date of the relationship between Tobit and the New Testament is that of Skemp.¹¹ He concludes that Tobit is only alluded to directly once, in the description of the New Jerusalem at Rev 21:18–21 (following Tob 13:16–17), although not all commentators on Revelation agree, as the influence of Isa 54:11–12 and Ezek 40–48 is also very evident in this passage. However, he identifies a further seven themes which he claims are strong indications that the Book of Tobit formed part of the cultural intertexture of the New Testament authors; these motifs include the understanding of demon possession and healing (compare Tob 3:16–17; 6:8; 8:2–4 with Mark 5:2–4, 10; 9:28–29; Acts 9:17–18); a universalist outlook (Tob 13:11; 14:6–7; cf. Matt 28:19; Luke 2:31–32; 1 Thess 1:9; Rev 21:24–26); and a developing angelology (e.g. compare the central role in the Tobit narrative of Raphael as angelic protector and intercessor with Matt 18:10; 26:53; Acts 12:15). In drawing together evidence from across the New Testament in this way, Skemp’s overview suggests that this subject warrants further more detailed exploration. Another important study is Catchpole’s investigation of the resurrection accounts in the gospels.¹² Here, he makes

⁷ See the full discussion of the texts and secondary literature in e.g. H.D. Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 1995) 508–519; see also Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 175; Moore, *Tobit*, 178–180; U. Luz, *A Commentary on Matthew 1–7* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2007).

⁸ M. Philonenko, “De l’intérêt des deutérocanoniques pour l’interprétation du Nouveau Testament: L’exemple de Luc 16, 9,” *RevScRel* 73 (1999) 177–183.

⁹ Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 294.

¹⁰ For this term, see e.g. V.K. Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts: A Guide to Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation* (Harrisburg PA: Trinity, 1996).

¹¹ V. Skemp, “Avenues of Intertextuality Between Tobit and the New Testament,” in *Intertextual Studies in Ben Sira and Tobit: Essays in Honour of Alexander Di Lella* (ed. J. Corley and V. Skemp; Washington DC: CBA of America, 2005) 43–70.

¹² D. Catchpole, *Resurrection People: Studies in the Resurrection Narratives of the Gospels* (London: DLT, 2000) 88–98.

a persuasive argument for seeing clear parallels between Tobit and the Lucan narrative of the journey to Emmaus, pointing to common features such as the withholding and later disclosure of the identity of the travelling companion (Raphael in Tob 5:5; 12:15; Jesus in Luke 24:16, 31), the sudden disappearance of these companions (Tob 12:20–21; Luke 24:31), and the provision of food and hospitality at the end of each stage of the journey (Tob 7:8; 8:19; 11:19; Luke 24:29–30). Catchpole has therefore demonstrated what can be gained by a very close reading of one gospel narrative in the light of a deuterocanonical book. This study aims to extend his approach by examining the similarities between the Book of Tobit and a larger section of the New Testament, the two-volume work Luke-Acts. The Lucan writings have been chosen as the focus here for three main reasons: firstly, taken together they provide sufficient material for a worthwhile investigation without being too large to fit within the confines of a short paper; secondly, they reveal some noteworthy parallels of both form and content with Tobit which may merit further attention; and thirdly, such a comparison may help to illuminate the much-disputed question of the literary genre of Acts. In order to gain a fuller picture of what themes of the Book of Tobit were particularly valued within early Christianity more widely, the final section of this study will offer an initial consideration of the references to it in second century patristic sources. It is a great pleasure to dedicate this chapter to Maarten Menken, whose collegial and judicious approach to scholarship serves as an inspiring model to all who work in the field of the use of the Old Testament in the New.

2. *Reading Tobit and Luke-Acts in Parallel*

2.1 *Common Themes*

This section will explore theological and narrative themes which are present in both Tobit and Luke-Acts. In dealing with the gospel, the focus will largely be on the material which is unique to Luke and not present in the other synoptics. It should be stressed at the outset that this study does not argue for the presence of any citations of Tobit in Luke-Acts, nor claim that the author directly borrowed any motifs from it; many of these features occur also in other examples of Jewish literature, and indicate nothing more than a shared religious and cultural context. The number and type of these parallels may, nevertheless, prove illuminating for an understanding of Luke-Acts. The picture is complicated by Luke's use throughout of pre-existent sources; this investigation will, however,

have scope to consider only the final form of the work, so no attempt will be made here to distinguish between the author's own theology and that present in his sources.

Firstly, the theme of trusting in divine providence runs throughout both Tobit and Luke-Acts as an overarching narrative and theological framework: God is ultimately able to bring both Tobit's family and the first disciples through tribulations, dangers and adventures, including hostility from foreign powers and fellow Jews alike. The next point of interest is the presentation of various characters in both works as models of piety. Tobit himself is introduced as one who has "... walked in the ways of truth and righteousness all the days of (his) life..." (Tob 1:3),¹³ by performing numerous acts of charity (Tob 1:3, 16-18; 2:2, 7), worshipping in the appropriate manner, faithfully keeping the Mosaic laws, marrying within his tribe, and properly avoiding eating gentile food (Tob 1:6-12). He enjoins these same virtues on his son (e.g. Tob 4:5-19), and, in the final chapter of the book, he is pictured as dying content at a ripe old age, reaping the rewards of his righteousness and almsgiving (Tob 14:11). Similar figures are encountered at the beginning of Luke's gospel, as Elizabeth and Zechariah are both said to be righteous, "... walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless..." (Luke 1:6). Simeon is also presented as "righteous and devout" (Luke 2:25), and Anna (who shares her name with Tobit's wife) is said to have spent a lifetime in prayer and fasting (Luke 2:37). After seeing the child Jesus, Simeon declares himself ready to die in peace (Luke 2:29), an utterance reminiscent of the response of Tobit's wife Anna to the safe return of her son Tobias from his journey: "I have seen you, my child; now I am ready to die..." (Tob 11:9; cf. Tobias' prayer of rejoicing on this occasion, Tob 11:14-15; although see also Jacob's words on being reunited with Joseph in Gen 46:30). Jesus' parents, too, are shown as observing the Mosaic law of purification after his birth (Luke 2:22), and as regularly attending religious festivals in Jerusalem (Luke 2:41). Similar devout characters appear in Acts, with the centurion Cornelius, for instance, being commended for his prayers and almsgiving (Acts 10:2). There is also emphasis on the fact that Peter keeps the traditional hours of prayer and eschews gentile food (Acts 10:9-15), and the disciples as a body are presented as engaged in frequent prayer and regular worship in the temple (e.g. Luke 24:53; Acts 1:12-14; 2:46-47; 12:12; cf. 13:1-3). The space devoted to women in Luke-Acts is often noted, and in this respect

¹³ All citations from Tobit and the NT are taken from the RSV.

the work mirrors other Jewish writings of the late Second Temple Period such as the Book of Judith, the *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo and *Joseph and Aseneth*. In Tobit, too, some attention is paid to the activities and inner emotions of female characters such as Anna and Tobias' bride, Sarah. They are presented as devout, "sensible" (Tob 6:12) and industrious, with Anna, for example, turning her hand to "women's work" to earn money for the family when her husband is afflicted with blindness (Tob 2:11). In this she resembles some of the women of Acts, such as Tabitha, who "was full of good works and acts of charity" (Acts 9:36), and was particularly celebrated for the making of tunics (Acts 9:39). The authors of both Tobit and Luke-Acts, then, reflect a traditional Jewish value-system in their descriptions of piety and morality.

One facet of righteousness is particularly promoted by the Book of Tobit, namely almsgiving and the proper use of wealth. Tobit himself is presented as feeding the hungry and clothing the naked (Tob 1:16–18), inviting the poor to his family's celebratory meal for Pentecost (Tob 2:2), and encouraging his son to be generous in giving charity to the needy in proportion to his wealth (Tob 4:7–11, 16–17; cf. especially Luke 21:1–4 and Mark 12:41–44, where the poor widow gives all she can). Commentators sometimes note the parallels between these passages in Tobit and sections of both Paul's letters and the Gospel of Matthew, especially the Parable of the Sheep and the Goats (Matt 25:31–46), but they fit equally well with the attitude to wealth and almsgiving commended throughout Luke-Acts. Thus in the Lucan special material, for example, John the Baptist preaches generosity (Luke 3:11), and Jesus exhorts his followers to invite to a banquet the poor, rather than those who can repay the hospitality (Luke 14:12–14). The Parables of the Rich Fool and the Rich Man and Lazarus are told only in Luke (Luke 12:16–21; 16:19–31), and the Magnificat looks forward to a time of reversal, when the hungry will be "... filled ... with good things, and the rich ... sent away empty ..." (Luke 1:53; cf. the woes in Luke 6:24–25). Jesus' disciples are instructed to: "Sell your possessions and give alms ..." (Luke 12:32), and are then shown putting this teaching into practice in Acts, as they share their goods in common and sell their property so that the proceeds can be distributed to those in need (e.g. Acts 2:44–45; 4:32–37). Such concern for the poor is an important theme of scripture as a whole, and is widespread in Jewish literature, so its presence in both Tobit and Luke-Acts is no cause for surprise. There are, however, two specific ways in which the attitudes of these two writers parallel one another particularly closely, although not uniquely so. Firstly, both suggest that prayer is more effective when linked with almsgiving

(Tob 12:8; Acts 10:4, 31). Secondly, both contrast storing up treasure on earth with laying up heavenly treasure (Tob 4:9–11; Luke 12:33–34; cf. also Matt 6:19–21; Sir 29:11–12), and envisage God as rewarding generosity “measure for measure” (Luke 6:38; cf. also Matt 7:2; cf. Tob 4:7: “Do not turn your face away from any poor man, and the face of God will not be turned away from you . . .”; cf. Tob 4:14; this view is also frequent in rabbinic literature¹⁴ and the gospel teaching on this point is repeated in Christian writings of the second century, e.g. *1 Clem.* 13:2; *Pol. Phil.* 2:3).

Although Tobit at times stresses the ideal of separation from aspects of gentile culture (food, Tob 1:11; intermarriage, 4:12–13), a more inclusive attitude to gentiles is reflected elsewhere, in, for example, the stated expectation that the gentiles will ultimately turn away from their idols and worship the God of Israel (see Tob 14:6–7; cf. 13:11).¹⁵ This is usually taken as an indicator of the book’s origin in a social and historical context of relatively positive relationships between Jews and gentiles,¹⁶ and it is not, of course, a view confined to Tobit.¹⁷ Luke-Acts is also characterised by the view that gentiles as well as Jews can attain salvation.¹⁸ Thus, Luke traces Jesus’ genealogy back to the ancestor of all people, Adam (Luke 3:38; cf. Matt 1:1–17, which begins with Abraham). Soon after his birth Jesus is hailed as “a light for revelation to the gentiles” (Luke 2:32, echoing Isa 42:6; 49:6; the term is applied also to Paul in Acts 13:47), and his death immediately prompts a gentile soldier to give praise to God (Luke 23:47). In the programmatic sermon in the synagogue at Nazareth, Jesus likens himself to Elijah and Elisha who worked miracles on behalf of non-Israelites (Luke 4:25–27), and during the course of his ministry he does not hesitate to heal the son of a Roman centurion (Luke 7:1–10) or a Samaritan leper (Luke 17:11–19). This theme of universalism is even more prominent in Acts, from the Pentecost narrative, when proselytes from all over the

¹⁴ See e.g. *b. B. Bat.* 9–11; *b. Sabb.* 156b; *b. Ros Has.* 16b; *b. Sukkah* 49b. Further references can be found in R. Garrison, *Redemptive Almsgiving in Early Christianity* (JSNTSup 77; Sheffield: JSOT, 1993).

¹⁵ Most commentators now regard chapters 13 and 14 as original and integral to the Book of Tobit; see e.g. Moore, *Tobit*, 21–22.

¹⁶ E.g.: “All things considered, then, the book’s attitude toward Gentiles clearly suggests a date prior to the ethnic and religious hatred of the Maccabean period . . .” (Moore, *Tobit*, 41).

¹⁷ Within the Hebrew Bible, see e.g. Pss 22:27–28; 86:9; Isa 2:2–3; 56:3–8; Mic 4:2; Zech 2:11. See also e.g. *Pss. Sol.* 17:34; *1 En.* 10:21; 48:4–5. For an introduction to this subject which includes a discussion of relevant texts, see T.L. Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles: Jewish Patterns of Universalism* (Waco TX: Baylor University Press, 2007).

¹⁸ See e.g. B.J. Koet, *Five Studies on Interpretation of Scripture in Luke-Acts* (SNTA 14; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989).

known world hear the disciples speaking in their own languages (Acts 2:1–13; cf. 1:8; Luke 24:47), through the accounts of the holy spirit falling on gentile believers (e.g. Acts 10:45; cf. 11:15–18) and the many successes of Paul's ministry amongst the gentiles (e.g. Acts 9:15; 13:46–48; 14:27; 15:3–21), to the very last words attributed to Paul as he waits in Rome for his trial: "Let it be known to you then that this salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles; they will listen . . ." (Acts 28:29).

In the case of both Tobit and Luke-Acts, however, a universalist strand does not preclude the ascription of a special status to Jerusalem. The author of Tobit, indebted to Deuteronomistic theology, looks throughout to Jerusalem as the seat of the only legitimate temple (Tob 1:4–7; cf. 5:13), and it is to a rebuilt, glorious Jerusalem that the gentiles are envisaged as coming to worship God (Tob 13:8–9; 14:5; cf. 13:16–18). The particular place which Jerusalem holds in the scheme of salvation-history put forward in Luke-Acts has been widely acknowledged in New Testament scholarship, particularly post-Conzelmann.¹⁹ The gospel both opens and closes with action set in the city (Luke 1:8; 24:52); Jesus is acclaimed as saviour in the Jerusalem temple (Luke 2:27–38); and it is there that he is pictured as engaging in his first dialogue with the Jewish religious leaders (Luke 2:41–51). In Luke's account of Jesus' ministry, he "set his face to go to Jerusalem" at a very early stage (Luke 9:51), since this is the proper place for a prophet to die (Luke 13:33; cf. 9:31), and there are repeated references throughout the journey to its ultimate goal (Luke 9:53; 13:22; 17:11; 18:31; 19:11, 28). It is also important for him to stress that it is Jerusalem which is the scene of the resurrection appearances (Luke 24:33, 52; cf. Acts 1:3–4) and the locus for the initial ministry of Jesus' disciples (Acts 1:12). It is fitting that the Pentecost event should be situated there (Acts 2:5), so that the whole narrative of Acts can demonstrate the divinely-ordained geographical movement of the gospel message from Jerusalem out to the whole world (Luke 24:47).

The focus on healing miracles within Luke-Acts is partly responsible for the traditional view that the author was a physician, although in modern scholarship this emphasis is more usually understood as a key means of signalling that the new era of God's salvation has been inaugurated

¹⁹ In his commentary, for instance, Johnson describes Jerusalem as the spatial centre of Luke's narrative, since the movement is towards it in the gospel, away from it in Acts, with the middle twelve chapters of the two-volume work set entirely in Jerusalem (L.T. Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke* (SP; Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 1991) 14–15).

by Jesus and continues to be present in the ministry of the disciples.²⁰ A comparison with Graeco-Roman literature shows that Luke was far from unique in his interest in healing, or in his views about how diseases were cured, and comparisons can again be drawn with the Book of Tobit, in which the angel Raphael, whose name means “God heals”, is specifically sent to heal Sarah and Tobit (Tob 3:17; cf. 12:3, 14). Both Tobit and Luke reflect a world in which physicians cannot always help their patients (Tob 2:10; Luke 8:43). A shared cultural understanding of some illnesses is also in evidence, with both regarding blindness as caused by something like a film or scales (Tob 2:10; 3:16; 6:8; 11:8–13; Acts 9:18) covering the eyes, and both assuming that an evil demon could be bound and made to flee to another country (Tob 3:17; 8:3; cf. Luke 8:29–33).²¹

Finally, one of the most frequently noted points of contact between Tobit and Luke-Acts lies in the important role played by angels in both works, especially in Acts and in the infancy narratives in the gospel. This is a reflection of developments in angelology within late Second Temple Judaism as a whole, so is not in itself particularly significant. The concept of an individual guardian or protective angel is, however, perhaps more prominent in Tobit and Luke-Acts than in other writings of the time (Acts 5:19–20; 12:7–10; cf. 12:15; Tob 5:16, 21; 12:12–13; see also Matt 18:10; *L.A.B.* 15:5; 59:4; and for the persistence of this tradition in early Christianity, see Herm. *Sim.* 5:6 (59:2) e.g.), and Tobit’s understanding of the angelic function of bringing a reminder of human prayer before God (Tob 12:12, 15) may also be echoed in verses such as Luke 1:19 and Acts 10:4.²² Suggestive parallels between the presentation of the angel Raphael in Tobit and of Jesus in the Lucan resurrection and ascension narratives, especially the account of the Emmaus journey, have also been explored elsewhere, particularly by Catchpole, as noted above.

²⁰ See e.g. J.B. Green, *The Theology of the Gospel of Luke* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995) 95–97.

²¹ This point is discussed further in Skemp’s study; see *Avenues of Intertextuality*, 58–60.

²² R.I. Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2009) 268, for instance, suggests that Tob 12:12 may have served as a direct source for Acts 10:4b, although it is perhaps more likely that these two texts simply share a similar and more widespread theological perspective on the role of angels and the efficacy of prayer.

2.2 *Common Literary Forms*

There appears to be some overlap between the literary genre of Tobit and that of Acts in particular. Something akin to this genre, detailing the significant words, actions and adventures of a few central characters over a period of time, persisted in early Christianity for some while, as evidenced by the popularity of writings such as *The Acts of Paul and Thecla*, and Tobit is only one of several Jewish examples of it, together with, for example, Judith, Esther, and *Joseph and Aseneth*. These texts, therefore, have to be placed within the wider context of Graeco-Roman literature, and some scholars suggest that they are best classified as belonging to the genre of the ancient novel.²³ Although the Book of Tobit does not, then, necessarily serve as a direct model for the author of Luke-Acts, both are influenced by the larger literary and cultural context in which they arose, so might be expected to exhibit some formal parallels. This section will seek to highlight some of the individual literary features shared by Tobit and Luke-Acts, beginning with the two which are most frequently noted by commentators: the linking together of beatitudes and woes into a series, and the way in which prayers serve an integral function within both narratives. The beatitude or macarism is a widespread form in both Greek poetic and philosophical texts (such as the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*) and in Jewish literature, especially within the wisdom tradition.²⁴ The beatitudes in the gospels (Matt 5:2–12; Luke 6:20–26) are frequently compared, for example, with texts such as Sir 25:8–9; 48:11 and 4Q525.²⁵ Luke's gospel differs from Matthew's, however, in including a series of corresponding "woes" after the beatitudes. This form is also known from the Old Testament (e.g. Isa 3:9, 11; 5:8–22) and later Jewish tradition (e.g. 1 *En.* 94–103), but a string of beatitudes followed by a group of woes is not a particularly common pattern. A single woe and beatitude occur in Eccl 10:16–17 and 2 *Bar.* 10:6–7, and a larger series in 2 *En.* 42:6–13 and 52:1–14, but this latter work may post-date the New Testament. Tob 13:12–14 therefore, provides one of very few parallels to Luke 6:20–26. Luke-Acts also resembles Tobit, and indeed other examples of late Second Temple Jewish literature such as Judith and *Joseph and Aseneth*, in having its characters voice lengthy

²³ See especially R.I. Pervo, *Profit With Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia PA: Fortress, 1987).

²⁴ See e.g. the texts cited in Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 97–105.

²⁵ See e.g. J.P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus* (4 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1994) 2: 325.

prayers at key moments in the narrative. Tobit chapters 3, 8 and 13, for example, show all the book's leading characters at prayer, and central theological messages are reinforced in these prayers. In Luke 1–2, Zechariah, Mary and Simeon all utter significant prayers, and this pattern continues in Acts, where, for example, the disciples utter a prayer containing key christological claims after the release of Peter and John by the sanhedrin (Acts 4:24–31). The overlap of thought between Tob 8:15–17 and Luke 1:47–55 is particularly noteworthy, with both prayers emphasising God's great mercy and ability to bring about the unexpected.

Less scholarly attention has been paid to the fact that other Lucan literary features are shared with Tobit, including the mixture of first and third person narration in Tobit and Acts, and the use of formal introductions (Tob 1:1–2 Luke 1:1–5; Acts 1:1). Such prefaces are a convention within Graeco-Roman literature,²⁶ so are certainly not peculiar to these two authors, but they do choose to use them to locate the events which are to be related both within the ongoing story of God's relationship with the people of Israel and in a specific historical and political context. In both Tobit and Luke-Acts, as in many other contemporary Hellenistic writings, journeys also act as a structuring motif within the narrative. It has already been pointed out above that Luke's gospel sets the majority of Jesus' ministry within the framework of his journey to Jerusalem,²⁷ and it is also whilst *en route* to Emmaus that the disciples are led to understand the true significance of his death and resurrection. Acts similarly describes the missionary journeys of Paul in great detail from chapter 13 onwards, and the whole book is structured to show the gospel travelling outwards from Jerusalem, first to Samaria (Acts 8:5, 25), then on to Damascus (Acts 9:20), Phoenicia, Antioch and Cyprus (Acts 11:19), Asia Minor (Acts 13:13) and then Europe (Acts 16:11), before eventually reaching the Empire's capital city itself (Acts 28:16). The significant action within the Book of Tobit likewise centres on a journey, that of Tobias, who sets out to reclaim his father's money from Gabael, and on the way finds a suitable wife. In addition, both Luke-Acts and Tobit include several episodes which conclude with a stereotypical response to divine intervention. Thus an angelic

²⁶ See e.g. the discussion of the Lucan prologues and related Greek literature in L. Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel: Literary Convention and Social Context in Luke 1.1–4 and Acts 1* (SNTSMS 78; Cambridge: CUP, 1993).

²⁷ The central section of Luke's gospel (Luke 9:51–19:48) is, therefore, sometimes referred to as the Travel Narrative; see e.g. J.B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997) 394.

announcement is usually met with fear, followed by reassurance (compare e.g. Tob 12:16–17 with Luke 1:12–13, 26–30; 2:9–10). Similarly, the characters in both narratives are presented as uttering words of praise and blessing after hearing good news or witnessing a miracle. Examples of this literary pattern in Tobit include Raguel blessing God when he realises that Tobias has survived his wedding night (Tob 8:15), and Tobit's words of blessing when he is healed of his blindness (Tob 11:14–15). This feature occurs several times in Luke's infancy narratives, with Zechariah, Elizabeth, Mary and the shepherds (Luke 1:42, 46, 64; 2:20) all depicted as breaking into praise and blessing at the births of John the Baptist and Jesus, and later in the gospel the crowds are shown reacting to Jesus' miracles in a similar way (e.g. Luke 7:16; 18:43). Another characteristic of the Book of Acts is the repetition of key events in the narrative, such as the call of Paul (Acts 9:1–19; 22:3–21; 26:2–18) and the baptism of Cornelius (Acts 10:1–48; 11:1–18; 15:7–9). This technique is employed also in Tobit, with, for example, the death of Sarah's seven husbands being described three times from the perspectives of different characters (Tob 3:7–9, 14–15; 6:13–14; 7:10–12). Finally, both authors root their narrative in the traditions of the Jewish scriptures, appearing to deliberately imitate biblical narratives, style and language.²⁸

In conclusion, this investigation makes no claim for the direct influence of Tobit on Luke-Acts, as parallels of form and content are to be expected in writings deriving from a broadly similar cultural and religious world. It has, however, been able to draw out a surprising number of points of contact between them, which has implications for an understanding of both texts. Firstly, the fact that one New Testament author shares the theological perspective of Tobit on important issues such as gentiles, prayer, angels and almsgiving suggests that the religious significance and influence of the deuterocanonical corpus and its relationship to the canonical scriptures should not be under-estimated. Secondly, this comparison of the literary structures of Tobit and Luke-Acts may contribute to the debate about the genre of the latter, in particular by highlighting how well Acts fits within the Jewish literary tradition of popular fiction, with its edifying and entertaining tales of heroes undertaking difficult but ultimately successful journeys and making dramatic escapes from danger with divine help.

²⁸ Luke's infancy narratives adopt the style and language of the Septuagint, for instance; see e.g. Green, *Theology of Luke*, 25. Tobit's indebtedness to the patriarchal narratives and the theological outlook of the Book of Deuteronomy is acknowledged above in section 1.

3. *The Reception of Tobit in Second Century Christian Literature*

There has been some scholarly interest, often driven by a confessional agenda, in seeking to determine whether or not the Apocrypha were regarded as scriptural by the early church fathers, but little attention has been paid to the question of what texts or themes from individual deuterocanonical books are employed most frequently in patristic writings. Allusions to these works in early Christian literature are rare, but there is little doubt that Tobit was known and regarded as scriptural by at least some of the church fathers, as it is referred to as such by, amongst others, Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Cyprian.²⁹ This final section will attempt to move beyond this simple assertion to assess the extent to which any particular passages of Tobit seem to have been especially popular or important in the earliest stage of the Christian movement, and whether there is any continuing interest in those theological themes identified above as common to Tobit and Luke-Acts. In view of space constraints, only the writings dated to the late first and early second century CE can be considered here.

Several of the theological motifs of Tobit discussed above in relation to Luke-Acts are present also in the Christian literature of this period. References to angels are numerous, for example, as in the well-attested work *The Shepherd of Hermas*, and the inclusion of gentiles in salvation is widely assumed. The Book of Tobit is not, however, the source of such beliefs, nor unique in its expression of them, so any overlap of thought in these areas cannot be taken as evidence of its influence on early Christian authors. A rather more significant point of contact between Tobit and the writings of the apostolic fathers can be discerned, however, in statements about the practice of almsgiving as something which atones for sin and brings about reward after death (see Tob 4:10; 12:8–9; 14:11). The clearest expression of this view is to be found in the anonymous mid-second century work 2 *Clement*: “Giving to charity, therefore, is good as a repentance from sin. Fasting is better than prayer, but giving to charity is better than both . . . For giving to charity lightens the load of sin . . .” (2 *Clem.* 16:4; see also *Did.* 4:6).³⁰ The word “for” introducing the final clause suggests that the author was citing a scriptural proof-text here in support of his

²⁹ Clement, *Stromata*, i, 21, 123; ii, 23, 139; vi, 12, 102; Origen, *Epistula ad Africanum*, 13; Cyprian *Testimonia*, iii, 1, 6, 62.

³⁰ All citations from the patristic sources are taken from B.D. Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers* (2 vols; LCL; Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

argument, especially as similar wording is found in Polycarp's *Letter to the Philippians*: "... giving to charity frees a person from death ..." (Pol. *Phil.* 10:2). This verse is, therefore, generally regarded as a citation from Tob 4:10,³¹ which offers a very close parallel: "For charity delivers from death and keeps you from entering the darkness." This understanding of the salvific efficacy of almsgiving was widespread in both early post-biblical Judaism and early Christianity, as demonstrated, for instance, in Garrison's study of "redemptive almsgiving",³² and did not necessarily originate with Tobit. Nevertheless, the fact that Tobit appears to have been cited as authority for it by more than one patristic writer is a significant indicator of the use of the book in the sub-apostolic period, and it is perhaps even more telling that this theme of almsgiving is one where some particular parallels between Tobit and Luke-Acts have also been identified in this study. Thus, although clear allusions to the Book of Tobit are not numerous in the Christian literature of the first two centuries, this initial investigation of its reception has been able to point to a definite continuity of thought on central theological and ethical issues, so that there would appear to be value in exploring further the extent of its influence on early Christian writings. It is clear, then, that the Book of Tobit must be included in any consideration of the trajectory of development from the Hebrew Bible to early Christian beliefs about angels, prayer, charity, and the inclusion of gentiles in God's salvation.

³¹ It is e.g. listed as a citation from Tobit in the Index in Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers*, 481.

³² Garrison, *Redemptive Almsgiving*.

“ARE THESE THINGS SO?” (ACTS 7:1): A NARRATIVE-INTERTEXTUAL
APPROACH TO READING STEPHEN’S SPEECH¹

Peter Doble

This paper, gratefully offered to Maarten, is one stage in a fuller study of Luke-Acts’ uses of Israel’s scriptures. We begin by contextualising this piece.

Scene-setting

The core of Luke’s two-fold narrative for Theophilus is his affirmation that, uniquely, God had raised from the dead the Jesus whom authorities had crucified. Christian tradition had given Luke two ways to speak of this Jesus: as “Son of man” and as “Messiah”. Luke distinctively crystallised his retelling of Jesus’ story by “It is written: the Messiah is *to suffer and be raised from the dead* on the third day . . .”.² Significantly, Luke also depicts Jesus commissioning his followers as witnesses to his being raised, and as interpreters of those scriptures that root this event in God’s plan.³ Yet, problematically, neither Israel’s scriptures nor their interpreters knew of a suffering and raised Messiah.

Nevertheless, in a sequence of speeches in Acts, Jesus’ followers argue their scriptural case for a suffering Messiah—that reaches its climax in their peshier-like reading of Ps 2:1–2⁴—who must be raised. Concerning Jesus’ resurrection, Luke’s scriptural argument culminates in Paul’s Antioch sermon,⁵ where God’s promise to David (*ἀναστήσω τὸ σπέρμα σου*) through the prophet Nathan⁶ is interpreted metaleptically and argued in detail.

¹ This essay draws on and revises much of two earlier studies of this unit: P. Doble, “The Son of Man Saying in Stephen’s Witnessing: Acts 6.8–8.2,” *NTS* 31 (1985) 68–84; *idem*, “Something Greater than Solomon,” in *The Old Testament in the New Testament* (ed. S. Moyise; JSNTSup 189; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000). My base text here is NA²⁷ and Rahlfs’ *Septuaginta*; English translations are usually NRSV, occasionally adapted.

² Luke 24:46.

³ Luke 24:45.

⁴ Acts 4:24–28.

⁵ Acts 13:16–41.

⁶ 2 Sam 7:12–16.

But Sadducean interpreters would remain unconvinced by such argument from prophecy, so, in Stephen's response to the High Priest, Luke brings to its climax his parallel argument that Jesus was not only David's son, the Messiah, but also the "prophet like me" whom God, through *Moses*,⁷ had promised to raise up—προφήτην ἀναστήσω ἀποτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῶν.⁸ Within that larger context, we approach Stephen's speech.

Approaching Stephen's Speech

Stephen's speech has proved problematic for commentators, generating an immense scholarly literature.⁹ It is also the speech most densely packed with citations from, allusions to, and echoes of Israel's scriptures. This essay offers a narrative-intertextual perspective on Luke's Stephen unit (Acts 6:8–8:1a), a perspective established by paying "careful attention to the OT quotations and allusions in Luke-Acts, especially those at major turning points in the narrative and those that appear more than once."¹⁰ Specifically, this essay argues that:

- Luke's Stephen-unit is a hinge-narrative, a major turning point;
- Stephen's speech *culminates* in his vision of the Son of man at God's right hand,¹¹ itself the conclusion of a narrative-trajectory from Jesus' trial scene;
- both the centrality of *the Bush*¹² to Stephen's speech, and its multiple use in Luke-Acts suggest that it is probably this speech's organising principle;
- viewed from this perspective, Stephen's speech answers the High Priest's question by demonstrating how Stephen's Christological certainties are the authentic culmination of God's plan revealed in Israel's scriptures.

⁷ Deut 18:15.

⁸ Deut 18:18.

⁹ See bibliographies in *e.g.*, C.K. Barrett, *Acts*, Vol I I–XIV (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994); M.C. Parsons, *Acts* (Paideia Commentaries; Grand Rapids MI: Baker, 2008); R.I. Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2009); M. Sleeman, *Geography and the Ascension Narrative in Acts* (SNTSMS 146; Cambridge: CUP, 2009); M. Soards, *The Speeches in Acts* (Louisville KY: Westminster John Knox, 1994).

¹⁰ R.C. Tannehill, "Israel in Luke-Acts: A Tragic Story", *JBL* 104 (1985) 69–85.

¹¹ Acts 7:55–56; contra Parsons, *Acts*, 103 and Soards, *Speeches*, 58–59, 69.

¹² Exod 3:1–12, a passage drawn on by Jesus (Luke 20:27–39), Peter (Acts 3:13), and Stephen (Acts 7:30–34). Cf. Soards, *Speeches*, 58–59, n. 138.

First, however, we need to establish this unit’s place in Luke’s narrative development. Luke’s narrative is exactly that (Luke 1:1–4), an unfolding, developing story, whose readers are expected to read narratively, moving imaginatively through the author’s world, engaging with his insights. Luke’s story of Stephen stands within such narrative development.

Luke’s Stephen-Unit (Acts 6:8–8:1a)

This unit is bounded by two summaries, and by two Christological paradigms; it is also enigmatic space.

Luke’s *summaries* mark stages in his narrative’s development; for example, at Acts 6:7—“The word of God continued to spread; the number of the disciples increased greatly *in Jerusalem*, and a great many of the priests became obedient to the faith.” This positive note gives way to the following, darker summary at Acts 8:1b–3:

That day¹³ a severe persecution began against the church *in Jerusalem*, and all except the apostles were scattered throughout the countryside of Judea and Samaria. . . . But Saul was ravaging the church by entering house after house; dragging off both men and women, he committed them to prison.

The narrative between these summaries offers readers an account of how Luke’s earlier geographical marker—“...and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth” (Acts 1:8)—moved from its first stage (Jerusalem) to its second (Judea and Samaria). The apostles’ Jerusalem witness ends; Saul makes his first appearance; the Gentile mission is about to open. The space between these summaries is arguably filled with significant narrative development.

This narrative-space is also bounded by contrasting *Christological paradigms*. Stephen’s accusers speak of “Jesus Nazoraios” (Acts 6:14), while Stephen’s vision affirms Jesus as the glorified Son of man at God’s right hand (7:55–56). This contrast is a Lukanism, where “Jesus Nazoraios” typically indicates Jesus’ publicly accessible career preparatory to a contrasting proclamation of his ‘real’ state. Of fourteen appearances of Nazoraios in the NT, two are in Luke (18:37; 24:19),¹⁴ and seven in Acts (2:22; 3:6;

¹³ The day Stephen died (ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ); see also 11:19; 22:20.

¹⁴ This Emmaus contrast is especially important: τὰ περὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζαρηνοῦ contrasts with Jesus’ τὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ (24:27).

4:10; 6:14; 22:8; 24:5; 26:9); they all link with a contrasting statement about Jesus. “Nazoraïos” thus proves an important paradigm marker, for in moving from Jesus *Nazoraïos* to Jesus *at God’s right hand* (Acts 7:55), Luke roots his move in God’s plan discerned in Israel’s scriptures—the burden of Stephen’s speech. Further, the dynamic for the whole of Acts is that God had raised the crucified Jesus from the dead and exalted him.¹⁵ The apostles’ commission is to witness to the resurrection’s factness, then to root that event in scripture—in Moses, the prophets and the psalms (Luke 24:26, 44–47). Significantly, tradition had reported that, in conflict with Sadducees, Jesus had appealed to *the Bush* as scriptural ground for Moses’ confirmation that the dead are raised (Luke 20:27–40). Stephen’s vision, not his peroration, is his speech’s culmination.

For Luke’s readers, this narrative-space is *enigmatic*: who is on trial? First, they find themselves within the confines of a court, the Sanhedrin, a familiar space for them, for the Sanhedrin is a key player in Luke’s retelling of Jesus’ story.¹⁶ It is where Jesus initially confronted his accusers (Luke 22:66–23:1); we shall return to that scene. It is where Peter and John unpacked for Jerusalem’s Rulers Jesus’ citing of the Stone-saying, and were ordered not to teach in Jesus’ name (Acts 4:5–23).

Significantly for our case, in Luke’s narrative, relations between Sanhedrin and Jesus’ followers grow increasingly tense. The Sanhedrin’s most recent narrative appearance reported their wanting to kill the apostles (Acts 5:17–42). Luke’s portrayal of that scene repays careful re-reading, for it sows seeds for Stephen’s speech. There, the Sanhedrin’s complaint against the apostles is that by persisting in teaching in Jesus’ name (5:28a; cf. 4:18; 6:13–14) they had disobeyed orders, apparently “determined to bring this man’s blood upon us” (5:28b). Crystallizing Peter’s and John’s earlier reply (4:18–20), the apostles respond, “We must obey God rather than men” (5:29). Among their reasons for their civil disobedience are: the God of our fathers raised up Jesus (5:30); God exalted this Jesus to his right hand (5:31); “we are witnesses to these things, as is the Holy Spirit whom God has given to those who obey him” (5:32; cf. 6:3, 10; 7:55). Their witness to what God has done, however, adds “You killed him” (5:30b; cf. 7:52). Jesus’ followers “hear” God rather than the Sanhedrin. So, in the Stephen-

¹⁵ See Sleeman, *Ascension*, on thirdspace in Acts.

¹⁶ Luke 22:66–71 (Jesus); Acts 4:13–20 (Peter and John); 5:21–42 (apostles); 6:12–7:60 (Stephen); 22:30 (Narrator); 23:1–6 (Paul), 12–22 (Narrator), 26–30 (Claudius’ letter).

unit, who is actually on trial? For the Sanhedrin, it is plainly Stephen; for a reader, Luke offers an alternative answer—the Sanhedrin.

Second, and significantly, from the opening of his second volume, Luke’s *readers* know that Jesus has not only been raised by God from the dead (Acts 1:1–5), but has ascended into heaven (Acts 1:6–11), where he is at God’s right hand until the restoration of all things (Acts 3:17–21).¹⁷ For Luke’s *readers*, all talk of Jesus comes freighted with *both* his activity in Israel (Luke’s first volume) *and* his continuing presence as Lord and Messiah at God’s right hand (Luke’s second). Narratively, however, Stephen’s *hearers*—the Sanhedrin—are hearing yet again testimony to God’s having raised from the dead and exalted the Jesus whom this Sanhedrin had crucified.¹⁸ Luke’s *readers* remember both that public execution, and this Sanhedrin’s more recent wish to put the apostles to death (5:33). This time, facing this same Sanhedrin is the solitary figure of Stephen.¹⁹ His reply to the High Priest’s “Are these things so?” is his witness to what things are *really* like: Jesus is at God’s right hand, and this is the outcome of God’s purposes revealed in scripture. Stephen’s vision, the climax towards which Luke’s unit moves, precipitates the ensuing diaspora (8:1b–3). More importantly, however, this vision makes plain for readers that it is now the Sanhedrin who appear in the presence of God’s glorified Son of man, the Righteous One (7:52) standing with great confidence at God’s right hand (Wisd 5:1)—more of this later. It is time to explore Stephen’s vision.

*Stephen’s Vision*²⁰

Significantly, both the narrator and Stephen report this *vision*, though with interesting variations. First, the narrator says:

But filled with the Holy Spirit, [Stephen] gazed into heaven and saw the glory of God and *Jesus standing at the right hand of God* (7:55).

¹⁷ Cf. Acts 2:34 (*until*); Luke 20:41–44 (Ps 109:1).

¹⁸ Stephen’s “you have become [the Righteous One’s] betrayers and murderers” (Acts 7:52) parallels Peter’s “whom you crucified” (Acts 4:10; cf. 5:30 et al.). This accusation usually precedes a contrasting “whom God raised from the dead” (Acts 4:10), or “God exalted him at his right hand” (5:31 et al.). Readers are not surprised that Stephen’s accusation is followed by his vision of the raised, exalted Jesus.

¹⁹ Note the contrast between Acts 6:15 and 7:54.

²⁰ See also Doble, “Son of man.”

The narrator's *Jesus* at God's right hand leaves readers in no doubt that the Jesus Nazoraiois of 6:14 is the Son of man of Stephen's vision; but, together, "glory" and "Jesus" recall readers to these words' previous appearances in a narrative trajectory opening in Luke 9.

In Luke's distinctive account of Jesus' Transfiguration (Luke 9:28–36),²¹ Peter and John witness Jesus' glory (9:32), but say nothing of what they had seen (9:36). Intriguingly, "glory" is a Lukan distinctive in a narrative sequence that has long excited commentators' interest, for Luke 9:7–36 addresses the question "who is this?," offering a range of answers. This sequence opens with Herod's puzzlement about Jesus (9:7–9) before moving to Jesus' question put first, privately, to his followers, "Who do the crowds say I am?" (9:18), then "who do *you* say that I am?" (9:20). By his public teaching about the "Son of man" (9:21–27), Jesus immediately corrects Peter's "God's Messiah." Luke's sequence ends, even more privately, in the Transfiguration's account of God's answer to the sequence's question: "This is my Son, the Chosen;²² hear him" (9:35). Three features in this sequence signal Luke's distinctiveness.

First, *glory*: Luke's version has the Son of man coming "in *his* glory and that of the Father . . ." (9:26), then Peter and John seeing *Jesus'* glory (9:32). Crucially, at Emmaus, the risen Jesus speaks of the Messiah's *entering into his glory* (Luke 24:26). Second, *exodus*: Moses and Elijah—who also "appeared in glory"—speak of Jesus' "exodus"²³ that he was about to fulfil in Jerusalem (9:31). Given the reference to Moses and to exodus, Luke's conserving tradition's "hear him" (9:35)²⁴ now carries a firmer anticipation of Moses' "prophet like me" who will feature in both Peter's and Stephen's speeches.²⁵ Further, Luke's redaction of the Transfiguration's account of Peter's and John's vision of Jesus' glory is rooted in the Moses narrative to which Stephen also makes appeal—so Stephen's Son of man in glory (Acts 7:55–56) concludes a "glory" thread that began in Luke 9:26.²⁶ Third, *Chosen*: since Luke's matrix is his story of God's fulfilled promise to David,

²¹ Different from (= diff.) Mark 9:2–8; Matt 17:1–8.

²² Diff. Mark 9:7 (ὁ ἀγαπητός); Matt 17:5 (ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα). Luke's "Chosen" (ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος) echoes Ps 88:20, and refers to David and God's promises to him.

²³ ἔξοδος, a multivalent word that may refer to death, to departure (*e.g.*, from a stage), and to God's rescuing a People from Egypt; here, I suspect, the word carries all three senses. Note that Luke's Paul speaks of Jesus' appearance in Israel (Luke 3:21–22) as his εἴσοδος (13:24)—public entry and exit.

²⁴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε, cf. Deut 18:15.

²⁵ Acts 3:22; 7:37.

²⁶ The Stephen-unit itself opens and closes with "glory" (7:2, 55); like Abraham, Stephen saw the glory of God.

this descriptor echoes both Ps 88:20 and the account of Samuel’s finding David (1 Sam 16).²⁷ From the narrator’s report (7:55), we turn to Stephen’s vision.

“Look,” [Stephen] said, “I see the heavens opened and the *Son of Man standing at the right hand of God!*” (7:56)²⁸

Stephen’s vision clearly evokes Jesus’ reply to the Sanhedrin (Luke 22:69):

But from now on the *Son of Man* will be *seated at the right hand* of the power of God.

Before exploring the relationship of these two sayings, we need to set Jesus’ reply in its context. Again, this is a tight Lukan redaction of Jesus’ appearance before the Sanhedrin (22:66–71), taking the form of a brief question and answer session that replays the christological uncertainties of chapter nine. The Sanhedrin’s “Are you the *Messiah?*” (22:67) echoes Peter’s affirmation (9:20). Jesus’ “. . . the *Son of man*” (22:69) reflects his public correction of Peter (9:21–27). The Sanhedrin’s “Are you, then, the Son of God?” (22:70) gives an ironic twist to the heavenly voice at Jesus’ Transfiguration (9:35). Once more, this Son of man saying has its roots in Luke 9 and in *repeated* christological uncertainty. In Stephen’s speech, the Sanhedrin re-hears Jesus’ response to them witnessed as true—by an opened heaven and Stephen’s vision.

Stephen’s and Jesus’ words share “Son of man” and “at the right hand of God”; Luke’s repeated “standing” replaces Jesus’ “seated”; “of the power” disappears. Eight shared words in NA²⁷, accompanied by a *repeated* adaptation to “standing,” confirm that Stephen’s vision witnesses to the Sanhedrin that Jesus’ distinctive use of scripture has been fulfilled. Two further points must be made about this Lukan *logion*.

First, while Jesus’ reply is drawn from tradition,²⁹ Luke has redacted it, arguably in preparation for his second volume: the Sanhedrin will not “see” the Son of man³⁰—Stephen does; “coming with the clouds”³¹ moves from here to Luke’s ascension story (Acts 1:6–11), where, true to Daniel, a

²⁷ P. Doble, “Luke 24:26, 44—Songs of God’s Servant: David and his Psalms in Luke-Acts,” *JSNT* 28 (2006) 267–283.

²⁸ Contra G.D. Kilpatrick, “Acts vii.56: Son of Man?”, *TZ* 21 (1965) 14; idem, “Again Acts vii.56: Son of Man?”, *TZ* 34 (1978) 232.

²⁹ Cf. Mark 14:61–64; Matt 26:57–68.

³⁰ Diff. Mark 14:62a; Matt 26:64a.

³¹ Diff. Mark 14:62b; Matt 26:64b.

cloud brings this Son of man to God. Luke's "will be"³² points forward to Jesus' exaltation.

Second, tradition ascribes this *logion* to Jesus. It is, however, a melding of two biblical models,³³ each of which plays its own active role in Luke's distinctive theology. One model is that of the *Son of man* whose suffering, resurrection and glorious coming has, in Jesus' hands, its own trajectory through Luke-Acts. A second model is that of David's son. Luke's readers have already seen³⁴ how Jesus riddled Ps 109:1:

The Lord said to my Lord,
 "Sit at my right hand,
 until I make your enemies your footstool. . ."

allowing Peter to unpack this riddle in his Pentecost speech (Acts 2:14–36) by demonstrating that through raising Jesus from the dead and exalting him, God had made David's son both Lord and Messiah.

Luke 22:69 and Lukan Distinctives

This melding provides dominical warrant for Luke's narrative development from *Messiah* (Luke 9:20) through *Son of man* (9:21–27; 24:6–8 et al.), back to *Messiah* (24:26, 44–49).³⁵ Luke's narrative Christology is essentially that the Son of man who has suffered and has been raised is *Messiah because he has been anointed and raised*. Luke understands that Jesus' resurrection is the unique fulfilment of Nathan's oracle signalled in Gabriel's announcement to Mary, and unpacked in Paul's sermon to Antioch's synagogue—"I will *raise up* your seed after you."³⁶ Significantly, this melding is Jesus' word to the Sanhedrin about *who he is*—continuing the major theme of Luke 9; this parallel is significant.

³² Replacing Mark's and Matthew's "You will see . . ."

³³ This may or may not exemplify *gezerah shewa'*; it is what is happening to two texts rather than discussing what to call the process that is in focus here. Apparently, this particular melding appears only in traditions ascribed to Jesus, and it is arguably his (?) "Jewish" exploitation of texts that are conceptually related in that both the Son of man and David's lord are brought to God.

³⁴ Luke 20:41–44.

³⁵ This is also the sequence played out in Luke's distinctive account of Jesus' appearance before the Sanhedrin (Luke 22:66–71).

³⁶ 2 Sam 7:12, ἀναστήσω τὸ σπέρμα σου μετὰ σέ . . . the first of *four* Lukan appeals to ἀναστήσω promises. See P. Doble, "Codex Bezae and Luke 3:22," in *Texts and Traditions* (ed. J. Kloha; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

Why, then, has Luke transformed Jesus’ “seated” into “standing”? An answer may be found in Stephen’s peroration, where he accuses the Sanhedrin of betraying and murdering “the Righteous one” (δικαίος, 7:52). Notably, Luke’s *distinctive* narration of Jesus’ death scene ends with a centurion’s comment: “surely, this was a Righteous one” (Luke 23:47).³⁷ Addressing fellow Israelites, Peter reminds them that—though in ignorance—they betrayed and rejected “the Holy and *Righteous one*” (δικαίος, Acts 3:14). Addressing a hostile crowd of fellow Israelites, Paul reports his encounter with the exalted Jesus, using language given to him by Ananias: he saw the *Righteous one*, and heard his voice (22:14).

One significant model of the Righteous one features in Wisd 2–5.³⁸ This model reaches its climax at 4:20–5:2, where the Righteous man’s oppressors come to judgment, only to find that “the δικαίος will stand (στήσεται) with great confidence” in their presence. Stephen accused the Sanhedrin of murdering the δικαίος. Stephen’s vision emphasises that the vindicated Jesus, glorified Son of man, is standing (ἑστῶτα) in their presence.³⁹

Luke took Jesus’ meld of two models, and, by adding in this third—a Lukan distinctive—adapted Jesus’ now fulfilled prophecy. Luke’s adaptation reverses Stephen’s trial scene: Jesus’ oppressors here come to judgment, and hear that he is *standing*, vindicated, at God’s right hand; paradox indeed! (Wisd 5:2).

Each of these models now embedded in Stephen’s vision has its own trajectory through Luke-Acts.

(a) Luke’s *Son of man* element is largely concentrated in two areas:

in Luke 9, an axial sequence on the verge of the great journey from Galilee to Jerusalem, focussed on “who is this?”;

in Luke 24, where the interplay between the “Son of man” of Luke’s distinctive resurrection narrative (24:1–12)⁴⁰ and the “Messiah” of his Emmaus story (24:13–36) highlights Jesus himself transforming tradition’s predictions of the *Son of man*’s suffering and resurrection into (Lukan) talk of *Messiah*’s suffering and entering into glory (Luke 24:26; cf. 9:26). This transformation leads directly into Jesus’ commissioning the apostles for mission, and equipping

³⁷ ὄντως ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δικαίος ἦν.

³⁸ See P. Doble, *The Paradox of Salvation* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996, 2005) 187–225.

³⁹ Both στήσεται (future) and ἑστῶτα (pluperfect) are forms of that verb, ἵστημι, which has proved so significant for Luke.

⁴⁰ Note its important “remember Galilee,” recalling Luke 9.

them hermeneutically (24:44–49) to understand that “*the Messiah* is to suffer and to rise from the dead on the third day . . .”.

(b) While Luke’s handling of the *David’s son* question (Ps 109:1) is derived from tradition,⁴¹ it belongs to his distinctive *Mirror structure*: here, it is located in Jesus’ riddling question about David’s words (Luke 20:41–44); later, mirrored in Peter’s Pentecost speech, his initial proclamation to Israel’s (Jacob’s) house that God has made Jesus both Lord and Messiah (Acts 2:14–36). Between Luke’s two citations of Ps 109:1 stands Jesus’ word to the Sanhedrin, melding the psalm’s “sit at my right hand” with the Son of man’s “be raised.”

Stephen’s vision thus witnesses to the Sanhedrin that Jesus’ distinctive word to them is, in fact, that *these* things are so—and more, for, at the climax of the Jerusalem period, here are the certainties on which witness to Jesus may be taken into its next geographical stage. What are these certainties?

Christological Certainties

Placing Stephen’s vision in Luke’s narrative development reveals three resolutions from uncertainty about “who Jesus is” to certainty; each stands on the verge of a major narrative move. The uncertainties of Luke 9, on the verge of the journey to Jerusalem—prophet? Messiah?—are resolved both by Jesus’ words about the Son of man, and by Luke’s distinctive account of Jesus’ transfiguration, featuring Jesus and “glory,” now in its Exodus frame of reference. The uncertainties at Jesus’ trial—Messiah, Son of God?—are resolved both by Luke’s distinctive redaction of tradition’s *gezerah shewa’* centred on the Son of man at God’s right hand, and by Luke’s distinctive resurrection material. At the tomb, women are bidden remember Galilee’s “Son of man” (24:5–7); at Emmaus, the risen Lord himself transforms Galilee’s sayings into sayings about the Messiah (24:25–27), before equipping his apostles to interpret what Moses, prophets and psalms (Luke 24:44) revealed about a suffering and raised Messiah; this on the verge of the apostles’ post-Ascension journeying. The uncertainties about Jesus in Stephen’s Jerusalem, on the verge of the Gentile mission—“Jesus Nazoraios?”; “Are these things so?”—are resolved both by Stephen’s

⁴¹ Cf. Mark 12:35–37a; Matt 22:41–46.

vision of Jesus’ fulfilled word to those who oppressed him, the Sanhedrin, and by the scriptural logic of Stephen’s argument.

Stephen has seen what the Sanhedrin has not: Jesus, Son of man, is at God’s right hand. What Jesus said to these Rulers before his condemnation is indeed the case. But readers who have followed Luke’s narrative bring much more. They have learnt that:

- Stephen’s *logion* carries within it two Lukan christological strands (Dan 7; Ps 109);
- God has also proclaimed Jesus, Son of David, as Lord, Messiah (Acts 2:35–36);
- a centurion, Peter, Stephen and Paul recognise in Jesus “the Righteous one” (7:52);
- Peter and Stephen have recognized in Jesus Deuteronomy’s “prophet like Moses” (3:22–23; 7:37)
- and—all the case only because God raised Jesus from the dead.

Luke’s focal concern is “resurrection”, both as event and its interpretation.

How does Stephen’s long speech demonstrate, first, that these “certainties” are the culmination of God’s plan revealed in Israel’s scriptures? Crucially, the words “Moses” and “God” have significantly increased density throughout this speech.⁴² In Israel’s scriptures, one classic encounter between God and Moses is at *the Bush* (Exod 3:1–12). Then, second, how does this speech answer the synagogue’s “charges”? These “charges” also centre on God and Moses (Acts 6:11, 14); Luke notes that the slander about Temple and tradition comes from lying witnesses (Acts 6:13–14), but the High Priest’s question allows basic matters to remain open—“Are these things so?”

Luke and “the Bush”

There are three reasons why I propose *the Bush* as a hermeneutic key for Stephen’s speech (7:30–34). First, this is Luke’s *third* appeal to *the Bush*, and his multiple use of any passage has proved to be narratively

⁴² In this unit, “Moses” appears four times, and “God” twice as often as their average density in Acts as a whole.

significant.⁴³ Second, in its two earlier Lukan appearances *the Bush* is integrally linked with Jesus' resurrection (*Torah* for Sadducees), while here it anticipates Stephen's vision of the exalted Jesus.⁴⁴ Third, in so dense a recourse to Israel's scriptures, it is counter-intuitive that Luke should appeal to Graeco-Roman rhetoric⁴⁵ rather than to "Jewish" hermeneutics *already* demonstrated in his writing.⁴⁶

By shining a light on this narrative from a different angle,⁴⁷ by using *the Bush* as an interpretative key, we produce a different, *arguably more Lukan*, reading of Stephen's speech. Had I not known better, I might have urged that Stephen's speech is his *midrash* on Jesus' use of Exod 3;⁴⁸ we shall discuss it instead as Luke's *extended exposition* of *the Bush*.

But that the dead are raised, even Moses showed, in *the Bush*, where he speaks of the "Lord the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob."³⁸ Now he is God *not of the dead, but of the living*; for to him all of them are alive (Luke 20:37–38).

Jesus and "the Bush"

Jesus' allusion makes his scriptural case for resurrection. Argued for Sadducees, it assumes their knowledge of scripture's version of *the Bush*.⁴⁹ Luke has already taken this extract's italicized phrase seriously, for it influenced his distinctive retelling of Jesus' resurrection: at Jesus' tomb two shining ones ask the women "why are you seeking the living among the dead?" (Luke 24:5),⁵⁰ a question transposed by travellers in the Emmaus journey into "who said that he lives" (Luke 24:23).⁵¹ Further, this phrase is probably echoed at the opening of Luke's second volume, where, until the final

⁴³ E.g., the mirroring noted above; Luke 3:22 (Ps 2:7 with D05) is mirrored in Paul's Antioch speech (Acts 13:33).

⁴⁴ Cf. Paul's Antioch sermon; plus Luke's concern with resurrection and tradition.

⁴⁵ Contra Parsons, *Acts*, 105–106.

⁴⁶ E.g., *gezerah shewa'*, *peshet*, *haruzin*, *metalepsis*.

⁴⁷ Moyise, *Old in the New Testament*, 39–40.

⁴⁸ See Hays and Green on *midrashim*; *Hearing the New Testament* (ed. J.B. Green; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1995) 232.

⁴⁹ "I am the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." For politico-theological dimensions of *the Bush*, see N.T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God* (London: SPCK, 2003) 416–429.

⁵⁰ τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν;

⁵¹ οἱ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ζῆν.

moment of ascension, the risen Jesus “presented evidence that, after his suffering, he was living” (Acts 1:3).⁵²

Peter and “the Bush”

Again, mirroring Jesus’ use of *the Bush*, Peter’s speech following a lame man’s healing⁵³ is understood by those overhearing it—including Sadducees—to be about Jesus’ resurrection (Acts 4:1–4).⁵⁴ At its opening (Acts 3:13), this speech clearly evokes *the Bush*, while echoing Emmaus (Luke 24:26) by announcing that God has *glorified* Jesus. That is, the *Torah* passage Jesus had interpreted in general terms now *headlines* Peter’s speech, while *Jesus’* resurrection is its perceived thrust. Notably, Peter calls in aid another *Torah* passage as predictive of Jesus’ resurrection [Deut 18:15, 18 discussed below]. Consequently, this third Lukan appearance of *the Bush* raises questions about its function in Stephen’s speech (7:30–34)—the more so since it is again accompanied by Luke’s potent “prophet like Moses” saying (Deut 18:15, 18) that appears only in the presence of *the Bush*.

So what does Stephen’s speech look like if it is his⁵⁵ exposition of Jesus’ appeal to *the Bush*? We begin with its narrative shape.

Narrative shape of speech:

A. 2–16; *How we came to be in Egypt:*

Abraham, *oracle* (Gen 15 with Exod 3:12);

Isaac and Jacob Note density (2–16) of ‘Egypt’,
of ‘Jacob’ (= Israel).

B. 17–40; *Moses as God’s agent:*

17–29 *Promise to Abraham fulfilled*. . . Moses born, nurtured, encounters *his brothers*

30–34 ***The Bush***

God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob
commissions Moses, ‘go . . . Egypt’

⁵² . . . παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις . . . A reader cannot but recognise the parallel with Luke 24:23.

⁵³ Acts 3:13–26.

⁵⁴ See the earlier note on mirroring.

⁵⁵ While Lukan in its present form, this speech may also report earlier sub-apostolic *apologia*.

35–40 *This* Moses (sevenfold?),
Israel's response to, assessment of Moses;
where **Deut 18:15** (cf. 3:22–23) is both central
and making its second appearance [cf. 18:18].⁵⁶

C. 41–54⁵⁷ *In exitu Israel...*

a question of *whom* to worship
41–44 two tents
45–50 two houses
51–54 *Stephen's peroration*, leading to
55–56 his vision, and
57–60 his death as
disciple, witness, martyr (Luke 9, 12, 21).

My case is that *the Bush* provides the *organising principle*⁵⁸ for Stephen's speech; his is no random, imported retelling of history, but a thoroughly Lukan structure for Luke's subtext to inform his narrative theology—for that is this speech's genre.⁵⁹

Structurally, in Stephen's long speech (7:2–56) Moses is narratively central (7:17–40), and *the Bush*, making its third Lukan appearance, is central to that (7:30–34). Plainly, the speech's introductory section (7:2–16) is about how God's dealings with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob—"your fathers" named in *the Bush*—brought this People Israel, Jacob's sons, into Egypt, and planned their "coming out". This introduction's close relation with the whole speech is signalled by Abraham's dark vision (7:6) foreshadowing his "seed's" fate, told in words that adapt and conflate Gen 15:13–14 with Exod 3:12c—itself the important "sign" that concludes *the Bush*.⁶⁰ It was *brotherly strife* among his sons that brought Jacob⁶¹ to his death in an alien land (7:15–16), fulfilling Abraham's vision. "The God of your fathers"

⁵⁶ προφήτην ἀναστήσω αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῶν ὡσπερ σέ και δώσω τὸ ρῆμά μου ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ, και λαλήσει αὐτοῖς καθότι ἂν ἐντελιωμαι αὐτῷ, and this belongs to a fourfold set of "I will raise up" (ἀναστήσω) promises exploited by Luke. Cf. Wright, *Resurrection*, 147–148, 453–454.

⁵⁷ The division is marked by "in those days" (7:41).

⁵⁸ Cf. J. Kilgallen, *The Stephen Speech* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1976) 108–110.

⁵⁹ History understood theologically.

⁶⁰ [God] said, "I will be with you; and this shall be the sign for you that it is I who sent you: when you have brought the people out of Egypt, you shall worship God on this mountain." For Stephen, the issue is not *where* Israel worships, but *whom*.

⁶¹ Luke's Joseph "saga" is a necessary subset of his Jacob story.

brought Jacob, the patriarchs, and their descendants to Egypt, among whom, in God’s time (7:17), was Moses.

Moses’ encounter with God at *the Bush* (7:30–34), is, however, bracketed first by his meeting his “enslaved” *brothers* in Egypt (17–29), then, afterwards, by their thoroughly negative, six-fold response to him (35–40). At the centre of this response stands Moses’ promise, making its second appearance in Acts, that “God will raise up for you *from among your brothers* a prophet like me” (7:37; Deut 18:15–22).

But Stephen’s argument is that while his accusers speak of “customs Moses handed down to us”, their fathers and they (7:53) habitually ignore Moses and his words—“as for this Moses who led us out of Egypt, we don’t know what has become of him” (7:39–41; Exod 32:1). Although *the Bush* promised freedom through Moses (7:34), in their hearts the fathers turned back to Egypt. It was their *brotherly rejection* of Moses (7:39, 45),⁶² God’s agent, that marred Jacob’s sons’ coming out of Egypt (7:41–54), and led to their choosing their own gods (7:41): in those days, they made a calf, offered a sacrifice to the idol, and revelled in the works of their hands.

Stephen further illustrates this People’s continuing rejection of God by focussing first on two tents (7:42–45). While the fathers had with them the God-given tent of testimony traditioned by Moses (7:44),⁶³ they chose instead Moloch’s tent (7:43; Amos 5:25–27 adapted), and brought sacrifice not to God,⁶⁴ but to the host of heaven (7:43; cf. 7:42). Similarly, the fathers’ rejection of God focuses on two Houses (7:46–50): one that David wanted to build for God (7:46; Ps 131), the House that Solomon actually completed (7:47); the other, the House that God had promised to build for David (2 Sam 7:11 et al.)—on condition that his seed remained faithful to God (1 Kgs 9:1–9; Ps 131:11–12), the condition that Solomon and his descendants failed because he (and they) turned to other gods (1 Kgs 11:1–13; Sirach 47:12–22). This reading is confirmed by Stephen’s immediately following extract from Isaiah with its penetrating question—what kind of House will you build for me? (7:49; Isa 66:1–2).

⁶² The fuller version of this essay examines Luke’s “brothers” motif in this speech.

⁶³ This tabernacle occupies *six* chapters of Exodus (25–30).

⁶⁴ In both contexts the accent clearly falls on *me*, not on *sacrifice*; the issue is *whom* to worship, not *how*. I have argued elsewhere that Stephen’s speech is *not* an anti-Temple tirade, but an exposition of Israel’s disobedience culminating in Jesus’ rejection; see Doble, “Greater than Solomon,” 181–207.

Isaiah's *subtextual* oracle (66:3–6)⁶⁵ then leads naturally into Stephen's peroration that focusses on Jesus' rejection:

Hear the word of the LORD,
 you who tremble at his word:
 Your own people who hate you
 and reject you for my name's sake
 have said, "Let the LORD be glorified,
 so that we may see your joy";
 but it is they who shall be put to shame.

The Sanhedrin, Jesus' own people who hated and rejected him, killed him. Jesus, the prophet whom God raised up from among his brothers,⁶⁶ suffered a prophet's fate. He was, in rejection, the "righteous one" (7:52; Luke 23:47; Wisd 2:12–30) plotted against by—"the ungodly"! (Wisd 1:16–2:20; cf. Ps 37). Their betraying and murdering this prophet was another example of their resisting God's agents among them, and a sign of their rejecting the *Torah* that promised that God would raise him.

This same subtext leads into Stephen's vision—his fuller version of "you killed him, but God raised him from among the dead."⁶⁷ Your own people have said "Let the Lord be glorified": that's where Stephen began (7:2), and that's where the narrator brings the speech's conclusion (7:55)—the Son of man, who is also the Messiah, entered into his glory (Luke 9:26; 24:26; Acts 3:13), fulfilling his word to his adversaries (Luke 22:69) and now "standing" before them, vindicated (Acts 7:55–56). Reading Stephen's speech through its subtext produces a "Lukan" reading. We have come full circle.

Are These Things So?

Viewed in this light, Stephen's speech is a coherent response to the High Priest's question. Far from being an aerolite from some anti-Temple,⁶⁸ Hellenist⁶⁹ heaven, his speech is integral to Luke-Acts, and essentially Christological.

⁶⁵ Far more of the cotext-field is in play than is cited; see Doble, "Greater than Solomon."

⁶⁶ Luke 4:24; 13:31–35; 24:19—where Jesus Nazarenos is, like Moses, a prophet *δυνατός ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παντός τοῦ λαοῦ*. Cf. Acts 2:22–23.

⁶⁷ Cf. Acts 4:10; 5:30–31.

⁶⁸ See Pervo, *Acts*, 175–180; cf. Doble, "Greater than Solomon."

⁶⁹ Pervo, *Acts*, 176.

Peroration

We return, however, to Stephen’s peroration: (a) his hearers are like *their* fathers (7:51) in that (b) having received *Torah*, they did not obey it (7:53). It is worth reflecting on how Stephen gets from (a) to (b): “Which of the *prophets* did your fathers not persecute? They killed those who foretold the coming of the *Righteous One*, and now *you* have become his betrayers and murderers” (7:52). Stephen’s focal “prophet” is the “prophet like Moses” (7:37). The “Righteous One” echoes Luke’s distinctive scene of Jesus’ death (Luke 23:47), and the only conceivable referent for Stephen’s “betrayers and murderers” is Jesus, God’s raised-up prophet. This is Stephen repeating for this Sanhedrin the apostles’, “You killed him” (5:28).

Their fathers’ unwillingness to obey *Torah* is itemized in the sequence immediately following *the Bush* (7:35–40), Stephen’s sevenfold reckoning emphasizing *this* Moses. At its heart stands Stephen’s: “This is the Moses who said to the Israelites, ‘God will raise up for you from among your brothers a prophet like me.’” This citation is truncated, lacking⁷⁰ the “hear him” (ἀὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε) that completes Deuteronomy’s sentence, and echoes Luke’s scene of Jesus’ transfiguration. The cotext for Moses’ prophecy (Deut 18:15–22) makes plain the culpability of anyone who does not listen to that prophet.⁷¹ Stephen is clear: Moses’ word is *Torah*; by killing Jesus, “you” rejected it as “your fathers” rejected Moses.

Christological Certainties

Luke has built on tradition’s appeal to Jesus and *the Bush* by demonstrating⁷² that the Moses who showed that the dead are raised was the same Moses who announced the Prophet to come.⁷³ This “promise” is, however, two-fold, in that Stephen’s reported form (7:37; Deut 18:15) *also* appears in direct speech as God’s promise, “I will raise up . . .” (Deut 18:18). Stephen’s implied argument is simple: God promised “I will raise up” (ἀναστήσω);

⁷⁰ Present, however, in D05 et al.; see J. Rius-Camps and J. Read-Heimerdinger, *The Message of Acts in Codex Bezae: A Comparison with the Alexandrian Tradition*. Volume 2: Acts 6.1–12.25: *From Judaea and Samaria to the Church in Antioch* (LNTS (JSNTSup) 302; London: T & T Clark, 2006) 63, 92.

⁷¹ Peter had attached a similar warning (3:22–23) to this text.

⁷² To tradition’s use (Luke 20:27–40 et par), Luke added Peter’s appeal (Acts 3:13), and Stephen’s (7:37, 52–53); multiple use.

⁷³ Peter also appeals to the same promise at Acts 3:22–23; multiple use.

God raised up Jesus (Acts 2:32; 7:55–56, et al.);⁷⁴ therefore, the uniquely *raised* Jesus Nazoraios is that prophet promised through Moses—who was also David’s “raised up” son and lord,⁷⁵ and Son of man at God’s right hand. This logic has consequences for the Sanhedrin.

This narrative unit’s focal issue is this *event*, resurrection, confirmed by Stephen’s vision and argued from Israel’s scriptures, principally *Torah*. In a fuller study I argue that Luke’s distinctive subtext emerges from his discovery that scripture offers four instances of God’s promise to “raise up”, a promise unfulfilled until this Jesus-event to which apostles witness. The four “promises” are revealed through *the prophet* Nathan (2 Sam 7:12); an Exilic *prophet* (Ezek 34:23–34); *Moses* himself (Deut 18:18), and *the prophet* Amos (9:11); none is cited, though all are clearly, demonstrably present. These promises and their cotext-fields offer concepts, vocabulary, and traditional texts that shape Luke’s narrative theology (*e.g.*, *Psalms* 109:1; 117:22 and *Moses’ the Bush*). Luke 24:26, 44–47 locate a suffering and raised Messiah in *Moses, prophets* and *psalms*. Through speeches, Acts demonstrates *how* this is so; Stephen’s speech locates Jesus’ resurrection firmly in *Moses’ Torah*, and in God’s purposes.

Conclusion

This essay has explored the synergy among:

- a hinge narrative rooted in Luke’s declared plan;
- a vision that fulfills Jesus word to the Sanhedrin, a vision with roots deep in Luke 9 and 24;
- scripture quotations and allusions that appear more than once, with roots in tradition’s account of Jesus’ appeal to Moses as a witness that God raises the dead.

⁷⁴ Cf. Acts 3:13; 4:10–11; 5:30–32 et al.; see also Luke 24:26, 44–47. For Luke, the crucial divide is between those who accept the apostles’ testimony that God raised Jesus from the dead and those who refuse it.

⁷⁵ Stephen’s references to David and to Solomon (7:43–48) recall readers to the matrix of Luke’s Christology—David’s house and God’s reign, which is where Luke’s Infancy Gospel firmly locates Jesus (Luke 1:26–38; cf. 2:8–20). Although Luke’s Christological focus remains on Jesus as David’s promised “seed”, he also distinctively portrays him as “the prophet like Moses”: Luke speaks of their “signs and wonders” (*e.g.*, 7:36; 2:22); both are “powerful in word and deed” (*e.g.*, 7:22; Luke 24:19b); both have companions who fail to “understand” (*e.g.*, 7:25; Luke 18:30); both are pushed aside, rejected, or made a nothing of (*e.g.*, 7:27, 35–40; 4:10–11; Luke 23:8–11, 34–43).

This synergy produced a thoroughly Lukan speech, shaped by *the Bush*, and responding to the High Priest’s question—“Are these things so?”

Stephen’s measured response implicitly answers the charges against him. He locates the Jesus-movement firmly within Israel’s scripture and history, and, by highlighting the Sanhedrin’s likeness to “your fathers”, clarifies what divides Jesus’ followers from this audience: the followers’ witness to the prophet and brother this Sanhedrin had condemned is that God raised and exalted him.

Luke first interpreted Israel’s scriptures in the light of what apostles testified that God has done: God raised up Jesus. Then, in the light of those same scriptures, he *understands* and retells the story of God’s agent, Jesus,⁷⁶ as primarily David’s promised seed, but also the prophet promised through Moses.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Cf. Kilgallen, *The Stephen Speech*, 110.

⁷⁷ Contra, e.g., L.T. Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke* (SP 3; Collegeville MN: A Michael Glazier Book, 1991); idem, *The Acts of the Apostles* (SP 5; Collegeville MN: A Michael Glazier Book, 1992).

A CRY FOR HELP: A NOTE IN THE MARGIN OF ACTS 16:9

Joseph Verheyden

As with other books of the Hebrew Bible the reception of the Book of Joshua in Christian tradition started with the earliest writings.¹ In the New Testament Joshua is mentioned by name in Stephen's survey of Jewish history in Acts 7:45 (a reference to the Ark of the Covenant in Josh 3:14, with echoes also from 18:1; 23:9; 24:18) and in Heb 4:8, in the midst of an explanation of the concept of "rest" (with reference to Josh 22:4).²

There are few citations from the book and these are mostly open for discussion, but perhaps not lacking altogether. Mark's citation of the first commandment (ἐξ ἄλλης τῆς διανοίας) in Mark 12:30 may contain an element from Josh 22:5.³ NA²⁷ contains a number of other references to Joshua, some of which are quite indirect at best, while others are perhaps more pertinent. Among the latter are the references to Rahab the harlot (Josh 2:1, 15; 6:17, 22–25) in Matthew's genealogy (1:5) and again in Jas 2:25 and Heb 11:31 (see also Acts 9:25).⁴ It is in Hebrews and Acts, more than

¹ The reception of the figure of Joshua had of course already begun in Jewish tradition. His deeds are recalled in detail in Sir 46:1–10 and referred to also in 1–2 Macc. Philo and Josephus obviously had to deal with him, both from their own quite distinct perspectives. See now T.R. Elsner, *Josua und seine Kriege in jüdischer und christlicher Rezeptionsgeschichte* (Theologie und Frieden 37; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008) 22–81 and 105–128. The evidence from the New Testament (or rather, Acts, Heb, and James), with special attention for the war motif, is discussed in Elsner's Chapter Three (82–104). For a selection of excerpts from comments by the Fathers, see J.R. Franke (ed.), *Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1–2 Samuel* (Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture. Old Testament IV; Downers Grove IL: IVP, 2005) 1–98. Although not reception history as such, the question of how the book can be read in Christian tradition (which evidently involves looking at its reception history) is dealt with by D.S. Earl, *Reading Joshua as Christian Scripture* (Journal of Theological Interpretation, Supplement 2; Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010).

² Cf. Elsner, *Josua*, 83–87 and 91–93.

³ Also in the parallels in Matt 22:37 and Luke 10:27, but here in the dative. The word διανοία is found also in B' as a variant for καρδιάς (A) in Deut 6:5, the source text of Josh 22:5. The opposite move was made at Josh 22:5, where A once more reads καρδιάς. In Mark 12:33 the commandment is rephrased using the infinitive (ἀγαπᾶν αὐτόν) as in Josh 22:5 (here with κύριον τὸν θεὸν ὑμῶν). Is there a further allusion to Josh 22:5 in Matthew's play with ἐντολή and νόμος in 22:36, 39? On the relation between Deut 6:5 and Josh 22:5, see G.L. Archer and G. Chirichigno, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament* (Chicago IL: Moody Press, 1983) 31.

⁴ Cf. Elsner, *Josua*, 93–94 and 96–100.

in any other writing from the New Testament, that Joshua has found an echo. In Heb 11:30 reference is made to the fall of Jericho from Josh 6:14–16, 20.⁵ God’s “good words” (pl., Josh 21:45 and 23:15) occur in Heb 6:5 (sg.). The phrase Moses “the servant” occurs several times in Joshua, in variant forms, and is itself an echo of Num 12:7. A reference to the latter is found in Heb 3:5 (printed in italics in NA²⁷), with an additional reference to Josh 1:2 (with *θεράπων*, as in Num 12:7). A variant form of the same phrase occurs also in Rev 15:3 (with *δοῦλος* and additional references to Josh 1:7 and 14:7 that both read *παῖς θεοῦ*, as in Josh 22:5). A similarly indirect reference to Joshua is found in Heb 13:5 citing Deut 31:6, 8 (the second element also in Gen 28:15) to which allusion is made in Josh 1:5 (*οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω σε*). Of a similar category is the reference to Josh 24:32 in John 4:5 (the field Jacob gave to his son Joseph; see Gen 48:22). The case for a reference to Josh 7:19 in John 9:24 for the phrase *δὸς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ* may be stronger, even though Joshua has a more elaborate form with *τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ Ἰσραηλ* and also adds as a complement *καὶ δὸς τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν*. The same phrase (and in an identical form as in John) is found also in Ps 67:35LXX, but the explicit reference to Moses (and Num 12:2, 8) might be an indication that John was rather thinking of the complex Num-Josh in this context. A few loose (and not exclusive) echoes can be found in Rev: 8:2 (trumpets, and Josh 6:4–6); 9:14 (the great river Euphrates, and Josh 1:4, but also Deut 1:7, and again in Rev 16:12); 20:8 (the enemy is numerous “like the sand of the sea,” and Josh 11:4, but also Judg 7:12 and 1 Kings 13:5). The Lord’s forceful encouragement of Joshua in 1:9 sounds through also in Acts 18:9–10, but it is by no means the sole parallel that can be cited (see also Isa 41:10; 43:5; Jer 1:8, 19). The verb *νοσφίζομαι* in Acts 5:2, 3 (see also Tit 2:10) is as exceptional in the New Testament as it is in the LXX and could be an allusion to Josh 7:1 (or to 2 Macc 4:32, the only other occurrence of it).⁶ In evoking Israel’s history Luke has Paul refer in Acts 13:19, in his speech at Antioch, to the defeat of the seven nations (Deut 7:1) in combination with the episode of the allotment of the Land by Eleazar, Joshua and the heads of the tribes as described in Josh 14:1–2 (note the verb *κατακληρονομέω*). Finally there is the puzzling reference to Josh 10:6 in the margin of Acts 16:9, which invites creating a link between Joshua’s call to enter the

⁵ The reference to Josh 4:6ss at Heb 11:32 in the list of NA²⁷ (p. 779) is a mistake and should read Judg 4:6ss (so correctly in the margin at 11:32).

⁶ For Joshua, see H. Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (HNT 7; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1963) 49; E. Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (5th ed.; KEK; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965) 193.

Promised Land and Paul's call to go over into Macedonia through the phrase βόηθησον ἡμῖν.⁷

Several (though not all) of these references, echoes and allusions are signalled in the major commentaries on the respective New Testament books. That does not seem to be the case for the last instance.⁸ Now it is a tricky business to argue that the parallel has never been noted or taken up in commentaries or studies on Joshua or Acts, because it would take an awful lot of work to check this and actually it is virtually impossible to prove it. But it looks as if the current major commentaries on Acts (and Joshua) have indeed by-passed the allusion. It is not mentioned either in any of the two monographs on the reception history of the Book of Joshua in the early Church that have appeared in the past years. The verse has of course not been commented upon as often and as elaborately as this is the case with its much more famous and popular neighbour in 10:12–13,⁹ but neither was it completely ignored. Without intending to be exhaustive, it is worth mentioning at least Origen who is among the few ancient authors who have left us a more or less extensive comment on the battle at Gibeon in his series of homilies on the Book of Joshua (*HomJosh* 11).¹⁰ As often is the case, Origen starts with summarising the passage before taking the reader on a journey full of allegorical interpretation of the alliance of Jesus/Joshua, the prolonged day, the five kings and the cavern, and the delicate issue of Jesus/Joshua's cruelty. He thereby manages to cite a number of times from Paul, to illustrate that allying oneself with Jesus (the Christ, not Joshua) is not without danger (2 Tim 3:12), that helping the weak is a Christian duty (1 Thess 5:14 and Rom 15:1), that the days will be lengthened in order for Israel to be saved (Rom 11:25), that we should continue marching in the daylight (Rom 13:13), that the perfect Christian fights his/her perfect fight against the evil powers and spirits

⁷ The link is obscured in the Vulgate, which reads “adiuva nos” in Acts, but anticipates the verb in the previous part of the verse in Joshua and there reads “ne retrahas manus tuas ab auxilio servorum tuorum ascende cito et libera nos.”

⁸ The parallel is listed in the survey of parallels mentioned in NA, but it is not studied for itself in the recent overview by S. Koch, “Mose sagt zu ‘Jesus’—Zur Wahrnehmung von Josua im Neuen Testament,” in *The Book of Joshua* (ed. E. Noort; BETL 250; Leuven/Paris/Walpole MA: Peeters, 2012) 541–554.

⁹ See, e.g., Josephus, *Ant.* 5.1 (Elsner, *Josua*, 121–123) or Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 113.4 and 132.1.

¹⁰ Ed. A. Jaubert (SC 238), 282–292. On the motif of war in Origen's *HomJosh*, but with no specific attention for Josh 10, see Elsner, *Josua*, 236–251. Earl (*Reading Joshua*, 157–166) cites extensively from Origen's homily 10 (on Josh 9), but does not pay much attention to the next chapter.

(Eph 6:12) and that Christ will conquer them (Col 2:14–15), and that we should always remember our own past weaknesses (Tit 3:3) and should never give up delivering ourselves to justice and holiness (Rom 6:19); but there is no mention of Acts 16.

The same author occasionally also cites Acts 16:9. He does so in commenting on Luke 2:8–12 (*HomLuke* 12). The move from the angels and shepherds may seem to be a rather remarkable one, though it is not much of a problem for Origen. Just as these shepherds at one point needed to be comforted and informed that now the true shepherd was born, so “a shepherd from Macedonia” also once needed God’s help, for which reason Paul in a vision was called upon to go and conquer the region; or rather, the story is not so much about Paul but about Jesus working in Paul.¹¹ Origen makes another brief reference to the verse in commenting on Jer 13:15–17 and the dangers of priding oneself on one’s privileges or achievements, however important and beneficial they may be. Paul is called upon as a witness to this attitude. Even he, it is added, who because of the impressive results of his missionary work, had all the right of priding himself on the privilege of having seen divine visions and apparitions, was given the charisma to withstand this danger and stood with it. By way of illustration a passing reference is made to the vision in Acts 16:9–10, along with those Paul mentions in 2 Cor 12:1, 12 and Rom 15:19.¹² It seems that is about all there is to be said on the passage, as far as Origen is concerned. Sometime earlier Irenaeus had cited quite extensively from Acts 16:6–10 in defence of Luke’s companionship with Paul, but his interest is of course more in the first plural than in a possible link to Joshua: “nos venimus in Troadam” and “quaesivimus proficisci in Macedoniam” (*adv. Haer.* 3.14.1).¹³

Neither Acts nor Joshua were commented upon greatly in the ancient Church, though more can perhaps be found, so I shall jump to a later period. The learned humanists who did so much for interpreting the text of the New Testament in light of biblical and other parallels all seem to have missed the link with Josh 10:6.¹⁴ Hugo Grotius, inspired by the motif

¹¹ Ed. M. Rauer (GCS 49), 74: “...venisse angelum nato Domino et annuntiasse pastoribus, quod verus esset pastor exortus. Verbi gratia, ut ad exemplum veniam, erat quidam pastor Macedoniae, hic necessarium habebat auxilium Domini; propterea apparuit in somnis vir Macedo Paulo, dicens: transiens in Macedoniam adiuva nos. Quid de Paulo loquar, cum haec non Paulo, sed, qui in Paulo erat, locutus sit Iesu?” (as translated by Jerome).

¹² *HomJer* 12.8, ed. P. Nautin (SC 238), 32–35.

¹³ Ed. A. Rousseau – L. Doutreleau (SC 211), 258.

¹⁴ The interest of many Christian authors is, quite understandably, in the motif of the just war, which Augustine had commented upon on the basis of Joshua 8. See Elsner,

of the vision, contents himself with a reference to Dan 10:12, 13, 20, 21 and interprets Paul's coming in terms of a healing.¹⁵ J.J. Wettstein also rather compares it to instances of medical help (Mark 9:22 and Epictetus, *Diss.* II.15), which is most probably not really what Luke had in view.¹⁶

The marginal note in NA²⁷ poses a number of problems. First of all, there is the question of its origin, for it appears to be a newcomer in the edition, only introduced since the 26th edition. As is well known, detailed information on the origins of these marginal notes in the NA editions is lacking, and this seems to be true also for those which have been added in the latest editions.¹⁷ Most other editions do not carry any other reference to an Old Testament text at Acts 16:9, though there are a few exceptions. E.W. Grinfield cites as a parallel for the call for help Judg 5:23, a text that offers precisely the opposite motif (actually a curse for not providing any help), as well as 2Chr 14:11(LXX 14:10) and Isa 41:10.¹⁸ And H. Alford cites Matt 15:25 and 2 Cor 6:2 as possible parallels (and also Matt 21:28, which is a more distant one).¹⁹ Overall, one might say that the link to an Old Testament passage seems to be very weak and it is no surprise then that it is not even mentioned in a commentary that specialises in studying (this kind of) allusions.²⁰

The situation is not really helped by the fact that the motif (and the way it is worded) is of course a quite common one in biblical books. Josh 10:6 certainly is not the only text that could be cited as a possible parallel.

Josua, 260–269 (Augustine) and 270–289 (Scholastic and post-Scholastic / early modern authors).

¹⁵ “Angelus Macedoniam curans. Confer quae sunt apud Danielelem” (at v. 9a) and “Angelus curator Macedonum se Macedonibus accenset” (v. 9b); *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (Groningen: Zuidema, 1828) V, 138. For a modern but rather more debatable suggestion involving influence of Daniel, in which Acts 16:8 is paralleled to the whole of Dan 7:1–28, see J. Wehnert, *Die Wir-Passagen der Apostelgeschichte: Ein lukanisches Stilmittel aus jüdischer Tradition* (GTA 40; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989) 154–158.

¹⁶ *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Amsterdam: Dommerianus, 1754; repr. Graz: Universitätsverlag, 1962) II, 553.

¹⁷ In the Introduction to the 26th edition, one can only read the quite general observation that the references to Old Testament quotations “have also been completely revised” (p. 44*); it is not clear in what sense this also applies to the allusions or more unspecified references. The new Introduction to the 27th edition does not say anything on this aspect of the edition either (see pp. 33–35* and 40*), and neither does the Handbook: see K. and B. Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments* (Stuttgart: DBG, 1982) 256–257 and 263.

¹⁸ E.W. Grinfield, *Novum Testamentum Graecum. Editio Hellenistica* (London: G. Pickering, 1843) I, 701.

¹⁹ H. Alford, *The Greek Testament* (London: F. and J. Rivington, 1852) II, 160.

²⁰ Acts 16:9 is lacking altogether in I.H. Marshall's commentary on Acts in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (ed. G.K. Beale and D.A. Carson; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2007) 594.

Leaving aside the long list of passages that somehow evoke the motif of calling for help and limiting the parallels to cases of (more or less) identical phrasing (i.e., with imperative of the verb and a pronoun, in plural or singular), one could also cite the addition to Esth 4:17 in LXX (17l and t in the edition of Rahlfs or C 14 and 25 in Hanhart) and in the so-called Lucianic version or *L*-text, as well as a good number of passages from the Psalms (LXX 43:27; 69:6; 78:9; 108:26; 118:86, 117). Or one could take it a step further still and argue with C.K. Barrett that the motif and wording is simply too general (“βοηθεῖν is a surprisingly general word”) and refrain from linking it to a particular passage from Scripture.²¹ Yet it should be noted that the Psalms use the motif rather in a general and “decontextualized” way, regardless of whether the cry comes from “Israel” or from an individual. It is possible that the lamentation and cry for help originated in or recalled a specific historical situation, but this original context is as a rule largely lost and most difficult to reconstruct and clearly no longer the interest of the author.²² The two instances in Esth 4:17LXX occur

²¹ C.K. Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles* (ICC; Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1998) II, 772. For a similar view, see also L.T. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles* (SP 5; Collegeville MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992) 286; R.I. Pervo, *Acts* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2009) 391 n. 47.

²² See, e.g., H.J. Kraus' comment on Ps 44(43):27 ἀνάστα, κύριε, βοήθησον ἡμῖν. The Psalm and/or the situation to which it refers has been linked to the time of the Maccabees, but also to the sixth century and even to the pre-exilic period. “Aber wahrscheinlich ist die historische Frage als solche gar nicht sachgemäß. Die Volksklagelieder zeigen neben ältestem Überlieferungsgut Spuren jüngster Aneignung. Es liegt darum nahe, an kultische Formulare zu denken, die im Verlaufe ihrer Geschichte an heiliger Stätte Korrekturen und Aktualisierungen erlebten”: *Psalmen* (2nd ed.; BKAT 15/1; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1961) I, 325–326. In cases of an individual crying for help, the situation is perhaps even more complex, as the enemy or opponent is never clearly defined and can be described in terms of an impersonal threat or by using imagery that originates form collective lamentations but is used here metaphorically; on the “enemy/opponent” in the Psalms expressing the lamentation of an individual, see again Kraus, *Psalmen*, I, 40–43 (on Ps 70(69):6 ὁ θεός, βοήθησόν μοι). The same flexibility (or kind of disinterest in the original situation) can also be detected in Ps 78(79):9 βοήθησον ἡμῖν, ὁ θεός ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν. It still carries echoes of the horror of the fall of Jerusalem, but the author, writing a generation after the fall, was not interested in giving a report on the event and the Psalm was also read in later contexts and was adapted accordingly: “Die Aktualisierung der Klagen brachte es dann gewiss mit sich, dass die scharfen historischen Profile aus den vorgegebenen Texten herausgeschliffen wurden, um den Psalm auch in der neuen Situation zu benutzen” (*ibid.*, 551). In Ps 108(109):26 βοήθησόν μοι, κύριε ὁ θεός μου, the victim describes himself, most generally, as one “downtrodden and poor” being persecuted by an anonymous person (v. 16). In Ps 118(119):86 and 117 (twice βοήθησόν μοι), the enemies are all those who ignore of challenge the Lord's Law, so again a most universal reference (see v. 118, “those who stray from thy statutes”). And this view seems to be favoured also by more recent commentators. See, by way of example, the commentary of F.-L. Hossfeld and E. Zenger, *Psalmen 51–100* (2nd ed.; HTKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2000) 286: “Wegen der konventionierten Sprache und der

in Esther's prayer and are spoken by her to God (twice βοήθησον μοι τῇ μόνῃ in LXX; with τῇ ταπεινῇ in the first instance in L and without any qualification in the second one).²³ This time the situation and the reason or purpose for the cry for help are well-defined. As a matter of fact, the motif takes up the request of Mordecai to Esther to intervene with the king on behalf of her people. Yet it should also be noted that, as in the parallels from the Psalms, the phrase is used in 4:17lt (C 14, 25) to refer to Esther asking for help for herself in the life-threatening situation she is in, that God is the addressee who is called upon for help, and that the call is not immediately answered and the reader left uninformed about its realisation.²⁴ In this respect the passage differs significantly from the parallel in Josh 10:6 and the one in Acts 16:9. As for Barrett's observation, general as the verb may be, it is in any case not used that often in Acts. There is only one more instance, in 21:28,²⁵ and there it is used, not "in a

Unbestimmtheit der Feind- bzw. Notschilderung dürfte der Psalm als Formular konzipiert sein, das in unterschiedlichen Situationen verwendbar war" (on Ps 69(70)). Ps 78(79) echoes the fall of Jerusalem, but the interest is in its theological meaning: "Ps 79 setzt sich mit der Temperlzerstörung und der darin und dadurch ausgelösten grundlagenkrise auseinander. Deshalb fehlen die Details, ..." (447); in line with this interest, the author connects the cry for help in v. 9 with a call for repentance (450: "Israels Rettung wird hier (theologisch hochbedeutsam) mit der ihm geschenkten Sündenvergebung (vgl. Jer 30–31) in eins gesetzt"), a motif that is obviously absent from Acts 16:9. It is not different for Ps 108(109): "Verständlicherweise kann man über die sich im Psalm aussprechenden gesellschaftlichen Konflikte nur Mutmassungen anstellen": *Psalmen 101–150* (HTKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2008) 184. The fact that Ps 108(109):8b is cited in Acts 1:20 hardly can be called in for finding a reference to this Ps also in 16:9. The hunting imagery in Ps 118(119):86 hardly allows for linking the Psalm to a specific situation and also shows that its author is not interested in this: "(es) geht nicht nur um seine persönliche Rettung, sondern um den öffentlichen Erweis der Wirkmächtigkeit JHWHs und um die 'Wahrheit' der Tora" (*ibid.*, 376); the enemies are mentioned much earlier in the LXX than in MT (already in v. 3), but they remain as unspecified and universal: "Konkret werden sie als diejenigen bezeichnet, die willentlich die Tora übertreten (V. 3.51.78.85.113.119.150)" (390).

²³ On the addition in LXX, see most recently, C. Cavalier, *Esther* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 12; Paris: Cerf, 2012) 174–186. The section is also found in the *Vetus Latina*; the phrase occurs there in several forms in the first instance, but is missing from most witnesses in the second one; see the evidence in J.-C. Haelewyck, *Hester* (*Vetus Latina* 7/3; Freiburg: Herder, 2008) 272 and 279.

²⁴ On the latter, see C. Vialle, *Une analyse comparée d'Esther TM et LXX: Regard sur deux récits d'une même histoire* (BETL 233; Leuven/Paris/Walpole MA: Peeters, 2010) 215: "[Dieu] ne répond pas, et le lecteur—tout comme Mardokhaïos et Esther—ne dispose d'aucun moyen de savoir s'il a entendu les demandes." It is worth noting that Paul occasionally has been linked to characters from the Book of Esther (he was likened to Mordecai by Rhabanus Maurus, and to Esther herself, as a model of patriotism, by George Lawson in 1804), but not, it would seem, with regard to the call for help; see J. Carruthers, *Esther Through the Centuries* (Blackwell Bible Commentaries; Oxford: Blackwell, 2008) 28 and 278.

²⁵ G. Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (HTKNT 5/2; Freiburg: Herder, 1982) 207 n. 29.

different sense,” as Barrett says,²⁶ but in precisely the same way, though now as a cry for help *against* Paul!

Esth 4:17 and the passages from the Psalms are perhaps not the strongest parallels, but is there more to be said in favour of Josh 10:6? At first there is little to support such a conclusion, apart from the identical wording of the core phrase. The setting is different, and so is the purpose of the cry for help. Joshua is met by representatives of the Gibeonites at his camp at Gilgal with the concrete request not to abandon them but to liberate them from the threat that is posed by “the five kings.” The LXX reads as follows: μὴ ἐκλύσης τὰς χεῖράς σου ἀπὸ τῶν παιδῶν σου· ἀνάβηθι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸ τάχος καὶ ἐξελοῦ ἡμᾶς καὶ βοήθησον ἡμῖν (NETS: “Do not relax your hands from your servants. Come up to us quickly, and rescue us, and help us”). Paul sees a vision of “a man” who urges him, “Come over to Macedonia and help us” (παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων· διαβὰς εἰς Μακεδονίαν βοήθησον ἡμῖν), without clearly indicating what kind of help he is expecting to get, nor why and how this should be provided.

However, these differences should not be overemphasised as some of them at least are not crucial to the purpose and content of the text. The scenery and the purpose may differ, but more important perhaps is the fact that both passages display a sense of urgency, as if the Macedonians too are somehow in danger, and that Joshua and Paul are both explicitly called upon “to come.”²⁷ The Macedonian does not say what he wants Paul to do (apart from crossing over into his country), but such information is not lacking. It is Paul, interpreting the vision as a call from God, who draws the conclusion that “God had called us to preach the gospel to them” (v. 10). For Barrett, the reason why the cry for help is not specified in and through the request “may be to indicate that the Macedonians do not yet know what the Gospel is; they are aware of a need of help, not of the particular help that Paul had to offer.”²⁸ This explanation may not be the most convincing one—why would the Macedonian have called upon Paul if he had no clue what this man could offer him? So perhaps a better

²⁶ *Acts*, II, 772. In all, the verb occurs only eight times in the NT (see further also βοήθεια in *Acts* 27:17 and *Heb* 4:16 and βοηθός in *Heb* 13:6—none of them relevant for the discussion).

²⁷ The difference in the use of the compound is understandable. Joshua has indeed “to go up” (the verb is known to Luke in *Acts* and repeatedly used there with the same connotation), whereas Paul has “to cross”; see also correctly in *Luke* 16:26, and cf. Schneider, *Apostelgeschichte*, 207 n. 29.

²⁸ So Barrett, *Acts*, II, 772.

reason for explaining the passage may be that Luke wishes to give the initiative back to Paul. Anyhow, in both passages the reader is informed of the kind of help that will be given, military assistance on the one hand, spiritual on the other. The help Paul will offer is not further qualified in terms of “liberation” (as in Joshua) or “salvation” (as in most instances in Psalms), but Luke obviously knows and repeatedly uses both motifs in Acts²⁹ and occasionally also links them directly to the preaching of the gospel (see 11:14; cf. also 14:7, 9).

Joshua had already entered what would become the land of Israel when camping at Gilgal (commonly situated near Jericho) and he is to return to the camp after the battle (10:43). Paul on the contrary is invited to cross over into new territory. Yet the difference may not be that significant and the two passages have perhaps more in common also in this respect than the description just given seems to allow for. For Joshua too the invitation to assist the Gibeonites is an opportunity to move further forward in the land. And if it is true that he is said at the end of the day to have returned to his earlier position, it should also be noted that the story of the victory at Gibeon is concluded with a most impressive (and therefore most probably exaggerated) summary of the territory the Israelites managed to invade and (temporarily) conquer (10:40–43).³⁰ And the story does not end there for the victory at Gibeon and the invasion that followed it causes other enemies to raise forces against the Israelites (see already immediately after in 11:1), until finally “Joshua took the whole country, fulfilling all the commandments that the Lord had laid on Moses; he assigned it as Israel’s patrimony, allotting to each tribe its share; and the land was at

²⁹ The first one is sometimes expressed by the same verb ἐξαίρειν that is used also in Josh 10:6; see Acts 7:10, 34; 12:11; 23:27; 26:17 and cf. Barrett’s comment on this last passage: “Paul too is to be a light of the Gentiles” (*Acts*, II, 1160). The verb carries clear connotations to the Exodus, a link that for obvious reasons is not really in view in Acts 16:9.

³⁰ Commentators have been struggling to find a balance between fact and fiction in the summary. For R.G. Boling, “The problematic character of this summary should not be minimized, but neither should the summary be dismissed out of hand. . . It is increasingly likely that the reason for such a generalization in the summary is that the south had been previously crisscrossed by pre-Mosaic Israelites related by caravan trade to the Qadesh-barnea junction so that it became territory inhabited and controlled by Yahwists.” *Joshua: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary* (AB 6; Garden City NY: Doubleday, 1982) 298. T.C. Butler takes a different view and thinks the “editor” of Joshua describes the conquest from its results: “He looks back on a history of Israel with God, a history in which Israel occupies the land”; *Joshua* (WBC 7; Waco TX: Word Books, 1983) 119. However one looks at it, the effect that is being depicted in the summary obviously remains even if much or all of what is said there would be unhistorical.

peace" (11:23).³¹ However one thinks of the historicity of this description—and there is a lot to doubt about—it yields a most impressive picture of the daring offensive that was set in motion by the invitation of the Gibeonites and what came from it.³²

When compared to Joshua's situation and achievements, Paul's seem to be minimal. He is merely asked to cross over to Macedonia, not a particularly dangerous adventure. Yet there exists a long tradition of reading the invitation as a key moment in Paul's life and in the account of Acts. For John Chrysostom it marked a turning point in Paul's missionary career. He had just broken up with his companion Barnabas, is then prohibited by the Spirit of continuing his journey as he had planned it but instead, in a vision that he is the only one to see, oriented towards Macedonia. The whole thing is initiated and guided by divine inspiration, and if all of this, including the quarrelling between Paul and Barnabas, had not happened the region would never have been Christianised!³³ For J. Lightfoot, a completely new episode has started: "Novum hoc opus erat. Antea praedicaverat Judaeis, Graecis; Syris, jam Romanis. Erat enim Philippi colonia Romana."³⁴ And for W.D. Davies, Luke showed here "an acute awareness of the point at which the Gospel passed over to Europe from Asia... the entry upon a new area of the Christian mission is due to vision."³⁵ All this enthusiasm is tempered, and significantly so, in the comment of Barrett, who first cites this same passage from Davies and then continues: "Davies is right in noting Luke's 'sensitivity to geography', but probably overstates the significance of the transition from Asia to Europe." Paul stays in the

³¹ On this phrase and its repetition in 14:15, where it makes less sense in the Hebrew (though not in the Greek), see Boling, *Joshua*, 316: "This was the goal of the Yahwist reformation/revolution;" with reference also to M. Margolis, *The Book of Joshua in Greek* (Paris: Guethner, 1931) 227, 276.

³² The fact that the author notes in v. 18 that it was a long war does not change this perception but adds to its greatness: see M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua* (HAT 7; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1938) 44.

³³ Τῷ τε γὰρ Παύλῳ ἰδεῖν καὶ μηδὲνα ἕτερον, καὶ τῷ κωλυθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ τῷ πρὸς τοῖς ἔθροι εἶναι, ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων ταῦτα συνήγον. Ἄλλως δὲ καὶ ὁ πλοῦς τοῦτο ἐνέφανεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐγένετο χρόνος πολλὸς, ὅθεν εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ῥίζαν τῆς Μακεδονίας παραγίνονται. Ὡστε ὁ παροξυσμὸς συμφερνοντως οἰκονομεῖται γενέσθαι. Οὐκ ἂν γὰρ ἐνήργησε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐκ ἂν τὸν λόγον Μακεδονία ἐδέξατο. Ἡ δὲ τοσαύτη προκοπὴ σημεῖον τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τι ἀνθρώπινον τὸ γεγενός (PG 60, 249–250).

³⁴ From his Commentary on Acts (1645), as excerpted in M. Polus, *Synopsis criticorum aliorumque Sacrae Scripturae interpretum et commentatorum* (Frankfurt: Wustius, 1708) IV, 1447.

³⁵ *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press: 1974) 278.

same Hellenistic environment in which he had been active. He has just moved to another city in the Empire and “in Philippi Paul would speak the same Greek that he had spoken all the way from Antioch.”³⁶ Paul obviously did not change his Greek (how could he?), but Luke has him share in his own sense for geography, which includes a sense for drama as well.³⁷ That is in any case how others think the passage in Acts 16 should be interpreted. Focusing on Paul’s dream vision (but without losing sight of the other elements), B.J. Koet has argued most strongly for interpreting Acts 16:6–10 as a divine initiative, an initiative that is urgently needed and clearly formulated in its goal and purpose. “Es gibt keinen Zweifel, dass Gott eine Mission in Mazedonien will, und dass so die Grenze von Asien nach Europa überschritten wird.”³⁸

It needs little proof that Luke is deeply interested in matters of geography and that these can easily take a theological meaning. In the Gospel this may be illustrated from such passages as Luke 3:1 or the importance given to Jesus’ journey to Jerusalem. In Acts, one could cite the highly dramatic 1:8 and also 16:6–10. The latter abounds with geography, both real and (almost) mythical. Troas (not far from ancient Troy!) is the place where Paul receives his vision, after he had been prevented to even enter a whole series of provinces, to the point that Luke can rightly say that the Spirit had forbidden him “to speak the word in Asia.” If Asia has been closed down as a region for missionary activities, what else is there left, at the border of the continent, but to cross over into another continent?³⁹ Luke not only displays a sense for geography, but more specifically, also

³⁶ Acts, II, 772. The same idea, and partly in remarkably similar wording, in J. Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (KEK; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998) 417. A. Weiser, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (ÖTK 5/2; Gütersloh: Mohn; Würzburg: Echter, 1985) 410, notes that this perspective may reflect Luke’s rather than Paul’s view.

³⁷ The whole episode has been described as one of “words of dramatic brevity;” see Ph.E. Satterthwaite, “Acts Against the Background of Classical Rhetoric,” in *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting. I. The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting* (ed. B.W. Winter and A.D. Clarke; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1993) 337–380, 373.

³⁸ “Im Schatten des Aeneas: Paulus in Troas (Apg 16,8–10),” in *Luke and His Readers. FS A. Denaux* (ed. R. Bieringer et al.; BETL 182; Leuven: Peeters, 2005) 415–439; repr. in *Dreams and Scripture in Luke-Acts. Collected Essays* (ed. B.J. Koet; CBET 42; Leuven/Paris/Dudley MA: Peeters, 2006) 147–171, here 164.

³⁹ For more details about this, see Koet, “Schatten,” 166–167. The fact that Troas was not the best or most obvious place to cross over may argue against the authenticity of the episode, but does not harm the drama. On the former, see C.J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (ed. C.H. Gempf; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989) 112–113. It is often overlooked in commentaries that Troas is the destination of the “return journey” in Acts 20:5–6 and home to a community that was apparently founded by Paul himself

for crossing into continents.⁴⁰ If “Asia” is played out over against Greece in 16:6–10, it is put side by side with Italy in 27:2. And when Paul in 19:1 crosses over again from Corinth to Asia, it seems that some scribes have been inspired by Acts 16:6–10 when formulating this “homecoming.”⁴¹ The dramatic effect of crossing into Europe is further enhanced by the detailed information on the itinerary and on Philippi that follows in vv. 11–12,⁴² but perhaps even more so by the quite remarkable fact that Paul, after the break with Barnabas, is now again accompanied by “others” (the famous first person plural!),⁴³ the moral strength of the first convert that impresses both Paul and the reader (16:15; see also the Cornelius

(20:7–12); cf. R. Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (EKK 5/2; Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986) 101.

⁴⁰ It is to be noted that the motif of crossing over into new territory (often also another continent) was well known in ancient literature and scholars have collected a good number of interesting parallels (though some of the passages listed are perhaps rather more interesting for the dream/vision motif). See already A. Wikenhauser, “Religionsgeschichtliche Parallelen zu Apg 16,9,” *BZ* 23 (1935) 180–186; cf. also Weiser, *Apostelgeschichte*, 412–415; B. Heining, *Paulus als Visionär: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Studie* (Herders Biblische Studien 9; Freiburg: Herder, 1996) 275–277; M. Vogel, “Traumdarstellungen bei Josephus und Lukas,” in *Die Apostelgeschichte im Kontext antiker und frühchristlicher Historiographie* (ed. J. Frey et al.; BZNW 162; Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2009) 130–156, here 149–150.—On the mission in Macedonia and further south, see D.W.J. Gill, “Macedonia,” in *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting. II. The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting* (ed. D.W.J. Gill and C. Gempf; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1994) 397–417. Whether there is also in view an even broader perspective modeled after and inspired by Japheth’s “mission,” as argued by J.M. Scott, is rather debatable; see in the same volume, “Luke’s Geographical Horizon,” 483–544.

⁴¹ See the variant reading in Codex D (and in P38?) and the comment in J. Rius-Camps and J. Read-Heimerdinger, *The Message of Acts in Codex Bezae: A Comparison with the Alexandrian Tradition* (LNTS 415; Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 2009) 21–22 and 32.

⁴² On the geographical note in general, see, apart from the commentaries, O. Glombitza, “Der Schritt nach Europa: Erwägungen zu Act 16:9–15,” *ZNW* 53 (1962) 77–82 (who also stresses the importance of crossing over into Europe); W.P. Bowers, “Paul’s Route Through Mysia: A Note on Acts XVI.8,” *JTS* 30 (1979) 507–511; on Philippi, Hemer, *Acts*, 346–347: “The travel detail and description of the status of Philippi may be taken to reflect the directly Lukan perspective in a manner not seen previously in Acts.”

⁴³ This is true also if one is not prepared to accept the highly speculative suggestion that Luke identified himself with the Macedonian. See W.M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveler and Roman Citizen* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897) 201–205. Cf. the comments by F.J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part I. The Acts of the Apostles* (London: Macmillan, 1922) II/2, 348 n. 1 (“far from sure”), a sound judgement, but Hemer, *Acts*, 346 (“the identification seems at least possible, but it is not to be pressed”). Rather more appealing is Blass’ comment on the remarkable first person plural: “res maxime memorabilis, cui auctor interfuerat, ex prima persona narratur, inde ea manet dum potuit manere (ad v. 17)”; F. Blass, *Acta apostolorum sive Lucae ad Theophilum liber alter* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895) 177. On the dubious status of these “we passages” as a source for reliable information, see Haenchen, *Apostelgeschichte*, 428–431, and most recently again, Pervo, *Acts*, 392–396; Luke is not turning himself into such a

episode in Acts 10 and Luke 24:29, and contrast Acts 18:20),⁴⁴ and the prominence of the theme of salvation, which is here for the first time in Acts used (twice) by others than the apostles (16:17 and 16:30–31).⁴⁵

If Joshua and Acts do not agree in the details, they agree in the momentum that is given to the event that is described. The above may not offer sufficient evidence but if a parallel were to be cited, Josh 10:6 is not the weakest one and after all maybe even the one that is closest to Acts 16:9. In any case, it does point towards an interpretation of v. 9 and its context that is not without interest and may indeed well reflect some of Luke's own interests in presenting Paul's missionary travels. A borderline has been crossed and new territory has been opened for continuing to preach God's work.*

source. This is rather a concern of the scribe of D who changes the text accordingly: "Luke is not interested in such logic. His 'we' is omniscient" (392).

⁴⁴ J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles* (AB 31; New York: Doubleday, 1998) 586: "Luke depicts Paul doing what Peter has done." For the parallel with Luke 24:29, see Schneider, *Apostelgeschichte*, 214 n. 35.

⁴⁵ On the connection between these two verses, see Barrett, *Acts*, II, 787: "This [v. 17] answers in advance the question of v. 30." One may wish to note that the verb σφζω is used three times in Joshua, two of which are in chapter ten (8:22 = 10:33 and 10:40), each time with a negative connotation ("no one will be saved/left"); in 10:33 it denotes the disastrous outcome of king Horam's frustrated attempt to come "at the relief" (βοηθήσων!) of Lachish.

* This essay was already in press when I obtained a copy of the new Nestle-Aland edition (NA²⁸). In this revised edition, the note in the margin to Acts 16:9 has been dropped! This does not mean, of course, that the argument that was developed above does no longer stand or that the essay has become obsolete. In a sense, one could argue for the opposite: a potentially interesting parallel to Acts 16:9 is at risk of being forgotten. For those who do not buy the argument, one might add that the essay now reflects "how things once have been," which may be a quite fitting perspective for a contribution to a Festschrift honouring a colleague at the verge of his retirement...

"BETHANY BEYOND THE JORDAN" (JOHN 1:28) IN RETROSPECT:
THE VIEW FROM JOHN 10:40 AND RELATED TEXTS*

Wendy E.S. North

On reading an earlier draft of this small study, Maarten Menken did not agree with the argument I had proposed. Such good-natured exchanges are, of course, of the essence of collegiality, and hence I am delighted to have the opportunity to contribute the finished piece to this volume in his honour. I look forward to further valuable debate with Maarten, a very fine scholar and a good friend.

As is often the case, the present study arose unexpectedly as part of a larger project. The project involved gathering information on how John repeats material which his readers already know from earlier in the gospel. It could be expected, therefore, that sooner or later John 10:40 in relation to 1:28 would come into the exercise; what could not be expected, however, was that this investigation would take on a life of its own and that 10:40 and related texts would give rise to a fresh perspective on the enigmatic reference to "Bethany beyond the Jordan" in the earlier verse.

I embarked on the investigation already aware of Pierson Parker's article, in which he argues that *πέραν* in the phrase *πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* in 1:28 must mean 'opposite' rather than 'across', so that Bethany then is opposite the place on the Jordan where John had baptised.¹ While perhaps plausible for 1:28, it will not do for 10:40, where John uses exactly the same phrase and the usual meaning "across" is the only option.² In other words, Parker's thesis obliges exactly the same wording in John to be read with two different meanings, which does not happen elsewhere and rather defeats the function of 10:40 as a reminder. Indeed, it is one of the weaknesses of his case that in instances of *πέραν* elsewhere in the

* I am indebted to the members of the Johannine Literature Seminar at the British New Testament Conference and also to members of the Durham New Testament Post-Graduate Seminar, who heard a draft of this article and commented wisely and helpfully.

¹ P. Parker, "Bethany Beyond Jordan," *JBL* 74 (1955) 257–261 (260); see W.E.S. North, *The Lazarus Story within the Johannine Tradition* (JSNTSup 212; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 132 n. 46.

² So Parker, with a verb of movement ("Bethany," 260).

Gospel, which Parker neglects to investigate, the usual meaning “across” seems to suffice.

The problem of the whereabouts of “Bethany beyond the Jordan” seems to have arisen with Origen, in the early third century. Origen, who lived in Palestine (maritime Caesarea), went to look for a place named Bethany on the east bank of the Jordan but failed to find it. Despite the fact that, as he states, almost all the witnesses available to him, including Heracleon’s commentary, read Βηθανία, Origen decided on Βηθαβαρᾶ, with the result that it found its way into the manuscript tradition and exists today as a minority reading. Even more of a minority reading is Βηθαραβᾶ, which is probably just a variant form.³

In recent times, the tendency has been not so much to question the textual evidence as to propose that βηθανία is a corruption of another, similar, place-name. The strongest contender for this is Batanaea, the name of a region North and East of the Sea of Galilee, which has a Hebrew equivalent in the Old Testament name Bashan. Advocates of this proposal include William Brownlee, Don Carson, Andreas Köstenberger, Rainer Riesner and Douglas Earl.⁴ This proposal relies on conjecture in the absence of manuscript support, a precarious exercise at the best of times,⁵ and one which I find less than compelling. In particular, I find it difficult to believe that when John—that most painstaking of narrators—tells his readers in 10:40 that Jesus crossed over the Jordan from Judea, what he meant them to understand, without further indication, was that

³ For Origen’s text with French translation and notes, see Origène, *Commentaire sur saint Jean: texte grec/avant-propos, traduction et notes par C. Blanc* (5 vols.; SC 157; Paris: Cerf, 1970) 2:284–287. The major textual witnesses and the logic of Origen’s choice are set out accessibly in D.S. Earl, “(Bethany) Beyond the Jordan: The Significance of a Johannine Motif,” *NTS* 55 (2009) 279–294 (279–280). Earl reports that UBS⁴ reads βηθανία in 1:28, but only with a C rating (279 n. 2). This estimate reflects a modern judgment, which presumably takes account of Origen’s failure to locate Bethany beyond the Jordan as well as his own alternative proposal. Nevertheless, the fact that βηθανία appears in P⁶⁶ and P⁷⁵, both of which antedate Origen, means that its claim to originality remains considerable. For the fullest and most recent discussion of this issue, see W. Willker, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek Gospels* (8th ed.; 6 vols; Bremen: published online, 2011) 4:33–38.

⁴ W.H. Brownlee, “Whence the Gospel according to John?,” in *John and Qumran* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1972) 166–194; D.A. Carson, *The Gospel according to John* (Pillar New Testament Commentary; Leicester: Apollos, 1991) 146–147; A. Köstenberger, *John* (Baker Exegetical Commentary on the NT; Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2004) 65–66; R. Riesner, “Bethany beyond the Jordan (John 1:28): Topography, Theology and History in the Fourth Gospel,” *The Tyndale New Testament Lecture* 1986, *TynBul* 38 (1987) 29–63; D.S. Earl, “(Bethany) Beyond the Jordan’.”

⁵ In agreement with Parker, “Bethany,” 258.

Jesus not only crossed over the Jordan from Judea but also journeyed four days north to Batanaea.

I had just arrived by my own route at the conclusion that the Bethany in 1:28 was probably the familiar (Judean) Bethany, across the Jordan from the place where John had baptised, only to come across an article by Brian Byron, in which he claimed exactly that.⁶ However, I am not convinced by Byron's supporting argument, which is that John has a Jesus-Joshua parallel in mind so that the phrase "across the Jordan" (from east to west into Palestine) resonates with Pentateuchal references to entry into the Promised Land.⁷ I have other objections to Byron's approach,⁸ but I think the most crucial is that he, like all the others, neglects the obvious fact that 1:28 is a parenthesis directed to the *reader*.⁹ This means that the point here is not what soaring theological heights the evangelist was capable of but what he could expect of his readership. Given that not all of them were aware, for example, that the Sea of Tiberias was known locally as the Sea of Galilee (6:1) or that *Messias* meant *Christos* (1:41; 4:25),¹⁰ he can scarcely have been able to rely on their grasp of scriptural subtlety in the form of a three-word phrase. However, what he could rely on, as gospel evidence shows, was their common knowledge of the Jesus-tradition.¹¹

The argument in this study falls into three main sections. In the first, I will focus on the text of 1:28 and suggest a possible alternative reading. In section two, I will explore the implications of related texts later in the

⁶ B.F. Byron, "Bethany Across the Jordan or simply Across the Jordan," *ABR* 46 (1998) 36–54.

⁷ Byron, "Bethany," 44–54. The problem here is that the argument will hold only if John's use of "across the Jordan" in 1:28 is influenced by the Pentateuch alone. In later OT usage, as Byron admits, the direction indicated by the phrase can be either easterly or westerly ("Bethany," 40 n. 6).

⁸ Not least that the insistence on discerning theological symbolism at the Gospel's every turn, which is true of others as well as Byron (see above, n. 4; Byron, "Bethany," 53–54), can function to obscure more straightforward possibilities. In this case, for example, John could be repeating "Bethany" from the Jesus-tradition he knew (cf. Matt 21:17; 26:6; Mark 11:1, 11, 12; Luke 19:29; 24:50) and was capable of describing its whereabouts (John 11:18). Also worth bearing in mind is the evidence in 9:7, which suggests that when John intends a place-name to have significance for his readers he points it out.

⁹ For a comprehensive study of John's parentheses, see G. Van Belle, *Les parenthèses dans l'évangile de Jean: Aperçu historique et classification, texte grec de Jean* (SNTA 11; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1985) 108, 112.

¹⁰ For these and other indicators of a non-Jewish component in John's audience, see B. Witherington III, *John's Wisdom: A Commentary on the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1995) 32–33; see also Van Belle, *Les parenthèses*, 108 n. 4; 106.

¹¹ On this point, see especially R.A. Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Philadelphia PA: Fortress, 1983) 222–223.

Gospel, paying special attention to John's reminder to his readers in 10:40. Finally, in the third section, I will return to 1:28 and attempt to interpret it in context, with the benefit of hindsight as afforded by these later texts.

John 1:28: Reading the Text

(1) *Punctuation Matters*

With the aid of Bible Works software,¹² I have consulted ten Greek editions of the New Testament, eight of which, including Nestle-Aland 27, punctuate 1:28 with a comma after "Jordan." This inevitably prejudices one's understanding of the verse, because then the phrase πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ("beyond the Jordan"), although *not* placed next to "Bethany" in John's Greek sentence, is nonetheless taken to describe its whereabouts (hence "Bethany beyond the Jordan"). It is thus distinguished from the Bethany near Jerusalem in Judea, which is the traditional Bethany known from the Synoptics and from later in John. However, since the text originally lacked punctuation, then if we dispense with the intrusive editorial comma, the way lies open for a different reading of John's verse.

(2) *Suggested Reading*

Largely in agreement with Byron,¹³ I suggest that 1:28 may be read as follows: "These things happened at Bethany[,] on the far side of the Jordan where John was accustomed to baptise,"¹⁴ that is, the Bethany in question is in Judea, situated on the other side of the Jordan river from the east bank where John did his baptising. This is at least a plausible alternative to the common reading, and one which can be supported by references later in the Gospel. Before we turn to these, however, it is worth noting that the account of the baptism of Jesus which follows 1:28 is not the actual event but is a later reminiscence by the Baptist, who was ignorant of Jesus' identity at the time (1:31–34) but is certainly not now (1:29, 36—'Lamb of God'). Thus, there is nothing here to *compel* us to assume that the place where John gave his witness is the same as the place where he baptised.

¹² *Bible Works 7* (Norfolk VA: BibleWorks, LLC, 2006).

¹³ For Byron's reading, see "Bethany," 41–42.

¹⁴ I take "was accustomed to baptise" to be the force of John's periphrastic imperfect ἦν . . . βαπτίζων here. Also, in agreement with Byron, I take the adverbial clause (ὅπου κτλ.) as qualifying Ἰορδάνου only (see Byron, "Bethany," 41 with n. 8).

Exploring Related Texts(1) *John's Use of πέραν in 3:26 and in Chapter 6*

(a) 3:26

This is where the Baptist's disciples refer to Jesus as the one who was with John "across the Jordan." Assuming John the Baptist and Jesus are both in Judea at this point, which seems to be implied,¹⁵ then from this standpoint the phrase πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, in this verse must indicate the east bank where John had baptised Jesus. Note that in this case we have the same referent as in 1:28 and the place is not named.¹⁶

(b) 6:1, 17, 22, 25

These four references all feature John's use of πέραν in relation to the Sea of Galilee. In two cases the phrase πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης, applies from a westerly standpoint, that is, the direction across the sea implied by the context is from west to east (6:1, 22). Equally, however, the remaining two references have the same phrase used from an easterly standpoint, that is, the direction implied by the context is from east to west (6:17, 25).

To sum up so far, these references help establish that John uses πέραν with the usual meaning 'across', with reference to water,¹⁷ and that the direction in each case is a matter of the mental standpoint adopted by the reader in response to indications in the context. With regard to 1:28, this suggests not only that πέραν should be translated "across" and not "opposite," but also that John's phrase πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου can be *read* to mean from east to west or from west to east depending on context.

¹⁵ So 3:22 and the proximity implied in 3:23 and the ἴδε οὗτος βαπτίζει in 3:26.

¹⁶ Note also that while "he who was with you across the Jordan" in 3:26 must refer to the point when John baptised Jesus, the immediately following "to whom you bore witness" does not refer to the baptism but rather to the scene of the Baptist's witness in 1:19–34, subsequent to the event. This awkward shift is probably the casualty of John's decision not to begin with an account of the baptism but to have the Baptist recall the event in the course of his witness (cf. 1:32–34). Hence, the added mention of "witness" in 3:26 is necessary to fix the reference to the opening scene in John's narrative, where the baptism event figures indirectly. Gilbert Van Belle is surely correct in distinguishing "to whom you bore witness" as parenthetical to the main sentence (see Van Belle, *Les parenthèses*, 110, 252).

¹⁷ As he does also in 18:1, with reference to the Kidron.

(2) *John's Reminder in 10:40*

In 10:40, John brings Jesus' public ministry to a close by sending him back to the point where it began, namely, to the place where he was baptised by John. Thus, the second reference to "where John baptised" in 10:40 forms an *inclusio* with the first in 1:28. The verbal parallels are well in evidence (underlined) and the intention here is clearly to remind the reader of what was stated in the earlier verse:

10:40

Καὶ ἀπῆλθεν πάλιν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἦν Ἰωάννης τὸ πρῶτον βαπτίζων καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ.

1:28

ταῦτα ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐγένετο πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ὅπου ἦν ὁ Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων.

John's statement in 10:40 is precise, and deliberately so. It is essential to his narrative at this point that Jesus be sited in a place of personal safety, away from the death-threats of the authorities in Judea (10:31–33, 39), when he learns of Lazarus's illness. By this means, John has set the stage for Jesus to make the conscious decision in chapter 11 to lay down his life in order to give life to Lazarus whom he loves (cf. 11:3, 5, 8, 36; 15:13).¹⁸ Accordingly, we learn in 10:40 that Jesus travels west, starting from Judea (10:22; cf. 11:8) and returning (πάλιν) across the Jordan to the east bank, literally "to the place where John at first did his baptising"—the addition of τὸ πρῶτον here probably functions to fix the reference to the baptising mentioned in 1:28, rather than to the later scene in chapter three of the Baptist's activity at Aenon near Salim (3:23).¹⁹

What can we learn about John's understanding of 1:28 from his reminder to his readers in 10:40? There are three important points here, which relate respectively to the content of 10:40, its immediate context, and to its place in the broader context of similar references elsewhere in the gospel.

¹⁸ See further North, *The Lazarus Story*, 132.

¹⁹ Compare especially John's τὸ πρῶτον in 19:39, with reference to Nicodemus's first appearance in the Gospel story in 3:1–2, not at 7:50–52.

(a) The content of 10:40 confirms beyond doubt that the evangelist understood that Jesus was baptised by John on the east bank of the Jordan, across the river from Judea. What it does not confirm, however, is that he thought the place (ὁ τόπος) so precisely pinpointed here, was called Bethany.

(b) In the immediate context in 11:1, John does actually refer to Bethany. This is the village of Lazarus, Mary and Martha, the siblings whose house will become the scene of the anointing in 12:1–8. Clearly this is the Judean Bethany, conveniently close to Jerusalem, John tells us, for a crowd of “Jews” to flock there to console the sisters (11:18–19). It is also the Bethany to which Jesus will travel for Lazarus’s sake, crossing back over the Jordan into Judea and personal danger (cf. 11:8). For our purposes, the point to note is that if John has thought of *two* Bethanys here, he gives no indication of it. In other words, not only does he *not* use the name in relation to the place of baptism in 10:40 but also, when he *does* use “Bethany”—in the next breath, as it were—he does not seem conscious of any potential for confusion of the two. Where, we ask, is the familiar Johannine aside to the reader to ward off possible misunderstanding? That question becomes the more pressing when we recall John’s immediate and incisive “not Iscariot” in 14:22 at the mention of another Judas among the disciples.²⁰

(c) My third point concerns the reminder in 10:40 as it appears in the broader context of similar references throughout the gospel. John has a particular fondness for reminding his readers of previous passages. Gilbert Van Belle, in his book on the Johannine parentheses, lists 29 such instances throughout the Gospel.²¹ Out of these, there are six, including 10:40, which are reminders of places John has specified earlier. In what follows I have listed the remaining five, in Gospel order, and have added 10:40 below the dotted line for comparison purposes.

²⁰ Compare here also 1:8 (John not the light) and 7:22 (circumcision not from Moses). Barrett’s suggestion that “11.1, 18 seem carefully worded so as to distinguish Bethany near Jerusalem from the other Bethany” (C.K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St John* [2nd ed.; London: SPCK, 1978] 175) is open to two objections: (a) that the content of 11:1 is designed to locate *Lazarus* for the reader, not Bethany (see North, *Lazarus*, 134; cf. 121–122); and (b) that 11:18 functions perfectly well in situ to indicate how conveniently close to Jerusalem Bethany was for “the Jews” to come down to console Martha and Mary (11:19).

²¹ G. Van Belle, *Les parenthèses*, 110–111.

4:46 (cf. 2:1; also vv. 7, 9, 10)

ἦλθεν οὖν πάλιν εἰς τὴν Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ὅπου ἐποίησεν τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον.

4:54 (cf. 4:3, 43, 45, esp. 47)

Τοῦτο [δὲ] πάλιν δεύτερον σημειον ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐλθὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.

6:23 (cf. vv. 10–12)

ἄλλα ἦλθεν πλοι[άρι]α ἐκ Τιβεριάδος ἐγγὺς τοῦ τόπου ὅπου ἔφαγον τὸν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντος τοῦ κυρίου.

11:30 (cf. v. 20)

οὕτω δὲ ἐληλύθει ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν κώμην, ἀλλ' ἦν ἔτι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὅπου ὑπήνησεν αὐτῷ ἡ Μάρθα.

12:1 (cf. 11:1, also v. 18)

Ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς πρὸ ἕξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα ἦλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν, ὅπου ἦν Λάζαρος, ὃν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν Ἰησοῦς.

10:40 (cf. 1:28)

Καὶ ἀπῆλθεν πάλιν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἦν Ἰωάννης τὸ πρῶτον βαπτίζων καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ.

On the whole, John's reminder in 10:40 compares favourably with the other five examples. Note, for instance, the similar use of πάλιν in 4:46 and especially the ὅπου clause after the mention of place, briefly describing the events that occurred there, which we find in 10:40 and in four out of the other five examples (4:54 excepted), a very typical format. It is also worth adding here that 4:46, like 10:40, forms an *inclusio* with its earlier referent. There is, however, one further—and crucial—comparison which deserves our attention. This is the fact that only in 6:23, 11:30 and 10:40 does John refer to the original location as ὁ τόπος ('the place'; parallels underlined). This contrasts with the remaining three reminders, all of which have place-names: Cana in Galilee in 4:46; Judea and Galilee in 4:54; and Bethany in 12:1. Now there is a very good reason why John has preferred ὁ τόπος in 6:23 and 11:30, and that is the fact that in both instances *the original venue*

is not named. On this basis, then, it would seem that when he also referred in 10:40 to ὁ τόπος where John had originally baptised Jesus, he did so on the assumption that there was no place-name to repeat.²² Furthermore, as his reminder in 12:1 demonstrates, John was quite capable of repeating the name “Bethany” had he seen reason to do so.

The results of this investigation into his reminder in 10:40 have shown that, as far as John is concerned, the location in 1:28 where Jesus was baptised by John was on the east bank of the Jordan, across the river from Judea, but was a place without a name—as, indeed, we noted in 3:26. Assuming that John is consistent here in his repetition of the earlier information (and I know of no such case where he is not), then we must take this into account as we return to examine 1:28 in context. Before we do so, however, there are two further points to bear in mind. The first is the evidence from chapter six that John uses πέραν in the usual way to mean ‘across’ or ‘on the other side of’ so that, in practice, the point of departure can be either on the east side (of the relevant stretch of water) or on the west, with the direction in each case a matter of the standpoint adopted by the reader in response to the context. The second point is that John has specified three venues in this section of the gospel. These are: (i) the unnamed place of baptism on the east bank of the Jordan in 10:40, which John evidently perceives as a place of refuge from the Judean authorities; (ii) Bethany in Judea in 11:1, on the other side of the Jordan from the place of baptism, which is where Jesus will put himself in harm’s way; and is conveniently close to (iii) Jerusalem for many of ‘the Jews’ to come down to console the sisters, as in 11:18–19.

John 1:28 in Context

As is well known, the role of the Baptist in John’s scheme of things is that of prime witness to Jesus before the event. This exalted position is already accorded him in the Prologue, where he, like Jesus, is said to be sent from God (1:6–8, 15), and the content of his witness becomes the topic that launches John’s narrative in 1:19. The Baptist’s testimony, when

²² Note also John’s further reference to this spot as ὁ τόπος in 11:6; contrast the very similar follow-up reference in 7:9, in which he repeats ‘Galilee’ from 7:1. A further contrast consists in the fact that John readily names the place (Ephraim) to which Jesus retires from danger for a second time (11:54).

confronted by envoys from the Jerusalem authorities (1:19, 24; cf. 5:33–36),²³ consists in, first, emphatically denying that he is the Christ or that he has any prophetic status except that of embodying the words of Isaiah's prophecy (1:20–23); and, second, when questioned about the purpose of his baptism, in pointing to someone unrecognised by his audience to whom his own allegiance is absolute (1:25–27). It is at this point that the evangelist breaks into his narrative with the geographical reference for the benefit of his readers.

I have suggested that John's communication in 1:28 can be read as follows: 'These things happened at Bethany[,] on the far side of the Jordan river where John was accustomed to baptise.' In other words, the intended reference is to Bethany in Judea, which is on the other side of the Jordan river from the east bank, where John did his baptising. The following four arguments are offered in support of this reading:

- (a) The fact that *πέραν* here denotes a direction from east to west is in keeping with John's use of the term elsewhere.
- (b) This reading would yield a pattern of venues consistent with that found in the section beginning at 10:40, namely, (i) the east bank of the Jordan where John baptised, which is not named; (ii) Bethany in Judea, on the other side of the Jordan; which is conveniently close to (iii) Jerusalem, mentioned by John in 1:19, for a delegation to be sent there from "the Jews" (authorities in this case).
- (c) With regard to 1:28 itself, it is important for us to recognise that in 1:19–27 John has not related the actual story of the baptism of Jesus such as we get in the Synoptics, but instead has focused on the content of the Baptist's witness, which is given at some later stage, subsequent to the event. It is equally important for us to be aware that so far John has given no indication of *place*. Up to this point, his readers, who are evidently familiar with the Baptist's story (cf. 3:24) and who have heard his words "I baptise with water" in 1:26, are more than likely to assume that the setting is at the Jordan river, known from tradition to be where John baptised (cp. Matt 3:6; Mark 1:5; Luke 3:3), and specifically, perhaps, at the east bank of the Jordan, the place John describes so precisely in 10:40. It is in this context, I suggest, that John's aside

²³ See W.E.S. North, "The Jews' in John's Gospel: Observations and Inferences," in *Judaism, Jewish Identities and the Gospel Tradition: Essays in Honour of Maurice Casey* (ed. J.G. Crossley; London/Oakville: Equinox, 2010) 207–226 (214).

to his readers in 1:28 makes best sense. Here he does two things: first, he locates the Baptist's interview at Bethany in Judea; and, second, anticipating that this setting may be contrary to his readers' expectations, he provides them with guidance, that is, he describes the new location he has preferred from the standpoint of the traditional venue that they know. The scene, he insists, is at Bethany, on the *far* side (looking from west to east) of the Jordan river where John was accustomed to baptise. It is worth reminding ourselves at this point that providing guidance and readers' helps in general is a constant feature of John's narrative style throughout the gospel.²⁴ In this case, note the similar example in 11:30 where he anticipates his readers' expectation that Jesus will have already arrived in Bethany, and informs them to the contrary.

- (d) Finally, I shall attempt to account for John's choice of Bethany in Judea as the location of the Baptist's interrogation by those sent from the Jerusalem authorities. Here it is relevant to note that John presents the Baptist not only as prime witness but also as model witness. This is particularly evident in 1:20, where we learn that the Baptist, when questioned by these envoys, "confessed, and did not deny, but confessed, 'I am not the Christ.'" This text resonates verbally with 9:22 and 12:42,²⁵ in which we learn of people who fear "the Jews", specifically the Pharisees, who have the power to evict from the synagogue anyone who confesses that Jesus is the Christ. The links with the Baptist's confession in negative form in 1:20 and the deliberate, almost wooden, emphasis on his demeanour strongly suggest that John intends his response here to be seen as exemplary.²⁶ But if, for his own reasons, he has presented the Baptist being questioned by agents from the Jewish authorities—the same authorities who, later in the narrative, will breathe death-threats against Jesus—then surely the place of baptism east of the Jordan is the *least likely setting* John would choose, for in his scheme of things this is a place of safety, away from such people, the place to which Jesus will return and take refuge later in 10:40. On the contrary, the obvious choice for this encounter is in Judea, at Bethany, conveniently close to Jerusalem to be within the authorities' reach, and in harm's way.

²⁴ See further, G. Van Belle, *Les parenthèses*, 109.

²⁵ Note that *ὁμολογέω* occurs twice in 1:20 and elsewhere only in 9:22 and 12:42.

²⁶ Note the involvement of the same people: 1:19, 24: "the Jews", specifically the Pharisees.

Concluding Comment

In this study, I have attempted to understand John 1:28 in the light of evidence elsewhere in the Gospel and with particular reference to the evangelist's reminder to his readers in 10:40. How far the interpretation of 1:28 offered here has successfully captured John's intentions remains to be seen. Does it work? Or does it torture the meaning out of it to make it work? I am not sure. Nevertheless, on the basis of the evidence we have uncovered on 10:40 and related texts, I believe we may claim with some confidence that a place east of the Jordan called Bethany, or Bethabara, or Batanea, or any other variation of the name, was not a feature on John's mental map of Palestine.

REINIGUNG UND HEILIGUNG IM JOHANNESEVANGELIUM

Ulrich Busse

Wenn es einen akademischen Preis für die besten Arbeiten über das Verhältnis der hebräischen Bibel zum Neuen Testament ohne ideologische Einengung einer sogenannten „kanonischen Exegese“ zu verleihen gäbe, so wäre m. E. Maarten Menken einer der ersten Anwärter für diese Auszeichnung.¹ Mein knapper Beitrag möchte bescheiden seine Anstrengungen um den exakten Nachweis der biblischen Bezüge mit Hinweisen auf die beiden Motive „Reinigung“ und „Heiligung“ im Johannesevangelium positiv unterstützen.

Obwohl in der Exegese diese johanneische Motivik² selten analysiert, noch auf ihre biblischen Bezüge hin untersucht oder darüber hinaus der Vorstellungswelt der Tempelmetaphorik³ zugewiesen wurde, soll hier versucht werden, ihre Relevanz für ein rechtes Verstehen dieses Evangeliums aufzuzeigen. Die unterschiedlichen Gründe für das Überlesen eines wichtigen Aussageelementes für das Verständnis des Gesamttextes haben zwar divergierende Ursachen, die sich jedoch letztlich auf nur einen Grund zurückführen lassen: Die Moderne steht auch nach häufigen Diskriminierungen in der Christentumsgeschichte⁴ beginnend mit Mark 7:15–19 und Acts 10:9–16 vielen Aspekten der antiken Religiosität, des Kultes und des Weltbildes fremd bis arrogant gegenüber. So trägt die hermeneutische Hilfskonstruktion mit ihrem Hinweis auf moderne Hygienevorschriften, die so mancher Ratlose für die antike Reinheitsvorstellung betreten möchte,

¹ Für das Johannesevangelium bleibt massgebend: M.J.J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel. Studies in Textual Form* (CBET 15; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996).

² Mit Recht betrachtet L. Schenke, *Johannes. Kommentar* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1998) 52, dies als ein Desiderat.

³ Dazu Näheres bei U. Busse, „Die Tempelmetaphorik als ein Beispiel von implizitem Rekurs auf die biblische Tradition im Johannesevangelium,“ in *The Scriptures in the Gospels* (ed. C.M. Tuckett; BETL 131; Leuven: Peeters, 1997) 395–428, bzw. neuerdings wieder abgedruckt in U. Busse, *Jesus im Gespräch. Zur Bildrede in den Evangelien und der Apostelgeschichte* (SBAB 43; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2009) 213–245. Weiterhin Ders., *Das Johannesevangelium. Bildlichkeit, Diskurs und Ritual* (BETL 162; Leuven: Peeters 2002) 323–366.

⁴ Doch gab es keine totale Diskriminierung, weil u. a. besonders im katholischen Raum eigene kultische Elemente entwickelt wurden, die den jüdischen vielfach ähneln oder entsprechen.

didaktisch wenig aus, weil sich z. B. das Spülen der äußeren Gefäßwände, ohne zugleich das Innere des Bechers zu säubern (vgl. QLk 11:39), damit nicht erklären lässt. Auch der Versuch, den historischen Jesus aus dem innerjüdischen Streit um das rechte Reinheitsverhalten gänzlich herauszuhalten und diesen Disput als nachträgliche Rekultisierung der jesuanischen Botschaft und folglich als redaktionell eingefügte Reminiszenz des Markus (vgl. Mark 7) zu betrachten oder sogar diese Thematik in den weiteren Evangelien völlig außen vor zu lassen,⁵ führt zu keinem vernünftigen Ergebnis. Die frühjüdischen Texte sprechen dagegen. Die Reinheitsfrage war für alle im Umfeld des Urchristentums so zentral, dass niemand – auch der historische Jesus nicht – neutral bleiben konnte. Wie man mit ihr positiv umzugehen verstand, kann das vierte Evangelium lehren.

Reinigung und Heiligung betrachten die Basis des universal antiken und insbesondere des jüdischen Weltbildes⁶ aus zwei unterschiedlichen Perspektiven. Reinigung beschreibt sie aus anthropologischer und Heiligung aus theologischer Sicht. Die Welt wurde nämlich als eine von bipolaren Sphären und Mächten durchwaltete Wirklichkeit erfahren, in der zu leben und zu überleben es der rechten Orientierung bedurfte. Der archaische Mensch erfuhr diese polaren Mächtigkeiten beständig in ihren Grundkonstanten: Tag und Nacht, d. h. Licht und Finsternis, Sommer und Winter,⁷ Leben und Tod, Mann und Frau, Nahrung und Hunger, Heiligkeit und Profanität usw. Mit ihnen musste er umgehen, ihre Kräfte für sich nützen, sie gegebenenfalls gegeneinander ausbalancieren, beschwören oder zwischen ihnen wählen. Im Laufe der frühen Menschheitsgeschichte wurden so Tabus entwickelt, die als Instrumente zum Überleben der Gesellschaft dienlich waren. Zu diesen gehören u. a. auch die kultischen Reinheitsvorschriften.⁸ Man erfuhr das Göttliche als eine unbezwingbare Lebensmacht,⁹ der sich ungestraft zu nähern unbedingt auch bestimmte Vorsichtsmaßnahmen voraussetzte. Der Mensch musste sich in eine Verfassung versetzen, die ihm den Zugang zum Heiligen erlaubte. Er musste

⁵ Vgl. J.P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew. Rethinking the Historical Jesus IV: Law and Love* (The Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library; New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2009) 342–477, mit der Replik von Th. Kazen, *Issues of Impurity in Early Judaism* (ConBNT 45; Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010) 151–167.

⁶ Ausführlicher als hier möglich wird dieser grundlegender Aspekt dargestellt in B. Janowski, „Der Mensch im alten Israel. Grundfragen alttestamentlicher Anthropologie,“ *ZTK* 102 (2003) 143–175, 166–172 und in der dort angegebenen Literatur.

⁷ Diese beiden Jahreszeiten waren im Mittelmeerraum die Hauptjahreszeiten.

⁸ Vgl. u. a. Lev 10:19: „Ihr sollt Heiliges und Profanes, Unreines und Reines trennen.“

⁹ Man betrachte nur die Berufungsgeschichten von Mose und den Propheten, von Paulus und Petrus in Luke 5:1–11.

kultisch rein¹⁰ sein, was eben in keiner Weise ursprünglich moralisch oder hygienisch zu verstehen ist, sondern den Zustand definiert, der der Gottheit an ihrem heiligen Wohnort auf Erden genehm und mit ihrer Würde vereinbar ist. Die Reinheit auf der einen musste mit der Heiligkeit Gottes auf der anderen Seite harmonieren. Denn jede Störung durch äußere Umstände hätte zu gefährlichen Konfrontationen mit unabsehbaren Konsequenzen geführt. Aus menschlicher Sicht ist also eine Reinheit gefordert, die ihn in Übereinstimmung mit Gott versetzt und alles beseitigt, was diese gefährden könnte. Ein Beispiel sei genannt: Weil Gott ein Gott der Lebenden und nicht der Toten ist, sollte der Mensch vor allem die Gemeinschaft mit Verstorbenen meiden. Da dies nicht immer möglich ist, muss er sich, bevor er den göttlichen Bereich betritt, bestimmten Reinigungsriten unterziehen, um nicht die göttliche Lebenskraft herauszufordern.

Im Judentum wurde von göttlicher Seite dieser geforderte Zustand folgendermaßen knapp und prägnant definiert: „Ihr sollt heilig sein, denn ich bin heilig!“ (Exod 19:6; Lev 11:44; 19:2; vgl. Matt 5:48; 1 John 3:3).¹¹ Diese geforderte Heiligkeit war ebenfalls nur durch eine vorangehende Heiligung erreichbar.¹² Z. B. weil der Schöpfergott auch die Tiere, Vögel, weitere Lebewesen und Pflanzen, die der Mensch als Nahrung verwendet, geschaffen hat, gehören sie prinzipiell ihm. Wenn der Mensch diese Geschenke nun isst, wird er sie gerechterweise mit Gott teilen. Dies geschieht bei der Darbringung der (Speise-)Opfer im Tempel. Dort wird eine Mahlgemeinschaft geschaffen, die Gott eng mit Israel verbindet. Sie ist auch übertragbar auf das tägliche familiäre Mahl, bei dem dies berücksichtigt wird, indem koschere von profanen Speisen getrennt werden. Damit bleibt jeder in Israel selbst im Alltag mit Gott verbunden und unterscheidet sich dadurch von anderen. Aus diesem Grund betrachten die beiden Begriffe, Reinigung und Heiligung, die angesprochene Sache nur aus verschiedenen Perspektiven, sind aber inhaltlich synonym.

Doch waren die Reinheits-, Speise- und weiteren kultischen Vorschriften nicht von Anfang an fertig kodifiziert, sondern wurden in Jahrhunderten entwickelt, für unterschiedliche Gesellschaftsgruppen modifiziert,

¹⁰ Die Bipolarität spiegelt sich sogar in den ganz unterschiedlichen Worten für „rein“ = *tahor* und „unrein“ = *tame* im Hebräischen wider. Hingegen bildet im Griechischen wie im Deutschen ein Wortstamm die Grundlage, der durch ein Präfix ins Negative gewendet werden kann.

¹¹ Den biblischen und kultischen Hintergrund erörtert M.J.J. Menken, *1, 2 en 3 Johannes: Een praktische bijbelverklaring* (Kampen: Kok, 2010) 60, knapp, aber zutreffend.

¹² Josh 3:5; 1 Chr 15:12–14; 2 Chr 29:5, 24; Acts 21:24–26; 24:18.

partiell verschärft, ausgeweitet und für besondere negative Umstände ausdifferenziert. Die kultischen Regeln, die einmal nur für die Priester am Wohnort Gottes, im Tempel, galten, wurden vom einfachen Volk, das sich als Gottesvolk verstand, entweder freiwillig aufgegriffen, ihnen von Priestern und Leviten nahegelegt, von Pharisäern vorgelebt oder dogmatisch aufgedrängt.¹³ Ein frühes Beispiel für diese Tendenz, die eigentlich nur dem Jerusalemer Tempel geschuldeten und dort von Priestern streng befolgten Reinheitsbedingungen privat überall zu erfüllen, findet sich in Tob 2:4–5. Dort wird geschildert, dass Tobit, ein gewöhnlicher Mann aus dem Stamm Naftali, einen unbestattet gebliebenen Erdrosselten nachts heimlich beerdigt und sich anschließend mit einer Waschung von der Totenverunreinigung befreit habe. Besonders in hellenistischer und neutestamentlicher Zeit, wo die nationale Selbstständigkeit verloren zu gehen drohte oder bereits perdu war, trat verstärkt ein weiterer Aspekt hinzu: die Unterscheidung zwischen jüdischer und hellenistisch-römischer Lebensweise und Religion. Diese Entwicklung spiegelt sich deutlich in Jdt 12:1–20 wider, wo Judit bei Holofernes die Speisegebote ebenso einhält wie sie sich von der Verunreinigung durch die heidnische Umwelt mit Waschungen in fließendem Gewässer reinigt. Der Verlust der politischen Autonomie verstärkte also den Trend, die Bedeutung der Reinheits-, Sabbat- und Speisegebote für die eigene nationale und religiöse Identität (auch in der Diaspora) zu betonen, sie im Alltag umzusetzen und zu leben.¹⁴ Mit seinen Texten in der Nachfolge Jesu tritt das

¹³ Dieser Prozess lässt sich gut an der Redaktion des Buches Leviticus in persisch-frühhellenistischer Zeit aufweisen. Dies hat E.S. Gerstenberger, *Das dritte Buch Moses: Leviticus* (ATD 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993) hervorragend aufgezeigt.

¹⁴ Über die kultischen Regeln und ihre Praxis in neutestamentlicher Zeit informieren: A. Büchler, „Familienreinheit und Familienmakel in Jerusalem vor dem Jahr 70,“ in *Festschrift Adolf Schwarz zum 70. Geburtstag 15.7.1916* (ed. S. Krauss und V. Aptowitz; Berlin/Wien, 1917) 133–162; G. Alon, „The Bounds of the Laws of Levitical Cleanliness,“ in Ders., *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World: Studies in Jewish History in the Times of the Second Temple and Talmud* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977) 190–234; A.M. Berlin, *Jewish Life Before the Revolt: The Archaeological Evidence* (JSJSup 36; Leiden: Brill, 2005) 417–470; Kazen, *Issues of Impurity*; S.J.D. Cohen, „Religion, Ethnicity, and 'Hellenism' in the Emergence of Jewish Identity in Maccabean Palestine,“ in *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom* (ed. P. Bilde; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1990) 204–223; Th. Podella, R. Goldenberg und Chr. Dietzelbinger, „Reinheit, AT, Judentum und NT,“ *TRE* 28 (1997) 477–493; J. Riches, „Heiligung,“ *TRE* 14 (1985) 718–732; H.K. Harrington, „Purity and Impurity,“ in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism* (ed. J.J. Collins und D.C. Harlow; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2010) 1121–1123; J.C. Poirier, „Purity Beyond the Temple in the Second Temple Era,“ *JBL* 122 (2003) 247–265; E. Regev, „Pure Individualism: The Idea of Non-Priestly Purity in Ancient Judaism,“ *JSJ* 31 (2000) 176–202; J.M. Baumgarten, „The Pharisaic-Sadducean Controversies about Purity and the Qumran Texts,“ *JJS* 31 (1980) 157–170; J. Neusner, „Geschichte und

Urchristentum dieser für die Gottesbeziehung zentralen Diskussion unter den unterschiedlichen jüdischen Gruppen¹⁵ bei. Im Johannesevangelium wird der Evangelist seinen eigenständigen Standpunkt in dieser entscheidenden Frage darlegen.

Wie wichtig ihm dieser religiöse Aspekt war, zeigt sich schon in der ersten Zeichenhandlung Jesu in Kana (John 2:6). In einer Parenthese,¹⁶ die bei ihm der literarischen Kommunikation zwischen Autor und Leser dient, wird jener ausdrücklich auf die jüdischen Reinigungsvorschriften hingewiesen. Jesus habe sechs steinerne *Kallal* genannte Gefäße,¹⁷ die zusammen 480 bis 720 Liter fassen konnten, leer vorgefunden und habe deshalb die Sklaven gebeten, diese wieder mit Wasser zu füllen. Die ins Auge stechenden Vermerke, die Krüge hätten der kultischen Reinigung gedient, wären aber leer gewesen, lässt zwei alternative Deutungen zu: Erstens weise ihre Leere symbolisch auf die nach exegetischer Mehrheitsmeinung im Christentum „funktionslos“ gewordenen Reinheitsvorschriften hin¹⁸ oder zweitens das Wasser wurde bereits vor Jesu Eintreffen zur Reinigung des Geschirrs und der Hände der Hochzeitsgäste¹⁹ aufgebraucht. Eine solche Verspätung wird nämlich in der Notiz V. 2a vorausgesetzt, wo vermeldet wird, seine Mutter sei schon dort gewesen, bevor er mit seinen neu gewonnenen Anhängern „am dritten Tag“ eingetroffen sei. Eine solche Einblendung in eine schon laufende Handlung wird ebenfalls in 13:2a, 4a vorgenommen, wenn dort Jesus während des Mahls, dessen Beginn unerwähnt geblieben ist, seinen Jüngern die Füße wäscht. Sie gehört

rituelle Reinheit im Judentum des 1 Jh. n. Chr.,“ *Kairos* 21 (1979) 119–132; J. Maier, „La Torah di purita nel Levitico e sua trattazione nella letteratura guidaica del periodo del Secondo Tempio e nei primi secoli cristiani,“ *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 13 (1996) 39–66; M. Williams, „Being a Jew in Rome: Sabbath Fasting as an Expression of Romano-Jewish Identity,“ in *Negotiating Diaspora: Jewish Strategies in the Roman Empire* (Library of Second Temple Studies 45; ed. J.M.G. Barclay; London: T&T Clark, 2004) 8–18.

¹⁵ Vgl. 4QMMT und die Tempelrolle.

¹⁶ Siehe G. Van Belle, *Les parenthèses dans l'évangile de Jean aperçu historique et classification texte grec de Jean* (SNTA 11; Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1985) 122, 248.

¹⁷ Ihre genaue Beschreibung, Verwendung und den archäologischen Befund skizzieren R. Deines, *Jüdische Staubgefäße und pharisäische Frömmigkeit* (WUNT 2.52; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1993) 1–35; Y. Magen, *The Stone Vessel Industry in the Second Temple Period: Excavations at Hizma and the Jerusalem Temple Mount* (Jerusalem: IES/IAA, 2002); Berlin, *Jewish Life Before the Revolt*, 429–433.

¹⁸ So neuerdings mit vielen anderen M. Theobald, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (RNT. NF 4/1; Regensburg: Pustet, 2009) 214.

¹⁹ *M.Ber.* 8.2 lässt erkennen, dass dieser Ritus umstritten war: „Die Schule Schammais sagt: Man wäscht seine Hände ab, und danach schenkt man den Becher ein. Aber die Schule Hillels sagt: Man schenkt den Becher ein, und danach wäscht man seine Hände ab.“

folglich zu den Stilmitteln des Autors. Diese Verzögerung erlaubt es, an eine möglicherweise zweitägige Überlappung der beiden Perikopen 1:35–51; 2:1–11 zu denken, die sie noch stärker, als die Notizen 1:35, 43, 50f. es konnten, kompositionell und inhaltlich zusammenhält. Zusätzlich sprechen noch zwei weitere wichtige Beobachtungen für diesen Umstand. Denn der Hochzeitsverlauf²⁰ wird ohne seine üblichen formaljuridischen, religiösen und ehelichen Aspekte, sondern nur auszugsweise als Symposion geschildert. Außerdem ist der Bräutigam als gegenwärtig (2:9) gedacht, was wiederum für einen längeren Vorlauf spricht, der aber als allgemein bekannt vorausgesetzt und deshalb nicht mehr erzählt werden braucht. Dies alles lässt nur einen Schluss zu: Die Gefäße waren bereits zu Beginn der Feierlichkeiten und zwischenzeitlich zur kultischen Reinigung verwendet worden und aus diesem Grund leer, als Jesus verspätet eintraf. Darüber hinaus weist die hohe Anzahl der erwähnten Steingefäße, die analog zu Zisternen (Lev 11:36) nicht verunreinigt werden konnten, in einem normalen Haushalt auf den gehobenen sozialen Status der Hochzeitsgesellschaft hin. Der Bräutigam konnte sich sogar – wie angemerkt wird – einen Ober leisten.²¹ Die religiös observanten Gastgeber werden wohl auch sehr wohlhabend gewesen sein. Sie konnten entsprechend viele Gäste laden, ihre kultische Reinheit gewährleisten und angemessen verköstigen. Die Tatsache, dass sie alle kultisch rein (*chulin*)²² die Hochzeit in Galiläa (fern von Jerusalem) feiern wollten,²³ wertet Jesus aus der Sicht des Evangelisten als positives Indiz, das neu herbeigeschaffte Wasser vor seiner „Stunde“ in Wein zu verwandeln und damit auch die logistische Peinlichkeit für den Gastgeber zu beseitigen. Die galiläische Hochzeitsgesellschaft dient dem Autor exemplarisch zur Charakterisierung Israels (vgl. 3:29), das in seiner Mehrheit fern von Jerusalem willens ist, die

²⁰ Er wird beschrieben von Chr. Urban, „Hochzeit, Ehe und Witwenschaft,“ in *Neues Testament und Antike Kultur*. Bd 2: *Familie – Gesellschaft – Wirtschaft* (ed. K. Scherberich and K. Erlemann; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 2005) 25–30.

²¹ Siehe U. Busse, „The Relevance of Social History to the Interpretation of the Gospel According to John,“ in Ders., *Jesus im Gespräch*, 138–147.

²² *Chulin* meint bei den frühen Rabbinen (b.Chul. 2b: „bei Profanem, das nach Art des Heiligen in Reinheit zubereitet wird“) profane Speisen im Zustand levitischer Reinheit zu zubereiten und zu essen.

²³ E. Regev, „Pure Individualism“, 183 schätzt die Situation richtig ein, wenn er seine archäologischen Ergebnisse zusammenfasst: „Thus, we conclude that a significant part of the stone vessels finds should be connected to the concept of non-priestly purity.“ Ähnlich argumentieren Kazen, *Issues of Impurity*, 113–135 und H.K. Harrington, *The Purity Texts* (CQS 5; London/New York: T&T Clark, 2004) 32f.

Reinigungsvorschriften Gottes einzuhalten, in diesem heiligen Zustand mit seinem Gott zu kommunizieren und auf die Beseitigung von Notlagen zu hoffen. Aus seiner Sicht kann dem Bräutigam schon deshalb aus einer peinlichen Situation geholfen werden. Ja, Israel selbst kann vorgezogen²⁴ eschatologisches Heil²⁵ erfahren.

Wenn in der folgenden Perikope (John 2:13–22), konträr zur positiv gestimmten galiläischen Situation, nun der Jerusalemer Tempel in den Fokus des Interesses gerückt wird und sich Jesus nach dessen Reinigung dort prophetisch selbst als erneuerter Wohnort Gottes für Israel nach der Tempelzerstörung präsentiert, schließt sich der kultische Gedankenkreis in seiner gesellschaftlich-nationalen Ausprägung. Jesus war schon 1:14 und 1:51 mit biblischen Vorgängertempeln (d. h. mit dem Wohnzelt Gottes der Wüstenzeit und mit Beth-El) metaphorisch in Beziehung gesetzt worden, so nun mit dem vor der Selbstzerstörung²⁶ stehende Jerusalemer Tempel, dem Kraft- und Lebenszentrum Israels. Er wird in der Person Jesus und im Glauben an ihn weiterbestehen und dort kann man die heilsame Nähe Gottes suchen und finden. Der Verfasser hegt also nicht die Absicht, die Kontinuität der mit der Tempelvorstellung verbundenen Heilsrealität zu verneinen, sondern sie gerade umgekehrt soteriologisch stärker zu akzentuieren. Dies gibt geschichtlich nur einen Sinn, wenn der Leser die Zerstörung des Tempels historisch als bereits geschehen voraussetzt und im Judentum nach einem Ersatz dringend gesucht wird. Doch bevor dieses Stadium erreicht ist, muss sich in Passion und Auferstehung Jesu seine Heilmächtigkeit erweisen. Diesen erzählerischen Vorbehalt teilen beide so gegensätzlichen Perikopen mit dem Glaubensmotiv (2:11, 22).

Tempel wie Hochzeit stellen gewichtige gesellschaftliche Dimensionen dar. Wenn nun in Kap. 3 und 4 Individuen eine größere Rolle zu spielen beginnen, sollen wohl weitere Aspekte aus dieser Heilsproblematik angesprochen und entfaltet werden. In dem nächtlichen Gespräch Jesu mit Nikodemus geht es um die Bedingung für den individuellen Zugang zum Heil. Deshalb spricht Jesus hier – ganz traditionell – von der Königsherrschaft Gottes. Die Lösung sieht er in einem Initiationsritus, der eine

²⁴ „Die Stunde“ ist das johanneische Codewort für Passion und Auferstehung Jesu, auf deren Heilsfolge sein erstes „Zeichen“ vorweist.

²⁵ Das Bild der Hochzeit wird in der biblischen wie jüdischen Tradition gern als Beschreibung des eschatologischen Heils verwendet.

²⁶ Es ist hier wohl historisch schon der selbstzerstörerische Aufstand gegen die Römer vorausgesetzt, der den johanneischen Jesus so formulieren lässt.

Neugeburt von oben vorsieht. Ohne sie kann niemand die *Basileia sehen*, noch *in sie eingehen*. Eine radikale Statusveränderung ist also gefordert. Auf den Einwand des Nikodemus, wie das denn geschehen solle, wiederholt Jesus im Prinzip den Kern seiner ersten Aussage, präzisiert sie aber: Anstelle der Geburt *von oben* setzt er nun Geburt *aus Wasser und Geist*. Diese Umschreibung erinnert an die Ausführungen des Zeugen Johannes in 1:33: Er taufe mit Wasser, Jesus aber werde mit heiligem Geist taufen. Beides aber geschehe nach dem Willen dessen, der sie gesandt habe. Die Zusammenlegung beider Taufarten zu einer *rite de passage* in 3:5 birgt ein Problem, das bald darauf in 3:22–26 thematisiert wird. Jesus kommt nach Judäa und tauft dort. Es ist zwar von dem judäischen *Land*, aber nicht von Wasser die Rede, was für eine Wassertaufe notwendig gewesen wäre. Hingegen tauft der Zeuge Johannes ausdrücklich in einer wasserreichen Gegend, in Aion nahe bei Salem. Mit dieser Notiz wird klargestellt: Johannes ist seiner Taufart treu geblieben, was Jesus jedoch in Judäa exakt gemacht hat, bleibt unbestimmt, so dass für einen Streit zwischen Johannesjüngern und einem aus Judäa kommenden Juden über die unterschiedliche Qualität der beiden Reinigungsarten (V. 25) ein Grund und Anlass zugleich gegeben ist. Dieser Streit wird von Johannes selbst mit einem erneuten Hinweis auf seine Zeugenrolle und der überwältigenden göttlichen Ausstattung Jesu (3:31–36) beantwortet. Deshalb kann es nicht mehr irritieren, wenn danach gesagt wird, dass nicht Jesus, sondern seine Jünger getauft hätten (4:2). Er selbst aber hätte *mehr Jünger gemacht und getauft* als Johannes (4:1). Auch hier erfolgt ausdrücklich keine Festlegung auf eine jesuanische Wassertaufe. Die Konklusion beider Taufarten zu einer neuen umfassenderen Taufe bleibt vielmehr den Jüngern Jesu vorbehalten. Sie taufen wie der Zeuge Johannes mit Wasser und später wie Jesus mit heiligem Geist. Aber die Zusammenführung beider Taufarten zu einer Taufe wird für sie erst vollziehbar sein zu dem Zeitpunkt, an dem sie Ostern (20:22) das *Pneuma* selbst empfangen haben. Dann ist ihnen eine immer gültige Initiation gegeben und von ihnen vollziehbar, die Jesus bereits in 3:5 im Blick hatte.

Bislang haben die ersten Kapitel des Johannesevangeliums den Blick nur auf den anthropologischen Aspekt freigegeben. Diese Tendenz hält bis Kap. 10 überwiegend an. Denn die Erwähnung des Teichs von Bethsatha (5:2), dem von Kranken eine solche Reinigungskraft zugetraut wird, dass er sie zu heilen vermöge, passt ebenso ins Muster wie 9:7. Dort befiehlt Jesus dem von Geburt an Blinden, sich im Teich Siloam gemäß der Tora kultisch zu waschen. Dadurch sehend geworden kann er seinen

Anteil²⁷ an den Werken Gottes leisten (V. 4), der Jesus gesandt hat, indem er diesen treu als den gottgesandten Blindenheiler trotz aller Widrigkeiten aus seinem Umfeld bekennt. All das, was Jesus vollbringt und worauf die Begünstigten positiv²⁸ reagieren, ist Bestandteil eines umfassenderen Auftrages, den Gott seinem Gesandten mitgegeben hat. Wenn aber schon in 3:3–5 erst eine Neugeburt von oben das Sehen und das Eintreten in die Königsherrschaft Gottes ermöglicht, dann wird auch bei der Initiation ein Akt von Gott her erwartet, der im Einklang steht mit der göttlichen Auftragsstellung Jesu. Die Formulierung „Wasser und Geist“ beschreibt diesen Akt näher. Den Geist jedoch besitzt nur Jesus bleibend (vgl. 1:32 mit 3:34) im Übermaß und teilt ihn gern mit anderen. Auf dem Höhepunkt des Disputs am *Chanukka*-[Tempelweih-] Fest 10:22–39 mit den „Pharisäern und Juden,“ die bekanntlich die damalige Jerusalemer Obrigkeit repräsentieren, führt Jesus über Ps 82 hinaus ein weiteres Argument an, das begründen helfen soll, dass die gegen ihn erhobene Anklage wegen Blasphemie töricht ist. Denn wie kann es jemand wagen, den, welchen Gott selbst „geheiligt“ (10:36 oder „geweiht“) und gesandt hat, als Abtrünnigen zu bezeichnen. Dieser Hinweis auf die Autorität der Schrift und auf seine göttliche Beauftragung sind Jesu stärkste Gegenargumente gegen die hier von seinen Gegnern vorgetragene lebensgefährliche Schlussfolgerung, die seine Person und seinen Auftrag bedrohen. Auf dieser Klimax einer über Kapitel hinweg sich aufbauenden Disputation über die Legitimation Jesu fällt zum zweiten Mal der Begriff „heiligen,“ dessen rechtes Verständnis auch den Sinn des auffälligen Bekenntnisses Petri zu ihm als „Heiligen“ (6:69) zu erhellen vermag. Dass der Gebrauch des Titels letztlich auf Gott als den Handelnden zielt, macht ihn kultisch korrekt. Er lässt sich zudem vordergründig auf den temporären Anlass des Streitgespräches, das Tempelweihfest (10:22), beziehen,²⁹ ein Fest, das die Neueinweihung

²⁷ Mit J.R. Michaels, *The Gospel of John* (NICNT; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2010) 542, sollte man das Subjekt in V. 3 nicht als *pluralis maiestatis* allein auf Jesus beziehen, sondern wie in 3:21 sind mehrere – wie hier das Zeugnis des Geheilten – involviert.

²⁸ In 5:10–15 reagiert ein Geheilter negativ und verrät Jesus an die religiöse Obrigkeit. Ihm fehlt wohl die Erkenntnis, dass dieser nur einen Auftrag Gottes für den Kosmos umsetzt und nicht autonom handelt.

²⁹ Siehe M.J.J. Menken, „Die Feste im Johannesevangelium,“ in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium*. FS J. Beutler (ed. M. Labahn, K. Scholtissek und A. Strotmann; Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004) 268–287, 281; J. McCaffrey, *The House With Many Rooms: The Temple Theme of Jn 14:2–3* (AnBib 114; Rom: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1988) 239; E.C. Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel* (ed. F.N. Davey; 2nd edn; London: Faber & Faber, 1947) 385; R.E. Brown, *Introduction to New Testament Christology* (New York/

des Tempels (1 Macc 4:34–59; 2 Macc 1–2:18; 10:1–8; Josephus, *A.J.* 12.316–325) commemoriert. Bei der Auslegung dieses Verses jedoch gibt es einen grundsätzlichen Zwist unter den Exegeten,³⁰ ob nämlich der Evangelist metaphysisch auf die Gottgleichheit Jesu vor aller Zeit abheben oder vielmehr im Sinne von Jer 1:5; 2 Chr 26:18; Sir 14:4; 45:5; 49:7, analog zu den Propheten Jeremias und Mose, auf die Beauftragung eines Menschen zu einem von Gott gewünschten Amt abheben wolle. Die endgültige Wahl für eine der beiden konträren Positionen zu treffen, wird erst möglich, wenn man eine Auffälligkeit im Kontext wahrnimmt. Der Evangelist verwendet hier für die Sendung Jesu das Verb ἀποστέλλειν und nicht πέμπειν. Ersteres Verb legt den Akzent auf die Übertragung der Vollmacht an Jesus, wohingegen das zweite den Urheber der Sendung bezeichnet.³¹ Mit diesem philologischen Argument liegt der Ton in 10:36 nicht so sehr auf eine metaphysische Ursprungsthematik, sondern ist besser mit einer prophetischen Berufung zu umschreiben. Jesus ist geheiligt, weil er wie der Prophet Jeremias (Jer 1:5) mit seiner Berufung, die Werke Gottes zu vollbringen, dafür geheiligt wurde. Deshalb nennt Petrus Jesus auch ganz korrekt in 6:69 „Heiliger Gottes.“ Im Abschiedsgebet Jesu Joh 17 wird in V. 19 wiederum das Verb mit dem Sendungsgedanken verbunden. Denn seine Sendung umfasst nicht nur „die Werke“ Gottes, sondern auch „seine Stunde“. Sie erfüllt auch den Zweck, dass die Jünger, die mit ihm nun eine Schicksalsgemeinschaft bilden, ebenfalls von Gott „geheiligt“, d. h. mit gleicher Vollmacht zu ihrem nachösterlichen Zeugenamt bestellt werden.

Mahwah NJ: Paulist Press, 1994) 349; M. Kinzer, „Temple Christology in the Gospel of John,“ *SBLSP* 37 (1998) 447–464, 450; C.S. Keener, *The Gospel of John. A Commentary* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2003) 830.

³⁰ Für die erste Möglichkeit votieren u. a. R. Bultmann, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1965) 386, 418; G. Richter, *Studien zum Johannesevangelium* (BU 13; Regensburg: J. Hainz, 1977) 41; S. Schreiber „Rätsel um den König: Zur religionsgeschichtlichen Herkunft des König-Titels im Johannesevangelium,“ in *Johannes aenigmaticus: Studien zum Johannesevangelium. FS H. Leroy* (BU 29; ed. S. Schreiber und A. Stimpfle; Regensburg: Pustet, 2000) 61; den zweiten Weg beschreiten: u. a. A.H. Franke, *Das Alte Testament bei Johannes: Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung und Beurteilung der johanneischen Schriften* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1885) 69f, 195, 281; C. Weizsäcker, „Das Selbstzeugnis des johanneischen Christus. Ein Beitrag zur Christologie,“ *JDT* 2 (1857) 154–208, 175; B. Weiss, *Das Johannesevangelium als einheitliches Werk geschichtlich erklärt* (Berlin: Trowitzsch, 1912) 201f.; W. Loader, *The Christology of the Fourth Gospel* (BBET 23; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989) 166f.

³¹ Siehe die Analyse bei J. Blank, *Krisis: Untersuchungen zur johanneischen Christologie und Eschatologie* (Freiburg: Herder, 1964) 70. Vgl. auch C.K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text* (2nd ed.; London/Philadelphia PA: Westminster Press, 1978) 385.

Man sollte nicht meinen, weil im Text nun John 17, das Abschiedsgebet, erreicht sei, sei die Motivik hinreichend ausgeschöpft. Vielmehr wird in 11:55 ein weiterer Aspekt aus dem damaligen rituellen Leben aufgegriffen, um mit ihm eine (Passions-)Wochen-Chronologie³² zu eröffnen. Es wird dort knapp angemerkt, dass „viele vom Land nach Jerusalem hinaufstiegen,³³ um sich für das bevorstehende Passa zu heiligen“. Hier wird also die erforderliche Zurüstung zur Kultfähigkeit (*taharah*) vor dem Wallfahrtsfest angesprochen. Ihre Wiederherstellung verlangte bei schweren Verunreinigungsfällen (z. B. nach Kontakten mit Verstorbenen,³⁴ nach Menstruationstagen und Gebären)³⁵ eine siebentägige Reinigungsphase und zuweilen zum Abschluss eine Opferdarbringung und Besprengung im Tempel.³⁶ Da diese Verunreinigungen durch Berührung – wissentlich oder unwissentlich – übertragbar waren, hielten sich auch viele vorsichtige und besonders religiös-skrupulöse Menschen daran, so dass die Information, es wären Wallfahrer vom Lande gewesen, stimmig ist. Denn dort waren die Verunreinigungsgefahren, die man sich auch unwissend zuziehen konnte, weitaus größer als in der Stadt. In diesen sieben Tagen mussten zumeist Waschungen des Körpers und der Kleidung vorgenommen werden.³⁷ Dies geschah in den zahlreichen Teichen in und um Jerusalem. Philo³⁸ beschreibt es so:

Der Körper aber muss, wie gesagt, durch Waschungen und Besprengungen gereinigt werden, u. z. darf man nicht nach einmaliger Besprengung oder

³² Die Information wird bereits in 12:1, danach in 13:1 aufgegriffen und die vollzogenen Reinigungen lassen es 18:28 nicht zu, mit Pilatus in heidnischer Umgebung über die Verurteilung Jesu zu verhandeln. Siehe u. a. T. Onuki, „Die johanneischen Abschiedsreden und die synoptische Tradition. Eine traditionskritische und traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung,“ *AJBI* 3 (1977) 157–268, 192.

³³ Das Verb „hinaufsteigen“ ist ein Fachausdruck für die Wallfahrt: vgl. Josephus, *AJ.* 18,5,3 § 122f.; zur siebentägigen Reinigungsphase und deren Ritualen: vgl. u. a. Exod 19:10–11; Num 19:12–18; 31:19–23; 2 Chr 30; Jub 21:16f.; *mHag* 1.1.

³⁴ Hier heiligt nur das Reinigungswasser vermischt mit der Asche der roten Kuh (Num 19). Diese gab es nur im Tempel.

³⁵ Vgl. *mKel* 1.8f.

³⁶ Ausführlicher als hier möglich von Gerstenberger, *Das Dritte Buch Mose*, 160–162, 257ff. dargestellt.

³⁷ Knapp und bündig wird dies von J. Maier und P. Schäfer, *Kleines Lexikon des Judentums* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1981) 257, 313 geschildert. Für das AT: vgl. Gerstenberger, *Das Dritte Buch Mose*, 166f.; (Vgl. R. Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (KEK; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968) 316; K. Wengst, *Der erste, zweite und dritte Brief des Johannes* (ÖTK 16; Gütersloh/Würzburg: Mohn/Echter, 1978) 129 und Ders., *Das Johannesevangelium* (THKNT 4; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000/2001) II 43f.

³⁸ Philo, *spec. leg.* 1 § 261; vgl. 3 § 205–208; Josephus, *AJ.* 3.11.3 § 261; *c. Ap* 2.8 § 103f.; *Bell. Iud* 5,5,6 § 227; 6,5,3 § 290; 4Q396, 5–7.

Waschung sofort den hl. [Tempel-]Bezirk betreten, vielmehr muss man, so befiehlt es das Gesetz (Num 19:1ff.), sieben Tage draußen verbringen und zweimal – am dritten und am siebten Tage – sich besprengen lassen und daraufhin baden, erst dann ist der Eintritt in das Heiligtum und die Teilnahme an den hl. Handlungen unverwehrt.

Neben der kompositionellen Funktion dieser knappen, aber geschichtlich durchaus zutreffenden Information, die Passionswoche Jesu als allgemeine Reinigungswoche zu charakterisieren, darf man zwei weitere Aspekte nicht übersehen. Zunächst ist zu beachten, dass diese Information in keinem anderen Evangelium gegeben wird,³⁹ des Weiteren, das sie erneut auf ein zentrales Wallfahrtsfest anspielt.⁴⁰ Beide legen unübersehbar wiederum den Akzent auf die Suche auch des einfachen Volkes (vgl. 2:6) in heiliger Zeit und an heiligem Ort nach der heilenden Nähe Gottes (vgl. Jas 4:8ab) im Tempel. Auf diese Weise verbindet sich im vierten Evangelium die Wallfahrts- und Reinigungs- mit der Tempelmotivik und trägt zur Einheitlichkeit und Kohärenz der Gesamtkomposition entscheidend bei.⁴¹

In diese Reinigungswoche, die zur Passionswoche Jesu werden sollte, fällt nach dem Verstreichen des zweiten Tages (12:1) vor dem Passa in 13:1 ein weiterer Tag. Von ihm wird einleitend (3:1a; 3a) betont gesagt, dass Jesus um die Nähe seiner „Stunde“ „wusste“ und nun die letzte Gelegenheit gekommen sah, sich den „Seinen“ intensiv zu widmen. Denn sie mussten noch gefestigt werden, dass sie sich der herannahenden Katastrophe gewachsen zeigen und zugleich in die Lage versetzt würden, konsequent in seinem Sinne danach weiter zu handeln.⁴² Diese Vorbereitung der Jünger wird mit der Fußwaschungsszene eingeleitet und in den Abschiedsreden umfassend vertieft. Die Auslegung hat gezeigt, dass die Fußwaschung selbst unterschiedliche Handlungsaspekte anspricht. Einer-

³⁹ Siehe U.C. von Wahlde, *The Gospel and Letters of John* (ECC; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2010) II 520.

⁴⁰ 2:13; 5:1; 6:4; 7:2; 10:22. Vgl. neuerdings O. Dyma, *Die Wallfahrt zum Zweiten Tempel: Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung der Wallfahrtsfeste in vorhasmonäischer Zeit* (FAT 2.40; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009) 3–5.

⁴¹ Vgl. R.A. Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Foundations and Facets: New Testament; Philadelphia PA: Fortress, 1983) 72. A. Lieber, „Between Motherland and Fatherland: Diaspora, Pilgrimage and the Spiritualization of Sacrifice in Philo von Alexandria,“ in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (ed. L. LiDonnici; Leiden: Brill, 2007) 193–210, 198 spricht zurecht von „practice of ritual pilgrimage.“

⁴² Siehe auch Chr. Hoegen-Rohls, *Der nachösterliche Johannes: Die Abschiedsreden als hermeneutischer Schlüssel zum vierten Evangelium* (WUNT 2.84; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994) 51.

seits symbolisiert der typische Sklavendienst, Gästen die Füße zu waschen, Jesu Liebestod für die Seinen, den diese aber jetzt noch nicht verstehen können (13:7).⁴³ Hier wird wieder der bekannte Vorbehalt formuliert, der auf einen späteren Erfüllungszeitpunkt verweist. Andererseits lässt sich mit dem Blick auf Petrus das Baden,⁴⁴ das ihn und alle anderen Jünger bald vollkommen rein machen wird (V. 10)⁴⁵ und sie schon jetzt mit der Fußwaschung symbolisch engsten mit Jesus verbindet (V. 8),⁴⁶ dem bisherigen Befund analog als einen weiteren Hinweis auf die *rite de passage* der Jünger deuten. Mit der an ihnen vollzogenen Waschung werden sie vorbereitet für einen Status, der sie später „gebadet“ „vollkommen rein“ machen und ihnen so endgültig zugleich Nähe und „Anteil an“⁴⁷ Jesus gewähren wird. Aus dieser Sicht könnte die Handlungsweise Jesu wieder an ein frühjüdisches priesterliches Ritual⁴⁸ erinnern, sich vor dem Eintritt in den Tempel die Hände und die Füße zu waschen (*Jub* 21:16f.; *Philo, QEx.* 1.2; *spec* 1.206; *Mos* 2.136–138; *migr* 98). Auf diese Weise bereiteten sich die Priester vor, Gott an seinem heiligen Orte zu begegnen und zugleich damit Israel zu dienen. Hier dient die Fußwaschung dazu, die Jünger zeichenhaft auf die erforderliche und von Petrus gewünschte Nähe zum Auferstandenen (V. 7de), die durch dessen „reinigende“ Passion gewährt werden wird, vorzubereiten. Daraus wird für sie die Verpflichtung erwachsen, anderen (auch zukünftige) Jüngern nach dem hier gesetzten Maßstab als Sklaven zu dienen, damit alle an der Nähe Gottes im engsten Kontakt

⁴³ So u. a. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations*, 127; A.J. Hultgren, „The Johannine Foot-washing (13:1–11) as Symbol of Eschatological Hospitality,“ *NTS* 28 (1982) 539–546, 542–544; Bultmann, *Theologie des neuen Testaments*, 411.

⁴⁴ In V. 10 wird das Verb „waschen“ auffälligerweise durch „baden“ ersetzt und zugleich in Form eines Sprichwortes generalisierend formuliert.

⁴⁵ Dieser Hinweis wird für Petrus nach seiner Verleugnung Jesu wieder in 21:7–17 aktuell. Er signalisiert seinem „Herrn“, indem er sich ankleidet und gürtelt, seine Bereitschaft für ihn zu arbeiten, und indem er sich in den See stürzt und ans Ufer schwimmt, wird er rein. In diesem Zustand ist er befähigt, von Jesus in das Hirtenamt übertragen zu bekommen, das dieser vorher selbst innegehabt hatte (10:1–18).

⁴⁶ Vgl. J.H. Neyrey, „The Footwashing in John 13:6–11: Transformation Ritual or Ceremony?,“ in *The Social World of the First Christians. FS W.A. Meeks* (ed. L.M. White und O.L. Yarbrough; Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 1995) 198–213; Ders., *The Gospel of John* (New Century Bible; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 228; Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, 358; E. Haenchen, *Das Johannesevangelium – ein Kommentar, aus den nachgelassenen Manuskripten* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1980) 458; H. Weiss, „Foot Washing in the Johannine Community,“ *NovT* 21 (1979) 298–325, 304; F.J. Moloney, „A Sacramental Reading of John 13:1–38,“ *CBQ* 53 (1991) 237–256, 240.

⁴⁷ Biblische Ausdrucksweise: vgl. Num 18:20; Deut 12:12; 14:27, 2 Sam 20:1; 1 Kings 12:16; Ps 50:18 u. ö.

⁴⁸ Gegen Barrett, *The Gospel according to John*, 436. Die levitische Reinigung wird hier wieder auf alle ausgedehnt und ist folglich kein priesterliches Privileg mehr.

mit ihm partizipieren können (13:12–20): Denn „wer mich aufnimmt, nimmt den auf, der mich gesandt hat“, so lautet zutreffend der letzte Satz in diesem Abschnitt.⁴⁹

Nun kann es nicht mehr überraschen, wenn gleich zu Beginn der Bildrede vom Winzer, Weinstock und Reben (15:1–17) dieses Thema wieder aufgegriffen wird. In V. 3f. wird plötzlich aus dem gerade erst entworfenen Weinstockbild gesprungen und – erinnernd an 13:10 – die schon gegebene Reinheit der Jünger betont. Es ist schon ein kleines literarisches Kabinettstück,⁵⁰ wie der Autor die Deuteebene aus dem Bild ableitet. Denn es wird anfangs von den Erwartungen auf hohen Ertrag und von entsprechenden Bemühungen des Besitzers (Gott) eines vorbildlichen Weinstocks (Jesus) gesprochen.⁵¹ Er möchte durch „Ausbrechen“ von schwachen Trieben zu Beginn und während der Vegetationsperiode durch „Reinigen“⁵² des Weinstocks von Blättern, die die heranreifenden Trauben beschatten oder von überhängenden Trieben, die während eines Sturmes abbrechen und so keine Frucht mehr hervorbringen, den Ertrag sichern. Exakt nach dieser Beschreibung des weingärtnerischen Bemühens um die Sicherung eines hohen Ernteertrages springt der Autor in die Deuteebene. In direkter Anrede werden die Jünger durch das Wort Jesu, das er früher zu ihnen gesprochen hat,⁵³ für rein erklärt. Dies kann nur bedeuten, dass in allen vorangegangenen Reden und Dialogen Jesu die reinigende Wirkkraft Gottes⁵⁴ aktiv war. Denn nur so wird auch der Zusammenhang mit V. 4 nachvollziehbar: Die Jünger sind durch das Wort Jesu in den Zustand der Reinheit versetzt worden und sollen es „bleiben“,

⁴⁹ Dies ist auch das Ergebnis der Überlegungen von L. Abramowski, „Die Geschichte von der Fußwaschung (John 13),“ *ZTK* 102 (2005) 176–203.

⁵⁰ Sehr schön und zutreffend beschrieben von J.G. van der Watt, „‘Metaphorik’ in John 15:1–8,“ *BZ* 38 (1994) 67–80.

⁵¹ Die Entwicklung dieses Bildfeldes bis zu den Schriften von Qumran hat P.A. Tiller, „The ‘Eternal Planting’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls,“ *DSD* 4 (1997) 312–335 nachgezeichnet. Besonders sei auf seine Beobachtung auf 314 verwiesen: „The metaphor also lends itself to depicting the relationship between God (the farmer) and his people (the plant or garden).“

⁵² Man erwartet im Griechischen das fachlich korrektere Verb „abschneiden“ anstelle von „reinigen“ an dieser Stelle (vgl. Philo, *agr.* 10; *somn.* 2.64; *Od.Sol* 11,1f.; *Xen., oec.* 20.20 darf in diesem Zusammenhang nicht angeführt werden, da dort „Unkraut jäten“ gemeint ist).

⁵³ Das Perfekt V. 3b signalisiert eine abgeschlossene Handlung, die aus dem Blickwinkel einer Rückschau beschrieben wird. Dieses in den Kap. 14–17 häufiger gebrauchtes Stilelement (u. a. 14:25, 29; 15:3, 11; 16:1, 4, 6, 25, 33; 17:2, 4, 6–9, 11f, 14, 22, 24 und kommt der Gattung „Abschiedsrede“ sehr entgegen). Rückblicke werden auch sonst gegeben: 1:34; 5:42f.; 6:38, 42, 65; 7:28; 8:38, 40, 42; 11:27; 12:46; 13:12; 18:20, 37; 20:18. Es ist also ein durchgängiges johanneischen Stilmittel.

⁵⁴ Dies muss aus dem Bild V 1f. eingefügt werden. Dort war nämlich nur der Winzer aktiv.

indem sie sich beständig an ihn binden und so den erwünschten und sogar noch optimierbaren Ernteertrag erbringen (V. 5). Es soll also die durch das Evangelium vermittelte Wirkmächtigkeit Gottes akzentuiert und sogleich Jesu entscheidende Rolle als Mediator göttlicher Fürsorge und göttlichem Heilswillens unterstrichen werden. 13:10 erfasst das Ziel Jesu, die Jünger in den Zustand der Reinheit zu versetzen, aus dem Blickwinkel der Vorschau, 15:3 aus dem der Rückschau auf die zielgerichtete Wirkmächtigkeit Gottes.

Es bleiben zwei offene Fragen noch zu klären: Wann werden die temporären Vorbehalte aufgehoben? Gibt es deutlich erkennbare Anhaltspunkte, die die Reinigungs- und Heiligungsmotivik damit verbinden? Die Spurensuche wird erleichtert durch die bisher gefundenen, zumeist indirekten Hinweise. Ein erstes Indiz waren die formulierten Vorbehalte selbst. Schon in 2:1–11 verwies Jesus auf seine noch ausstehende „Stunde“ oder in 13:7d machte er Petrus auf ein Defizit in seinem Wissen aufmerksam, das erst zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt behoben sein würde. Auch muss die Lösung der ersten Frage in Jerusalem lokalisiert sein. Denn alle gelegten Spuren weisen auf diesen Ort mit seinem für die Gottesbegegnung so wichtigen Tempel hin. In 13:1–3 wird das Geheimnis der „Stunde“ gelüftet: Es ist Jesu Passion, die durch den Verrat des Judas möglich wurde, und seine *Metabasis*, d. h. Auferstehung und Verherrlichung (vgl. 3:14–18), während der Reinigungsvorbereitungen im Rahmen einer Wallfahrt zum Passafest und zum direkt anschließenden Fests der ungesäuerten Brote einleitete. In diesen Geschehenszusammenhang sind seine Jünger ständig involviert, u. z. durch symbolisches Handeln Jesu an ihnen und mit seinen abschließenden Instruktionen, im vitalen Kontakt mit ihm zu „bleiben“. Dies definiert der Evangelist an anderen Stellen als Glauben an und Treue zu Jesus. Diese gewünschten Charaktereigenschaften der Jünger in eben dieser engsten Verbundenheit mit Jesus setzen ihre Reinheit voraus. Doch ist diese nur auf andere Weise (vgl. 3:22ff.) als durch die Wassertaufe des Zeugen Johannes erreichbar. Denn Jesus wird eine Geisttaufe (vgl. 1:33; 3:34; 4:2) spenden. Aber den Geist schenkt ihnen erst der Auferstandene (20:22). Doch wird diese Absicht von ihm biblisch begründet und somit wird auch der Leser entsprechend präpariert. Dies wird später symbolisch wie schriftgemäß umgesetzt. 7:37–39 sind für das erstere wie 19:32–36 für das zweite die entscheidenden Schlüsselverse. Auf dem Höhepunkt des Laubhüttenfestes bietet Jesus den Israel repräsentierenden Wallfahrern an, ihnen ihren Durst auf die in PsLXX 77:16, 20/Zech 14:8 angekündigte Weise mit lebendigen Wasser, wie es für die Reinigung vorgeschrieben ist, zu löschen. Der Evangelist fügt sofort kommentierend hinzu, dass mit

dem „lebendigen Wasser“ der Geist gemeint sei. Aber dieser könne erst mit seiner Verherrlichung gegeben werden. M. Menken fasst die auktoriale Aussageabsicht korrekt zusammen:

By means of the quotation, Jesus is presented as the new rock in the wilderness, which is also the new temple, from which life-giving water will flow after his death.⁵⁵

Dieses Versprechen wird 19:32–37 umfassend eingelöst. Denn es fließt – so wird dort berichtet – aus der Seite des Gekreuzigten zugleich „Blut und Wasser“ (V. 34) heraus. Direkt nach dem Hinweis auf einen Zeugen für dieses Wunder⁵⁶ werden die Schriftstellen (Exod 12:10/Ps 34(33):21; Zech 12:10/13:1 jeweils angepasst an die Situation und deren Deutung) zitiert, die mit diesem Ereignis erfüllt werden (V. 36f.). Das Wasser aus der Seite Jesu symbolisiert klar und deutlich die Umsetzung seiner Offerte aus 7:37, alle Dürstenden zur gegebenen Zeit zu erquicken. Mit dem Symbolwert des Blutes, das ebenfalls aus der geöffneten Seite Jesu strömt, tut man sich allgemein schwerer. Man kann diesen Vorgang als endgültige Erfüllung des Angebots der Reinigung aller deuten,⁵⁷ muss es aber nicht, weil nach 15:3 nur die Jünger durch ihren Glauben an das Wort Jesu allein rein sind. Dieses Dilemma löst der Vorschlag von H. Thyen auf.⁵⁸ Er macht auf den Befund aufmerksam, dass das Substantiv „Blut“ vorher nur 6:51–58⁵⁹ gehäuft verwendet werde. In dieser, nicht nur für jüdische Ohren grotesk übersteigerten Metaphorik wird von den Zeitgenossen und den Jüngern (vgl. 6:61–66) verlangt, man solle Jesu Fleisch und Blut essen und trinken. Dieser Abschluss der Brotrede ergibt nur dann einen Sinn, wenn damit ausgedrückt werden soll, man solle Jesus und seine Worte ebenso verinnerlichen, wie wenn man eine Speise zu sich nähme.⁶⁰ Damit würde dieses symbolische Ausströmen von Blut in 19:34 ausdrücklich Jesu Angebot noch im Tod enthalten, seine Nähe zu suchen und dort für immer zu „bleiben.“

⁵⁵ Menken, *Old Testament Quotations*, 203.

⁵⁶ Siehe Haenchen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 555; dezidiierter noch H. Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium* (HNT 6; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005) 748–752. Er deutet die Schriftzitate stringent aus dem Kontext und daher überzeugend aus.

⁵⁷ So Busse, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 248.

⁵⁸ Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 751f.

⁵⁹ Sonst nur noch 1:3.

⁶⁰ Vgl. U. Busse, „Sprachökonomisch optimierte Kommunikation in Joh 6,“ in Ders., *Jesus im Gespräch*, 274–288 oder in *Repetitions and Variations in the Fourth Gospel: Style, Text, Interpretation* (ed. G. Van Belle, M. Labahn und P. Maritz; BETL 223; Leuven: Peeters, 2009) 419–434.

Zusammenfassend lassen sich aus der Erörterung der Reinigungs- und Heiligungsmotivik einige wichtige Schlüsse über die Intention des vierten Evangeliums ziehen. Dieses Motivfeld, verknüpft mit ihren Anspielungen auf die Wassertaufe des Johannes, der Geisttaufe Jesu, der Wallfahrten nach Jerusalem sowie der Tempelmetaphorik, kommt – auf alle Teile des Evangeliums gleichermaßen verteilt – häufiger und dessen Intention mehr bestimmend als bislang angenommen vor. Diese Einsicht muss die Skepsis einiger Ausleger gegenüber dessen kultischer Reinheitsvorstellung überwinden helfen. Denn es geht dem Autor nicht um den Jerusalemer Opferkult allgemein, sondern um kultische Reinheit generell und speziell gegenüber dem metaphorisch den Tempel erneuernden Jesus. Das antike religiöse Basiswissen um einen angemessenen Zustand bei der Suche nach Gott ist durchgängig beibehalten. Die Hochzeitsgesellschaft zu Kana, die sich wohl aus Laien (*am ha-aráz*) und nicht aus Priestern und Leviten zusammensetzt, will das Gelöbnis zweier junger Menschen in kultischer Reinheit fern vom Tempel begehen. Dies wertet Jesus als ein positives Indiz. Es ist der Ermöglichungsgrund für die Heilszuwendung Gottes durch ihn. Auch den eigentlichen Begegnungsort Israels mit Gott, den Tempel, kann man seit alters her nur rein betreten. Dies gilt auch weiterhin für den Auferstandenen als erneuerten Tempel in seinem Körper (2:21f.).⁶¹ Die Geisttaufe Jesu, die als göttliche Neugeburt (3:3–5) definiert ist, impliziert die neue, endzeitliche Art einer *rite de passage*, um in ihrem Vollzug über die Schwelle in den göttlichen Bereich zu treten. Die johanneische Feuertaufe bei den Synoptikern wird im vierten Evangelium auf die Zeugnisfunktion für den Geisttäufer Jesus beschränkt. Folglich bleibt sie eine, wenn auch in ihrer Bedeutung abgeschwächte *rite de passage*. Dadurch bleibt die Kontinuität mit der Tradition erhalten, obwohl deren apokalyptische Nächsterwartung durch eine nachhaltige pneumatische Ausstattung ersetzt ist. Denn Jesus schenkt den Jüngern Ostern bekanntlich einen „anderen“ Geist-Parakleten (14:16; 15:26; 16:7). Doch bleibt ihre Reinheit die Vorbedingung für die Erwartung Gottes auf einen hohen Ernteertrag. Dieser kann nur gesichert werden, wenn sie weit über seinen Tod hinaus verlässliche Partner „bleiben“. Deshalb sollen sie ihn so verinnerlichen, dass sie, als ob sie ihn verzehrt hätten, mit ihm eins sind. Dies wird

⁶¹ Zutreffend dargestellt von H. Thyen, „Die Erzählung von den Bethanischen Geschwistern (John 11:1–12:19) als ‘Palimpsest’ über synoptischen Texten,“ in *The Four Gospels. FS F. Neiryck* (ed. F. Van Segbroeck, C.M. Tuckett, G. Van Belle and J. Verheyden; BETL 100; Leuven: Peeters, 1992) III 2021–2050, 2029 oder der Nachdruck in H. Thyen, *Studien zum Corpus Johanneum* (WUNT 214; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007) 182–212, 190.

vor allem dadurch erreicht, dass sie sein Wort im Evangelium, das sie reinigt (15:3), hören und solidarisch befolgen. Vor diesem Hintergrund kann es nicht mehr verwundern, dass nach der Reinigung der Jünger in 13:4ff. und dem Ausscheiden des Verräters aus der Tischgemeinschaft die übrigen „reinen“ verpflichtet werden, nach seiner *Anabasis* die Gruppenmitglieder so zu lieben wie er modellhaft sie geliebt hat (vgl. 13:15 mit 13:34f.). Liebe im biblischen Kontext meint einerseits keine romantische Regung, sexuelle Lust und Begehren oder karitative Barmherzigkeit andererseits, sondern schließt immer die Gemeinschaft, sei es Israel oder hier die Jünger-gemeinde, mit ein. Sie ist ein durch und durch politischer Begriff. Der Verpflichtung, die die reinen Jünger Jesus gegenüber eingehen werden, muss ihre Verantwortung entsprechen, Loyalität und Solidarität gegenüber den Gruppenmitgliedern zu wahren und zu üben. Da im Johannes-evangelium keine Animositäten gegenüber jüdischen Reinigungs- und Heiligungsriten erkennbar wurden, stimmt die Einschätzung jedenfalls für diese Schrift nicht, dass das Christentum antirituell eingestellt sei und sich vorrangig auf ethisch-moralische Reinheit kapriziere.⁶²

Wenn man nun fragt, wann diese theologische Konzeption Gestalt annehmen konnte, dann legt sich ein Zeitraum nahe, in dem der Jerusalemer Tempel zerstört, aber das religiöse Bedürfnis, Gott in Lob und Not zu begegnen, erhalten geblieben war. Es muss noch eine schwache Hoffnung bestanden haben, den Tempel zum dritten Mal wiederaufbauen zu können, obwohl der *fiscus judaicus* die finanziellen Ressourcen für seine Restaurierung entscheidend schwächte. Den zutreffenden Zeitrahmen stecken am besten wohl die Jahre zwischen den beiden Aufständen gegen Rom ab. In dieser religiösen Notzeit entwickeln der jüdisch-christliche Autor und seine theologisch gebildete Umgebung dieses Konzept. Es enthält eine Offerte an die Zeitgenossen, die Gott begegnen möchten, dass ihnen in Jesus der Tempel wieder gegenwärtig gesetzt ist. Dies bietet den Vorteil, dass die Gottesverehrung keines festen und heiligen Ortes (4:20–23) mehr bedarf. Denn das Evangelium heiligt jetzt die Menschen (17:17–19). Dass dieser Entwurf nicht das Wohlwollen aller fand, bedarf keiner weiteren Erörterung.

⁶² Harrington, *The Purity Texts*, 42, mutmaßt so generell zu unrecht: „Christianity is somewhat of an exception emphasizing moral but not ritual purity.“

THE SIGNS OF THE MESSIAH IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL:
THE PROBLEM OF A “WONDER-WORKING MESSIAH”

Gilbert Van Belle

The first conclusion of the Fourth Gospel establishes a clearly positive link between the signs and faith in the Messiah (20:30–31).¹ Based on a selection of signs that have been included in his writing, the evangelist hopes his readers will continue to believe (πιστεύητε) or will start to believe (πιστεύσῃτε) that Jesus is “the Messiah” (ὁ χριστός).² The evangelist

¹ On Jesus as Messiah in the Fourth Gospel, see R. Schnackenburg, “Die Messiasfrage im Johannesevangelium,” in *Theologisches Jahrbuch* (1966) 318–348; M. de Jonge, “Jewish Expectations about the ‘Messiah’ according to the Fourth Gospel,” in Idem, *Jesus: Stranger from Heaven and Son of God: Jesus Christ and the Christians in Johannine Perspective* (SBLSPS 11; Missoula MT: Scholars, 1977) 77–116; F.J. Matera, “Transcending Messianic Expectations: Mark and John,” in *Transcending Boundaries: Contemporary Readings of the New Testament: Essays in Honor of Francis J. Moloney* (ed. R.M. Chennattu and M.L. Coloe; Biblioteca di Scienze Religiose 187; Roma: LAS, 2005) 201–216; R. Bauckham, “Messianism according to the Gospel of John,” in *Challenging Perspectives on the Gospel of John* (ed. J. Lierman; WUNT 2.219; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006) 34–68; J. Painter, “The Signs of the Messiah and the Quest for Eternal Life,” in *What We have Heard from the Beginning: The Past, Present, and Future of Johannine Studies* (ed. T. Thatcher; Waco TX: Baylor University Press, 2007) 233–256; T. Thatcher, “Remembering Jesus: John’s Negative Christology,” in *The Messiah in the Old and New Testaments* (ed. S.E. Porter; McMaster New Testament Studies; Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2007) 165–189; M.M. Thompson, “Word of God, Messiah of Israel, Savior of the World: Learning the Identity of Jesus from the Gospel of John,” in *Seeking the Identity of Jesus: A Pilgrimage* (ed. B.R. Gaventa and R.B. Hays; Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2008) 166–179. See also J. Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991) 238–279; D.M. Smith, *The Theology of the Gospel of John* (New Testament Theology; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 85–90; C.M. Tuckett, *Christology and the New Testament: Jesus and His Earliest Followers* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press: 2001) 151–171; F. Hahn, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (2 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002) 1:625–626; S. Cho, *Jesus as Prophet in the Fourth Gospel* (NT Monographs, 15; Sheffield: Phoenix, 2006) 262–263; J.A. Fitzmyer, *The One Who Is to Come* (Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2007) 134–145; F.J. Matera, *New Testament Theology: Exploring Diversity and Unity* (Louisville KY/London: Westminster John Knox, 2007) 282–285; A.Y. Collins and J.J. Collins, *King and Messiah as Son of God: Divine, Human, and Angelic Messianic Figures in Biblical and Related Literature* (Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2008) 175–187; A. Köstenberger, *A Theology of John’s Gospel and Letters* (Biblical Theology to the New Testament; Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan, 2009) 311–335; U. Schnelle, *Theology of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2009) 690.

² With G.D. Fee, “On the Text and Meaning of John 20, 30–31,” in *The Four Gospels 1992. Festschrift F. Neirynck* (3 vols.; ed. F. Van Segbroeck, C.M. Tuckett, G. Van Belle and J. Verheyden;

explains the title “the Christ” directly in the apposition “the Son of God” (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ) and points out the soteriological meaning of this faith: this faith gives them eternal life in His name. When Jesus visited Jerusalem during the Feast of Tabernacles, a discussion was held between the people in the temple on whether Jesus was the Messiah (7:25–31, 40–44) and many of them believed in him because they were convinced. Their line of reasoning is made clear in a rhetorical question in 7:31, which implies that when the Messiah comes he will not perform more miracles than Jesus (ὁ χριστὸς ὅταν ἔλθῃ μὴ πλείονα σημεῖα ποιήσῃ ὧν οὗτος ἐποίησεν;). In the Gospel’s conclusion as well as in 7:31, by seeing the signs that Jesus performed (σημεῖα ποιέω), one comes to believe (πιστεύω) that he is the Messiah (ὁ χριστὸς).

Many commentaries point out that there are no Jewish sources from the first century that contain an expectation that the Messiah will perform wonders or signs.³ How can the Fourth Evangelist indicate that Jesus is the Messiah through the narratives of signs? To answer this question we will first inquire whether there is any evidence in Jewish sources that there was an expectation that the Messiah would perform miracles, secondly we will discuss the crowd’s exclamation in 7:31 within its context, and to conclude we will explain how the evangelist came about giving the signs a central place in his gospel, and how we can see them as a manifestation of the Messiah.

I. *The Wonders of the Messiah in the Jewish Sources*

The messianic problem in 7:31 can be formulated as follows: “Is there evidence to suggest that Jewish groups (or even one Jewish group) of the first century expected the Messiah to be a worker of miracles?”⁴ J.L. Martyn

BETL 100; Leuven; Peeters, 1992) 3:2193–2205, we argue that “the present subjunctive is the original text in both 19,35 and 20,31” (2205).

³ See, e.g., R. Bultmann, *Gospel of John* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), 306 n. 3: “Clearly what is assumed here [7:31] is the view that the *Messiah* on his appearance will *give proof of his authority by miracles*. This view is not clearly attested in Jewish literature”; see also R.E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John* (AB 29; New York: Doubleday, 1966) 1:313; C.K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John* (2nd ed.; Philadelphia PA: Westminster, 1978) 323; C. Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2001) I. 222–223; C.S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2003) I: 719; J.R. Michaels, *Commentary on the Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2010) 454; D. Bruner, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2012) 484.

⁴ J.L. Martyn, *History & Theology in the Fourth Gospel* (2nd ed.; Nashville TN: Abingdon, 1979) 95.

has treated this question in detail. We will draw from his findings aspects that are relevant to our argument.⁵

(a) In the Jewish sources the expected Messiah is almost always presented as the Son of David, because messianic hope was based on the glorious times of King David. Therefore the Messiah will be “a wondrous King” who saves Israel with might from enemy powers. In the Psalms of Solomon, which has long been considered to be the most important source of our knowledge of messianic hope, “the Messiah’s works” are mentioned in chapter 17 (vv. 39b–40): “Then who will succeed against him, mighty in his actions and strong in the fear of God.”⁶ Martyn deduces from the context what these works refer to: the monumental defeat of Israel’s enemies, the purification of Jerusalem from the nations that suppressed it, the gathering of God’s people, and protecting the flock of the Lord. No mention of wonders is made in these deeds of the Messiah. Naturally the Messiah is a gallant warrior and a wise man who should be admired. But he is not presented as someone that performs wonders, such as healing the lame, miraculously providing people with bread and water, healing the blind or resurrecting the dead.⁷

(b) According to Martyn the image of the Messiah regarding miracles does not change when we read how Isa 35:5–6 was interpreted in Judaism of the first century. The text reads as follows: “Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened and the ears of the deaf unstopped; then the lame shall leap like a deer, and the tongue of the speechless sing for joy. For waters shall break forth in the wilderness, and streams in the desert.” Here the prophet is portraying a picture of hope in which God will bring redemption. Although the verbs in the first two clauses are used passively, we can determine from their context that God is the subject of the verbal action. Martyn therefore concludes that we are dealing here with a description of a glorious period which is characterised by wonders. The messianic period will therefore be a time of miracles. Because the Messiah is not mentioned in the Targum of Isa 35, as in the original text, it is clear that this text

⁵ Martyn, *History & Theology*, 95–100.

⁶ J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; Anchor Bible Reference Library; New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985) 2:668. On the references to the Messiah in *Pss. Sol.* 17, see L.T. Stuckenbruck, “Messianic Ideas in the Apocalyptic and Related Literature of Early Judaism,” in *The Messiah in the Old and New Testaments* (ed. S.E. Porter; McMaster New Testament Studies; Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2007) 90–113, esp. 93–97. See also Dietzfelbinger (vol. 1: 2001) 222.

⁷ Martyn, *History & Theology*, 96.

cannot be used to substantiate the expectation of the Messiah as a miracle worker.⁸

(c) There are several references in Jewish literature to messianic pretenders who led many of the people into the wilderness and promised that signs would take place. Martyn refers to Josephus, *B.J.* 2.259 and *A.J.* 20.167–168 (cf. *A.J.* 20.97). In these passages there are equally no prompts to suggest that one of these people would become the Messiah. Moreover, Martyn points out that these signs are more probably Mosaic and not Davidic; in other words they are “wilderness signs.”⁹

(d) The situation is the “essentially the same” in the Tannaitic literature. Martyn warns the reader to practice caution when evaluating possible Tannaitic references to the Messiah. He offers two reasons: on the one hand they are very limited in number (not a single reference in the Mishnah), and on the other, they could have been influenced (negatively) by Christian messianism.¹⁰ Nonetheless it is important to take note of the categorical nature of J. Klausner’s verdict: “*For the Messiah*—and this should be carefully noted!—*is never mentioned anywhere in the Tannaitic literature as a wonder-worker per se.*”¹¹

According to Martyn,¹² one cannot speak of “the messianic works and miracles”, as S. Mowinckel has claimed in the following citation:¹³

The day when the Messiah appears and accomplishes his Messianic work of salvation is the day when he “is revealed” as what he is destined to be, as the Messiah. These expressions imply that it is this Messianic work which makes him the Messiah. He cannot be known and acknowledged as such until these actions have revealed his identity. By performing Messianic works he “reveals his glory” (his dignity as Messiah), as the Fourth Gospel puts it (John ii,11). The brothers of Jesus say to Him, “Reveal yourself to the world”; by which they mean, come forward, and perform openly the Messianic works and miracles (John vii,3ff., cf. xiv,22). According to Jewish thought, it is only then that he will become Messiah in the full sense of the term. Before that time we may say that He is but *Messiah’s designatus*, a claimant to Messianic status.”

⁸ Martyn, *History & Theology*, 96–97.

⁹ Martyn, *History & Theology*, 97.

¹⁰ Martyn, *History & Theology*, 97.

¹¹ J. Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel from Its Beginning to the Completion of the Mishnah* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1955) 506.

¹² Martyn, *History & Theology*, 98.

¹³ S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1956) 303.

Martyn comments on Mowickel's distinct reference to the Fourth Gospel as follows: "These data [in John's Gospel] present us, of course, with the problem, not with the answer!"¹⁴ Alternatively, when "Christian data" is set aside, according to Martyn, one can agree with the far reaching conclusion formulated by Ph. Vielhauer: "In the first-century Judaism the Messiah was not thought of as a worker of miracles."¹⁵ Many scholars, such as R. Bultmann, have reached the same conclusion: "For though miracles were indeed a characteristic of the messianic period in the Jewish belief, still the Messiah himself was not thought of as a miracle-worker."¹⁶ Martyn concludes his inquiry into Jewish parallels for the exclamation in 7:31, and he determines: "Our problem is, therefore, a genuine one. John presupposes that his use of Jesus' miracles as evidence pointing to his Messiahship will make sense to *Jews*, whereas Jewish sources seems to give us no reason to view this presupposition as a realistic one."¹⁷

2. *The Use of χριστός in Context*

Before we formulate a response to the problem of the Messiah who performs miracles in the Fourth Gospel, we will first locate the statement of 7:31 in the broader context of the Gospel. In this regard we will discuss (1) the usage of χριστός, (2) the usage of other Christological titles that occur in the direct context of χριστός, and (3) parallel statements of 7:31.

1. The title χριστός occurs 19 times in the Fourth Gospel.¹⁸ With the exception of 1:17, 41; 4:25 and 17:3, the title always occurs with a definite

¹⁴ Martyn, *History & Theology*, 98.

¹⁵ Ph. Vielhauer, "Erwägungen zur Christologie des Markusevangelium," in *Zeit und Geschichte: Dankesgabe an Rudolf Bultmann zum 80. Geburtstag* (ed. E. Dinkler and H. Thyen; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1964) 155–169, esp. 159; for the English translation, see Martyn, *History & Theology*, 98.

¹⁶ R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (2 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951–1955) 1:27 (compare n. 3 above). For the same opinion, Martyn refers to the following authors: A. Schweitzer, F. Hahn, R. Fuller, and to some standard works of P. Volz, W. Bousset and H. Gressmann, and to U. Wilckens. For more recent authors, see n. 3 above.

¹⁷ Martyn, *History & Theology*, 99.

¹⁸ For the following analysis, see esp. Schnackenburg, "Die Messiasfrage," 319–323; Bauckham, "Messianism," 54; Hahn, *Theologie*, 1:625–626; Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 262–263. On the Christian use of χριστός, see esp. the studies of M. de Jonge: "The Use of the Word 'Anointed' in the Time of Jesus," *NovT* 8 (1966) 132–148; "The Earliest Christian Use of *Christos*: Some Suggestions," *NTS* 32 (1986) 321–343; "Messiah," *ABD* 4 (1992) 777–788; see also M.P. Miller, "The Problem of the Origins of a Messianic Conception of Jesus," in *Redescribing Christian Origins* (ed. R. Cameron and M.P. Miller; SBLSymS 28; Atlanta GA: SBL, 2004)

article. In accordance with the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus never uses the title for himself, except in 17:3. The evangelist uses the title: (a) twice as the second name in the proper name Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (1:17; 17:3); (b) twice as translation of the Hebrew title Μεσσίας, which in the New Testament occurs only in the Fourth Gospel (1:41; 4:25); (c) nine times directly for Jesus: 1:41 (see also under b); 4:29; 7:26, 41a; 9:22; 10:24; 11:27; 20:31; (d) eight times indirectly for Jesus, which includes three instances from the discussion on whether John the Baptist was the expected Messiah (1:20, 25; 3:28) and five instances from discussions on Jesus being the Messiah (7:27, 31, 41b, 42; 12:34).

2. Regarding the context it is noticeable that the Christological title ὁ χριστός is usually accompanied by other titles, as the following overview illustrates:¹⁹

- (1) 1:1–18: Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (1:17), cf. λόγος (1:1[*ter*], 14), μονογενής (1:14, 18), θεός (1:1, 18); μονογενής θεός (1:18; v.l. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ).
- (2) 1:19–28: χριστός (1:20, 25), cf. Ἡλίας (1:21, 25), προφήτης (1:21, 25).
- (3) 1:29–51: χριστός (1:41), cf. ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (1:29, 36), υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (1:34[v.l. ἐκλεκτός], 49), Μεσσίας (1:41), βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ (1:49), υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (1:51).
- (4) 4:1–54: χριστός (4:25, 29), cf. προφήτης (4:19, 44), Μεσσίας (4:25), σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου (4:42), κύριος (4:1 [v.l.], 11, 15, 19, 49).²⁰
- (5) 7:25–52: χριστός (7:26, 27, 31, 41[*bis*], 42), cf. προφήτης (7:40, 52).
- (6) 9:1–41: χριστός (9:22), cf. προφήτης (9:17), κύριος (9:36, 38), υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (9:35).
- (7) 10:22–39: χριστός (10:24), cf. υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (10:36).
- (8) 11:1–44: χριστός (11:27), cf. υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (11:4, 27), κύριος (11:2, 3, 12, 21, 27, 32, 34, 39).
- (9) 12:12–36: χριστός (12:34), cf. βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ (12:13), ὁ βασιλεὺς (12:15), υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (12:23, 34[*bis*]).

301–335. On the historical Jesus and the messianic question, see M. de Jonge, *God's Final Envoy: Early Christology and Jesus' Own Conception of His Mission* (Studying the Historical Jesus; Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1998) 95–109; G. Theissen and A. Merz, *The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide* (London: SCM, 1998) 531–541; M.F. Bird, *Are You the One Who Is to Come? The Historical Jesus and the Messianic Question* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2009).

¹⁹ Compare Schnackenburg, “Die Messiasfrage,” 322–323.

²⁰ We prefer to read ὁ κύριος in 4:1; see G. Van Belle, “Κύριος or Ἰησοῦς John 4.1,” *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis. Festschrift Joël Delobel* (ed. A. Denaux; BETL 161; Leuven, Peeters, 2001) 153–186.

- (10) 17:1–26: Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (17:3), cf. υἱός (17:1[*bis*]).
 (11) 20:24–31: χριστός (20:31), cf. υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ (20:31), κύριος (20:25, 28), ὁ θεός (20:28).

3. Along with M. de Jonge we must emphasise that in some cases the Fourth Evangelist “clearly wishes to confront Jesus’ own statements about himself, or pronouncements of others concerning him, with Jewish (and Samaritan) expectations.”²¹ The idea expressed in 7:31 is not an isolated case.

It forms part of the three passages in chapter 7 dealing with the coming of the Messiah, which belong to the debates that Jesus held with different groups in Jerusalem during the Feast of Tabernacles (Jews in 7:16–24, 28–30, 33–36; and crowds in 7:11–13, 14–15, 25–27, 31–32).²² The Jews and the crowds defend the following positions: (a) when the Messiah comes his origin will be unknown (7:26–27); (b) he will not be able to perform more signs than Jesus (7:31), and (c) he certainly does not come from Galilee but from the lineage of David and from Bethlehem, the hometown of David (7:41–42). Note that the title Prophet is used alongside the title Messiah in this last passage, and it is said of both that they cannot come from Galilee. (d) To these three clear references to Jewish beliefs on the Messiah, a fourth direct conviction is told by the Jews in 12:34. When Jesus announces how he would die (12:32–33), the crowds rose up against him, saying: “We have heard from the law that the Messiah remains forever. How can you say that the Son of Man must be lifted up? Who is this Son of Man?” (12:34). Here the title Son of Man is used directly alongside Messiah.

Besides these direct examples, de Jonge also refers to three further passages in the Fourth Gospel that allude to Jewish views on the Messiah:²³ (a) During the interrogation of the Baptist by the representatives of the Jews (Jn 1:19–34), their question “Who are you?” (1:19) appears to have three possible answers: “the Christ,” “Elijah” and “the Prophet,” which possibly correspond with Jewish expectations. This section can be connected quite easily to 7:40–44, in which the titles, “the Prophet” and “the Christ” are also mentioned alongside each other. (b) During the first meeting between the disciples and Jesus in 1:35–51, Andrew, who came from the

²¹ De Jonge, “Jewish Expectations,” 78.

²² De Jonge, “Jewish Expectations,” 77.

²³ De Jonge, “Jewish Expectations,” 77–78.

Baptist's inner circle, went in search of his brother with the exclamation: "We have found the Messiah (which is translated Anointed)" (1:41). The following day Jesus came across Philip, and Philip went to Nathanael and announced to him: "We have found him about whom Moses in the law and also the prophets wrote, Jesus son of Joseph of Nazareth" (1:45). Philip convinces Nathanael to accompany him to Jesus, and after Jesus manifested his supernatural knowledge (1:48), Nathanael confessed: "Rabbi, you are the Son of God! You are the King of Israel!" (1:49). Jesus answers this confession with a Son of Man logion: "Very truly, I tell you, you will see heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man" (1:51). (c) During the meeting between Jesus and the Samaritan woman we find an implicit reference to the Samaritan expectation of the coming of the Messiah (the Taheb), when the woman says to Jesus: "I know that the Messiah is coming (who is called Christ). When he comes, he will proclaim all things to us" (4:25).

From this concise overview we can conclude preliminarily that in the Fourth Gospel the title δ χριστός for Jesus plays an important role in the debate between the synagogue and the Christian community. This is the reason why the term is so prominent in arguments that are used by the Jews. But the evangelist himself views the title δ χριστός inadequate and feels the need to define the title further. For this reason, throughout his gospel he essentially uses all the important Christological titles that occur in the New Testament (e.g. Lord, Son of God, Saviour of the World, Holy One of God, Elect of God, King of Israel, Lamb of God, the Christ and its transliteration) to show that Jesus is "the heavenly redeemer figure."²⁴ In the next section we will examine how the signs may serve as indications that Jesus is the Messiah, as it is presumed in 7:31 and 20:31.

3. *Signs of the Prophet-Messiah, the Son of God and the One Sent by the Father*

The Signs of the Messiah: A Christian Messianic Dogma?

R. Bauckham calls our problem of a Messiah who performs miracles, "the most problematic statement in the Gospel about any of the eschatological

²⁴ D. Neufeld, "And When That One Comes: Aspects of Johannine Messianism," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C.A. Evans and P.W. Flint; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls 1; Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997) 120–151, esp. 120.

figures.”²⁵ The remark of Klausner cannot be sidestepped and we agree with de Jonge that the terminology in 7:31 is Christian as the context shows: “the statement is said to be made by many people from the crowd *who began to believe in Jesus*.”²⁶ That John is here following a “Christian tradition” dependent of the Synoptic Gospels is evident from the following considerations:

1. In the Fourth Gospel the word ἔργον is sometimes used as a synonym of σημεῖον.²⁷ The expression ἔργα τοῦ χριστοῦ does not appear in the Fourth Gospel, but indeed does occur in the Gospel of Matthew (11:2–6).²⁸ Whilst in prison, John the Baptist, who heard of the “works of the Messiah”, requests his disciples to ask Jesus: “Are you the one who is to come, or are we to wait for another?” Jesus formulates a clear answer by referring to the miracles that he is performing: “Go and tell John what you hear and see: the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and the poor have good news brought to them. And blessed is anyone who takes no offense at me” (vv. 4–6).

2. In Mark 13:22 (par. Matthew 24:24) σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα are ascribed to “false Messiahs and prophets” (ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφήται; cf. 2 Thess 2:9).²⁹ We note that the expression σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα also occurs in the Fourth Gospel (4:48).³⁰

3. In contrast to the Jewish tradition, there is not a big step in the Christian tradition from the miracles in the messianic era, which were performed by God according to the Jewish tradition, to the miracles performed by the Messiah himself during the Messianic era.³¹ Moreover, this transfer of miracles of God to miracles of Jesus supports the Johannine Christology in exemplary fashion. Indeed, as the One Sent by the Father, Jesus performs the works given to him by the Father. Therefore the title υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ goes well with χριστός (11:27; 20:31). The pairing of

²⁵ Bauckham, “Messianism,” 63.

²⁶ De Jonge, “Jewish Expectations,” 91–92.

²⁷ See G. Van Belle, *The Signs Source in the Fourth Gospel: Historical Survey and Critical Evaluation of the Semeia Hypothesis* (BETL 166; Leuven, Peeters, 1995) 380–389.

²⁸ Compare J.H. Bernard, *St. John* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1928) I. 276.

²⁹ Bernard, *St. John*, I. 276; Brown, *Gospel of John*, I. 313; De Jonge, “Jewish Expectations,” 92; Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium*, I. 222–223.

³⁰ Van Belle, *The Signs Source*, 387.

³¹ See e.g. Bultmann, *Gospel of John*, 306 n. 3: “[I]t seems that the miracles which were expected to occur in the age of salvation (cf. e.g. Is. 35:5f. . . .) could also be thought of as accrediting miracles for the Messiah. This view is presupposed in Mt. 11.2ff. par.; Mk. 13.22; II Th. 2.9. Cp. also the demand for a sign in Mk. 8.11; Mt. 12.38 par.”

the title *χριστός* and *υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* we also find in the Synoptic Gospels: see Mark 1:1; Matt 16:16; 26:23; compare to Luke 4:41.³²

4. In Matt 12:22–23, at the healing of the man who was blind and mute, the crowds asked themselves whether Jesus could be the Son of David. The reference to *ὁ υἱὸς Δαυίδ*, (see 1:1; 9:27; 15:22; 20:30–31; 21:9, 15) clearly links Jesus' miracle and the Davidic Messiah in the discussion whether Jesus drives demons out through Beelzebub, the prince of demons, as the Pharisees thought.³³

From our analysis thus far we can determine that even though no miracles were expected in the Jewish tradition on the Messiah, it was a true “dogma” for the Christians and certainly also for John that by his miracles Jesus would be recognised as Messiah. Therefore we can agree with R. Schnackenburg's commentary on 7:31:³⁴

... the intermediate expression “greater signs” simply focuses attention on the Johannine “signs” and the inescapable impression that they make upon the people (cf. 2:23; 3:2; 6:2, 14; 9:16; 10:41; 11:47). What we have here is not Jewish but Christian messianic dogma, and more precisely the Johannine perspective that Jesus' profoundly significant ‘signs’ reveal him as the Messiah and Son of God (20:30–31). Anyone who contemplates them without prejudice cannot but recognize that Jesus has come from God (cf. 3:2; 9:16c, 32–33; 10:21) and arrive at faith in Jesus (cf. 10:41–42).

The Messiah, the Prophet and Other Eschatological Figures

As Martyn observes, we should remember that “Jewish expectations of the future were extraordinarily varied.”³⁵ Correctly he states:

If it be true that there is no suggestion of miraculous activity on the part of *the Davidic Messiah*, it is equally true that the figures expected by Jews to play roles in the eschatological future (not only the various messiahs, but also the Son of Man, the Prophet like Moses, the Prophet like Elijah, and others) were allowed to coalesce in the most varied ways. Thus, while we

³² Matera, “Transcending Messianic Expectations,” 212.

³³ Martyn, *History & Theology*, 97–98 n. 143: “Actually, the problem of a miracle-working *Messiah* arises not only in the Fourth Gospel, but also in Matthew.... Indeed, Matthew 12:23: ‘And all the people were amazed, and said, ‘Can this be the Son of David?’ sounds remarkably like John 7:31:...” Note that in Mark 10:47–48 (par. Matt 20:30–31; Luke 18:38–39; see also Matt 9:27), “it was because Bartimaeus recognised Jesus as ‘the Son of David’, that he believed He could restore his sight”; see J.H. Bernard (vol. 1: 1928) 276. See also R.E. Brown (vol. 1: 1966) 1:313.

³⁴ R. Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St. John* (New York: Herder, 1972), II, 148–149.

³⁵ Martyn, *History & Theology*, 99.

must keep our problem firmly in mind—John does use the title “Messiah” in a careful, one might even say technical, way . . .—it is just possible that traits ‘properly’ belonging to another eschatological figure have ‘rubbed off’ on the Johannine Messiah.³⁶

According to de Jonge, Martyn has correctly pointed out that we can talk of a “merging of various messianic conceptions.”³⁷ In 11QMelch 18 we indeed find an “explicit proof that a prophetic figure could be called ‘anointed by the Spirit’.”³⁸ But de Jonge therewith stresses that in the Fourth Gospel, “the prophet and the Messiah are kept separate—also in one of the following episodes in this same chapter, 7:40–44!”³⁹ He notes that “the notion of the prophet like Moses is often in the background when Jesus’ signs mentioned (most notably in 3:2; chapter 6 and 9),” but immediately concedes that in 20:31 “the statement of 7:31 is supplemented and corrected by the assertion that Jesus is the Christ, *the Son of God*.”⁴⁰ De Jonge is correct in his observation that the evangelist draws a clear distinction between prophet and Messiah, but this does not mean as S. Cho claims that “the terms ‘Messiah’ and ‘prophet’ are not at all closely related to each other in John’s Gospel.”⁴¹ In fact, “both designations are correlated to each other for identifying the expected eschatological figure.”⁴²

Furthermore, we wish to emphasise in agreement with B.W.J. de Ruyter that all the Christological titles and declarations in the Fourth Gospel stand in service of the specific Johannine vision of Jesus, and he posits

³⁶ Martyn, *History & Theology*, 99. In the Third Part of his book Martyn shows that the prophetic elements in the Fourth Gospel are connected to the figure of the Messiah (102–128), and further he claims that the expectation of the Prophet-Messiah like Moses contrasts the presence of the Son of Man in the discussions between the Christians and the synagogue (129–151).

³⁷ De Jonge, “Jewish Expectations,” 92. Martyn, *History & Theology*, 113, notes that “the problem [of John 7:31] is largely solved if we recognize the equation of the wonder-working Prophet with the Messiah.” According to Barrett, *Gospel of John*, 323, “[t]his is a shrewd remark, but it would be rash to affirm that it was only in Johannine circles that this equation was made, and that no Jews hoped for miracles from a Messiah; moreover, it would be natural for Jews, even though they had not been expecting a miracle-working Messiah, to wonder, if confronted by miracles, whether the miracle-worker might not be the Messiah.”

³⁸ De Jonge, “Jewish Expectations,” 92.

³⁹ De Jonge, “Jewish Expectations,” 92.

⁴⁰ De Jonge, “Jewish Expectations,” 92. Compare Schnelle, *Theology*, 690: “The use of Messiah and Son of Man alongside each other in 11:27 and 20:31 shows clearly that for John, messiahship and divine sonship belong together.”

⁴¹ Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 262.

⁴² Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 271.

that they all have more or less the same meaning.⁴³ This appears from the parallel use of (a) Christ and Son of God in John 20:31, (b) Christ and the Son of Man in John 12:34, (c) Son of God and the king of Israel in John 1:49, and of (d) Lord and God in John 20:28.⁴⁴ This leads de Ruyter to conclude that the presentations of Jesus as the Mosaic prophet and the son of David are essentially interchangeable for the evangelist with designations such as the eschatological judge (Son of Man), the pre-existential Logos, Lord, and God. According to him one should not presume that John is following a pre-Christian tradition here, which already connects one or more of these representations, for example the portrayal of Moses as prophet and king. Far rather one should accept that the distinguished qualifications will coincide in meaning because they must all characterise the unique function of one and same person, Jesus.⁴⁵

The Prophet and the Messiah

The title *προφήτης* is connected implicitly and explicitly with the identity of Jesus in John 1:21, 25; 4:19, 44; 6:14; 7:40, 52 and 9:17.⁴⁶ Evidence is provided in passages from Flavius Josephus, which Martyn cites,⁴⁷ that miracles were expected of a prophet in the Jewish tradition. In these passages Josephus links “the signs” with the title “prophet”, with the dividing of a river’s waters and with the wilderness.⁴⁸ Alone by referring to John 9:28–29, it is clear to Martyn that “we must consider the possibility that the figure of Moses plays an important role in the Johannine church-synagogue conversation.”⁴⁹ Moreover with Bauckham we must point out that “Jewish messianism was not so much a tradition of ideas as a tradition of exegesis, and in all Jewish exegesis much depended on recognizing links between one passage and another.”⁵⁰ One of the most important texts on Davidic messianism, Isa 11:2 (“the spirit of the Lord shall rest

⁴³ B.W.J. de Ruyter, *De gemeente van de evangelist Johannes: Haar polemiek en geschiedenis* (Delft: Eburon, 1998) 51–56.

⁴⁴ De Ruyter, *De gemeente*, 54.

⁴⁵ De Ruyter, *De gemeente*, 54.

⁴⁶ Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 1. See also G. Van Belle, “The Prophetic Power of the Word of Jesus: A Study of John 4:43–54,” in *Prophecy, Wisdom, and Spirit, in the Johannine Literature / Prophétisme, Sagesse et Esprit dans la littérature johannique* (ed. B. Decarneux, F. Nobilio, and A. d’Helt; Bruxelles/Fernelmont: E.M.E., 2012) esp. section IV: “Jesus as Prophet, the One Sent by the Father, and the Coming One” (in print).

⁴⁷ See n. 9 above.

⁴⁸ Martyn, *History & Theology*, 99. See also, e.g., Tuckett, *Christology*, 457.

⁴⁹ Martyn, *History & Theology*, 99.

⁵⁰ Bauckham, “Messianism,” 65.

on him”),⁵¹ can be linked easily to the text in Isa 61:1, where the speaker, who should be identified with a prophet, says: “The spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord has anointed me.” In the Hebrew Bible there are no other figures of whom it is said that they are anointed by the spirit of YHWH. Further, taking Isa 61:1 as point of departure, Bauckham believes it is easy to draw connections with Isa 42:7 and Isa 35:5–6 and similarly with Ps 146:7–8. Additionally in 4Q521 we find that Isa 61:1 is linked to Ps 146:7–8 and in Matt 11:5–6 and Luke 7:22–23 there are associations with Isa 61:1 and Isa 35:5–6. This leads Bauckham to conclude:⁵²

In this way, such miraculous acts as opening the eyes of the blind and healing the lame could be understood as signs the Davidic Messiah will perform. Some support for this suggestion might be found in the much debated Qumran text 4Q521 2.2.7–14, where releasing captives, giving sight to the blind, raising up the downtrodden, healing the wounded, raising the dead, preaching good news to the poor, and enriching the hungry (acts mostly drawn from Ps. 146:7–8 and Isa 61:1) seem to be ascribed directly to God, not to the Messiah. But similar exegetical moves could easily ascribe these to the Messiah of Isaiah 61:1.

With Cho we can mention the following passages in the Fourth Gospel where it is clear that the title “prophet” and “Christ” are interchangeable.⁵³ First, when approached by the priests and Levites from Jerusalem, who were sent by the Jews, and then more specifically by the delegates of the Pharisees, John the Baptist was asked, “Who are you?” (1:19), to which he answered unceremoniously, “I am not the Messiah” (1:20, 25). The interrogators then asked a second and a third times whether he was Elijah or the

⁵¹ See W.J. Bittner, *Jesu Zeichen im Johannesevangelium: Die Messiaserkenntnis im Johannesevangelium vor ihrem jüdischen Hintergrund* (WUNT 2.26; Tübingen; Mohr Siebeck, 1987) 245–258, who has stressed the importance of Isa 11 and related texts (Isa 42, 49 and 61) in the Fourth Gospel’s presentation of Jesus as Davidic Messiah, who would perform miracles.

⁵² Bauckham, “Messianism,” 65. For the text of 4Q521 (2.2.7–14), see F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998) 2:1045. On Luke 7:22, Isaiah 61 and the “Messianic Apocalypse” (4Q521), see F. Neirynck, “Q 6,20b-21; 7,22 and Isaiah 61,” in *The Scriptures in the Gospels* (ed. C.M. Tuckett; BETL 131; Leuven: Peeters, 1997) 27–64; reprinted in F. Neirynck, *Evangelica III: 1992–2000. Collected Essays* (BETL 150; Leuven: Peeters, 2001) 129–166; see also M. Labahn, “The Significance of Signs in Luke 7:22 in the Light of Isaiah 61 and the Messianic Apocalypse,” in *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New* (ed. C.A. Evans; Peabody MA: Hendrickson) 164–168.

⁵³ Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 262. He also notes that in first-century Judaism, the title “Messiah,” “the anointed one,” was not only used for the prophets (especially in Isa 61:1), but also for the king, who was appointed by God as in 1 Sam 12:3 (Saul) and in 2 Sam 19:22 (David), and for priests (Lev 4:3, 5, 16).

prophet, and he denied being Elijah or the prophet (1:20, 25). Cho correctly concludes that “the addition of the names ‘Elijah’ and ‘the prophet’ as part of the same question reflects the variety in Jewish messianic expectation.”⁵⁴ Second, the Samaritan woman identifies Jesus as the one who will come at the end of times and thus uses the term “Messiah” to distinguish Jesus, but before this she had recognised him as a prophet (4:19). Third, from John 1:41; 11:27; 20:31, it appears that in the Fourth Gospel the title *χριστός* is not only used as “a criterion of identity, but also from a confessional standpoint as a statement of faith.”⁵⁵

From the above it is clear that alongside “Christ” the title “prophet” is connected to miracles. This seems to be in line with the Old Testament view of the prophet. In the Masoretic text of the Old Testament, the term *נְבִיא* is usually used to indicate the prophetic identities of the canonical prophets like Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Moses.⁵⁶ The characteristic elements of their prophetic tasks according to Cho include: “(1) the function of a mouthpiece of God; (2) an intimate relationship with God; (3) their ability to predict the future; (4) the use of symbolic actions for reinforcing their prophetic messages; (5) the ability to perform miracles for demonstrating the prophetic identity; (6) the role of an intercessor.”⁵⁷ Other authors may well identify and emphasise other or further qualities associated with a prophet,⁵⁸ but these characteristics clearly illustrate that the description of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel answers to these criteria indicating him as “a prophet.” In current exegesis of the Fourth Gospel it has been emphasised that Jesus is described as the new Moses,⁵⁹ but at the same time too little attention has been dedicated to the Johannine

⁵⁴ Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 262.

⁵⁵ Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 262; compare Hahn, *Theologie*, 1:625–626.

⁵⁶ Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 93.

⁵⁷ Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 93.

⁵⁸ See, e.g., M.E. Isaacs, “The Prophetic Spirit in the Fourth Gospel,” *Heyf* 24 (1983) 391–407.

⁵⁹ See esp. H.M. Teeple, *The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet* (SBLMS 10; Philadelphia PA: Scholars, 1957); T.F. Glasson, *Moses in the Fourth Gospel* (SBT 40; London: SCM, 1963); W.A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology* (NovTSup 14; Leiden: Brill, 1967); M. de Jonge, “Jesus as Prophet and King in the Fourth Gospel,” in Idem, *Jesus: Stranger from Heaven and Son of God: Jesus Christ and the Christians in Johannine Perspective* (SBLBS 11; Missoula MT: Scholars, 1977) 49–76; M.-É. Boismard, *Moses or Jesus: An Essay in Johannine Christology* (BETL 84A; Leuven: Peeters, 1993); J. Lierman, “The Mosaic Pattern of John’s Christology,” in *Challenging Perspectives on the Gospel of John* (ed. J. Lierman; WUNT 2.219; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006) 210–234.

description of Jesus as “a Northern Prophet,” like Elijah and Elisha, as indicated by Buchanan.⁶⁰

The Gospel of John shows more interest in prophets than any of the Synoptic Gospels, but not those like Amos and Hosea, who criticized North Israel. Instead, his greatest interest was in the North Israelite prophets, Elijah and Elisha. This is made apparent by comparing the signs Jesus performed with the miracles of Elijah and Elisha . . .

When Elisha was granted a double portion of Elijah’s spirit (II Kgs 2:9–12), he evidently was given power to perform twice as many miracles as Elijah, but they were of the same nature. Elijah performed seven miracles, Elisha fourteen, and Jesus, according to the Fourth Gospel, performed seven signs, which were very similar to those of the Israelite prophets, except that Jesus was credited with more healing miracles and none of destructive miracles.

The Coming One and the Prophet

The title prophet, king, Messiah, and the Son of God overlap each other in the use of the epithet ὁ ἐρχόμενος, in 1:9, 15, 27; 3:31(*bis*); 6:14; 11:27; 12:13.⁶¹

- 1:9 Ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον.
- 1:15 οὗτος ἦν ὃν εἶπον· ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν, ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν.
- 1:27 ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος, οὗ οὐκ εἰμί [ἐγὼ] ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος.
- 3:31 Ὁ ἄνωθεν ἐρχόμενος ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν·
- 3:31b ὁ ὢν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐστίν καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαλεῖ.
ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐρχόμενος [ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν]
- 6:14 οὗτός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ προφήτης ὁ ἐρχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον.
- 11:27 ναί, κύριε, ἐγὼ πεπίστευκα ὅτι
σύ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐρχόμενος.
- 12:13 εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, [καὶ] ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ.

The formula is used twice by the Baptist (1:15, 27). In both cases Jesus is characterised as “the one who comes *after me*” through the addition of

⁶⁰ G.W. Buchanan, *The Samaritan Origin of the Gospel of John*, in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramdell Goodenough* (ed. J. Neusner; Numen Supplements 14; Leiden: Brill) 149–175, esp. 167–168; see also B.P. Robinson, “Christ as a Northern Prophet in St John,” *Scripture* 17 (1965) 104–108; Van Belle, “The Prophetic Power” (in print).

⁶¹ Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 263–264.

the adverb *ὀπίσω*. In 3:31 the adverb *ἄνωθεν* is used as synonym for *ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* with *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*. The formula occurs in a confession of faith or acclamation in 6:14 expressed by the people (*οἱ . . . ἄνθρωποι*), in 11:27 by Martha, and in 12:13 by a great crowd (*ὁ ὄχλος πολὺς ὁ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν*). Three times it concludes with *εἰς τὸν κόσμον* (1:9; 6:14; 11:27). Moreover, the formula occurs in three instances as a closer defining of a Christological title (6:14 *ἀληθῶς ὁ προφήτης*; 11:27 *ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*; 12:13 *ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*; compare also 1:9 *τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον*).

In this light M. Menken has pointed out that “John is the only New Testament author to speak of the ‘coming’ (*ἔρχεσθαι*) of the Messiah” (see 4:25; 7:27, 31, 41, 42; 11:27; compare 2 *Clem* 2:7).⁶² In the Synoptics “the coming of the Messiah” is associated with the return of Elijah (Matt 11:14; 17:10, 12; 27:49; cf. Mark 9:12–13; 15:35), and the doubts John the Baptist has on the identity of Jesus in Matt 11:3 and Luke 7:19–20 are formulated in the question: *σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*.⁶³

The One Sent by the Father

However, the question of the Messiah, as well as the prophet, the king, the Son of God or the Son of Man, performing miracles should be approached from the central idea expressed in the Johannine Christology, which presents Jesus as “the One Sent by the Father.” W. Loader summarises this Christology as follows: “The Father sends and authorises the Son, who knows the Father, comes from the Father, makes the Father known, brings light and life and truth, completes his Father’s work, returns to the Father, exalted, glorified, ascended, sends the disciples and sends the Spirit to enable greater understanding to equip for mission, and to build up the community of Faith.”⁶⁴

Cho has correctly pointed out that the formulaic expressions *ὁ πέμψας με πατήρ* and *ὁ πατήρ με ἀπέσταλκεν* are very important as they are used in the Fourth Gospel to characterise him as a prophet.⁶⁵ He shows this in three points. First he indicates that “the use of the sending formula for the prophetic figure of John the Baptist suggests the prophetic image of

⁶² M.J.J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form* (CBET 15; Kampen: Kok Pharos: 1996), 17.

⁶³ Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 263 n. 38.

⁶⁴ W. Loader, *The Christology of the Fourth Gospel: Structure and Issues* (BBET 23; Frankfurt am Main/Bern: Lang, 1989) 78.

⁶⁵ Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 153–159.

Jesus when the same sending formula is applied to Jesus.”⁶⁶ This mission formula occurs three times for John the Baptist:

- 1:6 Ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος, ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ θεοῦ, ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης·
 1:33 καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἤδειν αὐτόν, ἀλλ’ ὁ πέμψας με βαπτίζειν ἐν ὕδατι ἐκεῖνός μοι εἶπεν·
 3:28 . . . ὅτι εἶπον [ὅτι] οὐκ εἰμι ἐγὼ ὁ Χριστός,
 ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἀπεσταλμένος εἰμι ἔμπροσθεν ἐκεῖνου.

Though the Baptist is presented as sent by God in the Fourth Gospel, and as in the Synoptics appears to be a prophet (Matt 11:9–14; Mark 9:11–13; Luke 7:26–28), he testifies during the enquiries of the priests and Levites, who were sent from Jerusalem by the Jews—more specifically the Pharisees (John 1:19–28)—that he is not the Christ (compare John 3:28), Elijah, or the prophet. In contrast the Baptist is not only indicated by the mission formula to be a prophet but also by the Isaianic description of the voice calling in the wilderness (John 1:23; Isa 40:3). When the mission formula is now applied to Jesus in the Fourth Gospel it implies that he is identified as a prophet like the Baptist. Though, he does not claim this title for himself: “The use of the sending formula by Jesus illuminates that he stands in the same line as John the Baptist: Jesus is depicted as God-sent prophet. The reason for allowing John the Baptist to initiate the sending formula is that both he and Jesus come from the same sender.”⁶⁷

In the second place Cho argues that “the sending formula used by Jesus seems to imply his prophetic calling in which he shows his self-consciousness as prophet.”⁶⁸ In this regard he notes that the frequent use of the verb $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\psi$ in the call narratives of the prophets in the Old Testament “indicates that the prophets are sent by God.” Though no narrative of Jesus’ prophetic calling occurs in the Fourth Gospel, the sending formula can be explained as “a mark of Jesus’ self-characterization as prophet.”⁶⁹ In the sending formulas Jesus repeatedly uses “the family language” and the father-son relationship is clearly expressed in John 3:17; 5:23 and 10:36. This intimate relationship between Jesus and his Father can be compared to the image of the prophet in the Old Testament, but in the Fourth Gospel Jesus is more than a prophet: “ultimately the relationship between

⁶⁶ Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 155.

⁶⁷ Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 156.

⁶⁸ Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 156.

⁶⁹ Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 156.

Jesus and God transcends the relationship between the prophets in the Old Testament and God.”⁷⁰ Indeed, Jesus emphasises that as the One Sent by God, he was first with the Father (John 1:1, 14; 8:42, 58; 17:5) and that he and the Father are one (John 10:30, 38; 14:10, 11; 17:21, 22). On these grounds Cho concludes: “In this respect, the figure of Jesus is not only a prophet, but also more than a prophet, even more than the eschatological prophet.”⁷¹

Finally, Cho discusses particularly 12:44–50 and 14:24, where the sending formula stands in relation to the prophetic office. He argues that these texts indicate that “Jesus understands his prophetic role in terms of being God’s mouthpiece, of his subordination to God, and of his prophetic judgment.”⁷²

Just as Jesus surpasses the Old Testament prophets in performing miracles, he surpasses them in his function as the One Sent by his Father. Furthermore he surpasses John the Baptist, who was also sent, but assertively denied being the Messiah (1:20, 25 and 3:28) and in contrast to Jesus performed no miracles, as many witnessed when Jesus went across the Jordan again to where John baptised: “John performed no sign, but everything that John said about this man was true” (10:41).⁷³ Indeed “the most close parallel” is found in John 7:31. Painter correctly notes:⁷⁴

In spite of the absence of clear and independent Jewish evidence concerning the expectation that the Messiah would perform signs, the Fourth Gospel’s presentation presupposes this view. The notion that the Messiah would perform signs is strongly implied by the statement of those who believe in Jesus at 10:41–42: . . . This is a reference back to 1:19–36, where the Baptist, when questioned about the Messiah, identifies Jesus as the coming one. The contrast is between the Baptist, who did no sign, and Jesus who performed the signs of the Messiah.

Conclusion

In his criticism of W.J. Bittner’s study, Maarten Menken, to whom I wholeheartedly dedicate this article, notes: “It is not correct that John rejects

⁷⁰ Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 157.

⁷¹ Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 157.

⁷² Cho, *Jesus as Prophet*, 157.

⁷³ On the problem of 10:41, see E. Bammel, “John Did no Miracle,” in *Miracles: Cambridge Studies in Their Philosophy and History* (London: Mowbray: 1965) 179–202.

⁷⁴ Painter, “The Signs of the Messiah,” 249.

the qualification of Jesus as the eschatological ‘prophet like Moses’.⁷⁵ Menken accepts that, with the exception of 6:15, “nowhere in John is the title prophet rejected for Jesus (see 1:21, 25; 7:40, and maybe also 4:19; 7:52; 9:17)—although it is true that the qualification of Jesus as ‘the prophet’ is never the final word about him.”⁷⁶ He adds, however: “The use of σημεῖον as an indication of Jesus’ miracles might then be positively related to Jesus’ prophetic traits—although it remains curious that in John the signs function to legitimate Jesus as the Messiah, the Son of God (see 7:31; 20:30–31).”⁷⁷

In this contribution we wanted to illustrate that the issue of the Jewish tradition of the Messiah not expecting him to perform miracles is less problematic than is generally thought. We have not only stressed that the one title is comfortably used as “a synonym” for another in the interpretation of the Old Testament texts in Judaism and in the Fourth Gospel, but that this is particularly the case when signs or miracles are mentioned in the context. Therefore one may accept that in 7:31 the Fourth Evangelist reflects the views of the Jews, which he corrects. But because “the terminology is Christian, we may just as well say that the Fourth Gospel refers here to views of Christians of Jewish descent which it criticizes.”⁷⁸ The evangelist did not just correct the point of view these Christians, but he developed it further with the title “prophet”, who as the One sent by God, repeated the miracles of the prophet Moses and especially Elijah and Elisha.

In this exposition I have used a few methodological principles, which Maarten holds dear in the study of the Fourth Gospel. First he states: “The text of the Gospel as it lies before us, as the product of the final redactor, the evangelist, deserves our primary attention.” Second we must heed that the evangelist treated the Old Testament citations with “relative freedom,” and this means that “he is rooted, with all the singularity he may have possessed, in an early Christian tradition of reading and interpreting the OT. Standing within this tradition and at the same time transforming it, he and his community have interpreted their religious heritage, the Scriptures, in the service of their faith in Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God

⁷⁵ M.J.J. Menken, “The Christology of the Fourth Gospel: A Survey of Recent Research,” in *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge* (ed. M.C. de Boer; JSNTSup 84; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1993) 292–320, esp. 315.

⁷⁶ Menken, “The Christology,” 315.

⁷⁷ Menken, “The Christology,” 315.

⁷⁸ De Jonge, “Jewish Expectations,” 92.

(cf. John 20:31).⁷⁹ To conclude, Maarten rightly states: “The development of the Johannine Christology is closely connected with the development of the Johannine community.”⁸⁰ But to understand this development, should we not first ask ourselves to what degree John took over the Christology from the Synoptics as a given, and developed it further to achieve his Christology of Jesus as the One Sent by the Father?

⁷⁹ De Jonge, “Jewish Expectations,” 212.

⁸⁰ Menken, “The Christology,” 315.

PAUL'S USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AND HIS ATTACK
ON APOLLOS' ADHERENTS IN CORINTH

Harm W. Hollander

The apostle Paul usually informs his readers of the most important issues he plans to address right at the beginning of his letters. So, in the introductory paragraph of his first letter to the Corinthians, Paul thanks God for all the spiritual gifts he has given to the Christian believers in Corinth. Far from being ironical, he is expressing deep and genuine feelings about the wonderful effects of the Holy Spirit among the members of the Christian community in Corinth:

I give thanks to my God...for in every way you have been enriched in him (Jesus Christ), in speech and knowledge of every kind (ἐν παντί λόγῳ καὶ πᾶσιν γινώσκειν)...so that you are not lacking in any spiritual gift... (1 Cor 1:4-7).¹

One of the most striking words in this thanksgiving is “knowledge” (γινώσις), which is to be reckoned among the numerous gifts of the Holy Spirit. It appears to be a key term in 1 Corinthians, since it is found no less than ten times in this letter.² However, it is not equally distributed among Paul's arguments in 1 Corinthians. It is found in the introductory thanksgiving just mentioned; in chapter 8, where the apostle speaks about the eating of food sacrificed to idols (8:1, 7, 10, 11); and in chapters 12–14, which deal extensively with the diversity and the function of the gifts of the Holy Spirit (12:8; 13:2, 8; 14:6).³

It is generally assumed that Paul wrote his letter as a reaction to some firsthand information he received from “Chloe's people”, who had come from Corinth to visit him in Ephesus (1:11). However, in the course of writing the letter, he also took the opportunity to respond to a number of issues raised by certain—possibly high-ranking—members of the

¹ All Bible quotations are usually taken from the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV).

² It is found another six times in 2 Corinthians and only thirteen times in all the other New Testament writings put together.

³ The cognate verb γινώσκειν is not found throughout the letter either; it occurs only in chapters 1–4, 8, and 13–14 (see 1:21; 2:8, 11, 14, 16; 3:20; 4:19; 8:2–3; 13:9, 12; 14:7, 9). Cf. also the use of ἐπιγινώσκειν in 13:12.

Corinthian community in a letter written to him some time before (7:1). Paul did not find it appropriate to answer them immediately after he received their letter; instead, he decided to send his fellow-worker Timothy to them in order “to remind them of his ways in Christ Jesus” (4:17).⁴

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the issues brought up in the letter from the Corinthian community had worried the apostle. It seems likely that their letter did not merely contain a couple of questions to which the apostle was asked to respond, but that rather, it was meant to communicate the Corinthian Christians’ opinions about certain ideas that were then current in the Corinthian community and which differed significantly from Paul’s. Several times in his letter, Paul introduces a new topic with the formula *περὶ δέ*, “now concerning,”⁵ and although we cannot be sure about the source of that topic, whether it does in fact originate from the letter from the Corinthians or not, or about the order of presentation of the topics thus introduced, the formula is surely “a shorthand way of introducing the next topic of discussion, *the only requirement of which is that it is readily known to both author and reader.*”⁶ It seems reasonable to assume that at least most of the themes dealt with by Paul from chapter 7 onwards are a response to issues brought up in the Corinthians’ letter to Paul. The eating of the food sacrificed to idols (chapters 8–10) and the role and function of the gifts of the Holy Spirit (chapters 12–14) are probably two of these burning issues, and it is in these sections that the apostle uses the term *γνώσις*. It is generally agreed that this word was taken by Paul from the Corinthians’ letter.⁷

Although all Christians are supposed to possess “knowledge” (8:1), some people in Corinth believed that they were imbued with a special kind of knowledge. Both the gift of knowledge given through the Spirit to some Christians, and the knowledge shared by all believers, have to do with God and the divine world. All Christians know (or should know) that there is only one God and one Lord, Jesus Christ, and that salvation for all believers has come through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ (see esp.

⁴ From 16:10–11 it can be concluded that Paul expected his letter to the Corinthians to arrive before Timothy.

⁵ See 7:25; 8:1; 12:1; 16:1, 12.

⁶ See M.M. Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* (Tübingen: Mohr/Louisville KY: Westminster/Knox, 1992) 190–192, esp. 191 (italics Mitchell); and see also M.M. Mitchell, “Concerning ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕ in 1 Corinthians,” *NovT* 31 (1989) 229–256.

⁷ Cf., e.g., G.D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1987) 366, “this (*γνώσις*) is almost certainly an ‘in’ word in Corinth.”

8:4–6). However, some Christians were endowed with a more specific insight into the details of God's plan of salvation and the divine secrets or mysteries (see esp. 12:8; 13:2). According to 14:6, Paul himself also possessed this gift of knowledge, a gift that was closely related to the gift of prophecy. We find examples elsewhere in his letters of Paul's insight into the "mysteries" of God's plan of salvation.⁸

However, before dealing with the issues brought up by the Corinthians in their letter, Paul responds to the information given to him by the people of Chloe's household in 1:10–4:21. This first hand information concerned some quarrels among the members of the community in Corinth (1:11–12).⁹ After Paul had left Corinth, other missionaries visited the community, and the contrasts in their style and message led the Corinthian Christians to quarrel over these preachers, which included Paul. Above all, the ministry of a certain Apollos seems to have been very attractive to a number of local Christians. It is highly probable that when they described these quarrels or divisions within the Christian community in Corinth, the visitors from Chloe's household also referred to the appreciation felt by some Corinthian Christians for "knowledge," and their particular perception as to the nature of the Gospel. It is worth noting that, in this section, Paul avoids the term *γνῶσις* ("knowledge"), and uses *σοφία* ("wisdom") instead.¹⁰ The reason for this is not clear at first sight.

Whereas the letter written to Paul by some members of the Christian community in Corinth did not lead to a direct reaction from the apostle by letter—he sent Timothy instead, whom he expected to visit Corinth at some point along the way—what he learned from Chloe's people did. This information evidently troubled the apostle far more than the issues raised by the Corinthian Christians in their letter. This conclusion is supported by an analysis of the rather different ways in which Paul deals with the issue of "wisdom" or "knowledge" in the two sections of the letter in which this theme occurs, that is, in chapters 1–4 and 7–16 (in particular 8 and 12–14). In the latter section, he tries to offer a well-balanced argument about the gift of knowledge, whereas in chapters 1:10–4:21 he seems to seek to undermine the Corinthians' appreciation of knowledge or

⁸ See, e.g., Rom 11:25–26, "I want you to understand this mystery: a hardening has come upon part of Israel, until the full number of the Gentiles has come in. And so all Israel will be saved . . ."; 1 Cor 15:51–52; 1 Thess 4:15–17.

⁹ Chapters 5–6 should probably be regarded as another part of Paul's response to the reports presented to him by Chloe's people; cf. Fee, *Corinthians*, 194–196.

¹⁰ *σοφία* and *σοφός* are found in 1:17, 19–22, 24–27, 30; 2:1, 4–7, 13; 3:10, 18–20; cf. further 6:5; 12:8.

wisdom completely by telling them that wisdom is nothing but foolishness in the eyes of God. It is in this section that the apostle appeals to a number of OT passages to press home this particular point. This shift in opinion probably has to do with what seems to be one of the central themes of the first part of the letter, that is, the rivalry between Paul and his colleague Apollos, who had won great honour among some members of the Christian community in Corinth after Paul had left the city. In the next paragraphs, I will discuss Paul's views of knowledge or wisdom as presented in chapters 1–4 and 7–16, respectively, and his eloquent appeal to OT texts in chapters 1–4 in particular.¹¹

1. *Paul's Views on "knowledge" Presented in Response to Oral Reports (1 Corinthians 1–4)*

In chapters 1–6, and in chapters 1–4 in particular,¹² Paul reacts to the reports he heard from Chloe's people (1:11). These reports concerned quarrels and divisions in the Corinthian community; above all the existence of an "Apollos faction," which Paul certainly regarded as a vote of no-confidence against himself, would have been a thorn in his side. From the information provided by Chloe's people, Paul concluded that the ministry of Apollos, a fellow preacher of the Gospel who had come to the community of Corinth after Paul had left the city, had proved very attractive to a number of local Christians. They had been impressed by Apollos' knowledge and eloquence and considered him a far more excellent teacher of knowledge than Paul. In their opinion, faith was closely connected with knowledge, and a preacher who displayed wisdom and eloquence was far superior to someone whose "bodily presence is weak" and whose "speech is contemptible" (2 Cor 10:10).

From Paul's response we may conclude that he thought his colleague Apollos represented a real threat to his own authority and saw him as a rival in the proclamation of the Gospel. So, in chapter 3, he underlines

¹¹ It is a privilege to present this essay on the occasion of the 65th birthday of Maarten J.J. Menken, who is an expert in the field of the reception of the Old Testament into the New Testament.

¹² For the rhetorical composition of chapters 1–4, see esp. M. Bünker, *Briefformular und rhetorische Disposition in 1. Korintherbrief* (GTA 28; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984) 52–59; C.A. Wanamaker, "A Rhetoric of Power: Ideology and 1 Corinthians 1–4," in *Paul and the Corinthians: Studies on a Community in Conflict. Essays in Honour of Margaret Thrall* (ed. T.J. Burke and J.K. Elliott; NovTSup 109; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003) 115–137.

that it was he himself who “laid the foundation” of “God’s building,” that is, the Christian community in Corinth, whereas Apollos was no more than “someone” who was “building on it.” In other words: “I (Paul) planted, Apollos watered” (see vv. 4–10). And he ends this chapter by saying that no one should “boast about human leaders,” which implies that boasting about Apollos and admiring him for his knowledge and eloquence is a serious mistake (see vv. 21–23).¹³

Apollos’ reputation among at least some members of the Corinthian community also appears in 1 Cor 16:12, where Paul seems to respond to an issue brought up by the Corinthian Christians in their letter to him. Apparently, they had suggested to Paul that he should ask Apollos to return to Corinth—further proof of their admiration for Paul’s colleague. It is not clear whether Apollos was with Paul in Ephesus before, or at the time when, the apostle wrote his letter to the Corinthians, but Paul informs the Corinthians that he “strongly urged (πολλὰ παρεκάλεσα)¹⁴ him (Apollos) to visit you with the other brothers, but he was not at all willing to come now (πάντως οὐκ ἦν θέλημα ἵνα νῦν ἔλθῃ).¹⁵ He will come when he has the opportunity.” If Paul is telling the truth about his efforts to convince Apollos to return to Corinth, and indeed wanted Apollos to go to the Corinthian community, he could not prevent Apollos refusing to see them. Unfortunately, we do not know the exact reason why Apollos refused to go to Corinth. In any case, after his refusal the apostle decided to send Timothy to the community in Corinth instead, but he was afraid that the Corinthian Christians would not welcome him,¹⁶ since he was Paul’s closest associate.¹⁷ The Corinthians hoped and expected to see Apollos, but

¹³ That the competition between Paul and Apollos is a central theme in these chapters is also clear from 4:6, where the apostle emphatically states that he has applied “all this”, that is, all the preceding statements, “to Apollos and himself.”

¹⁴ For the expression πολλὰ παρεκάλειν in the sense of “to urge strongly,” see, e.g., 4 Macc 10:1; Mark 5:10, 23; cf. also 3 Bar. 4:14; Pastor Hermae, Vis. 2:21; Sim. 5:41.

¹⁵ Although the subject of the verb ἦν is not mentioned explicitly, the next clause (“He will come when he has the opportunity”) makes clear that it was Apollos who had determined not to come to Corinth at that particular moment. So also, e.g., Fee, *Corinthians*, 824.

¹⁶ “. . . see that he has nothing to fear among you . . . therefore let no one despise him. Send him on his way in peace, so that he may come to me . . .” (1 Cor 16:10–11). Asking the Corinthians to send Timothy back to him “in peace” (ἐν εἰρήνῃ), Paul expresses the hope that the Corinthians and Timothy, and, as a consequence, the Corinthians and Paul, would be on good terms once again; for the expression ἐν εἰρήνῃ in the sense of “friendly, without any disagreement or quarrel, in perfect harmony,” see, e.g., 1 Cor 7:15; 14:33; Gen 26:29; Jdt 7:15; Heb 11:31; 12:14; 1 Clem. 20:10–11; Test. Gad 6:3; History of the Rechabites 18:4.

¹⁷ See also 4:17 and Phil 2:19–22.

instead they must welcome Paul's substitute Timothy! All this makes it clear that not Paul, but Apollos, was the favourite with a significant part of the Christian community in Corinth.

In order to take the wind out of the sails of the Apollos "fans," Paul feels that he must completely eradicate their strong feelings about the value of knowledge if he is to restore his authority as the preeminent preacher of the Gospel. He does this by telling his readers in Corinth that the knowledge on which they pride themselves so much is mere human knowledge; knowledge which belongs to this world which "is passing away" (7:31). What they consider to be knowledge is nothing but foolishness in the eyes of God; likewise, what people consider foolishness or weakness is God's wisdom and strength (1:18–25).

In his attempt to convince his readers, Paul first refers to the Gospel itself. Salvation by a crucified Messiah is a message regarded as complete foolishness by most of the people of this world; but to Christians it is a sign of the wisdom and the power of God. But in that case, Paul continues, the reverse is also true: the people of this world, including the adherents of Apollos in Corinth, value human knowledge very highly, but in the eyes of God it is mere foolishness. Referring to the "foolishness" and "weakness" of the Gospel, Paul tries to get those Corinthians who admired Apollos as an example of eloquence and knowledge, and preferred Apollos to Paul as a teacher, back on his side.

However, it was not enough for the apostle to refer to the "foolishness" of the Gospel in his attempt to undermine the Apollos faction in Corinth. He feels obliged to lard his argument in chapters 1–4 with some OT/LXX quotations, which are meant to support the argument, and to silence the adherents of his colleague and rival Apollos once and for all. Now it becomes clear why, in this part of the letter, Paul prefers to use the term σοφία to the word γνῶσις; for there are no OT/LXX texts available where the word γνῶσις is explicitly used in a pejorative sense, but a couple of OT/LXX passages do exist where σοφία, "wisdom," and σοφοί, "wise people," are denounced. Moreover, to him, as a Jew who was thoroughly acquainted with the OT/LXX, σοφία and γνῶσις were broadly synonymous.¹⁸ A few examples may illustrate this:

¹⁸ Cf. E.E. Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity: New Testament Essays* (WUNT 18; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1978) 45–62. This is in contrast to a flood of scholars, who, on different and rather speculative grounds, try to differentiate between these terms; see, e.g., U. Wilckens, *Weisheit und Torheit: Eine exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu 1. Kor. 1 und 2* (BHT 26; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1959) *passim*, and B.A.

For the LORD gives wisdom (σοφίαν); from his mouth come knowledge and understanding (γνώσις καὶ σύνεσις) (Prov 2:6)

... sometimes one who has toiled with wisdom and knowledge (ἐν σοφίᾳ καὶ ἐν γνώσει) and skill must leave all to be enjoyed by another who did not toil for it... (Eccl 2:21)

... for there is no work or thought or knowledge or wisdom (γνώσις καὶ σοφία) in Sheol... (Eccl 9:10).¹⁹

Thus, Paul's association of "knowledge" (γνώσις) and "wisdom" (σοφία), based on Jewish tradition and on his acquaintance with OT/LXX passages where both terms are used interchangeably,²⁰ enabled the apostle to use the term σοφία instead of γνώσις in this part of the letter (1:10–4:21). At two crucial stages in the argument, he quotes some OT/LXX passages where human "wisdom" is denounced to convince his readers of the complete irrelevance and worthlessness of human "wisdom" or "knowledge." First, right at the beginning, he quotes Isa 29:14 LXX,

Pearson, *The Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology: A Study in the Theology of the Corinthian Opponents of Paul and Its Relation to Gnosticism* (SBLDS 12; Missoula MT: Scholars Press, 1973) 30–43.

¹⁹ See further Prov 30:3; Eccl 1:16–18; 2:26; Sir 21:18; Isa 11:2; 4 Macc 1:16; and also Philo, *Fug. et invent.* 82; Col 2:3; Barn 2:3; *Apostolic Constitutions* 8, 12, 7; *Sacramentarium Serapionis* 11:1–2. Elsewhere in 1 Corinthians, Paul uses γνώσις parallel with σοφία without making any clear distinction between the terms: see 12:8, "... the utterance of wisdom (λόγος σοφίας) ... the utterance of knowledge (λόγος γνώσεως)"; so also, e.g., H. Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (12. Aufl.; KEK 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981) 255; cf. Fee, *Corinthians*, 591–593.

²⁰ Pace C.M. Pate, *The Reverse of the Curse: Paul, Wisdom, and the Law* (WUNT 2.114; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000) 279, who thinks that Paul's association of "knowledge" and "wisdom" "is probably based on the Corinthians' prior connection of the two"; cf. also, e.g., W. Schmithals, *Die Gnosis in Korinth: Eine Untersuchung zu den Korintherbriefen* (3. Aufl.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969) 134, "Freilich hat man in Kor. nicht nur σοφία, sondern vor allem γνώσις als term techn für diese Predigt verwandt"; Fee, *Corinthians*, 64–65, who assumes that the occurrence of σοφία "reflects the Greek philosophical or sophist tradition" (n. 79); and A. Lindemann, *Der Erste Korintherbrief* (HNT 9/1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000) 43, who states that "σοφία ist zur Zeit der Abfassung des 1 Kor ein für die korinthischen Christen wichtiger Begriff." Conzelmann, *Korinther*, 56, is right in being much more cautious: "Es ist möglich, aber nicht sicher, dass Paulus mit dem Stichwort σοφία ein Schlagwort aus Korinth aufgreift. Nimmt man das an, so muss man doch die Möglichkeit bedenken, das es von Paulus in Korinth eingeführt (und dann im Sinne der korinthischen Weisheitsschau abgewandelt) wurde." Since "knowledge" and "wisdom" were closely connected and used as synonyms in Jewish (sapiential) circles, it is far more likely that Paul, and not the pagan-Christian Church in Corinth, was responsible for the connection of the two.

I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the discernment of the discerning I will thwart (ἀπολωῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω) (1 Cor 1:19).

Paul quotes the Isa text literally, but he uses ἀθετήσω instead of κρύψω, which is found in the Septuagint text of Isa 29:14; he does so, probably under the influence of Ps 32:10 LXX (“The LORD brings the counsel of the nations to nothing; he frustrates the plans of the peoples,” . . . ἀθετεῖ δὲ λογισμοὺς λαῶν καὶ ἀθετεῖ βουλάς ἀρχόντων). In any case, by substituting the stronger ἀθετήσω for κρύψω, Paul wants to underline that God has not simply “hidden” human wisdom but has “annihilated” it.²¹ In Isa 29:14, the prophetic utterance is directed at the so-called “wise” people of Israel and its blinded religious leaders. In his interpretation and explanation of the Isa text, Paul applies it to all “wise” people: he wants to make it clear to his readers that the age of the “wise,” the “scribe,” and the “debater” has come to an end, and that God “has made foolish the wisdom of the world” (1:20). Instead, Jesus Christ, a weak and crucified Messiah, has become “wisdom from God” for his followers (1:30).

After a long paragraph, in which Paul argues that all preachers of the Gospel, including Apollos and himself, will be judged by God “according to the labour of each” (1 Cor 3:5–17), he brings his argument that began in 1:10 to a preliminary conclusion in 3:18–23. It is in this section that we find two other OT/LXX quotations, introduced by Paul to strengthen his argument once more.²² After having reiterated that “the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God” (3:19a; cf. 1:20), he continues,

For it is written, “He catches the wise in their craftiness (ὁ δρασσόμενος τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτῶν),” and again, “The Lord knows the thoughts of the wise, that they are futile (κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν σοφῶν ὅτι εἰσὶν μάταιοι)” (3:19b–20).

²¹ So also C.D. Stanley, *Paul and the language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (SNTSMS 69; Cambridge: University Press, 1992) 185–186. On this Isa quotation in 1 Cor 1:19, see further F. Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus* (FRLANT 179; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998) 101–105, 160–162, 246–248, 274–276, 357–358; *idem*, “Isaiah in 1 and 2 Corinthians,” in *Isaiah in the New Testament* (ed. S. Moyise and M.J.J. Menken; London/New York: T & T Clark, 2005) 133–158, esp. 135–137; H.-C. Kammler, *Kreuz und Weisheit: Eine exegetische Untersuchung zu 1 Kor 1,10–3,4* (WUNT 159; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003) 70–73.

²² Cf. D.-A. Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (BHT 69; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1986) 152–153 and 275, “Die Zitate in 1,19 und 3,19f entsprechen also inhaltlich einander und rahmen eröffnend und abschließend 1 Kor 1,18–3,23 insgesamt.”

The first quotation comes from Job 5:13 (“He takes the wise in their own craftiness...”), although the wording in 1 Cor 3:19 differs from the LXX version of Job 5:13 (ὁ καταλαμβάνων σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ φρονήσει). There does not seem to be any good reason for thinking that Paul himself would have been responsible for these changes; more probably, they go back to Paul’s Greek *Vorlage*, a text which represented an independent translation of the Hebrew text of Job and which, as a consequence, differed slightly from the LXX version.²³

The second OT/LXX text quoted by Paul in this section is an almost literal quotation from Ps 93:11 LXX (“The Lord knows the thoughts of men, that they are futile,” κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι εἰσὶν μάταιοι). The only difference in wording between 1 Cor 3:20 and Ps 93:11 is that the words “of the wise” (τῶν σοφῶν) have been substituted for “of men” (τῶν ἀνθρώπων). Without any doubt, this alteration is the work of the apostle himself, perhaps under the influence of the context of the Ps text, where “men” and, in particular, the psalmist’s adversaries are characterized as “fools”; as people who are unable to understand God’s plan of recompense (see esp. 93:8, “Understand, O dullest of the people; fools, when will you be wise?” [σύνετε δὴ, ἄφρονες ἐν τῷ λαῷ, καί, μωροί, ποτὲ φρονήσατε]).²⁴

By quoting these two OT/LXX texts, Paul wants to prove conclusively that human, earthly, wisdom or knowledge is nothing but foolishness in the eyes of God and that, as a consequence, people who admire and boast about preachers like Apollos are quite wrong in doing so (see also 3:21–23). Whether the apostle was successful in convincing his readers in Corinth is an open question. From his second letter to the Christian community in Corinth it is to be concluded that his authority remained, to say the least, far from respected.

2. *Paul’s Views on “knowledge” Presented in Response to the Letter from the Corinthian Community (1 Corinthians 7–16)*

From chapter 7 onwards, Paul seems to respond to a number of issues brought up in the Corinthians’ letter to him. In all likelihood, this letter

²³ See Stanley, *Paul and the language of Scripture*, 189–194.

²⁴ See Stanley, *Paul and the language of Scripture*, 194–195; H.H. Drake Williams, III, “The Psalms in 1 and 2 Corinthians,” in *The Psalms in the New Testament* (ed. S. Moyise and M.J.J. Menken; London/New York: T & T Clark, 2004) 163–180, esp. 164–167.

contained some passages about the spiritual gift of “knowledge” (γνώσις). It is generally assumed that some of the Christians in Corinth felt that they were endowed with this particular gift, that is, with a specific insight into God’s plan of salvation.

Whereas Paul’s criticism of “knowledge” or “wisdom” in chapters 1–4 is unremittingly harsh and severe, it is rather mild in this part of the letter. The apostle is undoubtedly well aware of the threat which the gift of knowledge might represent to the unity of the Christian community. Right at the beginning of his argument about “knowledge” in response to the Corinthians’ letter, he rather emphatically states that “knowledge puffs up, but love builds up (ἡ γνώσις φουσιῶι, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη οἰκοδομεῖ)” (8:1). In Paul’s view, the problem with knowledge is that it may lead people to be arrogant, “puffed up.” And the apostle is convinced that as soon as some Christians feel superior to others, the Christian community will collapse. “Love,” on the other hand, that is, love of one’s neighbour, will support all the members of the community and further its unity and solidarity.²⁵ In 13:2, we find the same contrast between love and knowledge: “And if I have prophetic powers, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge (πάντα τῆν γνώσιν) . . ., but do not have love (ἀγάπην), I am nothing.” In Paul’s view, knowledge is as nothing when compared to loving one’s neighbour, which is, according to the apostle, the characteristic of the true believer.

Moreover, whereas love of one’s neighbour is eternal, the gifts of the Spirit, including that of knowledge, are only for the present, for as long as this world exists: “Love (ἡ ἀγάπη) never ends . . . But . . . as for knowledge (γνώσις), it will come to an end” (13:8–13, esp. v. 8). Paul considers all spiritual gifts “partial” or “incomplete” (ἐκ μέρους, 13:9, 10, and 12b) and “when the complete comes, the partial will come to an end” (v. 10). In 13:8–13, the apostle argues that our present knowledge, that is, our knowledge of God and his divine plan, is imperfect and incomplete; perfect knowledge of God is not to be achieved before the end of time. Then our imperfect knowledge of God will end and will be “replaced” by some kind of true knowledge. In this context, Paul contrasts man’s present knowledge or “vision” of God, which is nothing but “seeing in a riddle” or “seeing in a mirror,” with our future perfect knowledge or vision of God, which will

²⁵ Once and again, Paul summons his readers to do their best for the edification of the Christian community (see, e.g., 10:23; 14:3–5, 12, 17, 26). Divisions within the community should be avoided: “If anyone destroys God’s temple, God will destroy that person. For God’s temple is holy, and you are that temple” (3:17).

be directly, “face to face.”²⁶ In other words, even the gift of knowledge, on which some members of the Corinthian community pride themselves, is incomplete and imperfect, since it belongs to the present age.

Finally, for Paul and almost certainly also for some Christians in Corinth, having the spiritual gift of knowledge was related to a feeling of “power,” “liberty” or “freedom” (ἐξουσία or ἐλευθερία), terms that occur rather frequently in 1 Corinthians in this sense,²⁷ and which are probably taken by Paul from the Corinthians’ letter to him. Both terms refer to a man’s right or freedom to do whatever he wants or to live as he pleases; freedom is *potestas vivendi, ut velis*.²⁸ Paul and the Corinthians agreed that Christians have been set free by Jesus Christ, and have become “free” people who may live as they wish; they are no longer under any human law, they are “under Christ’s law” (9:20–21).²⁹ But in Paul’s view, there are limits to the Christians’ freedom, and those Corinthian Christians who feel free and boast of their knowledge and freedom should not disregard these limits; their liberty or freedom should not become a “stumbling block” to others or an “offence to Jews or to Greeks or to the church of God,” to the extent that the latter will not share in the blessings of the Gospel or become apostates from the Christian faith (8:9; 10:32).

In conclusion, Paul’s argument about the spiritual gift of knowledge in response to the Corinthians’ letter in chapters 7–16, is an attempt to convince his readers that this gift is not always beneficial for the Christian community. Sometimes, it may even destroy the community and make other people apostatize and lose salvation. Moreover, like all other spiritual gifts it is incomplete and imperfect, as it belongs to the present, dark ages. Much more important than all the spiritual gifts, including that of knowledge, is love of one’s neighbour, which furthers the unity and

²⁶ On these verses, see esp. H.W. Hollander, “Seeing God ‘in a riddle’ or ‘face to face’: An Analysis of 1 Corinthians 13.12,” *JSNT* 32 (2010) 395–403.

²⁷ See 7:37; 8:9, 9:1, 4–6, 12, 18, 19; 10:29; cf. 6:12; 10:23.

²⁸ Cicero, *Parad. Stoic.* 34; see further, e.g., Epictetus, *Diss.* 4.1.1, “He is free who lives as he wills (ἐλευθερός ἐστιν ὁ ζῶν ὡς βούλεται), 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 . . .” (text and trans.: W.A. Oldfather in LCL); 2.1.23; 2.16.37; Dio Chrysostomus, *Or.* 14.13–18; Diogenes Laertius, *Vit. Phil.* 7.125; Philo, *Quod omn. prob. lib. sit* 59. On the theme of freedom in the letters of Paul, see esp. F.S. Jones, “*Freiheit*” in *den Briefen des Apostels Paulus: Eine historische, exegetische und religionsgeschichtliche Studie* (GTA 34; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987) and S. Vollenweider, *Freiheit als neue Schöpfung: Eine Untersuchung zur Eleutheria bei Paulus und in seiner Umwelt* (FRLANT 147; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989).

²⁹ Cf. Gal 6:2. From Gal 5:14 and Rom 13:9–10 it is clear that for Paul the love of one’s neighbour is the heart of the law of Christ.

solidarity of the Christian community. It is obvious that Paul does not completely reject people who have the gift of knowledge, since he is, after all, aware that it is a gift of the Holy Spirit. Having so vehemently criticized the notion of knowledge or wisdom in the first chapters of 1 Corinthians as a response to oral reports about the influence of his colleague and rival Apollos in the Christian community of Corinth, this time his criticism of the gift of knowledge can be characterized as rather mild.

3. *Conclusion*

In 1 Cor 1:10–6:20, the apostle Paul reacts to the reports he hears from Chloe's people. From them he learns that an "Apollos faction" exists within the Christian community in Corinth; a group of believers who regard "knowledge" (γνῶσις) as one of the greatest spiritual gifts and who are impressed by Apollos' knowledge and eloquence and consider him a far more excellent teacher of wisdom than Paul. Paul is disturbed by this, and realizes that his colleague Apollos represents a real threat to his authority and is a rival in the proclamation of the Gospel. In order to restore his authority he feels that he should totally repress the feelings of the members of this Apollos faction as regards the values of wisdom and knowledge. So, he tells his readers in Corinth that what they consider knowledge is mere human knowledge, a kind of knowledge that belongs only to this world, and that is nothing but foolishness in the eyes of God. Since in the writings of OT/LXX and in Jewish tradition σοφία is broadly synonymous with γνῶσις and since there were no OT/LXX texts available where the word γνῶσις is used in a pejorative sense, Paul prefers to use the term σοφία ("wisdom") to γνῶσις in this part of the letter. This choice gave him the opportunity to quote a couple of OT/LXX passages (Isa 29:14; Job 5:13; Ps 93:11), where σοφία is explicitly denounced, at certain crucial stages in the argument, in order to silence Apollos' adherents once and for all.

Later on, in 1 Cor 7–16, Paul responds to a letter written to him by certain members of the Christian community in Corinth. In all likelihood, this letter contained some passages about the so-called "spiritual gifts," above all the gift of "knowledge" (γνῶσις), given to them by the Holy Spirit. Paul is aware of the dangers of this particular gift to the unity of the Christian community, but since he cannot deny that it is a gift of the Holy Spirit, he must employ a more careful argument here. So, he stresses that this kind of knowledge is incomplete and imperfect and is, in fact, as nothing

compared with love of one's neighbour, which is much more beneficial to Christian believers.

In short, in his response to the letter from the Corinthians, in which the senders raise a number of issues, including their deep appreciation for the spiritual gift of "knowledge," Paul's argument is well-balanced and carefully presented. However, the apostle argues much more vehemently in his response to the oral reports of Chloe's people, describing the deep admiration of some of the Corinthian Christians for Paul's colleague Apollos on account of his knowledge and eloquence. He considered this to be a frontal attack on him and his authority. In this part of the letter, he tries to establish his authority by telling his readers that "knowledge" or "wisdom" is nothing but foolishness in the eyes of God, and he finds it necessary to strengthen the argument by quoting a couple of OT/LXX passages as conclusive evidence. This has resulted in the curious situation where both these approaches to the nature of "knowledge" or "wisdom" are found in one and the same apostolic letter.

THE TEXT FORM OF THE TORAH QUOTATIONS
COMMON TO THE *CORPUS PHILONICUM* AND
PAUL'S CORINTHIAN CORRESPONDENCE

Gert J. Steyn

It is common knowledge that ancient authors from Judaism and Christianity used their scrolls, or “sacred Scriptures,” as authoritative religious sources for hermeneutical purposes. These Scriptures were used particularly, but not exclusively, for interpreting and re-interpreting the history of the Jewish people and the Christ-event within the contexts in which they found themselves. Biblical scholarship focused very often in the past mainly on the mere *identification* and on the hermeneutical *function* of this “Old Testament” material within its newly used contexts during the first century CE. Less often, however, does scholarship investigate the different textual traditions and *text forms* that were in circulation regarding the explicit quotations. Not excluding a holistic approach and the importance of the hermeneutical function of quotations within their contexts, it is especially this latter area of research that has been an integral part of the contributions of Maarten Menken over the years. He made significant contributions in this regard, especially on the gospels according to John¹ and Matthew²—the latter which I recently engaged with.³

Menken’s efforts helped to keep scholarship focused on both the NT author’s theological hermeneutic as well as on the form of the quotations in their new contexts. The emphasis on studies on the use of the Old Testament in the New Testament has gradually moved to include studies that investigate and establish the text forms behind the New Testament quotations. It might be stated that a paradigm shift took place from studies that were exclusively occupied with the New Testament author’s hermeneutic

¹ M.J.J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form* (CBET 15; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996).

² Cf. M.J.J. Menken, *Matthew’s Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist* (BETL 173; Leuven: University Press, 2004).

³ G.J. Steyn, “The Text Form of the Isaiah Quotations in the *Sondergut* *Mattäus* compared to the Dead Sea Scrolls, Masoretic Text and LXX,” in *Text-critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint* (ed. J. Cook and H.-J. Stipp; VTSup; Leiden: Brill, 2012).

to one that now also seriously took note of textual criticism. This tendency identified an area that is in dire need of research and there seems to be a growing interest in it. An aspect of this research involves a differentiation between establishing whether the differences in an explicit quotation would be due to an author's *Textvorlage*, i.e. the existence of another text form, or whether they are due to the author's own hermeneutic—being that for theological, rhetorical or stylistic reasons.

The Quest for an Early Text Form of the Septuagint

This small contribution forms part of a larger project which investigates the text form of the Torah quotations common to the pre-Christian *Corpus Philonicum*⁴ and the New Testament. If traces of the text form of such an old Greek version from the Torah are still to be found, and if it is at all possible to trace such an early text form, one of the places to look for it would be in the quotations from the Greek Old Testament by the Judeo-Hellenistic writers.⁵ Philo of Alexandria and Paul of Tarsus, contemporaries who were living at the same time but at different places, present an overlap between Hellenistic Judaism and the beginnings of early Judeo-Hellenistic Christianity. The Torah represented the oldest, most respected and most authoritative part of Scripture for both authors.⁶

It has been noted that “The relationship between Philo and the biblical text is quite complex.”⁷ Previous studies in the mentioned project

⁴ H.E. Ryle already noted this fact: “His testimony to the Greek Bible is indisputably pre-Christian. In that fact lies the especial value of his Scriptural citations” (*Philo and Holy Scripture* [London: MacMillan & Co., 1895] xiii). Cf. also Martina Böhm: In the *Corpus Philonicum* “. . . ist ja bekanntlich . . . so viel Schriftauslegung wie nirgends sonst im jüdisch—literarischen Erbe der Antike erhalten . . .” (“Abraham und die Erzväter bei Philo,” in *Philo und das Neue Testament* [ed. R. Deines and K.-W. Niebuhr; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004] 377–395, here 378).

⁵ Another would be, for instance, in comparative studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls. See also G.J. Steyn, “Torah Quotations common to Philo, Hebrews, Clemens Romanus and Justin Martyr: What is the Common Denominator?,” in *The New Testament Interpreted: Essays in Honour of Bernard C. Latagan* (ed. C. Breytenbach, J.C. Thom and J. Punt; NovTSup 124; Leiden: Brill, 2006) 135–151.

⁶ Cf. D.-A. Koch: “Die Übersetzung des ‘Nomos’ ist der älteste und wichtigste Teil der ‘Septuaginta’ und die Textüberlieferung weist hier eine größere Geschlossenheit auf den prophetischen und poetischen Büchern,” *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986) 51.

⁷ A.P. Dell’Acqua, “Upon Philo’s Biblical Text and the Septuagint,” in *Italian Studies on Philo of Alexandria* (ed. F. Calabi; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 25–52, here 25.

that were already conducted in the *Corpus Paulinum*⁸ include Galatians⁹ and Romans.¹⁰ It is the intention then of this study to supplement those here by adding Paul's Corinthian correspondence. The question remains ultimately: Is it possible to trace an early LXX text form of the Torah quotations by comparing those quotations of Philo of Alexandria and of the earliest known early Christian writer, the Pharisaic rabbi, Paul of Tarsus?

Observations from Paul's Letters to the Galatians and the Romans

It might be helpful to first state the results from the two previous investigations on Paul's letters to the Galatians and Romans before the Corinthian correspondence is investigated below.

Galatians

The comparative study on the quotations that overlap between Philo and Galatians provided some evidence about another text form than the reconstructed LXX that we have and which might underlie those quotations. These traces were few and they remain in many ways only possibilities and probabilities but provide, nonetheless, some pieces of the reconstruction of the text form puzzle. Six of the eight Torah quotations in Galatians have parallels in the extant material of Philo of Alexandria¹¹ and were taken from Genesis, Leviticus and Deuteronomy. In one case, Philo (*Congr.* 86) and Paul (Gal 3:12) are both in exact agreement with each other *against* the LXX (Lev 18:5) reading. Also Rom 10:5, which

⁸ O. Michel already drew attention to Paul's use of the LXX: "Dass die griechische Bibel und zwar in verschiedenen Versionen, dem Apostel seine Bibel gewesen ist, die er immer benutzt hat, kann nach den Untersuchungen von Kautzsch und Vollmer nicht mehr zweifelhaft sein" (*Paulus und seine Bibel* [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972] 55).

⁹ Cf. G.J. Steyn, "Can we reconstruct an early text form of the LXX from the quotations of Philo of Alexandria and the New Testament? Torah Quotations overlapping between Philo and Galatians as a Test Case," in *Die Septuaginta III. Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte* (ed. M. Sigismund, *et al.*; WUNT 286; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012) 444–464.

¹⁰ G.J. Steyn, "Reflections on the text form of the Genesis quotations common to the *Corpus Philonicum* and Paul's letter to the Romans," in *Reflecting on Romans. Essays in Honour of Andrieu du Toit's 80th Birthday* (ed. G.J. Steyn; Biblical Tools and Studies; Leuven: Peeters Press, 2012).

¹¹ Gal 3:6 (Gen 15:6); 3:8 (Gen 12:3; 18:18); 3:10 (*Deut* 27:26); 3:12 (Lev 18:5); 3:13 (*Deut* 27:26; 21:23); 3:16 (Gen 13:15; 17:8); 4:30 (Gen 21:10); 5:14 (*Lev* 19:18). [Passages in italics do not overlap with Philo].

renders the same quotation, is in close agreement with Gal 3:12 and with Philo (*Congr.* 86) against LXX Lev 18:5. More detailed results could be found in that comparative study on Philo and Galatians.¹²

Romans

Fourteen¹³ of the eighteen Torah-quotations in Paul's letter to the Romans have parallels (quotation or allusion) in the *Corpus Philonicum*. These are again all from Genesis, Leviticus or Deuteronomy. A side remark is appropriate regarding the absence of Exodus quotations amongst those that overlap between Paul (Galatians and Romans) and Philo: It is interesting that the order of the laws in the Decalogue in Paul (Rom 13:9) and Philo (*De Decal* 37) is μοιχεύσεις, φονεύσεις, and κλέψεις, whereas Exod 20:12–17 follows the order μοιχεύσεις, κλέψεις, and φονεύσεις—but this particular order of Paul and Philo is in agreement with the Deuteronomy version (5:16–21).

To date, only the six overlapping Genesis quotations in Paul's letter to the Romans and Philo were investigated in the project. These quotations can be found only in Romans 4 and 9, on the one hand, and in four of Philo's works,¹⁴ on the other hand. Paul's versions of them are short one-liners and he quotes, without exception, from the latter part of the sections quoted by Philo—sometimes extending the quotation as it appears in Philo (cf. Gen 15:6 in Rom 4:3), or sometimes starting his quotation at the exact and very same point where Philo's quotation ended (cf. Gen 17:5 in Rom 4:17; Gen 21:12 in Rom 9:7). Philo's version of Gen 15:5 presented a shorter text and one that is closer to the Hebrew of the Masoretic Text. Paul's version in Rom 4:18 occupies only the latter part of the same quotation—which is identical in text form between Philo and the LXX tradition. Regarding the next verse (LXX Gen 15:6), both Philo (*Migr Abr* (9) 44; *Rer Div* 90) and Paul (Rom 4:3) preferred to use Ἀβραάμ, against Ἀβράμ in the LXX. It seems possible that the agreements amongst the readings in Philo's *Mut.* 177, Rom 4:3 and James 2:23 might be traces of another LXX text form than that of the reconstructed LXX Gen 15:6. Such a text form could have been preserved in this clearly longer and more

¹² Cf. Steyn, *Philo and Galatians*, 462–464.

¹³ Rom 4:3, 9, 22 (Gen 15:6); 4:17 (Gen 17:5); 4:18 (Gen 15:5); 7:7; 13:9 (Exod 20:12–17/Deut 5:16–21); 9:7 (Gen 21:12); 9:9 (Gen 18:10); 9:12 (Gen 25:23); 10:5 (Lev 18:5); 10:6–8 (Deut 9:4; 30:12–14); 11:8 (Deut 29:3–4); 12:19 (Deut 32:35–36).

¹⁴ *Legum Allegoriae* 3; *Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres sit*; *De Migratione Abrahami* and *De Abrahamo*.

complete version of the quotation. More detailed results could be found again in the comparative study on the Genesis quotations in Philo and Romans.¹⁵

Extending the Investigation to Paul's Corinthian Correspondence

1 Corinthians was probably written during the Easter of 55 CE¹⁶ during Paul's stay in Ephesus and 2 Corinthians during Oct 55¹⁷ by Paul from Macedonia. From the nine Torah quotations that are found in Paul's Corinthian correspondence,¹⁸ only three have parallels in the extant material of Philo of Alexandria, i.e. 1 Cor 6:16 (Gen 2:24); 15:45 (Gen 2:7); and 2 Cor 8:15 (Exod 16:18). These were taken from Genesis and Exodus. There are no clear cases amongst these where Paul's Corinthian letters and the quotations in Philo are both in exact agreement with each other *against* the LXX readings.

Quotation 1: LXX Gen 2:24

Paul's discussion in 1 Cor 6:16 portrays a more positive view on Adam and Eve than elsewhere in his letters (cf. Rom 5:14; 1 Cor 15:21–22, 45–49; 2 Cor 11:3).¹⁹ His quotation from Gen 2:24 in 1 Cor 6:16 is presented as an answer following his question: οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ὁκολλώμενος τῇ πόρνη ἐν σώμα ἔστιν; This question is itself a reference²⁰ to the phrase καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ from Gen 2:24, which immediately

¹⁵ Cf. Steyn, *Genesis quotations*.

¹⁶ According to P.E. Terrell, 51 CE (*Paul's Parallels: An Echoes Synopsis* [London: Continuum] 368).

¹⁷ According to P.E. Terrell, 57 CE (*Paul's Parallels*, 526).

¹⁸ 1 Cor 5:13 (Deut 17:76); 6:16 (Gen 2:24); 9:9 (Deut 25:4); 10:7 (Exod 32:6); 15:45 (Gen 2:7); 2 Cor 3:16 (Exod 34:34); 6:16 (Lev 26:11); 8:15 (Exod 16:18); 13:1 (Deut 19:15). In addition to the fact that 2 Corinthians has relatively few quotations in comparison with Galatians, 1 Corinthians and Romans (J. Punt, "Paul and Postcolonial Hermeneutics: Marginality and/in Early Biblical Interpretation," in *As It is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture* [ed. S.E. Porter and C.D. Stanley; Leiden: Brill, 2008] 261–290, here 274), C.D. Stanley argued that 2 Cor 6:14–7:1 should be taken as a later interpolation—which brings the quotation of 2 Cor 6:16 in doubt (*Arguing with Scripture: The Rhetoric of Quotations in the Letters of Paul* [New York: T&T Clark, 2004] 97–98).

¹⁹ S.F. Miletic, "One Flesh": *Eph. 5:22–24, 5:31* (AnBib 115; Roma: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1988) 114.

²⁰ The technical difference between a reference and an allusion is that a reference explicitly refers to a scriptural passage, whereas an allusion implicitly alludes to a scriptural passage.

precedes the part that Paul quotes hereafter.²¹ Miller has shown that "... if Paul had wanted to sustain a metaphor of incorporation, or indeed of sexual intercourse, he would not, here, have written *όκολλώμενος τῇ πόρνῃ* and *όκολλώμενος τῷ κυρίῳ* but *προσκολλώμενος*"²²—as is the case in Philo, Mark, Ephesians, and perhaps Matthew as well.

Gen 2:24 ²³	<i>Leg.</i> II, 49	Matt 19:5	Mark 10:6–8	Eph 5:31
		<i>καὶ εἶπεν·</i>	<i>ἀπὸ δὲ ἀρχῆς κτίσεως ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν</i>	
<i>ἔνεκεν τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ προσκολλη- θήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.</i>	<i>ἔνεκα τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσκολλη- θήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.</i>	<i>ἔνεκα τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ κολλη- θήσεται τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν</i>	<i>αὐτούς· ἔνεκεν τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα [καὶ προσκολλη- θήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ], καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν· ὥστε οὐκέτι εἰσὶν δύο ἀλλὰ μία σὰρξ.</i>	<i>ἀντὶ τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος [τὸν] πατέρα καὶ [τὴν] μητέρα καὶ προσκολλη- θήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.</i>
<i>Gig.</i> 65			1 Cor 6:16	
<i>ἐγένοντο γὰρ οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν</i>		<i>ἔσονται γάρ, φησὶν, οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.</i>		

²¹ If Rosner's suggestion is correct that 1 Cor 6:18a could possibly be a quotation from the *Test. Reub.* 5:5, then three possible references from Paul's scriptures are found here in close proximity (cf. B.S. Rosner, "A Possible Quotation of Test. Reuben 5:5 in 1 Cor. 6:18a," *JTS* 43 [1992] 123–127). See also R.E. Ciampa and B.S. Rosner, "1 Corinthians," in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (ed. G.K. Beale and D.A. Carson; Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2007) 695–752, here 714.

²² J.I. Miller, "A Fresh Look at 1 Cor. 6:16f," *NTS* 27 (1980–81), 125–127, here 125.

²³ Apart from these places is Gen 2:24 also quoted in *Odes Sol.* 3:2 and Theop 2.21, 28 (B.H. McLean, *Citations and Allusions to Jewish Scripture* [Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen, 1992] 19).

Gen 2:24²⁴ is quoted twice in the known Philonic material (*Leg.* II, 49; *Gig.* 65) and four times referred to in the NT—where it occurs twice in the Pauline literature (1 Cor 6:16; Eph 5:31) and twice in the Gospels (Mark 10:7–8; Matt 19:5). There seems to be no mutual dependency between 1 Cor 6:16 and Mark 10:7–8.²⁵ Mark's version is a composite quotation that added another quote from Gen 1:27 before the one of Gen 2:24—the latter which he uses to explain the former. Part of the quotation in Mark's version poses some difficulties. Some important witnesses on Mark lack the phrase *καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ*²⁶ and NA²⁶ also chose to exclude it. Mark's compilation of these two quotations and the fact that he uses the second to explain the first might be evidence in favour of its omission during the process of its Christian reception in this particular context. The *τῆς* *γυναίκας* reading of Matt 19:5 is also to be found in LXX^A of Gen 2:24.²⁷

The shortest of the tabled references from Gen 2:24 are those in 1 Cor 6:16 and Philo's *Gig.* 65. Philo's *γάρ* here and the *γάρ φησὶν* of 1 Cor 6:16,²⁸ are probably both markers of what intended to be rather explicit references, than verbal quotations.²⁹ It is interesting that this is the only place in the *Corpus Paulinum* where *γάρ φησὶν* occurs³⁰—especially in light of the fact that introductory formulae with *φησὶν*, occur very frequently by Philo. Apart then from *γάρ* and *γάρ φησὶν*, the reading of this short reference is in complete agreement with the same phrase amongst all the texts listed here. The only other difference in this line is Philo's *Gig.* 65 which reads *ἐγένοντο* instead of *ἔσονται*—as all the other texts do.

With regard to the longer version of the quotation, the following should be noted:

²⁴ See W.R.G. Loader for an interpretation of this quotation (*The Septuagint, Sexuality, and the New Testament* [Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2004] 39–43).

²⁵ Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 245.

²⁶ It is absent in a B Ψ 892*. 2427 sy^s, but present in D W Θ f¹³ ℳ lat sy^ph co (A C L NA f¹ 759 a): *τῆς* *γυναίκας*).

²⁷ A. Lindemann, *Der Erste Korintherbrief* (HNT 9/1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000) 149.

²⁸ E.E. Ellis considers the parenthetic introductory formula, *γάρ φησὶν*, probably as part of the quotation as such when he sees this quotation as “varying from the LXX” (12), but later classifies it as “in agreement with the LXX against the Hebrew” (150–1) (*Paul's Use of the Old Testament* [Grand Rapids MI: Baker Book House, 1957]).

²⁹ A.J. Malherbe observed that the supporting statements in Paul contain, amongst others, quotations from and allusions to Scripture such as here in 1 Cor 6:16 (*Paul and Popular Philosophers* [Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 1989] 29).

³⁰ Cf. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 32, and C.D. Stanley: “The word *φησὶ*, ubiquitous in Philo's introductions, appears only seven times (in varying forms) in the writings of Paul, only once in connection with a quotation (1 Cor 6:16)” (*Paul and the Language of Scripture* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992] 195).

- a) The LXX (Gen 2:24) and Mark 10:7–8 read the Ionic and Hellenistic *ἕνεκεν*, whilst Philo (*Leg.* II, 49) and Matt 19:5 read the Attic *ἕνεκα*.³¹ Only Ephesians (5:31) chose a different term (*ἀντί*),³² although it has semantically the same meaning. This is probably due to the hand of the NT author—as is the case with Matthew’s *κολληθήσεται τῇ γυναικί*—which stands as isolated cases alongside Philo and each other.
- b) Some LXX witnesses and Mark 10:7–8 include *αὐτοῦ* after *τὸν πατέρα* whilst it is absent in LXX Papyrus 907, Philo, Matthew and Ephesians. Other LXX witnesses (Papyrus 911 and some Church Fathers) also include it, but only after *τὴν μητέρα* (followed by Rahlfs’ LXX). The same applies to some witnesses in the Markan textual tradition.³³ Chances might be good that this agreement between the three versions of Philo, Matthew and Ephesians probably point to another text tradition that did not include *αὐτοῦ* as part of that text.
- c) All the versions (LXX Gen 2:24; Philo *Leg.* II, 49; Mark 10:7–8; Eph 5:31) have the reading *προσ κολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα*, except for Matt 19:5 which reads here *κολληθήσεται*³⁴ *τῇ γυναικί*.³⁵ Some witnesses in the Markan textual tradition also read here *τῇ γυναικί*.³⁶

Given this information, it seems as if Mark is closer here to the main LXX³⁷ tradition with the reading *ἕνεκεν* and the inclusion of *αὐτοῦ*. Ephesians and Matthew³⁸ seem somewhat closer to Philo’s version (*Leg.* II, 49) than to the LXX, although LXX Papyrus 907 also lacks *αὐτοῦ*. Even more interesting is the fact that the Hebrew equivalent for *οἱ δύο* lacks in the Masoretic Text—where it reads “*one* flesh.” This is also the case in Targum Onkelos, although there is suspicion that Onkelos might “have been altered by transcribers to make it correspond with the Masoretic Hebrew Text.”³⁹

³¹ Cf. R.H. Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew’s Gospel* (NovTSup 18; Leiden: Brill, 1967) 16.

³² Only some LXX Genesis quotations in a few Church Fathers support *ἀντί*.

³³ It is included by a (D) 579. 1241 *pc* it *vg*^{mss}.

³⁴ Supported amongst the LXX Genesis witnesses only by Epiph I 46o.

³⁵ Genesis LXX^a also follows this reading.

³⁶ Apart from witnesses that lack this phrase as it appears in the LXX and others that have it present, a third group read here only *τῇ γυναικί*: A C L N D *f*¹ 759 *al*.

³⁷ Similarly Gundry, *Old Testament in St. Matthew*, 16; Menken, *Matthew’s Bible*, 208.

³⁸ According to M.J.J. Menken, the differences between Mark and Matthew “can be explained as editorial modifications by Matthew for stylistic reasons” (*Matthew’s Bible*, 209).

³⁹ Cf. J. Scott Porter, *Principles of Textual Criticism* (London: Simms and M’Intyre, 1848) 178–179.

The version with “the *two*,”⁴⁰ however, is present in the LXX, Samaritan Pentateuch, Samaritan Targum, Targum Jonathan, the Old Palestinian Targum, Old Testament Peshet, the Syriac, Vulgate, and Philo.⁴¹

Especially interesting regarding the agreement between the LXX and 1 Cor 6:16, is the use of *σάρξ* here by Paul—which corresponds with the LXX and Philo contra Paul’s own preference for *σῶμα* elsewhere in his letters.⁴² Although it is not the intention of this contribution to exegete the Corinthian passage,⁴³ or to elaborate on Paul’s theology, it should be noted that Paul’s quotation from Gen 2:24 maintains the term *σάρξ*, which is, nonetheless, a prominent Pauline term. It is usually understood to be “the material substance of which the body is composed in this world” in opposition to Paul’s use of the term *σῶμα*, which “denotes the fact of embodiment, that aspect of human (and other) existence which gives it place in its world and makes it possible for embodied entities to interact upon each other.”⁴⁴ Within the broader context of Paul’s argument in 1 Corinthians 6, he asked the rhetorical question whether his readers do not know that their “bodies” (*τὰ σώματα*, v.15) are members of Christ. Then follows his rhetorical question whether his readers do not know that whoever is united to a prostitute becomes “one body” (*ἐν σῶμα*, v.16a) with her.⁴⁵ This statement is then substantiated with the quotation from Gen 2:24 that referred to “the two” who “shall be one flesh” (*οἱ δύο εἰς*

⁴⁰ Cf. J.P. Sampley, “*And the Two Shall Become One Flesh*”: A Study of Traditions in Eph 5:21–33 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Miletic, *One Flesh*, 114; A.T. Lincoln, *Ephesians* (WBC 42; Dallas TX: Word, 2002) 361.

⁴¹ So, amongst others, J.W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (Atlanta GA: Scholars Press, 1993) 35; Gundry, *Old Testament in St. Matthew*, 16–17; A.C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2000) 467.

⁴² Cf. J. Kremer, *Der Erste Brief an die Korinther* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1997) 122; G.F. Hawthorne and R.P. Martin, eds., *Dictionary of Paul and his Letters* (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1993) 872.

⁴³ Literature on this abounds. Cf., for instance, J. Lambrecht, “Paul’s Reasoning in 1 Corinthians 6:12–20,” *ETL* 85 (2009) 479–486; D. Burk, “Discerning Corinthian Slogans through Paul’s Use of the Diatribe in 1 Corinthians 6:12–20,” *BBR* 18 (2008) 99–121; B.S. Rosner, “Temple Prostitution in 1 Corinthians 6:12–20,” *NovT* 40 (1998) 336–351; G. Claudel, “1 Kor 6:12–7:40 neugelesen,” *TTZ* 94 (1985) 20–36; J. Murphy-O’Connor, “Corinthian Slogans in 1 Cor. 6:12–20,” *CBQ* 40 (1978) 391–396; E. Fuchs, “Die Herrschaft Christi: Zur Auslegung von 1 Kor 6:12–20,” in *Neues Testament und christlicher Existenz. Festschrift für Herbert Braun zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. H.D. Betz and L. Schottroff; Tübingen: Mohr, 1973) 183–193.

⁴⁴ J.D.G. Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1996) 107–108.

⁴⁵ The use here of *σῶμα* rather than *σάρξ* shows that the totality of the person is meant (E. Schweizer), s.v. *σῶμα*, *TDNT VII*, 1044–1094.

σάρκα μίαν, v.16b). Hereafter follows the antithesis: “But anyone united to the Lord becomes one spirit with him” (ἐν πνεύμα, v.17). According to Dunn, the negative connotation to σάρξ in Paul “means that it shares this world’s weak, ephemeral character . . . and that its corruptibility leaves it ready prey to the powerful enticements of sin (classically expounded in Rom 7:7–8:3). This negative tone is at its sharpest in Paul’s blunt antithesis between “flesh” and “Spirit” (Rom 8:4–8; Gal 5:16–17)”⁴⁶—which can also be observed here in 1 Cor 6:16–17.

Summa: Philo’s γάρ and the γάρ φησίν of 1 Cor 6:16 might probably rather intend this to be an explicit reference, than a verbal quotation. Due to (a) the Hebrew equivalent for οἱ δύο which lacks in the Masoretic Text but is present in the LXX, and (b) Paul’s use of σάρξ which corresponds with the LXX and Philo contra Paul’s own preference for σῶμα elsewhere in his letters, it is clear that Philo (*Leg.* II, 49; *Gig.* 65) and Paul (as well as Mark 10:8, Matt 19:5, and Eph 5:31) follow the same LXX⁴⁷ text form. Paul is familiar with the immediate context of LXX Gen 2:24 as he alludes to the phrase καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ which immediately precedes the line that he quotes.

Quotation 2: LXX Gen 2:7

The top part of the table below compares the readings of Gen 2:7a and the bottom part of the table those of Philo on the latter part of the same verse, i.e. verse 7b.

Gen 2:7 played an important part in Jewish literature and is quoted at least seven times by Philo alone. In two of these cases (*Leg.* I, 31; *Opif.* 134) he starts the quotation a few lines earlier, but ends the quotation in five instances at the same place—which includes the line that is quoted in 1 Cor 15:45. Except for *Somn.* I, 34, the introductory formulae of Philo’s quotations show a clear preference for the inclusions of all or some of φησίν+ὄτι/γάρ. This leaves us with three interesting differences between the Philonic texts. *Firstly*, the position of ὁ θεός at the beginning of LXX Gen 2:7 remains the same in *Leg.* I, 31 and *Opif.* 134, i.e. in the two instances where he starts the quotation at the same place. In the remaining five

⁴⁶ Dunn, *Colossians and Philemon*, 107–8. Dunn makes this statement within the context of Col 2:17, which is controversial regarding its Pauline authorship.

⁴⁷ Also C.D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture—Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (New York: CUP, 1992) 3–28 here 195.

Gen 2:7 ⁴⁸	Leg. I, 31	Orif. 134	1 Cor 15:45	
καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν ⁴⁹ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοήν] ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζώσαν.	καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν λαβῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ⁵⁰ καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοήν] ζωῆς, ⁵¹ καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζώσαν	φησιν ὅτι ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν λαβῶν ⁵² ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοήν] ζωῆς	οὕτως καὶ γέγραπται· ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδάμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζώσαν, ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν.	
Leg. III, 161	Det. 80	Her. 56	Plant. 19	Somn. I, 34
ἐνεφύσησε γάρ	φησὶν ὅτι ἐνεφύσησεν	ἐνεφύσησε γάρ φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν ὄλων ⁵⁴	ἐνέπνευσε γάρ φησιν ὁ θεός	λέγοντα· ἐνεφύσησεν
εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα] ζωῆς ὁ θεός, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζώσαν	εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα] ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος ⁵³ εἰς ψυχὴν ζώσαν	εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοήν] ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ⁵⁵ ζώσαν	εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοήν] ζωῆς ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζώσαν	εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοήν] ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζώσαν

Philonic quotations on this passage, where he starts the quotation a few lines further, he moves ὁ θεός after γάρ φησὶν in his introductory formula in *Plant.* 19—and even after πνεῦμα ζωῆς within the text of the quotation

⁴⁸ Apart from the texts compared here, is Gen 2:7 also quoted in *Jos Ant* 1:34; *Just Res* 7; *Theoph* 2.19 (McLean, *Citations and Allusions*, 18).

⁴⁹ Cf. J.W. Wevers: "A popular variant has clarified χοῦν by adding a participle λαβῶν; of course to fashion mankind out of dust God first had to take it, but it is hardly necessary to say so" (*Notes on Genesis*, 24).

⁵⁰ Philonic Manuscripts U, F and L read χθόνος instead of γῆς by Philo.

⁵¹ Some Philonic manuscripts (U F L—followed by the Armenian witnesses) change ζωῆς here to ζώσαν.

⁵² λαβῶν lacks here in Philonic manuscripts F and G.

⁵³ ὁ is omitted by F and ὁ ἄνθρωπος is omitted by H and L.

⁵⁴ This phrase lacks in the Philonic manuscript O.

⁵⁵ ψυχὴν reads πνοήν in ms H and σάρκα in D^p.

itself in *Leg.* III, 161. In *Her.* 56 he also includes the reference as part of his introductory formula, but replaces ὁ θεός with the description ὁ ποιητῆς τῶν ὄλων. It lacks altogether, however, in *Det.* 80 and *Somn.* I, 34. These cases are probably due to Philo's hand and not pointing in the direction of another LXX text form. *Secondly*, in both instances where the quotation starts earlier in Philo (*Leg.* I, 31; *Opif.* 134), λαβών is present before ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, but absent in LXX Gen 2:7. This is an instance where chances are indeed good that Philo retained here another LXX text form. *Thirdly*, Philo presents two traditions⁵⁶ with πνοήν ζωῆς (*Leg.* I, 31; *Opif.* 134; *Her.* 56; *Plant.* 19; *Somn.* I, 34) and with πνεῦμα ζωῆς (*Leg.* III, 161; *Det.* 80).

When turning to the section that is quoted by Paul in 1 Cor 15:45,⁵⁷ it is striking to note that all the occurrences in the *Corpus Philonicum* are largely in agreement with LXX Gen 2:7, whereas Paul's quotation, on the other hand, is a clear hermeneutical alteration of the text in order to contrast "the first Adam" and "the last Adam"⁵⁸ (a comparison that was already made in 1 Cor 15:21–22)⁵⁹ within the context of his argument.

Philo's use and application of Gen 2:7 represents a kind of "Platonizing exegesis" in which the ἄνθρωπος of Gen 1:26–27 is the spiritual and "intelligible human" (a "heavenly man," οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος, fashioned in the "image of God" and possessing πνεῦμα),⁶⁰ whereas the ἄνθρωπος of Gen 2:7 is the natural and "sense-perceptible human" (an "earthly man," γῆϊνος ἄνθρωπος, "moulded out of clay" and possessing ψυχή and σάρξ)⁶¹ (cf. Philo *Leg.* I.31; *Op. Mund.* 134–135).⁶² This viewpoint probably "led the

⁵⁶ See G.E. Sterling, "The Place of Philo of Alexandria in the Study of Christian Origins," in Deines and Niebuhr, *Philo*, 22–52. Also F. Siegert, "Die Inspiration der Heiligen Schriften: Ein Philologisches Votum zu 2Tim 3,16," in Deines and Niebuhr, *Philo*, 205–222, here 220).

⁵⁷ E.E. Ellis (*Paul's Use*) considers 1 Cor 15:45b as a quotation "which do(es) not appear on first observation to be derived from the OT" (34). "His quotation (Gen. 2.7) is quite free and the latter half is entirely missing from the OT text" (64). He classifies it as "at variance with the LXX and the Hebrew where they agree" (150, 152).

⁵⁸ On this matter, see for instance S. Hultgren, "The Origin of Paul's Doctrine of the Two Adams in 1 Corinthians 15.45–49," *JSNT* 25 (2003) 343–370; R. Scroggs, *The Last Adam* (Philadelphia PA: Fortress, 1966). Scholars suspect that Gen 2:7 "became the focal point of a controversy between the apostle and the community. Paul quoted the text but reversed clauses c and b (1 Cor 15:45)" *Dictionary of New Testament Background* [ed. S.E. Porter and C.A. Evans; electr. edn; Downers Grove IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000]. So also Sterling, *Place of Philo*, 42.

⁵⁹ Ciampa and Rosner, *1 Corinthians*, 746.

⁶⁰ S.S. Nordgaard, "Paul's Appropriation of Philo's Theory of 'two men' in 1 Corinthians 15.45–49," *NTS* 57 (2011) 48–65, here 353; D.B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1995) 132.

⁶¹ Nordgaard, "Paul's Appropriation," 353; Martin, *The Corinthian Body*, 132.

⁶² A parallel is found in Wis 15:11.

Corinthians to devalue the corruptible body and deny the resurrection.”⁶³ Conzelmann, therefore, was of the opinion that Paul’s “exegesis cannot be derived from the Old Testament text, and on the other hand it has not been freely constructed by Paul. To be sure, he transforms his tradition independently, according to his own Christology and eschatology.”⁶⁴ Recently, Nordgaard largely maintains this position that “Paul transforms and reinterprets it (this theory, *GJS*) in such a way as to substantiate his own doctrine of the resurrection as developed in 1 Cor 15:35–58.” The traditional position taken by some scholars on this issue might be summarized as follows:

Many scholars have argued that in 1 Cor. 15:45–49 Paul polemicizes against a Philonic ‘two-*ἀνθρώποι*’ schema that was current among the Corinthians, perhaps brought to them by Jewish (or Jewish-Christian) teachers from Alexandria: whereas Philo taught an *ontological* priority of an ideal, ‘heavenly’ man over the empirical, ‘earthly’ man (Adam), Paul reverses Philo’s order and teaches a *historical* priority of the earthly man over the eschatological, heavenly man.⁶⁵

Hultgren, in turn, also extensively dealt with the matter of the origin of Paul’s doctrine of the two Adams in 1 Cor 15:45–49 and investigated its possible Philonic, Gnostic and Rabbinic backgrounds. He holds a different opinion, concluding that, apart from Paul’s own encounter with the risen Christ which might have played a role in his hermeneutical alteration of the quotation, Paul also derives his doctrine *exegetically* (his emphasis) from Gen 2:7. According to him, “Palestinian exegesis provides a more likely background for Paul’s doctrine of the two Adams in Gen. 2.7 than Philo, Hellenistic Judaism or Gnosticism.”⁶⁶ Suffice it to say that scholarship has no consensus on the matter of possible Alexandrian or Hellenistic Jewish influence on this on early Christianity at Corinth.⁶⁷ Whatever the case may be, it seems clear that Paul stands here in a particular existing exegetical tradition. It is, however, again not the intention here to exegete this passage or to elaborate on its interpretation and function within its new context, but to merely investigate the different text forms of these quotations in order to establish whether alternative LXX text forms could

⁶³ Porter and Evans, *Dictionary*, electr. ed.

⁶⁴ H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia PA: Fortress, 1975) 284. Cf. also Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 136.

⁶⁵ Hultgren, *Two Adams*, 344.

⁶⁶ Hultgren, *Two Adams*, 370.

⁶⁷ Hultgren, *Two Adams*, 344; S.J. Chester, *Conversion at Corinth* (London: T&T Clark, 2005) 224.

be identified and to determine which of these might be representative of the Old Greek Version.

Paul uses LXX Gen 2:7 but alters and expands the quotation to prove his point. For him, there is a different order than that supported by the Corinthians: Adam is the “natural human” (Gen 2:7) and *Christ* is the “spiritual human”—not the Adam of Gen 1:26–27. Formulated in the words of Bruce: “The distinction made by Paul between ψυχή and πνεῦμα . . . lies between the ‘living person’ (ψυχή ζῶσα) which the first Adam became at his creation (Gen 2:7) and the ‘life-giving spirit’ (πνεῦμα ζωοποιού) which the second Adam has become in resurrection.”⁶⁸

Paul’s inclusion⁶⁹ of πρῶτος and Ἀδάμ in addition to ὁ ἄνθρωπος⁷⁰ of the LXX and Philo, on the one hand, and ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιού, on the other hand, are clear markers of Paul’s hermeneutical adaptation of the quotation.⁷¹ Regarding πρῶτος: Stanley is correct in saying that “(n)othing in either the Greek or Hebrew textual traditions offers any reason to think that Paul might have found the word πρῶτος in his *Vorlage* of Gen 2.7.”⁷² Regarding Ἀδάμ: There are different possibilities for Paul’s preference of the term: Firstly, he might simply have added the Hebrew term (which can be generic noun or a proper name) within the Greek wording of his quotation from the Gen 2:7 LXX text. Secondly, he might have found the term in the broader context of LXX Genesis 2. Whereas Gen 2:8–15 and 2:18 use ἄνθρωπος, Gen 2:16 uses the proper name Ἀδάμ.⁷³ Thirdly, it might have been present in his *Vorlage* with possible attestation by the later recensions of Theodotion and Symmachus,⁷⁴ reading ὁ Ἀδάμ ἄνθρωπος. Stanley observes that “(a)part from the reversal of ὁ Ἀδάμ and ἄνθρωπος, the wording of both texts is identical to that presupposed by Paul in 1 Cor 15.45.”

⁶⁸ F.F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Thessalonians* (WBC 45; Dallas TX: Word, 2002) 130. For a discussion on the ψυχή—πνεῦμα issue, cf. for instance D. Abernathy, “Christ as Life-Giving Spirit in 1 Corinthians 15:45,” *IBS* 24 (2002) 2–13; R.A. Horsley, “Pneumatikos vs. psychikos: Distinctions of Spiritual Status among the Corinthians,” *HTR* 69 (1976) 269–288.

⁶⁹ C.D. Stanley (*Language of Scripture*, 208) and R.E. Ciampa and B.S. Rosner (*1 Corinthians*, 747) take the absence of καί here to be an intended omission by Paul.

⁷⁰ ἄνθρωπος is lacking in B K 326. 365. p; I^{1st}.

⁷¹ For a discussion on the interpretation of the quotation, and especially Paul and Philo’s hermeneutics regarding the order of the natural and spiritual beings, see the following in Deines and Niebuhr, *Philo*: Sterling, “Place of Philo,” 42; D.M. Hay, “Philo’s Anthropology, the Spiritual Regimen of the Therapeutae, and a Possible Connection with Corinth,” 127–142, especially 128–130; and B. Schaller, “Adam und Christus bei Paulus,” 143–153.

⁷² Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, 208.

⁷³ Cf. S. Moyise, *Paul and Scripture: Studying the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2010) 18; Lindemann, *Korintherbrief*, 360.

⁷⁴ Ciampa and Rosner, *1 Corinthians*, 747.

It is, however, impossible to establish whether Paul's wording here was due to an earlier written text, or to a common exegetical tradition.⁷⁵ By inserting *πρῶτος* and using *Ἀδάμ* (perhaps from an existing tradition?), Paul interprets the quotation typologically and Adam appears as an anti-type.⁷⁶ The "first Adam" would be replaced by another, "last Adam".

The latter part of the quotation is Paul's own creation and is presented as if it belongs to the original wording of the quoted text.⁷⁷ This is an important point to note and something that I drew attention to long ago: One needs to distinguish between a "quotation" and a "quoted text."⁷⁸ A quotation could, for instance, consist of several quoted texts—a practice not uncommon in Paul's letters.

Summa: Gen 2:7 played an important role in the Philonic literature. Philo starts the quotation a few lines earlier than Paul in two cases, but ends it in five others at the same place. All these occurrences in the *Corpus Philonicum* are largely in agreement with LXX Gen 2:7, but the section quoted by Paul in 1 Cor 15:45 is a freely adapted text and one which diverges from the known LXX tradition. Paul's inclusion of *πρῶτος* and *Ἀδάμ* in addition to *ὁ ἄνθρωπος* of the LXX and Philo, as well as his own creative expansion with *ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζῳοποιούν*, are clear traces of his hermeneutical adaptation of the quotation. He alters it typologically in order to substantiate his own doctrine of the resurrection by contrasting "the first Adam," the "natural human" (Gen 2:7), with "the last Adam," Christ as the "spiritual human." It is thus clear—in the light of the evidence from the LXX version and the quotations from Gen 2:7 in the *Corpus Philonicum*—that Paul's version of this quotation does not represent an existing earlier alternative text form, but is the result of his own hermeneutical alteration.⁷⁹

Quotation 3: LXX Exod 16:18

In the so-called Jerusalem collection letter(s) of 2 Corinthians 8–9, Paul writes to the Christians at Corinth in connection with their part of the

⁷⁵ Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, 208–209.

⁷⁶ Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 284.

⁷⁷ So also Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 134 and Kremer, *Korinther*, 357 (*passim*). C.D. Stanley excludes it from the actual quotation and points out that "in no other place does (Paul) actually incorporate a Christological reference into the body of a citation" (*Language of Scripture*, 209). A. Lindemann has a similar opinion (*Korintherbrief*, 361).

⁷⁸ Cf. G.J. Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations in the Context of the Petrine and Pauline Speeches of the Acta Apostolorum* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995).

⁷⁹ So also Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 134–137.

collection.⁸⁰ He uses an explicit quotation⁸¹ from LXX Exod 16:18 in 2 Cor 8:15 and links it with the event of the collection of the manna in the desert. Some scholars suspect an application here of a possible “second exodus”-motif to the Corinthians as the people of God,⁸² whilst others are of the opinion that no inference can be drawn concerning the Church as the new Israel sustained by manna on her journey *in via*.⁸³

The passage was well known in Jewish circles, as can be seen from Philo’s application—as was stated by Windisch: “Ein Traditionszusammenhang zwischen P[ls] und Philo ist mir hier sehr wahrscheinlich; P[ls] schöpft dann aus hellenistischer Thoraauslegung.”⁸⁴ Some scholars have argued that it can also be seen from its place in Jewish Haggadah on the miracle of the manna in Exodus 16.⁸⁵ Wolff confirms this issue: “Diese Erzählung spielte in der Heilserwartungen des frühen Judentums und des Urchristentums eine große Rolle und war auch den Korinthern bekannt, wie aus 1. Kor 10,3 hervorgeht.”⁸⁶

Exod 16:18	<i>Her.</i> 191	2 Cor 8:15
	Μωυσῆς λέγων·	καθὼς γέγραπται·
καὶ μετρήσαντες τῷ γομορ οὐκ ἐπλεόνασεν ὁ τὸ πολὺ, καὶ ὁ τὸ <u>ἔλαττον</u> οὐκ ἤλαττόνησεν	οὐκ ἐπλεόνασεν ὁ τὸ πολὺ, καὶ ὁ τὸ <u>ἔλαττον</u> οὐκ ἤλαττόνησεν	ὁ τὸ πολὺ οὐκ ἐπλεόνασεν, καὶ ὁ τὸ <u>ὀλίγον</u> οὐκ ἤλαττόνησεν. ⁸⁷

⁸⁰ C.T. Rhyne, “II Corinthians 8:8–15,” *Int* 41 (1987) 408–413, here 408.

⁸¹ Paul uses his favourite introductory formula: καθὼς γέγραπται.

⁸² Cf. P. Balla, “2 Corinthians,” in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (ed. G.K. Beale and D.A. Carson; Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2007) 753–783, here 775 (*passim*); S.J. Hafemann, “Paul’s Use of the Old Testament in 2 Corinthians,” *Int* 52 (1998) 246–257, here 253; H.D. Betz and G.W. MacRae, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9: A Commentary on Two Administrative Letters of the Apostle Paul* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia PA: Fortress Press, 1985) 69–70.

⁸³ R.P. Martin, *2 Corinthians* (WBC 40; Dallas TX: Word, 2002) 267.

⁸⁴ H. Windisch, *Der zweite Korintherbrief* (KEK 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), 259.

⁸⁵ Cf. Betz and MacRae, *2 Cor 8 & 9*, 69–70. They refer to the following literature: B.J. Malina, *The Palestinian Manna Tradition: The Manna Tradition in the Palestinian Targums and Its Relationship to the New Testament* (AGJU 7; Leiden: Brill, 1968); P. Borgen, *Bread from Heaven: An Exegetical Study of the Concept of Manna in the Gospel of John and the Writings of Philo* (NovTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 21981) 141–142; A.T. Hanson, *Studies in Paul’s Technique and Theology* (London: SPCK, 1974) 174–177.

⁸⁶ C. Wolff, *Der zweite Brief des Paulus an die Korinther* (THKNT; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1989) 174.

⁸⁷ ἔλαττονέω is a NT *hapax* and rare in the papyri (M.J. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* [Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2005] 593–594).

All three versions of LXX Exod 16:18 are identical, but with three exceptions: (a) Both Philo and Paul start the quotation after the phrase καὶ μετρήσαντες τῷ γομορ as it is irrelevant to their argument.⁸⁸ (b) The phrase ὁ τὸ πολὺ has been moved in the NT (most probably by Paul himself) to the beginning of the quotation in 2 Cor 8:15, which results in a different order, but in precise formal parallelism.⁸⁹ Philo, however, follows the order as it is in the LXX (and the MT). This practice was not uncommon amongst the NT writers to start quoting from the middle section of the quotation and then move up and down with the rest of the lines—especially for the sake of emphasis.⁹⁰ The position of this phrase is thus most likely the result of Paul's hand—although it might also “conceivably have arisen independent of Pauline influence.”⁹¹ (c) The main textual tradition of Philo's *Her.* 191 also follows the LXX Exod 16:18 with regard to the use of ἔλαττον, but 2 Corinthians reads ὀλίγον here—with a clear attempt by the first corrector of LXX^A and some Philo manuscripts to do the same.⁹² Stanley cautions that “(t)he possibility that both Paul and Philo (and perhaps the corrector of A) relied on a biblical text that contained ὀλίγον instead of ἔλαττον cannot entirely be ruled out.”⁹³ But until this can be proven, chances are that the change to ὀλίγον in 2 Cor 8:15 is most likely due to Paul's hand,⁹⁴ whilst Philo represents here a text form closer to the LXX.

Summa: Exod 16:18 was well known in Jewish circles. Philo's version maintains the word order and the term ἔλαττον from the LXX tradition, but Paul's text differs slightly: (a) The phrase ὁ τὸ πολὺ has been moved (probably by Paul himself) to the beginning of the quotation in 2 Cor 8:15 to form a parallelism; and (b) replaces ἔλαττον with ὀλίγον.

⁸⁸ C.D. Stanley considers this as a formal omission to Paul's quotation here (*Language of Scripture*, 231).

⁸⁹ Harris, *Corinthians*, 593–594; Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, 231–232; Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 108, 142.

⁹⁰ Cf. G.J. Steyn, “The Vorlage of the Melchizedek Phrases in Heb 7:1–4,” *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 13 (2002) 207–223.

⁹¹ Cf. C.D. Stanley who considers Kautzsch's possibility “that the handful of LXX witnesses that agree with Paul most likely reflect assimilation to 2 Cor 8:15,” and “(if) this is so, then the possibility is small indeed that Paul might have derived the word order of 2 Cor 8:15 from his own Greek Vorlage” (*Language of Scripture*, 231).

⁹² See also Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, 232; Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 267.

⁹³ Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, 232.

⁹⁴ Cf. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 142. M.J. Harris reckons it is “to emphasize the deep poverty of the Jerusalem poor” (2 *Corinthians*, 593–594), but E.E. Ellis considers 2 Cor 8:15 as belonging to those quotations of “OT references which are probably no more than analogies or application of principles” (134) and he sees the passage here as “in agreement with the Hebrew against the LXX” (*Paul's Use*, 150, 152).

Conclusion

- a. In comparison with the results of the investigations on Galatians and Romans, the Corinthian correspondence renders only a very small number of Torah quotations overlapping with the *Corpus Philonicum*.
- b. Thus far, among these Pauline letters, only one quotation from Exodus is utilized, namely the one in 2 Cor 8:15.
- c. It became clear that the occurrence of Gen 2:24 in Philo's *Leg.* II, 49; *Gig.* 65 and 1 Cor 6:16 might rather be an intended explicit reference than a verbal quotation (cf. footnote 20).
- d. Due to the presence of οἱ δύο and σάρξ in LXX Gen 2:24, Philo, Paul (and the rest of the NT), it is clear that they represent the same text form and one slightly different to the Hebrew of the Masoretic Text. Paul's rhetorical question, which precedes his "quotation" in 1 Cor 6:16, already alludes to the LXX phrase that precedes the line that he quotes.
- e. All the occurrences of Gen 2:7 in the *Corpus Philonicum* are largely in agreement with the LXX tradition, but the quotation by Paul in 1 Cor 15:45 is a freely adapted text and one which diverges from the known LXX tradition. Paul's inclusion of πρῶτος and Ἀδάμ in addition to ὁ ἄνθρωπος of the LXX and Philo, as well as his expansion with ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν, are hermeneutical adaptations rather than signs of an alternative text form.
- f. Philo's version of LXX Exod 16:18 maintains the word order and the term ἔλαττον from the LXX tradition, but Paul's text differs slightly by moving the phrase ὁ τὸ πολὺ to the beginning of the quotation in 2 Cor 8:15 and replacing ἔλαττον with ὀλίγον—changes that should again be ascribed to Paul (or his exegetical tradition) rather than to an alternative text form.

There is thus little doubt that Paul and Philo followed a very similar LXX tradition in these three cases, but where Philo seems to be much closer to the wording of his *Vorlage*, Paul made some hermeneutical adaptations in 1 Cor 15:45 and some stylistic changes in 2 Cor 8:15.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN GALATIANS

Martinus C. de Boer

In an excellent, informative article, “Observations on the Significance of the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel,” first published in 1999,¹ Maarten Menken pointed out that scholars have often discerned a certain ambivalence in the Gospel of John with respect to the Old Testament (henceforth OT). On the one hand, passages from the OT are cited positively as witnesses to Jesus; on the other hand, since Jesus is the exclusive revelation of God, the OT cannot, it seems, function as a mode or a source of God’s revelation. Menken accepts this ambivalence as a characteristic of the Fourth Gospel and uses it as a starting point for posing the following question: “If God reveals himself exclusively in Jesus, what value does the OT retain as revelation?”² In seeking an answer to that question, Menken finds it useful to posit a distinction between “the *text* of Scripture and the *history* narrated in this text.”³ The text of Scripture clearly retains “a positive witnessing function,” but does John contain “any idea of a history of salvation or is it completely absent?”⁴ Menken’s article is an illuminating treatment of this particular issue with respect to John and a genuine contribution to scholarship on the Fourth Gospel.

Menken’s important distinction between “the status of the *text* of Scripture,” on the one hand, and “the revelatory value of OT *history*,” on the other, informs the present investigation into Paul’s use of the OT in his Letter to the Galatians. My specific question is: What is the status of the

¹ M.J.J. Menken, “Observations on the Significance of the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel,” *Neot* 33 (1999) 125–143; reprinted in *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel* (ed. G. Van Belle, J.D.G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz; Leuven: Peeters, 2005) 155–175. All subsequent references are from the latter.

² Menken, “Observations,” 156.

³ Menken, “Observations,” 156. “History” is here understood not in the sense of “a critically reconstructed history” behind the text, but “the events as they appear in the OT” or what Menken calls “the OT history of salvation” (156).

⁴ Menken, “Observations,” 157.

OT text for Paul in Galatians and what is the value, or the authority, of OT history for him in this letter?⁵

Three assumptions inform this brief investigation: (1) Paul is in dialogue about the interpretation of the OT, what he refers to as “the Scripture” (3:8, 22; 4:30),⁶ with new preachers who have become active in Galatia after he founded the churches there (cf. 1:6–9; 3:1; 4:17; 5:2–4, 7–12; 6:12–13). The new preachers are Christian Jews who seek to persuade Paul’s converts in Galatia that it is necessary to observe the Mosaic Law, beginning with the rite of circumcision.⁷ They find the warrants for their message in “the Scripture,” which for them carries absolute authority. Gen 17:9–14, where God commands Abraham and his descendants to practice the rite of circumcision, probably plays a central role in their thinking and preaching of the gospel to the Galatians.

(2) Both Paul and the new preachers work from existing Greek translations of the OT, commonly and conveniently known as the Septuagint (LXX).⁸

(3) As a former, well-educated Pharisee (Phil 3:5–6; Gal 1:13–14), Paul has extensive knowledge of the Scripture. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that there are a number of places where he makes *unmarked* use of vocabulary and formulations from the LXX (cf. esp. 1:15–16 [Isa 49:1–6]; 2:16d [LXX Ps 142:2]; 3:11 [Hab 2:4]; 3:12 [Lev 18:5]).⁹ Such unmarked use of material from the OT (LXX) says little or nothing about the authority of the OT text for Paul the apostle, only his—unsurprising—familiarity with, and his indebtedness to, its language and contents.

Galatians 3:6–18

Paul does not explicitly cite from the Old Testament in the first two chapters of Galatians, even if he is indebted to its vocabulary and formulations at several junctures. In other words, an (explicit) appeal to the Old Testament (whether story or text) plays no role in his argument in favor of

⁵ I use the division and the translation of Galatians defended in my commentary: M.C. de Boer, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches of Galatia* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia PA: Fortress, 2011). I also rely on the exegesis presented in that commentary.

⁶ Elsewhere he can also use the plural “the Scriptures” (cf. Rom 15:4; 1 Cor 15:3–4).

⁷ See De Boer, *Galatians*, 41–61.

⁸ For the problems with this designation, see C.D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture* (SNTSMS 74; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 41 n. 24.

⁹ In some cases, quotations that are unmarked in Galatians are marked in Romans (cf. Hab 2:4 in Rom 1:17; Lev 18:5 in Rom 10:5).

“the truth of the gospel” (2:5, 14) that he initially preached to the Galatians (1:11; 4:13) and still proclaims among the Gentiles (2:2).¹⁰ That changes in chapter 3 where there are several marked and unmarked citations (3:6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16). We here focus on the marked citations.

It is relevant to observe at the beginning that the figure of Abraham plays a crucial role in this passage. He is mentioned seven times (3:6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 16, 18), with a further instance in 3:29 and another in 4:22. This focus on Abraham indicates that the Galatians have probably been hearing much about the founding patriarch of Israel from the new preachers. Emphatically citing Gen 17:9–14 and other relevant passages (“for it stands written . . .”, γέγραπται γάρ . . .), these new preachers have been telling the Galatians that by practicing circumcision as Abraham did and thereby committing themselves to observing the Law they will become “sons of Abraham” (3:7), thus heirs of “the promise(s)” (3:14, 16–18, 21–22, 29) God made to Abraham. In his response to this argument, it is significant that Paul does not deny the relevance of Abraham. Rather, he agrees with the new preachers (a) that the God of Jesus is also the God of Abraham, (b) that the gift of the Spirit which God has bestowed and still bestows (3:1–5) on those who “have come to believe in Christ” (2:16b) is the fulfillment of a promise God made to Abraham (cf. 3:14), and (c) that this gift is given to the “sons of Abraham” (3:8), i.e., to his “descendants” (σπέρμα) and “heirs” (κληρονόμοι) (3:29).¹¹ For the new preachers, however, that Spirit is closely linked to Law observance, whereas for Paul the Spirit is exclusively linked to (the proclamation of) Christ’s death (cf., 3:1); for Paul, the observance of the Law is entirely irrelevant to the Spirit’s bestowal or reception (cf. 3:2–5). In 3:6–18, Paul enters into dialogue with the new preachers on their own turf, that of “the Scripture,” in which they find the authoritative warrants for their demand that the Galatians take up the practice of circumcision and observe the remainder of the Law.

¹⁰ Cf. A. von Harnack, “The Old Testament in the Pauline Letters and in the Pauline Churches,” in *Understanding Paul’s Ethics: Twentieth Century Approaches* (ed. B.S. Rosner; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1995) 27–49 [1928]. Paul’s frequent explicit quotations from the OT in “the so called main letters [Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans] (missing completely from the six letters [1 and 2 Thessalonians, Colossian, Philippians, Ephesians, Philemon]) have been called for by special conditions. From this it follows that from the beginning Paul did not give the Old Testament to the young churches as the book of Christian sources for edification” (44).

¹¹ For neither Paul nor the new preachers, then, does the promise of “the land” (Gen 12:7; 13:14–17; 15:7, 18–20; 17:8; 24:7) play any role.

It is not clear whether the first quotation of an OT text, the one of Gen 15:6 in 3:6, is to be read as a marked citation. Literally translated Gal 3:6 reads as follows: “Just (καθώς) as Abraham believed God and it was reckoned to him as justification.” (cf. KJV: “Even as Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness”). Ancient Greek manuscripts of the NT contain little or no punctuation. For this reason, it seems at first glance that only someone familiar with the text of LXX Gen 15:6 (or Rom 4:2, where Paul introduces the quotation of Gen 15:6 with the words “What does the Scripture say?”) would know that 3:6 contains a quotation of that passage.¹² In favor of a marked quotation are (1) 3:7, which draws a conclusion (ἄρα, “therefore”) from the words about Abraham in v.6, and (2) 3:8a, which restates this conclusion as something foreseen by “the Scripture.” The new preachers now active in Galatia in opposition to Paul will surely recognize Paul’s words as a quotation, since they are undoubtedly well-versed in the Scripture, especially those sections pertaining to Abraham in the book of Genesis.

Some interpreters maintain that καθώς (“just as”) is in fact an abbreviation for the introductory formula “just as it stands written” (καθώς γέγραπται; cf. e.g., Rom 1:17; 1 Cor 1:31), and functions in the same way: “Just as [it stands written]: ‘Abraham believed God and it was reckoned to him as justification’.” This would mean (a) that the Galatians as well as the new preachers would also recognize (or at least sense) that Paul is introducing a quotation with the simple word καθώς, and (b) that the word “Abraham” belongs to the text being cited from Gen 15:6.¹³ The citation then seems to match the text of the LXX exactly, except that in the LXX the verb and the subject are reversed (ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραμ instead of Ἀβραὰμ ἐπίστευσεν, as Paul has in 3:6). Paul follows the inverse word order of the LXX text when he cites Gen 15:6 again in Rom 4:2, which indicates that his failure to do so in Gal 3:6 is probably intentional. That has caused other interpreters to maintain that the word “Abraham” belongs to the citation’s introductory formula: “Just as Abraham: ‘He believed God . . .’” (cf. RSV, NRSV, NIV, NAB). This introductory formula means “and so it was

¹² Cf. NRSV: “Just as Abraham ‘believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness.’” Clearly, the translators of the NRSV know that Paul is quoting (hence the inclusion of the quotation marks), but would the Gentile Galatians have known this, at least at the first reading of the letter?

¹³ So H.D. Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches of Galatia* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia PA: Fortress, 1979) 140; F. Vouga, *An die Galater* (HNT 10; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998) 71; J.D.G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (Black's New Testament Commentary; London: A. and C. Black, 1993) 160.

with Abraham",¹⁴ "take Abraham as the example"¹⁵ or "things were the same with Abraham".¹⁶ If this interpretation is correct, the new preachers and the Galatians would still be able recognize (or at least sense) that Paul is citing something from "the Scripture" of Israel. But as the peculiar introduction indicates ("Just as *Abraham*:..."), Abraham *himself* is being summoned as the authority here, not the Scripture (the text) as such. More precisely, the event of Abraham's believing God and God's justifying him as a result (declaring him to be in the right) is cited authoritatively by Paul. From this authoritative event, Paul will draw the conclusion in 3:7 that "those who are from faith" are in fact "the sons of Abraham," not "those who are from works of the Law" (3:10; cf. 2:16; 3:2, 5).¹⁷

Gal 3:6 assumes what is made plain in 3:8, that in believing God Abraham actually believed a promise God made to him, that promise (according to Paul) being, "In you [Abraham] shall all the Gentiles be blessed," which is a quotation from Gen 12:3 with elements from Gen 18:18 (the phrase "all the Gentiles" of Gen 18:18 strategically replaces the phrase "all the tribes of the earth" of Gen 12:3). For the new preachers in Galatia, the phrase "in you [Abraham]" in Gen 12:3 probably means "in your offspring (*σπέρμα*)," i.e., in Abraham's fleshly, Law-observant descendants down the generations, beginning with the patriarch Isaac and followed by Jacob (cf. Gen 28:14: "in you [Jacob] and in your offspring shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed"). In their interpretation of these passages, therefore, the new preachers in Galatia are probably telling the Galatians that "inasmuch as it is in Abraham that all the nations are to be blessed, the Gentiles to be blessed must be in Abraham, i.e., incorporated into his descendants by circumcision."¹⁸

Paul obviously reads the text differently. He relates it to Gen 15:6: In the promise of Gen 12:3, Paul asserts, "the Scripture (*ἡ γραφή*), having foreseen [in Gen 15:6] that God justifies the Gentiles on the basis of faith, preached the gospel in advance (*προευγγελίσατο*) to Abraham." The intervening participial clause ("having foreseen... on the basis of faith") shows that

¹⁴ J.B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians: A Revised Text with Introduction, Notes and Dissertations* (London/New York: Macmillan, 1887).

¹⁵ R.N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC; Dallas TX: Word, 1990).

¹⁶ J.L. Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 33A; New York: Doubleday, 1997).

¹⁷ On the expression "works of the Law," see De Boer, *Galatians*, 145–148. It probably means "the observance of the Law."

¹⁸ E. De Witt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1921) 159.

Paul has his own understanding of the gospel (justification on the basis of faith rather than the observance of the Law) in view in making this claim about “the Scripture” (cf. 2:16). Paul’s personification of “the Scripture” (ἡ γραφή), attributing to it foresight (of God’s justification of the Gentiles on the basis of faith) and intentionality (preaching the gospel in advance to Abraham), is probably rhetorically motivated. The new preachers now active in Galatia attach great importance to the Scripture: it is undoubtedly the authority for them. Paul now solemnly summons this witness for his own theology, *against* the new preachers and their “different gospel” (1:6). The personification is thus not to be unduly pressed, as if Paul is making some grand statement about the Scripture. It is probably a mere figure of speech,¹⁹ serving a rhetorical purpose, which is to undermine the theology of the new preachers in Galatia on their own terms.²⁰ For Paul himself, the gospel is the final, in fact sole, authority, as the previous two chapters of the letter have repeatedly emphasized. In Gal 3:8, Paul means to say that God’s justification of the Gentiles on the basis of faith, rather than on the basis of the Law, is actually attested in “the Scripture”, i.e., “it stands written” (γέγραπται) there (cf. 3:10, 13), as his quotation and interpretation of Gen 15:6 in 3:6–7 have just demonstrated and as his allusion back to the same passage in 3:9 (“faithful Abraham”) will further underline (see below). As a matter of principle, and as foreseen by the Scripture the new preachers hold dear, God justifies the Gentiles on the basis of faith, *not* on the basis of Law observance. Paul thus solemnly subpoenas the Scripture so important for the new preachers’ work in the churches of Galatia for his own understanding of the gospel as articulated especially in 2:16.

Paul’s appeal to Scripture is clearly selective, since he simply ignores such inconvenient passages about Abraham as Gen 17:9–14. That selectivity once again becomes evident in 3:9, where he writes that “those who are from faith (οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, as in 3:7) are blessed with the faithful (πίστος) Abraham.” The latter part of the verse (“are blessed with the faithful Abraham”) is (at one level) an allusion to the *story* of the near sacrifice of Isaac (Gen 22:1–19) and its interpretation in contemporary Jewish tradition. The promise that God makes to Abraham in LXX Gen 12:3 is reiterated in LXX Gen 22:18, where it is linked to Abraham’s obedience: “in your offspring shall all the Gentiles/nations (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) of the earth be blessed, *because you have obeyed my voice.*” Here “all the Gentiles” (or “nations”) are blessed

¹⁹ Burton, *Galatians*, 160; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 115.

²⁰ For the similar personification of Scripture in 3:22, see De Boer, *Galatians*, 234–35.

along with Abraham because of his obedience to God in connection with the near sacrifice of Isaac. In Sir 44:20–21, as in 1 Macc 2:52, Abraham is called “faithful” (πίστος) precisely for having obeyed God’s instructions in connection with Isaac (cf. *Jub* 17:15–16); his faithful obedience provides the basis for the blessing of his offspring: “when he [Abraham] was tested [Gen 22:1–19] he proved faithful (πίστος). Therefore the Lord assured him with an oath that the nations would be blessed (ένευλογηθήναι ἔθνη) in his offspring [cf. Gen 22:18; 28:14].”

In Sirach too we see an appeal not to the scripture as such but to the figure of Abraham himself as a unique figure of authority. It is entirely conceivable that the new preachers were doing the same, combining this appeal to the figure of Abraham with references to “what stands written” about him in “the Scripture.” They would maintain that “*those who are from works of the Law* are blessed with the faithful Abraham.” The polemical nature of Paul’s formulation in Gal 3:9 thereby becomes evident: “So then, *those who are from faith* are blessed with the faithful Abraham.” The people who are “from faith” are the true offspring of Abraham, being heirs of the promise God made to Abraham. They are blessed with the promised Spirit (3:14) whose bestowal rests on faith, just as justification does, as the precedent provided by the patriarch himself demonstrates. The adjective πίστος for Paul means “believing God and his promise,” alluding back to 3:6 and its quotation from Gen 15:6, not “obeying God and his Law” (cf. LXX Gen 26:5; Sir 44:20), as in the Jewish tradition from which the new preachers take their bearings. Paul thereby dissociates “the faithful (πίστος) Abraham” from Law-observance and associates him with “faith,” i.e., “the faith of Christ” (2:16).²¹

It is not the text of the OT as such that here functions as authoritative, but the figure of Abraham himself, at least as this figure is attested in Gen 15:6: the patriarch who believed God (God’s promise) and it was reckoned to him as justification (God deemed him to be in the right). When Paul does explicitly cite an OT text, as he does in 3:8, it is in support of his own understanding of the gospel as the fulfillment of God’s promise to Abraham by which the Gentiles are justified by faith and not by works of the Law (cf. 2:16). Other texts not supporting this view of the gospel (as Paul understands it) are simply ignored.

What then about 3:10 and 3:13 where Paul twice introduces a citation from the LXX with the solemn words “for/because (γάρ/ὅτι) it stands

²¹ I am of the view that the genitive here is subjective, though taking the genitive as objective would not affect my argument in this article. See De Boer, *Galatians*, 148–150.

written (γέγραπται)”? In both cases, Paul seeks to support an assertion concerning the existence of a curse with a citation from the LXX; in both cases, the citation begins with the words: “Accursed [= under a curse] is everyone who . . .” (ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὅς/ὄ . . .). In 3:10, he supports the claim that “those who are from works of the Law are under a curse” with a (modified) citation from LXX Deut 27:26,²² and in 3:13 he in turn supports the claim that “Christ became a curse [= accursed/under a curse]²³ for us” with a (modified) citation from LXX Deut 21:23.²⁴ A curse is the opposite of a blessing (cf. Gen 12:3; Deuteronomy 27–30); the two are mutually exclusive. With respect to 3:10, therefore, to be “under a curse,” i.e., under “the curse of the Law” (3:13a), is to be deprived of a blessing, in this case the blessing of the promised Spirit, which is called “the blessing of Abraham” in 3:14 (cf. 3:8–9). For Paul, to be “under the Law” (3:23; 4:4–5, 21) is to be under its curse, as shown by the parallelism between 3:13 (“Christ redeemed [ἐξηγόρασεν] us from *the curse of the Law*”) and 4:4–5 (“God sent forth his Son . . . so that he [the Son] might redeem [ἐξαγοράσῃ] *those under the Law*”). Christ’s “having become (γενόμενος) a curse for us” in 3:13 then also means the same as Christ’s “having existed (γενόμενος) under the Law” in 4:4. In short, in both 3:10 and 3:13, Paul solemnly cites an Old Testament text to support his own understanding of the gospel and to undermine that of his opponents in Galatia (the new preachers active there), using what they hold most dear (the Scripture) against them! According to the Scripture they deem to have final authority in matters of faith and practice, they themselves stand under the Law’s curse as does the crucified Christ! Put otherwise, Paul here cites the Scripture as an authority in order to show that the Law functions as a curse, in opposition to the new preachers in Galatia who have been quoting the Scripture in order to demonstrate to the Galatians that the Law of which Deuteronomy speaks is a source of blessing! The Law is a cursing force, not one that mediates the blessing promised to Abraham. And the Scripture to which the new preachers appeal can be summoned to underline the point. Paul’s use

²² LXX Deut 27:26 reads: “Accursed is every human being who does not remain in all the words of this Law so as to do them.” Paul has: “Accursed is everyone who does not remain in all the things written in the book of the Law so as to do them.” On the significance of Paul’s changes, see De Boer, *Galatians*, 199–201.

²³ See De Boer, *Galatians*, 211.

²⁴ LXX Deut 21:23 reads: “Cursed (κεκατηραμένος) by God is everyone who hangs on a tree.” Paul changes the first word to match that of Deut 27:26, cited in 3:10 “Accursed (ἐπικατάρατος) is everyone who hangs on a tree.” Paul significantly also omits the phrase “by God” (ὑπὸ θεοῦ) found in LXX Deut 21:23. On the significance of these changes, see De Boer, *Galatians*, 213.

of the Scripture is here a matter of expediency and serves his rhetorical agenda, which is to prevent the Galatians from consenting to the Law-based version of the gospel being proclaimed by the new preachers.

Consistent with this argument, in 3:16, Paul cites and interprets the phrase “and to your offspring,” spoken to Abraham by God in LXX Gen 17:8, to refer to Christ himself (and, by implication, those who belong to him on the basis of faith), thus not to the people of the Law who stand in genealogical and historical continuity with the biological descendants of Abraham, as the new preachers are claiming. Paul does not cite the relevant phrase as proof for his own understanding of the gospel; he introduces the quotation simply with the words “it says” (λέγει). At issue is the “right” interpretation of the phrase. Paul arguably interprets it against the grain.²⁵ For Paul, “the promises” which “were spoken to Abraham and his offspring” (3:16a) all concern Christ, the Christ through whom justification occurs on the basis of faith, not on the basis of Law observance.

That Paul is thinking historically about the promises spoken to Abraham in Genesis (cf. esp. Gen 17:1–8) is indicated by his remark that the Law “came four hundred thirty years” (3:17) after God made those promises. In underlining the exclusive Christological significance of the promises to Abraham and his offspring in 3:16, Paul also deprives the event whereby the Law came on the human scene of any salvific importance whatsoever (cf. 3:19–21; 4:24–25). Its coming could not invalidate God’s previously ratified “covenant” with Abraham “so as to void the promise” (3:17).²⁶

Galatians 4:21–5:1

In 4:21, Paul addresses the Galatians explicitly as “you who are wanting to be under the Law,” and he challenges them to listen to, and thus to understand, “the Law” in a new way: “do you not hear the Law?” With this question, Paul for the first time in the letter does not use the term “the Law” (ὁ νόμος) to encapsulate the Sinaitic legislation with its many commandments and prohibitions. He now uses it in a play on words to mean “the Scripture” (4:30; cf. 1 Cor 14:21; Rom 3:19), in particular the Pentateuch in which the Sinaitic legislation is recorded (cf. Rom 3:21). In this usage Paul follows existing Jewish (and Jewish-Christian) custom and precedent (cf. Prologue to Sirach: “the Law and the prophets and the others that

²⁵ See De Boer, *Galatians*, 221–224.

²⁶ See the treatment of 3:15–22 in De Boer, *Galatians*, 2011.

followed them;" Luke 24:44: "the Law of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms;" John 1:45: "Moses in the Law and the prophets"). The new preachers, who are Christian Jews, are therefore probably also using the term in this way. The use of the term "Law" with this double meaning points to the intimate connection between the written text and the legislation it contains in the thought of the new preachers. In what follows, Paul will use this (positive) meaning of "the Law" as Scripture to undermine the importance and value of "the Law" as legislation to be observed.

What is particularly noteworthy is that when Paul asks the Galatians to listen to "the Law" he refers them not to a portion of scripture containing legal regulations (*halakah*) but to a story (*haggadah*) found in Genesis 16–21 (16:1–16; 17:15–27; 18:9–15; 21:1–21), the story of Abraham and his two sons by two different women: "for it stands written that (γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι) Abraham had two sons [Ishmael and Isaac], one from the slave woman [Hagar] and one from the free woman [Sarah]" (4:22). In this case, and unusually, the introductory formula "for it stands written that" (cf. 3:10, 13) does not introduce a direct quotation from the OT but a concise paraphrase of a *story* found there. Again, the introductory formula probably has a rhetorical motivation: to remind the new preachers who will be listening to the letter with the Galatians that this story is to be found in "the Scripture" to which they appeal for their own interpretation of the gospel. But it is to the story itself rather than to the text mediating the story that Paul here ascribes authority.

The paraphrase in 4:22 constitutes a brief summary and indicates that the Galatians are already familiar with the basic story found in Genesis 16–21. The new preachers have probably been telling the Galatians their own version of this story, one that supports their own version of the gospel.²⁷ This surmise explains not only why the Galatians seem to be familiar with the story (Paul nowhere mentions Sarah or Ishmael by name) but also why Paul feels compelled to call the attention of the Galatians to a passage whose value "from his point of view is anything but obvious."²⁸ As Barrett argues, by following the "plain, surface meaning" of the passage, the new preachers in Galatia can claim that "the Jews, who live by the law of Moses, are the heirs of Abraham" through the line established by his son Isaac, who was begotten by Sarah. "It is to Jews that the

²⁷ C.K. Barrett, "The Allegory of Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar in the Argument of Galatians," in *Essays on Paul* (Philadelphia PA: Westminster, 1982) 154–169; cf. De Boer, *Galatians*, 286–288.

²⁸ Barrett, "Allegory," 162.

promise [made to Abraham] applies. . . . Here are the true people of God; and it will follow that Jerusalem is the authoritative centre of the renewed people of God, now called the church. Those who are not prepared to attach themselves to this community by the approved means (circumcision) must be cast out; they cannot hope to inherit promises made to Abraham and his seed."²⁹ In this light, it can probably be said that the new preachers regard the Galatians as offspring of Abraham through the line established by Ishmael, begotten by Hagar, Sarah's slave woman.³⁰ As those who do not practice circumcision and observe the Law, the Galatians, despite being believers in Christ, would not have the status of God's people, but that of Gentile "Ismaelites" (Gen 37:27).

In his periphrastic summary of the story in 4:22, Paul introduces a word not found in Genesis itself: While Hagar (vs. 25) is called "the slave woman" (παῖδις) in Gen 16:1–10; 21:10–13, Sarah (whose name Paul does not even mention) is never there called "the free woman" (ἡ ἐλεύθερα). Indeed, the word and its cognates are completely absent from Genesis. Already in his initial summary, then, Paul establishes the contrast between slavery and freedom that determines the dominant polarity of the passage. He thereby associates Sarah explicitly with freedom, the freedom from slavery that Christ has effected for believers in him (cf. 3:13; 4:1–7; 5:1). Paul clearly assumes that the Galatians will know to whom he is referring with his mention of "the free woman." For this reason, it is possible that this designation for Sarah has been derived from the teaching of the new preachers in Galatia. For them, too, Sarah, Isaac, and freedom undoubtedly belong together (cf. John 8:33 where "the offspring of Abraham" claim to be "free").

In 4:23 Paul expands the summary of the Genesis account by pointing to the different circumstances of the births of the two sons: "But (ἀλλά) [the decisive point is that] the one from the slave woman has been born according to the flesh, [whereas] the one from the free woman [has been born] through a promise." According to Genesis, Sarah was unable to bear children, leading her to allow Abraham to beget a child by Hagar, her slave woman (16:1–4). The result was that Hagar bore Abraham a son, Ismael (16:15). God, however, also promised Abraham that Sarah would bear him a son despite the fact that she was far beyond child-bearing

²⁹ Barrett, "Allegory," 162; cf. Gal 3:15–18.

³⁰ Longenecker, *Galatians*, 201; cf. Gen 16:10.

³¹ The word is the diminutive of παῖς (girl or boy) and is commonly used in contemporary Greek literature to designate a female slave (BDAG 749–750).

age (Gen 17:17; 18:11). The promise is repeatedly made (17:21; 18:10, 14; cf. 15:4). Despite the initial skepticism of both Abraham and Sarah (17:17–18; 18:12), Sarah does bear Abraham a son (21:1–3). Paul's contrast between the slave woman's son "born according to the flesh" and the free woman's son "[born] through a promise" clearly reflects this account. Presumably, Paul says nothing here with which the new preachers in Galatia will disagree.

Paul goes on however to give the passage his own "allegorical" interpretation, i.e., as saying one thing while actually intending something else, in 4:24–26. In doing so, he is "*correcting the exegesis*" of the passage by the new preachers.³² According to Paul's allegorical reading, the two women of the story represent "two covenants" (4:24): Hagar the covenant of the Law given on Mt. Sinai (vss. 24–25) and Sarah the covenant of the promise God made to Abraham (cf. 3:15–18) and, in fact, to Sarah as well. "The slave woman" (Hagar) is thus to be aligned with "the present Jerusalem" (4:25), standing for the church now sponsoring the new preachers and their Law-centered gospel, whereas "the free woman" (Sarah) is to be aligned with "the Jerusalem above" (4:26), standing for the truly liberated people of God (5:1a; cf. 3:13; 4:4–5). In short, for Paul believers in Christ who are now free from the Law (Paul and his converts in Galatia) are the (spiritual) descendants of Abraham, following the pattern of his son Isaac who was begotten through God's promise by Sarah, "the free woman" (4:22–23, 30–31), whereas those believers in Christ who observe the Law beginning with circumcision and now want Gentile believers in Galatia to do the same (the new preachers in Galatia and their sponsors in Jerusalem) are actually the (fleshly) descendants of Abraham via his son *Ishmael* who was begotten by Hagar, "the slave woman" (4:22–23, 30–31)! The "children" of the free woman (the Jerusalem above) are also free, just like their mother, whereas the "children" of the slave woman (the present Jerusalem) are also slaves, just like *their* mother. Paul has thereby managed to "reverse the family relationships of the descendants of Abraham"³³—he has evidently turned the (seemingly much more plausible) interpretation of the passage by the new preachers in Galatia on its head!

In 4:27, Paul explains where his thinking about the two Jeruselems originates, in LXX Isa 54:1:³⁴ "For it stands written: Rejoice, barren one who does not bear, break forth and shout, you who are not in labor, for many

³² Barrett, "Allegory," 158, emphasis added; cf. J.L. Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 33A; New York: Doubleday, 1997) 450.

³³ Barrett, "Allegory," 167.

³⁴ For more detail and argument, see De Boer, *Galatians*, 302–305.

[will be] the children of the desolate woman, more than of the woman who has a husband." Neither the LXX text nor Paul's citation of it has a verb in the third line (the corresponding text in the MT also has no verb), but the context of the verse within Second Isaiah seems to demand that a future tense of the verb "to be" is presupposed (cf. RSV, NRSV, REB; present tense: NJB, KJV, NIV). Paul applies the word of consolation and the promise he hears in the words of (Second) Isaiah, not to the earthly Jerusalem (as Second Isaiah does), but to the new or heavenly Jerusalem, represented by Sarah: once barren but now, solely as a result of God's faithfulness to his promise, with many children ("our mother"). The promise Paul hears in Isa 54:1, therefore, has come to fulfillment in the free children of the heavenly Jerusalem, or, perhaps better, is now in the process of being fulfilled. Ever since Christ, the one seed of Abraham (3:16, 19), "came" (3:19, 23, 25) into the world to "redeem" those "under the Law" (4:4–5), the (eschatological) future belongs, according to Paul's reading of Isa 54:1, to the children given birth by the Jerusalem above. Paul's understanding of the gospel of Christ in terms of promise (cf. 4:23, 28) finds its confirmation in Isaiah, a book of particular importance for him.³⁵

In 4:28, Paul comes to the penultimate goal of his allegorical reading of the story of Abraham and his two sons by Hagar and Sarah, which is to confirm once again (cf. 3:8–29) the identity of the believers in Galatia as the descendants of the promissory covenant God made with Abraham and Sarah: "[Despite what the new preachers are saying] *You* (ὁμείς), brethren (ἀδελφοί), like Isaac (κατὰ Ἰσαάκ),³⁶ are children of promise." The new preachers are probably pointing out to the Galatians that those who observe the Law are the direct heirs of Abraham via the line of descent established through Isaac, his son by his wife Sarah. The observers of the Law, i.e., the members of the covenant people of Israel, including those who have embraced Jesus as the Messiah, stand in direct, historical continuity with Abraham and the covenant God made with him. That covenant found its continuity in Isaac and the latter's physical descendants. Paul agrees that the birth of Isaac represents the continuity of the covenant with Abraham, but he presents Isaac, whose conception and birth occurred as a result of God's promise, merely as the "type" for believers

³⁵ See F. Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus* (FRLANT 179; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998); J.R. Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul "in Concert" in the Letter to the Romans* (NovTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2002).

³⁶ Literally, "in accordance with Isaac," here probably meaning "in the pattern of Isaac" (Martyn, *Galatians*, 1997).

in Christ in the present, and then particularly and emphatically of the Galatians (“You”). The “right” interpretation of the event of Isaac’s birth is here at issue. According to Paul, believers in Christ are offspring of Abraham (cf. 3:29) not by physical descent (“according to the flesh”) but “by a promise” (4:23), a promise that found its fulfillment in Christ and the Spirit (3:14, 18). The birth of these children is as miraculous as that of Isaac was to the aged Sarah, which is to say that it was brought about by God. Paul has already established the identity of the Galatians as “sons of Abraham” (3:8) and as “offspring of Abraham” (3:29) on the basis of the faith rather than works of the Law. The idea that the Galatians were thereby children of promise was already implicit in that argument; it is here made explicit. It is once again the *story* of Abraham along with his son, Isaac, that is here at issue between Paul and the new preachers rather than “the Scripture” as such.

The same is true in 4:29, where Paul resorts to another typological comparison: “But (ἀλλά) just as at that time the one who was born according to the flesh (Ishmael) was persecuting the one [born] according to the Spirit (Isaac), so also now.” Just as Ishmael “was persecuting” Isaac, Paul claims, “so also now” the new preachers, who are promoting fleshly circumcision (cf. 3:3; 6:12–13), are “persecuting” those of the Spirit, the Gentile churches of Galatia (cf. 3:1–5; 5:13–24). The Genesis account does not actually indicate that Ishmael persecuted Isaac. It is also unclear in what sense persecution is occurring “now.” Whatever the case may be,³⁷ Paul is not here appealing to “the Scripture” but to an element of the story of Abraham and his two sons whereby he implies that the new preachers, who are presumably the ones doing the persecuting in the Galatian situation, are the descendants not of Isaac but of Ishmael.

Paul’s perception and characterization of the situation in Galatia makes sense of the following verse and its use of Gen 21:10: “But what does the Scripture say? ‘Throw out (ἐκβαλε) the slave woman [Hagar] and her son, for the son of the slave woman shall certainly not (οὐ μή) inherit [what was promised] with the son of the free woman [Sarah] (Gen 21:10)’” (4:30). In Genesis, the quoted words are those of Sarah to Abraham: “Throw out this slave woman and her son, for the son of this slave woman shall not inherit with my son Isaac.” God approves these words in Gen 21:12, telling Abraham to “listen to her voice, because in Isaac shall be your offspring.” The point is the exclusion of Ishmael as Abraham’s legitimate heir. Paul

³⁷ For discussion, see De Boer, *Galatians*, 306–307.

makes Sarah's words to Abraham into words of "the Scripture" addressed to the Galatians in the present, even though the imperative in Greek is singular in form (ἐχβαλε). He adapts the text accordingly, changing the last phrase "my son Isaac" into "the son of the free woman" (cf. 4:22–23). The question "What does the Scripture say?" is not to be taken as Paul's acknowledgement of the authority of Scripture and the bringing that authority to bear in his argument.³⁸ The point is that the new preachers in Galatia attribute primary authority to Scripture and Paul now uses this attribution against them. According to the Scripture they hold dear, they are in fact to be "thrown out" of the churches of Galatia! Paul is not here pursuing an exegetical argument, but summoning the Scripture to which the new preachers attach primary authority for his own agenda, which is to undermine their influence on the churches of Galatia and thus to prevent the Galatians from taking up the practice of circumcision and the remainder of the Law.

Because of Paul's peculiar, not to say strained, interpretation of the story of Abraham and his two sons in 4:21–5:1, it is difficult to maintain, as Tolmie does in this connection that Paul here pursues an argument "based on the authority of scripture."³⁹ Paul's argument is based rather on a christologically informed authoritative *interpretation* of scripture. Paul's christologically informed allegorical and typological exegesis of the text indicates that Paul's concern is the *story* of Abraham and his two sons and not so much the text itself. His allegorical and typological exegesis arguably highlights the contemporary relevance of the story of Abraham and his two sons at the expense of the literal meaning of the text being interpreted.

Conclusion

My initial question was: What is the status of the OT text for Paul in Galatians and what is the value, or the authority, of OT history for him in this letter? With respect to the latter, it has become evident that *selected* features of the story of Abraham in Genesis are important for Paul's understanding of what he calls "the gospel of Christ" (1:7). At the same time, the

³⁸ This is the third time in the letter that Paul personifies "the Scripture" (3:8, 22). See the discussion of 3:8 above for the possible significance of this.

³⁹ F.D. Tolmie, *Persuading the Galatians: A Text-Centred Rhetorical Analysis of a Pauline Letter* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005) 169.

event of the coming of the Law is deprived of any saving significance. Paul is reacting to new preachers in Galatia, who are preaching a “different gospel” (1:6) there, who emphasize other aspects of the story of Abraham, particularly in connection with the rite of circumcision, and who regard the event of God’s giving of the Law by the hand of Moses at Mt. Sinai as central (cf. 3:19–21; 4:24–25). With respect to the status of the OT text in Galatians, it is very unlikely that “Paul regarded the words of Scripture as having absolute authority for his predominantly Gentile congregations.”⁴⁰ This comment attributes to Paul what is probably true of the new preachers in Galatia. For Paul, the gospel is the standard of all truth, including that of “the Scripture.” He selects texts that support his own understanding of the gospel,⁴¹ ignores those that do not, and cites others that undermine the views of the new preachers in Galatia and their attempt to convince the Galatians to begin practicing circumcision and observe the Law. In some cases, Paul resorts to allegorical and typological exegesis to make the texts witnesses of the gospel as he understands it. He seeks in other words to make “the Scripture” that functions as an absolute authority for the new preachers in Galatia captive (cf. 2 Cor 10:5) for the gospel that he preached when he founded the churches in Galatia (1:11; 4:13) and that he still proclaims among the Gentiles (2:2).

⁴⁰ So Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 338; cf. similarly Tolmie, *Persuading the Galatians*, 111.

⁴¹ See also Paul’s use and interpretation of Lev 19:18 in 5:14 as a promise that has been fulfilled in Christ (De Boer, *Galatians*, 341–54). The limitations of space prohibit treatment here.

INTERTEXTUALITY—CHRISTOLOGY—PSEUDEPIGRAPHY:
THE IMPACT OF OLD TESTAMENT ALLUSIONS IN 2 THESS 1:5–12

Tobias Nicklas¹

Introduction

Even if 2 Thessalonians, one of the shortest texts in the New Testament, does not include formal quotations of Old Testament passages,² this text's many allusions and its imagery are of highest interest to students of the use of the Old Testament in the New. After a brief look at Jeffrey Weima's article on the use of the Old Testament in 2 Thessalonians, it is clear that 2 Thess 1:5–12 shows an especially high density of intertextual connections. However, since some of these connections are disputed among exegetes,³ we will undertake a fresh analysis of the text in question. My goal is not simply to identify possible Old Testament intertexts of 2 Thess 1:5–12 but to consider their importance for the interpretation of the text.

Before I start my analysis I want to give at least a short overview of my understanding of the background of 2 Thessalonians.⁴ The question whether it is an authentic Pauline text or pseudepigraphical is once again a matter of dispute.⁵ I regard 2 Thessalonians as a pseudepigraphical letter,

¹ Tobias Nicklas is Research Associate at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.

² It is a great pleasure for me to contribute to a collection of essays honouring Maarten Menken, an author who has devoted so many of his scholarly writings to the question of the relationship between Old and New Testament. In addition to this Maarten has produced an excellent commentary on 2 Thessalonians—see, M.J.J. Menken, *2 Thessalonians* (New Testament Readings; London/New York: Routledge, 1994).

³ J.A.D. Weima, "1–2 Thessalonians", in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (ed. G.K. Beale and D.A. Carson; Grand Rapids MI: Baker, 2007) 871–889, esp. 883–886.

⁴ Of course, I can only mention a few of my ideas on 2 Thessalonians here, but am currently working them out in more detail in a commentary on 2 Thessalonians to be published in Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht's KEK-series.

⁵ A growing number of authors have—again—started to interpret 2 Thessalonians as an authentic Pauline writing. See for example G.D. Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians* (NICTC; Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2009); A.J. Malherbe, *The Letters to the Thessalonians* (AB 32B; New Haven CT/London: Yale University Press, 2000); C.A. Wanamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans; Bletchley: Paternoster, 1990). Menken, *2 Thessalonians*, 27–43, takes it as a pseudepigraphical writing. The main German commentary arguing for the deutero-Pauline origins of

that is, a letter written in Paul's name, but in fact by a different author. Several observations make this conclusion—at least in my eyes—inescapable. The many word-by-word parallels between 1 and 2 Thessalonians would allow a Pauline authorship only if 2 Thessalonians had been written by Paul only very shortly after 1 Thessalonians (and with this text still in mind).⁶ They make it, however, much more probable that a later author took 1 Thessalonians as his literary background to formulate his own text. This is even more probable in that 1 and 2 Thessalonians are the only letters in the Pauline corpus that mention Silvanus in Paul's company (1 Thess 1:1 and 2 Thess 1:1; for Silvanus/Silas see also Acts 15:32, 36–41; 16:19, 25, 29; 17:4, 14–15). The idea that what we have here is a later pseudepigraphical text—perhaps to be dated to the end of the first century CE—can be confirmed by weighty additional observations. As far as I see it, the profound differences between 1 Thessalonians' and 2 Thessalonians' eschatologies can only be understood if 2 Thessalonians is a late correction of the expectations we find in 1 Thessalonians.⁷ In addition to this, 2 Thess 3—see for example 2 Thess 3:8–12 with its exhortation to be a

the text is W. Trilling, *Der zweite Brief an die Thessalonicher* (EKK 14; Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1980); in addition, a number of recent German introductions to the New Testament also regard the text as pseudepigraphical: See for example St. Schreiber, "Der zweite Thessalonicherbrief," in *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Kohlhammer Studienbücher Theologie; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008) 440–449; I. Broer and H.-U. Weidemann, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Würzburg: Echter, 2010) 459–476.

⁶ For a list of parallels, see, for example, Menken, *2 Thessalonians*, 36–40; for a discussion of different possibilities to interpret the intertextual relation between 2 and 1 Thessalonians, see H. Roose, "Polyvalenz durch Intertextualität im Spiegel der aktuellen Forschung zu den Thessalonicherbriefen," *NTS* 51 (2005) 250–269.

⁷ For a detailed discussion of the main problems of 2 Thessalonians 2, see mainly P. Metzger, *Katechon: II Thess 2,1–12 im Horizont apokalyptischen Denkens* (BZNW 135; Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2005), and the important articles of H. Koester, "From Paul's Eschatology to the Apocalyptic Schemata of 2 Thessalonians," in *The Thessalonian Correspondence* (ed. R.F. Collins; BETL 87; Leuven: Peeters, 1990) 441–458, and E.E. Popkes, "Die Bedeutung des zweiten Thessalonicherbriefes für das Verständnis paulinischer und deutero-paulinischer Eschatologie," *BZNF* 48 (2004) 39–64. For a different view, which tries to understand the text's eschatology within the framework of Pauline theology, see now P.G.R. De Villiers, "The Glorious Presence of the Lord. The Eschatology of 2 Thessalonians," in *Eschatology of the New Testament and Some Related Documents* (ed. J.G. van der Watt; WUNT 2.315; Tübingen: Mohr, 2011) 333–361. For a short overview of the development of early Christian belief in the *parousia*, see R. Hoppe, "Parusiegläubigkeit zwischen dem ersten Thessalonicherbrief und dem zweiten Petrusbrief," in *The Catholic Epistles and the Tradition* (ed. J. Schlosser; BETL 176; Leuven: Peeters, 2004) 433–449 (repr. in R. Hoppe, *Apostel—Gemeinde—Kirche: Beiträge zu Paulus und den Spuren seiner Verkündigung* [SBAB 47; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2010] 269–284). For the problem of the delay of *parousia*, see R.J. Bauckham, "The Delay of the Parousia," *TynBul* 31 (1980) 3–36.

good worker⁸—shows an ethics which only makes sense in a time when the church, because the expectations of Christ's imminent parousia are diminishing, has started to become a part of world and society.⁹ Weighty extra arguments can be developed from the text's ecclesiology, its image of Paul and—last but not least—from its Christology. The last dimension will be important for our analysis of 2 Thess 1.

Analysis of the Text

2 Thess 1:5–10 is part of only one clause, which starts in 1 Thess 1:3. This “monster” of a sentence provides the exegete with a handful of text-critical and philological problems, which cannot be discussed here in detail. In any case, even if it is mainly verses 5–12 that are important for our intertextual analysis, verses 3–4 should not be completely neglected. 2 Thess 1:3–4 can be seen as a very formal imitation of a Pauline proem.¹⁰ The author gives thanks for the community's belief and mutual love. While Paul, however, tends to speak about “hope” (ἐλπίς) in such contexts,¹¹ our text is interested in ὑπομονή (“endurance” or “patience”) and describes the community's situation as being in “persecutions and hardships.”

In addition to this, vv. 3–4—describing the community's situation—are connected to the idea of eschatological retribution via the words ἐνδειγμα τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ (2 Thess 1:5); that is, either the community, its endurance in the painful situation, or the situation itself is understood “as a clear indication¹² of God's righteous judgment”—the problematic

⁸ For a cultural-historical discussion of this passage, cf. B.W. Winter, “‘If a Man Does Not Wish to Work . . .’ A Cultural and Historical Setting for 2 Thess 3:6–16,” *TynBul* 40 (1989) 303–315.

⁹ In fact, 2 Thessalonians has to deal with a somewhat different problem: Obviously some of the community think that the “Day of the Lord” has arrived (see 2 Thess 2:2). Against this idea, a complex description of the things which have to happen before the end (2 Thess 2) and an ethics that is interested in living a good life in this world is developed. For a somewhat different view of the ethics of 2 Thessalonians, see P.G.R. De Villiers, “‘A Life Worthy of God’: Identity and Ethos and Ethics in the Thessalonian Correspondence,” in *Identity, Ethics, and Ethos in the New Testament* (ed. J.G. van der Watt; BZNTW 141; Berlin/New York, De Gruyter, 2006) 335–355 who, however, places 2 Thessalonians very near to 1 Thessalonians.

¹⁰ See for example Trilling, *2 Thess*, 40, who writes: “In 2 Thess fehlt gerade das Konkrete und Persönliche völlig. Der Text könnte auch für andere Gemeinden gelten.”

¹¹ For the Pauline idea of “hope,” see for example M. Wolter, *Paulus: Ein Grundriss seiner Theologie* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2011) 182–226.

¹² The correct translation of the noun ἐνδειγμα is disputed—interestingly even ancient authors had their problems with translating the term properly. I agree with B. Rigaux, *Saint*

syntax of v. 5 does not allow a clear decision.¹³ In any case, eschatological retribution is connected to present suffering for his Kingdom (see also 2 Thess 1:5b).

With v. 6–7 a subordinate clause starts: the only New Testament evidence for the conjunction εἴπερ is in the Pauline corpus (see Rom 3:30; 8:9, 17; 1 Cor 8:15; 15:15; 2 Cor 5:3); according to G.G. Findlay, this “particle states rhetorically, in the form of a hypothesis, a recognized fact.”¹⁴ This “recognized fact” consists in the idea that it is just before God¹⁵ ἀνταποδοῦναι τοῖς θλιβουσιν ὑμᾶς θλίψιν, καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς θλιβομένοις ἀνεσιν μεθ’ ἡμῶν. With the help of the rare verb ἀνταποδίδωμι the text strongly expresses the idea that the final judgment has to do with “reward.” The text thus clearly understands the final judgement in terms of a “justice of reward,”¹⁶ comparable to what we find in texts like the Greek/Ethiopic *Revelation of Peter* or the descriptions of hell in the *Apocalypse of Ezra*, the *Visions of Ezra* and others.

*A Pattern of Allusions to Isa 66*¹⁷

The use, however, of ἀνταποδίδωμι can be seen as an indicator that our text possibly refers to some Old Testament passages here. The best possible candidate is Isa 66:6, a part of Isaiah’s final vision of the end of time.¹⁸ The text reads:

Paul: Les Épîtres aux Thessaloniens (Études Bibliques; Paris/Gembloux: Gabalda, 1956) 619, who—following Milligan—understands ἔνδειγμα as related to ἐνδειξις, which is used in Rom 3:25–26; 2 Cor 8:24 and Phil 1:28.

¹³ One of the main questions is how to relate the words following ἔνδειγμα properly to vv. 3–4: Is ἔνδειγμα to be understood as an accusative or a nominative form? I understand the word as an apposition in the nominative form. However, the second solution is possible as well: In this case, the critical editions’ comma after ἀνέχεσθε must be deleted and ἔνδειγμα must be seen as its predicative noun. This solution, however, has its own difficulties because, at least in classical Greek, predicative noun and relative pronoun should be in the same case. For this solution see, for example, Von Dobschütz, *1–2 Thess*, 240–241.

¹⁴ G.G. Findlay, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891) 145.

¹⁵ Perhaps already the words παρά θεῶν evoke the image of the final judgment. For possible parallels see Rom 2:13; 2 Pet 2:11 and *T. Levi* 15:2.

¹⁶ See also Trilling, *2 Thess*, 51, who, however, stresses the fact that the text does not speak about “vengeance.”

¹⁷ Regarding the impact of Isa 66 for 2 Thessalonians, see also R.D. Aus, “The Relevance of Isaiah 66:7 to Revelation 12 and 1 Thess 1,” *ZNW* 67 (1976) 252–268, esp. 263–268, who, however, is mainly interested in messianic interpretations of Isa 66:7 in the Targumic literature.

¹⁸ For this intertextual connection, see also Menken, *2 Thessalonians*, 87.

φωνή ἐκ ναοῦ, φωνή κυρίου ἀνταποδιδόντος ἀνταπόδοσιν τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις

If we only look for texts using ἀνταποδίδωμι, a second possibility is Psalm 136:8b LXX:

μακάριος ὃς ἀνταποδώσει σοι τὸ ἀνταπόδομά σου ὃ ἀνταπέδωκας ἡμῖν

Even, however, if the psalm expresses the idea that Babylon should receive rewards for its deeds, because of its context, Isa 66:6 is much more interesting for the interpretation of our passage. It is clear that the fact that both texts have one single—even rare—word in common does not prove an intertextual connection between 1 Thess 1:6–7a and Isa 66. There are, however, a few reasons that make an allusion to Isa 66 quite probable. First, the Isaianic idea of eschatological vengeance against the enemies of God’s people found a *Nachgeschichte* not only in 2 Thessalonians, but in several early Jewish texts as varied as the *War Scroll* from Qumran (see 1 QM 18:7–8), the *Sibylline Oracles* (see *Or.Sib.* 3:702–709) and the Syrian *Apocalypse of Baruch* (2 Bar 82:1–2). But a reception of Isa 66 does not only find its parallels in early Jewish literature; we will see further probable allusions to this text presently.

To what extent does such an observation help to improve our understanding of the wider passage? If, as we will see, several passages of Isa 66 play a role in the background of 2 Thess 1, we should consider the possibility that 2 Thess 1 wants to evoke the *whole* vision of Isa 66. The imagery of Isa 66 might then help to illustrate the word ἄνεσις, expressing the future hope of Pseudo-Paul and the community. On an intra-textual level, ἄνεσις can be seen as a counter-term to θλίψις (“hardship”), which plays an important role in 2 Thess 1:3–7. While this term is often translated as “peace” or “quiet,”¹⁹ a look at its use in documentary papyri of the period shows that it describes an “Erleichterung eines bestimmten Zustands, wie etwa die Milderung einer Haftstrafe . . . oder Befreiung von Liturgien”²⁰—so perhaps “relief” or “mitigation” would be appropriate translations. If, however, the passage is read before the background of Isa 66, ἄνεσις remains an open, perhaps even rather weak term, but can be filled with the images of Isa 66:18–24: the idea that salvation has universal

¹⁹ See, for example, E. Best, *A Commentary on the First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians* (Black’s New Testament Commentary; New York et al.: Harper & Row, 21977) 257.

²⁰ C.M. Kreinecker, *2 Thessaloniker* (Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010) 137, who illustrates this with examples from Egyptian papyri.

dimensions (Isa 66:18) would, of course, fit very well for a Pauline or post-Pauline (at least partly) pagan Christian community. In addition to this, the idea that salvation has to do with seeing “my (i.e., the Lord’s) glory” (τὴν δόξαν μου) and proclaiming it (Isa 66:18, 19), would parallel two other motifs used in 2 Thess 1:5–10: the use of the title κύριος for Jesus (2 Thess 1:7, 8, 9; Isa 66:1), and the idea that the Lord is “glorified within his Holy Ones” (ἐνδοξασθῆναι ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις; 2 Thess 1:10). Neither of these motifs would evoke Isa 66 *per se*, but connected to what we have found, they can be seen as part of a broader cluster.

As already stated above, the final (and decisive) allusion to Isa 66 can be found a bit later—and, again, the intertext can help us for a proper understanding of the passage in 2 Thessalonians: it is very difficult to determine the exact syntactical function of the phrase ἐν πυρὶ φλογός²¹ at the beginning of v. 8. Usually this words—as indicated by the comma after φλογός in the critical editions—are connected to the passage before and seen as a further illustration of the “revelation of the Lord Jesus” described in v. 7.²² In this case the text intends to say that the “revelation of the Lord Jesus” is going out from heaven, that he comes with the angels of his power and it takes place in a flame of fire.

While the words ἐν φλογὶ πυρός appear, for example, in Exod 3:2 in the context of God’s revelation in the burning bush, and while texts like the *Revelation of Peter* 5 connect *parousia* and the burning of the world, an intertextual connection to Isa 66:15 can help us to interpret the image in another way. Isa 66:15 LXX says (with words resembling 2 Thess 1:8 underlined):²³

ἰδοὺ
 γὰρ κύριος ὡς πῦρ ἦξει
 καὶ ὡς καταιγὶς τὰ ἄρματα αὐτοῦ
 ἀποδοῦναι ἐν θυμῷ ἐκδίκησιν
 καὶ ἀποσκορακισμὸν ἐν φλογὶ πυρός

If we take our sub-text seriously, the parallel between 2 Thess 1:8 and Isa 66:15 is not on the level of the Lord’s coming “in fire,” but on the idea

²¹ This somewhat strange expression has created text-critical problems—many, even important witnesses of the text offer ἐν φλογὶ πυρός. Ἐν πυρὶ φλογός, however, is clearly the *lectio difficilior*.

²² See, for example, the interpretations of E. von Dobschütz, *Die Thessalonicherbriefe* (KEK; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1909 [repr. 1974]) 247; L. Morris, *The First and Second Epistle to the Thessalonians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2nd 1977) 201 or P.-G. Müller, *Der erste und zweite Brief an die Thessalonicher* (RNT; Regensburg: Pustet, 2001) 253.

²³ See also Menken, *2 Thessalonians*, 88.

that his judgement will take place in “the flame of fire”²⁴—that’s why the critical editions’ comma after φλογός should be deleted.²⁵

If we want to see a pattern of Isa 66 allusions in 2 Thess 1:5–10 we could even go further and establish a connection between 2 Thess 1:8b and Isa 66:4:

2 Thess 1:8b:	... τοῖς μὴ ὑπακούσιν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ
Isa 66:4	... ἐκάλεσα αὐτούς καὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν μου

Again, the comparison of the different contexts is interesting: 2 Thess 1:8b is only the second part of a sentence speaking about people who “do not know God” (v. 8a: τοῖς μὴ εἰδόσιν θεόν) and those who “do not obey the Gospel of our Lord Jesus” (v. 8b). If 2 Thess 1:8a perhaps resembles Jer 10:25 LXX, where the nations are seen as the ones “who do not know God” (τὰ μὴ εἰδότα σε; but see also 1 Thess 4:5: τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ εἰδότα τὸν θεόν), then it is possible that 2 Thess 1:8b—like Isa 66:4 LXX—speaks about Israel.

One more point should be mentioned. Both 2 Thess 1 and Isa 66 mention the κύριος, i.e. “the Lord,” as the main agent in the events of end of times. But while Isa 66, of course, understands the God of Israel as the κύριος, 2 Thess 1 speaks about the “Lord Jesus Christ” (2 Thess 1:1, 2, 12) or the “Lord Jesus” (2 Thess 1:7, 8, 12). In other words, if we take the intertextual allusion seriously, we become aware of the text’s extremely high Christology. According to 2 Thess 1, the “Lord Jesus” is not only called κύριος, but fulfils actions which are, according to the Old Testament, reserved for God alone.

The last passage in 2 Thess 1:5–12 where we can find another possible allusion to Isa 66 is v. 12. The idea that “the name of our Lord Jesus shall be glorified in you” comes close to Isa 66:5. Again, if we just compare the two verses, the parallels are not strong enough to establish a clear relationship, only the pattern of allusions as a whole make it clear that, again, Isa 66 is in the background of our text:

2 Thess 1:12	ὅπως ἐνδοξασθῆ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν...
Isa 66:5 LXX	ἵνα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου δοξασθῆ... ἐν τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ αὐτῶν

Again, a clear development from God, Israel’s (only) κύριος, to *our* κύριος Jesus can be recognized.

²⁴ For a comparable translation, see also Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 226–227.

²⁵ The use of this image is not without parallels in Old Testament and early Jewish literature—texts like Ps 97:3 (96:3 LXX); Dan 7:10 or 2 Bar 48:39 can be mentioned.

Other Important Allusions

The pattern of allusions to Isa 66 LXX does not form the only Old Testament background of 2 Thess 1:5–12. At least a few other passages should be discussed briefly. Even if 2 Thess 1:7 speaks about the revelation of “the Lord Jesus” “from heaven” (ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ), contrary to many other early Christian texts like Mark 13:26; 14:62; Matt 24:30; 26:64; Rev 1:7; *Revelation of Peter* 1:6; *Epistula Apostolorum* 16 or the *Apocalypse of Elijah* 31:15–16 its imagery is obviously not developed from Dan 7:13 where we read about the coming of the Son of Man on the clouds of heavens. Does this have to do with the fact that 2 Thessalonians is not interested in a Son-of-Man Christology? Or is our text simply creating a parallel to 1 Thess 1:10 (ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν) and 4:16 (καταβήσεται ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ; see also Phil 3:20). The following motif, the idea that the Lord Jesus will come with the “angels of his power,” is much more interesting. Again, a well-known Old Testament idea about the eschatological “Day of the Lord” is taken over; the Lord, however, is identified with Jesus. A possible background text could be seen in Zech 14:5 LXX, where we read: καὶ ἤξει κύριος ὁ θεός μου καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγιλοι μετ’ αὐτοῦ. The “Holy ones”, of course, are the Lord’s angels (see also 1 Thess 3:13; *Didache* 16:7),²⁶ which in 2 Thess 1:7 are called “the angels of his power”. Another comparable text is 1 *Enoch* 1:9 where we read about the Lord’s coming “together with 10 millions of his angels”: Like 2 Thess 1:7, Jude 14–15 not only quotes this text, but obviously identifies the “Lord” with Jesus.

According to v. 9 the ones who either do not know God or do not obey the Gospel will receive their punishment ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δοξῆς τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, that is, “from the face of the Lord and from the glory of his power”. If we take the preposition ἀπό seriously, the text does not only say that punishment comes from the Lord,²⁷ but that the punishment is going out from the face of the Lord (and the glory of his power). First, the words “face of the Lord” can be understood as alluding Exod 33:18–22. According to this passage, Moses wants to see the “glory of the Lord” (Exod 33:18: δεῖξόν μοι τὴν σεαυτοῦ δόξαν). But even if the Lord passes Moses “in his glory”, he does not allow him to see his “face,”

²⁶ It seems that Rev 19:14 develops the tradition about the “holy ones” a step further: the text speaks about a heavenly army “following” the Lord and probably does not mean angels, but followers of Jesus with this expression.

²⁷ Kreinecker, 2 *Thess*, 144, for example understands the “face of the Lord” as a pure *pars pro toto*.

because nobody can see the Lord's face and survive (Exod 33:20). While the phrase as a whole cannot be found in Exod 33:18–22, both texts show the combination of the words *προσώπον*, *κύριος* and *δόξα* (or, respectively, *δοξή*). But, even more, the idea expressed in Exodus makes clear what 2 Thess 1:9 wants to tell us: the punishment comes from the “face of the Lord,” which nobody can watch without dying. This observation can now help us to translate the word *ἄλεθρος* (2 Thess 1:9) properly. Some authors, who understand it as meaning “decay,” associate the phrase *ἄλεθρον αἰώνιον* with a kind of eternal punishment at some hellish place.²⁸ If we, however, consider the text's connection to Exod 33 (or the ideas expressed in Exod 33), we have to acknowledge that the word *ἄλεθρος* can also have the meaning “destruction” and even “death”. If we translate *ἄλεθρος* as death, the logic of the phrase becomes clear. Confronted with the “face of the Lord,” the people who do not know God or do not follow the Gospel will be punished with eternal death; as far as I see, this is quite a close parallel to Revelation's idea of a second death (Rev 20:14; 21:8).

Perhaps a second Old Testament text can improve our understanding of 1 Thess 1:9 even more: the words *ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ* do not find their counterpart in Exod 33, we must, moreover, have a look at Isa 2:10 LXX:

καὶ νῦν εἰσέλθετε εἰς τὰς πέτρας καὶ κρύπτεσθε εἰς τὴν γῆν
 ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ φόβου κυρίου
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ
 ὅταν ἀναστῇ θραῦσαι τὴν γῆν

As we see, Isa 2:10 not only gives another parallel to the words *ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου* from 2 Thess 1:9, but—even clearer—also to the phrase *ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ*. What does this mean for our understanding of 2 Thess 1:9? Isa 2:10 is part of a longer passage dealing with the Day of the Lord, which is here described as God's judgment against arrogant people and worshippers of idols, two groups which could well be related to the two groups mentioned in 2 Thess 1:8. Even when they hide themselves in the rocks or in the earth, these people cannot flee from God's power at the Day of the Lord. The Lord will stand up and smash the

²⁸ See, for example, the discussion of Trilling, *2 Thess*, 58 who writes: “Der Text scheint in bedrohliche Nähe ausmalender und auch ethisch bedenklicher Höllen- und Racheschilderungen zu geraten. Dennoch bleibt er in seiner Kargheit und konzentrierten Sprache noch jenseits dieser Grenze, ja im Rahmen des und auch anderweitig im Neuen Testament Überlieferten.”

earth to pieces. 2 Thessalonians seems not to be interested in the last part of the sentence: Is this last passage, which does not find its counterpart in the Hebrew Text of Isa 2:10,²⁹ lacking in his *Vorlage*? Or was he simply not interested in it, perhaps because of the possibly misleading idea of the Lord that “stands up” or “rises”? Perhaps his focus on the future of the community prevented him from alluding to a text speaking about the end of the world. 2 Thess 1:10 also goes on with a ὅταν-clause, so it is possible that our author knew Isa 2:10 in the Greek form we have today, but substituted its last part with another sentence. Even if we cannot be sure in this case, it is clear again that 2 Thess 1 uses an Old Testament “Day of the Lord”-tradition and, again, identifies Jesus with the Lord.

Instead of ὅταν ἀναστήθῃ θραύσαι τὴν γῆν, the last sentence of Isa 2:10 LXX, 2 Thess 1:10a offers ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐνδοξασθῆναι ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις αὐτοῦ καὶ θαυμασθῆναι ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν. There are no LXX-texts where we find an identical phrase. The imagery, however, is well-known; with the clearest parallels to be found in the Psalter. Thus Ps 88:8 LXX reads: ὁ θεὸς ἐνδοξαζόμενος ἐν βουλῇ ἁγίων. Ps 67:36 LXX is less close, but perhaps resembles 2 Thessalonians’ use of θαυμάζω: θαυμαστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις αὐτοῦ. In any case 2 Thess 1:9–10 seems to combine Isa 2:10 with images from the Psalter describing God’s glory and amazingness among his holy ones. But even if we have at least partly the same words in both texts, a complex development must have happened between Ps 88:8 and 2 Thess 1:10. While Psalm 88 speaks about God within his heavenly court of angels, 2 Thessalonians not only identifies the Lord with Christ, but at least combines “his holy ones” with the members of the community who are mentioned with the words ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν.³⁰

Conclusion

While the list of texts I found as relevant intertexts of 2 Thess 1:5–12 perhaps does not considerably differ from what other authors have found,

²⁹ The passage, however, can be found in the Hebrew of Isa 2:19 and 21. A. van der Kooij and F. Wilk, “Jesaja,” in *Septuaginta Deutsch. Erläuterungen und Kommentare II: Psalmen bis Daniel* (ed. M. Karrer and W. Kraus et al.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011) 2484–2690, esp. 2511, assume that the translator of Isa 2:10 just took this sentence from Isa 2:19, 21.

³⁰ It is not entirely clear whether the text identifies the community with “holy ones” as in Rom 1:7 and 1 Cor 1:2. Interestingly, the text does not use this address in its proem, but only speaks about “brothers.”

the analysis of possible allusions to Old Testament texts has helped to improve our understanding of the text at least in several cases. This was the case in 2 Thess 1:7 and 9, where it was possible to illustrate an open term like *ἀνεσις* and translate the ambiguous *ἄλεθρος* better than without the Old Testament images in the background. In addition to this, a possible allusion to Isa 66:15 can help us to understand the syntax of 2 Thess 1:7–8 more properly. Perhaps the main relevance of the observations mentioned above, however, can be seen in the fact that 2 Thess 1:5–12 uses a cluster of texts—in many cases related to “Day of the Lord”-traditions—and assigns qualities and activities of God, the Lord, to “the Lord Jesus.” Even if in at least in the second part of 2 Thess 1:9 it is not absolutely clear whether the word *κύριος* denotes God or Christ, one has the impression that the text *at least* wants to make the two identities indistinguishable. The text goes at least (!) so far to leave the impression that what can be said about God, the Lord, can also be said about the Lord Jesus. This, now, is relevant for the interpretation of 2 Thess 1:12—including a key passage for the discussion of 2 Thessalonians’ authenticity.³¹ Grammatically, the closing words of V. 12 *κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* can only be understood as meaning “according to the grace of our God and Lord Jesus Christ.” That, however, causes serious troubles—at least for interpreters who want to defend the text’s authenticity. Many authors therefore try to “discuss away” the grammatical evidence. C.A. Wanamaker for example writes:³²

ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ (“the grace of God”) appears frequently in Paul’s writings and almost invariably the article is found with *θεοῦ* (cf. Rom 5:15; 1 Cor. 1:4; 3:10; 15:10; 2 Cor. 1:12; 6:1, etc.). Trilling... is therefore correct in saying that the designation “God” is not an isolated title in v. 12 but part of the formula ‘according to the grace of our God’ (see 1 Cor. 3:10, where this formula recurs with ‘our’). To this was added the fixed expression *κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*... which is normally anarthrous in Paul (cf. 1 Thes. 1:1; Gal. 1:3; Phil. 1:2 etc....) without Paul noticing the problem the article with God

³¹ Von Dobschütz, *Thess*, 258 who interprets the letter as authentic, goes so far as to assume a conjecture here. He writes: “Da auch der Vorschlag, *κυρίου Ἰ. Χρ.* parallel zu *ἡμῶν* abhängig von *τοῦ θεοῦ*/ zu fassen... , grammatisch unhaltbar ist, sehe ich keinen anderen Ausweg, als die Worte *καὶ κυρίου Ἰ. Χρ.* einem Leser zuzuschreiben, der in Verkennung des paulinischen Gedankenganges die ihm aus so vielen Paulus-Stellen geläufige *Dyas* hier ergänzte, oder aber der veränderten Stimmung des 2. Jahrh. Entsprechend das *τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν* auf den Herrn J. Chr. bestimmte. Lieber eine solche einzelne Interpolation annehmen, als deshalb den ganzen Brief... dem Apostel absprechen!”

³² Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 236.

created for the second member of the construction. As Best . . . has pointed out, this is the sort of thing that can easily happen in dictation.

Gordon Fee's commentary goes even further and speaks about a "grammatical possibility" that the article holds together the words θεός and κύριος, a possibility, however, he regards as strongly improbable: "First, despite how some would read this passage, . . ., there is simply no incontrovertible evidence (a) that Paul ever used *theos* to refer to Christ . . . and (b) that Paul ever used *kyrios* to refer to the Father, since this divine name is reserved exclusively for Christ."³³ It is not surprising that both authors regard 2 Thessalonians as an authentic Pauline writing.

While one could, of course, raise the question whether a native speaker like Paul (plus his assumed secretary) would easily fall victim to errors like the one described by Wanamaker, I want come back to the above intertextual observations. If we take them seriously, the last words of V. 12 cannot be seen as an isolated Christological statement any more. Moreover, they are the last point in a line of argument, which connects "the Lord Jesus" (respectively "the Lord Jesus Christ") with God. This is done with the help of Old Testament intertexts speaking about God, the "Lord", acting at the "Day of the Lord"—our text, however, continuously identifies this "Lord" with Jesus. Then, however, Gordon Fee's arguments can be turned against themselves: the author of this text cannot be Paul. Our intertextual observations thus not only help to understand the text's Christology better, but also strengthen a decisive argument for 2 Thessalonians' pseudepigraphy.

³³ Both quotes from Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians*, 267.

WHY BOTHER GOING OUTSIDE?:
THE USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN HEB 13:10–16

David M. Allen

Introduction

The *Wirkungsgeschichte* of Hebrews 13 is a complicated affair, its role and function within the overall letter continuing to be a place of scholarly debate and contention. Although the final chapter of the letter is, generally speaking, no longer seen as a later interpolation,¹ issues such as pseudo-Pauline attribution (cf. 13:22–25),² the strange foods of 13:9,³ or the ethical injunctions of 13:1–8⁴ continue to be important loci of discussion. It is the central unit of the chapter (13:10–16), however, that tends to attract most attention, unsurprisingly so bearing in mind Helmut Koester's famous designation of 13:9–14 as being "among the most difficult passages of the entire New Testament."⁵ Whilst the paragraph's interpretative issues are manifold, much of the present debate has focused around the identity of that from which Hebrews wishes its audience to distance themselves (13:10–13), be it "official" Judaism,⁶ the trappings of the traditional Jewish cult⁷ or the focal place of Jerusalem itself.⁸ Others have suggested

¹ See, for example, Peter T. O'Brien, *The Letter to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2010) 502–503. For a dissenting view, see A.J.M. Wedderburn, "The 'Letter' to the Hebrews and its Thirteenth Chapter," *NTS* 50 (2004) 390–405. George Wesley Buchanan, *To the Hebrews: Translation, Comment and Conclusions* (AB 36; Garden City NY: Doubleday, 1972) 235 famously argued for the separation of chapter 13 from the rest of the epistle; the call to venture *outside* the camp (i.e. Jerusalem), he suggests, contrasts with the high regard for the city elsewhere in the epistle (cf. 11:10).

² On Hebrews 13 as Pauline pseudepigraphy more generally, see Clare K. Rothschild, *Hebrews as Pseudepigraphon* (WUNT 235; Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 2009).

³ See Barnabas Lindars, *The Theology of the Letter to the Hebrews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 10–11.

⁴ Cf. Knut Backhaus, "How to Entertain Angels: Ethics in the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *Hebrews: Contemporary Methods—New Insights* (ed. Gabriella Gelardini; BIS 75; Leiden: Brill, 2005) 149–175.

⁵ Helmut Koester, "'Outside the Camp': Hebrews 13:9–14," *HTR* 55 (1962) 299.

⁶ Norman H. Young, "'Bearing His Reproach' (Heb 13:9–14)," *NTS* 48 (2002) 243–261; though he also concludes that this involves leaving behind Jerusalem itself.

⁷ Marie E. Isaacs, "Hebrews 13:9–16 Revisited," *NTS* 43 (1997) 280–284.

⁸ Carl Mosser, "Rahab Outside the Camp," in *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology* (ed. Richard Bauckham, et al.; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2009) 383–404;

that the paragraph, and the repeated exhortation to venture “outside the camp,” is more geared to the construction of a separate, distinct “outsider” identity,⁹ perhaps one that is fundamentally secular in orientation.¹⁰ Such analyses have tended towards either sociological or historical interests,¹¹ and particularly the way in which group identity viz-à-viz Judaism is constructed.

Whilst such issues clearly have interpretative significance, they are not the only presenting, explanatory questions. Hebrews 13:10–16 returns its argument to the sacrificial and cultic themes that have dominated the epistle’s prior discourse, but in so doing, appears to appropriate OT imagery and symbolism without explicit citation of the source of such material. To put it another way, Heb 13:10–16 seemingly utilizes such imagery in support of its paraenetic injunction (against whatever party or faction), but without being specific as to the origin of the material, and lacking any of Hebrews’ characteristic divine speech introductory formulae. Whilst there may be a matrix of allusions present, the scholarly consensus gives particular priority to Lev 16:27, and, as will be suggested below, there is good grounds for such attribution. However, in the efforts to establish the historical and sociological context to the exhortations, scholarship has tended to be less interested in the OT imagery that informs and undergirds them (compared, for example, to the volume of discussion on such matters in chapters 1–12).¹² This paper will consider the OT backdrop to

P.W.L. Walker, *Jesus and the Holy City: New Testament Perspectives on Jerusalem* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans 1996) 219. Walker argues that this includes a call to leave the Temple and its trappings, therefore ascribing a pre-70 date to the epistle (see 201–34).

⁹ Benjamin Dunning, “The Intersection of Alien Status and Cultic Discourse in the Epistle to the Hebrews,” in *Hebrews: Contemporary Methods—New Insights*, 178–198; see also Iutisone Salevao, *Legitimation in the Letter to the Hebrews: The Construction and Maintenance of a Symbolic Universe* (JSNTSup 219; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002). For a sociological reading, see Richard W. Johnson, *Going Outside the Camp: The Sociological Function of the Levitical Critique in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (JSNTSup 209; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), though Johnson does little exegetical work on this section of the epistle.

¹⁰ Koester, “Outside,” 299–315.

¹¹ Alternatively, James W. Thompson, *Hebrews* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker, 2008) 282–284 and Susanne Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews* (JSNTSup 44; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990) 115 argue for the heavenward re-orientation of the audience’s attention.

¹² George H. Guthrie, “Hebrews’ Use of the Old Testament: Recent Trends in Research,” *Currents in Biblical Research* 1 (2003) 271–94 engages in a comprehensive review of recent scholarship on Hebrews’ use of the Old Testament, but only uncovers one reference to Heb 13, namely the quotation(s) in 13:5–6. In a later article, Mosser, “Rahab,” has extensive discussion of the OT backdrop to Heb 13:13–14. See also Paul Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1993) 712–714.

Heb 13:10–16, suggesting that whilst Lev 16:27 does seem to be in Hebrews' mind, other texts enable the direction in which the argument goes, and make best sense of the unit's paraenetic concerns.

The Argument of Heb 13:10–16

In terms of structure, the epistolary unit in question is 13:10–16, with 13:7–9 and 13:17–19 acting as an external frame, their common themes of leadership offering bookends to the central discourse. Hebrews 13:10–12 is expositional in character, but the paraenetic agenda of 13:13–16 is the driving force of the argument.¹³ The exhortation is two fold—to follow after Jesus as the one who embraces the shame of being outside the camp (13:13–14),¹⁴ and, second, to offer sacrificial worship in response (13:15–16).

The section begins in 13:10, with the author's exposition focused around the core declaration of “we have an altar” (13:10), a place at which the audience might encounter or experience the divine. Whilst this could be construed as a polemical statement that seeks merely to negate the influence of other sacrificial systems (active or defunct), it more likely commences a new set of exposition that marks out the framework of the new covenant order,¹⁵ with “altar” functioning as a metonym for the death of Christ and the required response to it on the part of the audience. Under the new order, the (priestly?) representatives of the former system have no authority or power. The author leaves it unresolved as to how they are so limited—whether it pertains to their right to officiate, or whether it is to do with their capacity/ability to benefit from its activity—but Hebrews is clear that they have no authority (ἐξουσία) within its remit.

To expound the declaration of 13:10, Hebrews embarks on an OT-sourced justification or explanation. By bringing forward the genitives to the beginning of each phrase, 13:11 emphasizes that the blood of the animals offered inside the sanctuary comes from the *same* animal carcass burned outside the camp; the pattern appears to be that of the climax of the Day of Atonement (unsurprisingly so, bearing in mind the epistle's frequent, prior reference to Yom Kippur), and specifically Lev 16:27.

¹³ Cf. William L. Lane, *Hebrews 9–13* (WBC 47B; Dallas TX: Word, 1991) 537: “Although the basis of the argument is the exposition of Scripture, its intention is clearly paraenetic.”

¹⁴ Hebrews 13:14 is effectively a parenthetical comment, giving further justification for the “external” journeying.

¹⁵ The introductory γάρ (13:11), coupled with the emphatic δὲ (13:12), (i.e. “for” -> “therefore”), unpack the core premise of 13:10.

The carcasses of the animals whose (same) blood was utilized within the atoning act were subsequently taken outside the camp and burnt there accordingly. For Hebrews, Jesus becomes a kind of typological fulfillment of this Levitical pattern; Heb 13:12 seemingly recalls the passion of the historical Jesus, imbibing the event of Jesus' death *outside* the city with priestly and atoning significance somehow modeled on the taking of the animal carcasses *outside* the camp. Hence the key aspect for Hebrews is the external location of Jesus' death. The epistle uses the phrase "outside the camp/gate" in three consecutive verses (13:11, 13:12, 13:13—the shift to "gate" (13:12) is probably to avoid stylistic awkwardness), and such repetition surely underscores the significance of the concept within the unit.

Hebrews 13:13–16 then sets out the response to Jesus' "external" suffering. The audience is exhorted to follow Jesus "outside the camp" and embrace his reproach (13:13), leaving behind their present experience or circumstance (13:14); what they leave behind is left intriguingly undefined, but is likely their present security and plausibility structures, not Judaism *per se*. The other paraenetic injunction restores the notion of sacrifice (13:15–16). The two exhortations are distinct but nonetheless related; as those who follow after Christ, bearing his reproach, they are to offer "sacrifices" because they share—however vicariously or metaphorically—in Jesus' priesthood. Such sacrifices are obviously of a very different ilk to that of Jesus, and only he is ἀρχιερεύς, but those following him outside the camp are invited to assume "priestly" mantles within the new covenant order, symbolically so at the "new" altar of 13:10. As such, this accords with Isaacs' observation that the framework for interpreting Hebrews' thirteenth chapter is the command of 12:28–29—i.e. the call to appropriate worship.¹⁶ However, *pace* Isaacs,¹⁷ it is notable that such "worship" involves sacrifice and requires that the audience participate in the "priestly" offering of such sacrifice, however metaphorical, redefined or reconceived that quasi-cultic practice might be.

The Use of Lev 16:27

Having laid out the basic contours of the argument of Heb 13:10–16, we now turn to the question of how OT imagery and allusion inform and shape that argument. That Heb 13:11–12 works somehow with Lev 16:27

¹⁶ Isaacs, "Hebrews 13:9–16," 271–272.

¹⁷ Marie E. Isaacs, "Priesthood and the Epistle to the Hebrews," *HeyJ* 38 (1997) 58–60.

has already been referred to above, and it is hard to refute the presence of some form of allusion at this point.¹⁸ The respective verses share a striking amount of common vocabulary; both describe animals whose blood (τὸ αἷμα) was brought in (εἰσφέρω) to the sanctuary (τὰ ἅγια—Heb 13:11; τὸν ἅγιον—Lev 16:27) as part of a sin offering (περὶ [τῆς] ἁμαρτίας; cf. Heb 1:3) and whose carcasses are subsequently taken outside the camp (ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς) to be burned up (κατακαίω). There may be terminological shift from the specific bull and goat in Leviticus to Hebrews' more generic animals, but such a difference is negligible, especially bearing in mind the possible parallel between Heb 13:12 and Lev 16:24 (i.e. in both instances, the people (λαός) benefit from the sacrificial activity). Likewise, there are other instances in the OT where the eating of sacrificial offerings is forbidden (Lev 6:23, 30), and other places where, for purity reasons, objects (Exod 29:14) or persons (Num 5:2–4) are taken outside the camp; the call to bear the reproach of Christ may also resonate with Lev 24:14, 23, where the blasphemer is stoned ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς. But bearing in mind the volume of thematic and lexical similarities, the presence of an allusion to Lev 16:27 is surely justified.

However, such verbal/thematic similarities aside, it is remarkable how different the allusion to Lev 16:27 proves to be in terms of Hebrews' application of it. The strong conjunction διό (Heb 13:12; cf. 3:7) implies some form of consequence being drawn from 13:11, suggesting a correspondence between the principle articulated in 13:11/Lev 16:27 and the position expounded in 13:12. This, however, does not seem to be the case, at least not without some radical redefinition. Jesus is said to suffer (πάσχω) “outside the city gate” (13:12),¹⁹ likely an equivalent expression to “outside the camp” (13:11, 13:13), but on Yom Kippur, the “suffering” or death surely happens *inside* the camp structure. Hence any parallel between Day of Atonement geography and Hebrews' locating of Jesus' death is at best forced, and, at worst, a contradiction to reality; Jesus probably did die/suffer outside the camp/city (cf. John 19:16–18), but Lev 16:27's focus is on the

¹⁸ Cf. Lane, *Hebrews*, 537: “the writer applies the liturgical directives of Lev 16 to the community on the basis of redemptive analogy.”

¹⁹ Strictly speaking, “city” is absent from 13:12, but is implied by the (apparent) passion narrative context. In a recent article, Claire Clivaz, “A New NT Papyrus: P126 (Psi 1497),” *Early Christianity* 1 (2010) 158–162 discusses the variant reading of Heb 13:12 in P126 (ἔξω τῆς πύλης τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἔπαθεν—i.e. “he suffered outside the gate of the camp”). She suggests this may be an allusion to Exod 32:26, where Moses stands to address Israel in the aftermath of the Golden Calf incident, an intriguing possibility bearing in mind our suggestion below of the importance of Exod 33:7–11 to the Hebrews pericope.

disposal of the sacrificial victims, not on the experienced suffering that any sacrificial act entailed. If anything, within Hebrews' logic, Jesus' blood is taken *into* the (heavenly) sanctuary from outside the camp (Heb 9:12, 9:24–25; cf. 13:11), not vice versa.²⁰ Bruce notes, therefore, that the parallel to Lev 16:27 is “inexact,” suggesting that Hebrews also has the red heifer sacrifice (Num 19:3) in mind, it being a sacrifice that specifically involved the victim being taken outside the camp for its slaughter.²¹ Attridge likewise seems somewhat hesitant about the validity of the allusion to Lev 16:27, terming it merely a “generalizing paraphrase” of that verse. He continues: “What becomes important for the paraenetic application of the imagery from the Old Testament is not what happens to the sacrificial victims, but the situation or circumstances in which a key action takes place.”²² Attridge is right to stress the locative aspect—the “outside”-ness of Jesus' death—but his statement serves only to underscore the inherent fallacy in Hebrews' argument if Lev 16:27 is the sole OT variable at work.

It may, of course, be that one just lives with this tension, and does not seek to resolve it or to find equivalence between the respective narrative scenarios. It may be that Hebrews is more interested in the rhetorical effect of the parallel drawn, and for the exhortation to follow Jesus outside the camp. Seeking exactness from the illustration may be beyond the requirement for the efficacy or suitability of the allusion. Lane seems to adopt such a conclusion, concurring that “the basis for the comparison is expulsion from the sacred precincts”—there is not “precise correspondence of the old and the new” but instead the epistle forms a “homiletical type of comparison.”²³ But generally speaking, Hebrews' usage of the LXX is attentive and thoughtful, and recent scholarship has tended to stress that what might seem contextually odd to modern interpreters is actually the outcome of thoughtful exegesis.²⁴ Moreover, aside from enabling the rhetorical play on “outside the camp,” the allusion to Lev 16:27 does not really move Hebrews' argument on; i.e. once one acknowledges the imprecision of the allusion, the fact that it is operative doesn't really deepen any interpretive engagement with the epistle. Second, as suggested above, the

²⁰ Cf. Richard D. Nelson, “‘He Offered Himself’: Sacrifice in Hebrews,” *Int* 57 (2003) 254: “Hebrews significantly divides the suffering of Jesus ‘outside the city’ from the effect of his sanctifying blood.”

²¹ F.F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1990) 380.

²² Harold W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Philadelphia PA: Fortress, 1989) 398.

²³ Lane, *Hebrews*, 541.

²⁴ One thinks of the seminal article of George B. Caird, “Exegetical Method of the Epistle to the Hebrews,” *CJT* 5 (1959) 44–51 in this regard.

emphatic $\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron$ of 13:12, connecting the burning of sacrificial animals with the (parallel) action of Jesus, suggests a continuity, rather than discontinuity, with the action previously described. To put it another way, the incongruity of the Lev 16:27 allusion at least opens up the possibility of other OT imagery being at work in Heb 13:10–16, imagery that might shed further light on the paraenesis being drawn.

The Use of Lev 17:1–9

An alternative possibility is to see Heb 13:10–16 as working not just with Lev 16:27, but also with Lev 17:1–9. Paul Ellingworth moots such a possibility in his commentary,²⁵ though without developing it substantially, and there would be much to commend it as being another part of a matrix of OT images upon which the epistolary pericope draws. The broad context of Lev 17:1–9 is the centralizing of cultic practice, specifically that one may *slaughter* a sacrificial victim in/outside the camp, but one must always bring the animal's blood to the Tent of Meeting, so "offering" the sacrifice at the altar there.²⁶ It is notable, therefore, that *death* of the victim may happen outside the camp, precisely the scenario Heb 13:12 depicts and seeks to parallel, and that the location of the death (rather than the ultimate destiny/function of the shed blood) is the primary focus of the paraenetic appeal, in this pericope at least. Furthermore, Lev 17:3–6 portrays a death outside the camp that becomes *efficacious* or effective (wherever the blood may be presented), again the context Hebrews seeks to set out. In effect, Hebrews can be consistent with the detail of Lev 17:3–6, and so stress the continuity between the respective sacrificial offerings,²⁷ whilst at the same time downplay the Levitical emphasis on the significance of the

²⁵ Ellingworth, *Epistle*, 714.

²⁶ The precise referent of such slaughter is contested within scholarship, particularly as to whether the code pertains to the killing of all animals, or just to sacrificial victims (cf. Deut 12:15–16). See further John E. Hartley, *Leviticus* (WBC 4; Dallas TX: Word, 1992) 269–271. He avers, however, that the speech "required that all offerings be brought to the sanctuary where a priest could oversee the slaughter" (278), a view that seems not to take account of the possibility that killing *could* take place $\xi\xi\omega$ τῆς παρεμβολῆς so long as the "sacrifice" was subsequently brought to the tent of meeting for the appropriate cultic activity to occur (cf. Lev 17:5–7).

²⁷ Cf. Ellingworth, *Epistle*, 709—"Thus the author does justice, after his fashion, both to the OT texts and to the foundational facts of Christian history"; cf. also Luke Timothy Johnson, *Hebrews: A Commentary* (Louisville KY: Westminster/John Knox, 2006) 348: "This historical allusion intersects with the symbolism drawn from Scripture concerning the Day of Atonement."

blood (for the argument of 13:11–14 at least). It is possible, then, that Heb 13:11–12 reflects a conflation of Lev 16:27 and Lev 17:3–6, or perhaps even a reflection on the whole unit of Lev 16:23–17:9. It is notable, for example, how Lev 16:29–31 contextualizes Day of Atonement ideas within Sabbath/rest imagery, key themes earlier on in the letter (cf. Heb 3:7–4:11).²⁸

Significantly perhaps, Lev 17:1–9 also underscores the other paraenetic appeal of Heb 13:10–16, namely that the audience are to offer “sacrifices” themselves. Rather than being the sole purview of the priestly class, reading Lev 17:1–9 gives exegetical grounds for the people being able to participate for themselves in the process of sacrifice and worship. Indeed, both passages conceivably share what one might call the “regularization” of worship, and particularly the possibility of the “people” sharing in the sacrificial system (however minimally or symbolically so). In particular, the people of Israel are exhorted to come forth and offer up (ἀναφέρω—Lev 17:5) their own sacrifice of animals killed in the field (πεδῖον—17:5); the precise location of the πεδῖον is not particularly clear (whether outside or inside the camp), but it remains the case that they are explicitly said to do the offering, however vicariously. Heb 13:15 and Lev 17:5 therefore use the same language of offering (ἀναφέρω)²⁹ a sacrifice (θυσία), but in a way that democratizes that cultic act. Clearly, the new covenant response is ontologically different to the Levitical offering—and is one of praise to God and of sharing in common with others (13:15)—but it is still labeled as a *sacrifice*, in a fashion not antithetical to the spirit of Heb 10:5–6, and this preserves the link between Hebrews’ articulation and its Levitical predecessor.

A caveat at this point is probably in order. Hebrews 13:15 may, of course, also draw on other OT imagery. The designation of the sacrifice of *praise*, for example, may borrow from the Psalmic thanksgiving tradition (Pss 50:14, 23; 107:22;),³⁰ or possibly from Hosea 14, where the MT has a sacrifice of thanksgiving as a substitute for animal sacrifice. But the contribution of Lev 17:1–9 remains significant; its shared language with Heb 13:15 and their common theme of popular participation remain important shared features.

²⁸ Though note that Lev 16:31 renders ἀνάπαυσις, rather than κατάπαυσις (Heb 3:11; 4:11).

²⁹ Nelson, “He Offered Himself,” 252 ventures that the verb “describes the whole complex act of sacrifice, of which death is only the first element.”

³⁰ So Nelson, “He Offered Himself,” 263.

The Use of Exod 33:7–11

A further possibility for the OT backdrop to Heb 13:10–16, or another part of the potential matrix of OT allusions, would be Exod 33:7–11. Commentators have commonly pointed to a possible echo/allusion here, but equally seem reluctant to press its full thematic significance.³¹ In response to the paradigmatic golden calf incident, Moses pitches a tent—a so called “Tent of Meeting” (TOM)—outside the camp of Israel as the place where he might encounter YHWH, speak with him and, in some fashion, deal with him “face to face” (33:11).³² In comparison to the tabernacle installation, this tent is a modicum of simplicity and pragmatism, lacking any of the grandeur of the tabernacle and apparently not requiring any intervention on the part of the priestly retinue to enable the divine encounter.³³ The source-critical questions raised by having two such contrasting but similarly named Tents of Meeting are beyond the scope of this paper, but the parallels between the pericope and the exhortations of Heb 13:10–16 (and indeed the epistle as a whole) remain intriguing. The primary link is the location of the tent ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς (Exod 33:7–8; cf. Heb 13:11, 13), and the implication that it was a place not of cultic and ceremonial uncleanness (Exodus casts no pejorative connotations as to the tent’s location),³⁴ but rather one of divine encounter and presence. The repetition of ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς in 33:8—the phrase is notably absent from the Masoretic text³⁵—only serves to underscore the oddity that such divine encounter could possibly be happening outside of the symbolic “cleanliness” of

³¹ *Inter alia* Walker, *Jesus and the Holy City*, 219; O’Brien, *The Letter to the Hebrews*, 524; Ellingworth, *Epistle*, 714. Philip E. Hughes, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1977) 581 discusses the function of Exod 33:7–11, suggesting that the key issue is that the camp was now sinful and Moses withdraws to find a place that is not sinful.

³² On Hebrews’ depiction of Moses as a visionary, see Mary Rose D’Angelo, *Moses in the Letter to the Hebrews* (SBLDS 42; Missoula MT: Scholars Press, 1979), especially 151–199. She summarizes: the “picture of Moses in Hebrews is basically the picture of Moses as visionary conformed to his vision of the Son of God” (259).

³³ Carol L. Meyers, *Exodus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 262–263; Thomas B. Dozeman, *Commentary on Exodus* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2009) 723–724 characterizes it as a place of “aniconic” worship.

³⁴ Brevard S. Childs, *Exodus: A Commentary* (London: SCM, 1974) 592.

³⁵ William Henry Propp, *Exodus 19–40: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 2A; New York: Doubleday, 2006) 588 dismisses this as “carelessly reduplicated from the previous verse”, but the rhetorical effect of such carelessness is not insignificant. See also John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (SBLSCS 30; Atlanta GA: Scholars Press, 1990) 545.

Israel's camp. Repetition of ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς in Exod 33:7–8 is also commensurate with the similar repetition of the phrase in Heb 13:11, 13 (and by extension, ἔξω τῆς πύλης in Heb 13:12), and in both texts, therefore, the repetition underscores a core theme of the unit. Exodus 33's disjuncture between camp and TOM—a disjuncture that Heb 13:11–14 would seem to support—is also emphasized by the fact that the tent is μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς (33:7); Exodus erects a clear distinction as to where divine encounter was—and now is—to be found, the same distinction Hebrews endorses under the New Covenant era. Elsewhere in the epistle, Moses is identified as someone who endured having seen the one who is invisible (11:27); within Exodus 33, he does so within the confines of the external camp, rather than the tabernacle. Moses encounters the divine presence and speaks with the Lord,³⁶ but survives the experience and is able to subsequently leave the tent.

The significance of this “external tent” is compounded by two further factors. First, it is designated as *his* tent (i.e. presumably that of Moses), perhaps to differentiate it from the tabernacle that has, in the narrative of Exodus at least, yet to be built. Within the tradition, the tent became identified as Moses' own house or domicile,³⁷ an intriguing designation bearing in mind Heb 3:2–6 and the debates over faithfulness within the house. Second, and more significantly perhaps, is its specific appellation as a “tent of meeting” (σκηνὴ μαρτυρίου—Exod 33:7). The LXX omits the second mention of μαρτυρίου (Exod 33:7b), probably to limit confusion with the (real) tabernacle, but the damage is already done, with it already being designated as a TOM earlier in the verse (Exod 33:7a). Source-critical scholars have long noted the presence of two σκηνὴ μαρτυρίου traditions within the Pentateuch, one comprising the place in which sacrifice is carried out and which is central/internal to the camp of Israel (synonymous with the tabernacle—generally regarded as P content), and one, akin to that of Exod 33:7–11, an external, separate construction, positioned outside of the camp (commonly known as E, or non-P, material).³⁸ Discussion of the Pentateuchal significance of this dualism is beyond the remit of this paper, but actually to attempt to do so may cause one to overlook

³⁶ The verb lacks an explicit subject, but presumably is the Lord (in cloud “form”).

³⁷ Propp, *Exodus 19–40*, 587, 599.

³⁸ See the discussion, for example, in Childs, *Exodus*, 584–86; Dozeman, *Exodus*, 723–27; Christoph Dohmen, “Das Zelt ausserhalb des Lagers: Exodus 33,7–11 zwischen Synchronie und Diachronie,” in *Textarbeit* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2003) 157–169; Robert S. Kawashima, “The Priestly Tent of Meeting and the Problem of Divine Transcendence: An ‘Archaeology’ of the Sacred,” *JR* 86 (2006) 229–231.

the way in which Hebrews potentially appropriates both traditions. For it is possible that Hebrews, as one imbibed in Israel's Scriptures, actually recognizes the tension and seeks to resolve it for itself.

How might it do so? If the once-for-all high priestly action has been completed, if there is no longer a place for the sacrificial system, the (former/P) TOM has no further purpose. Indeed, for Hebrews, the work of the P Tent was never efficacious (Heb 10:3–4; 10:11). However, it seems to read the Exodus TOM “outside the camp” as the place where YHWH is encountered, and without recourse to cultic practice. Thus it is not that Hebrews unilaterally shifts the mode of divine encounter or shifts the location of the tent, but rather that it recognizes the tension and follows it through to the logical conclusion. It is in the Exodus tent that any “sacrifice” is now symbolically offered (cf. Heb 13:15–16), but in a way no longer connected with the priestly/old covenant way of doing things.³⁹ This conceptual relocation of the TOM is confirmed by the fact that Christ's sacrifice has occurred, hence the disjuncture with those who officiate in the (other) tent (cf. Heb 13:10). Indeed, this makes sense of, and gives further explanatory significance to, Heb 13:10. The “transfer” of TOM authority means that those who serve in the (P/tabernacle) version (13:10) have no authority and remit in the new order because liturgical and cultic operations occur within a different tent. At the same time, this quasi-relocation of the *σκηνη μαρτυρίου* enables, or preserves, the epistle's element of (still) going in (cf. Heb 4:11, 10:19); there is a theoretical place of *entry* where God is encountered. Much of Hebrews' atonement re-enactment concerns Jesus' heavenly process, and the exhortation to follow him beyond the veil, or to enter into heavenly rest. The earthly tent, made with human hands, is insufficient, no longer fit for purpose, but it is possible that Hebrews perceives the possibility—however figurative—of another entry, a proverbial “going out to go in.”

The LXX designation of both tents as *σκηναὶ μαρτυρίου* may also have significance for Hebrews, specifically their “testimonial” aspect. The consistent rendering of מועד אהל as *σκηνη μαρτυρίου* suggests that מועד has been understood in relation to עדות (linked with the ark of the covenant; cf. Exod 25:16 where the ark is filled with testimony tablets—העדות/τὰ μαρτύρια). Wevers thus concludes: “as the tent of divine ‘testimony’, the

³⁹ The relationship between sacrifice and testimony is struck earlier on in the letter, when Abel—the only figure in the *Beispielreihe* of Hebrews 11 to offer a *θυσία* (11:4)—does so and is “witnessed” to in this regard.

tabernacle symbolized the centrality of the *Πῶς/τὰ μαρτυρία*, or *διαθήκη* in the life of Israel.⁴⁰ If so, then it is possible that Hebrews understands Exodus' depiction of the external tent of meeting in broader terms, namely that there is another *σκηνή* in which another *covenantal* encounter was possible, one enabling genuine divine encounter but outside of the cultic system. It may be going too far to see this in absolute typological terms, and the tent of Exod 33:7–11 still remains essentially *χειροποίητος* (cf. Heb 9:24; Acts 7:48), but it at least opens up the intriguing possibility that “covenant” experience may be found outside both the (P) tabernacle and the very camp that identified Israel.

Other factors make the Exod 33:7–11 allusion even more suggestive. Moses goes outside the camp to seek the Lord (33:7), with others following on after him, albeit never actually to enter the tent itself. This seems conversant with Heb 13:13, and its impassioned plea to go to Jesus outside the camp. Indeed, the spirit of Exod 33:7 LXX is somewhat democratizing, anticipating that *anyone* seeking the Lord would go to the tent outside the camp as a means of so doing. Furthermore, Hebrews has already drawn parallels (and, of course, contrasts) between Jesus and Moses; Moses is described as a *μαρτύριον* to things divinely spoken (Heb 3:5), highly suggestive bearing in mind the tent's designation as *σκηνή μαρτυρίου* and as the place in which Moses spoke with YHWH (Exod 33:9). Even more significant is the Mosaic capacity to endure the typological *ὀνειδισμὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ* (11:26); the exhortation, therefore, to seek after the abuse Jesus endured parallels the “following after” Moses, as one who had likewise experienced “abuse” by the people of Israel (the rejection of the Golden Calf incident). In so doing, they offer up a response of worship (33:10), again the same response expected of Hebrews' readers when they encounter Jesus *ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς*.

One might also make mention of the intriguing reference to Ἰησοῦς (Joshua) being present with Moses in the tent of meeting (33:11). Though there is no mention of him entering it in the first place, Ἰησοῦς could be said to have gone ahead—a forerunner (Heb 6:20)?—and the resonance of the parallel is strong. The text of Exodus is similarly silent as to what Joshua does whilst present with Moses, but he notably remains in the tent once Moses has departed (33:11), and there is no subsequent record of his departure. Within the unit, therefore, Joshua is portrayed as the

⁴⁰ Wevers, *Exodus*, 442.

“single and constant attendant in the tent of testimony”⁴¹ and it is difficult not to hear the related resonances or rhetorical plays within Hebrews. Just as Joshua has already gone outside the camp and never returns, so Ἰησοῦς has likewise already departed ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς and remains there (however mysteriously) forever (cf. 7:24–25). Moreover, Joshua is described as Moses’ θεράπων (33:11), the same designation made of Moses in Heb 3:5; thus, in 3:5, one encounters the same two articulations of the Μωσῆς-Ἰησοῦς relationship (θεράπων; μαρτύριον) as occur in another Μωσῆς-Ἰησοῦς discourse, that of Exod 33:7–11. I have elsewhere argued that the handover moment from Joshua to Moses is key to the transfer of power in Hebrews from old to new covenant,⁴² and the mooted allusion to Exod 33:7–11 in Heb 13:11–13 would be similarly commensurate with that. The fact that, for Deuteronomy, such handover is enacted at the Tent of Meeting (Deut 31:14) only adds to the connection.

Conclusion

What are the fruits of our analysis? We have suggested that there are good grounds to consider Lev 16:27 and Lev 17:1–9 as contributing to a matrix of OT allusions operative within Heb 3:10–16. More provocatively, perhaps, we have suggested that Exod 33:7–11 also forms part of such a matrix, but that it has resonance across the rest of the epistle with its suggestion of an alternative place of covenantal encounter,⁴³ a place to where Ἰησοῦς has already gone, and to which others are exhorted to follow. It is also a different sort of reference, for example, to that of Lev 16:27. The appeal to Exod 33:7–11 is not merely a convenient allusion, a rhetorical proof text in the service of homiletic license. Rather it suggests engagement with a particular oddity within the Pentateuchal text, to which Hebrews could be seen as finding some “resolution,” partly in playful manner (the Joshua typology), but also in outworking the tension or competition between the two Tents of Meeting.

⁴¹ Wevers, *Exodus*, 547.

⁴² David M. Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews: An Exercise in Narrative Re-Presentation* (WUNT 2.238; Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 2008) 168–181.

⁴³ Ellingworth, *Epistle*, 714 terms the Exod 33:7–11 allusion “striking if secondary.” Compared to the Lev 16:27 links, it is true that Exod 33:7–11 has less common vocabulary, and in that sense it may be secondary. But the overall impact, implications and typology of the use of Exod 33:7–11 would seem to suggest that it is far from secondary in terms of epistolary significance.

In terms of the particular situational or historical response demanded of the audience, this appeal to Exod 33:7–11 need not necessitate a rejection or exit from Jerusalem or Judaism *per se*. More likely it stands in continuity with the rest of the epistle, in the exhortation to embrace—or enter into—the “new” or better covenant era, to follow after Jesus the forerunner (6:20) and pioneer (12:2), to where he has already gone, and where the former Ἰησοῦς metaphorically resides. It is certainly a critique of the *status quo*, and recognizes the inadequacy of the (old) system that was never fit for purpose, but the call to go “outside the camp” is a continuation of the theme of chapters 1–12, a theological, more than a geographical, exit summons.

TRACING SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY

John M. Court

In a recent article Maarten Menken has drawn some interesting and provocative conclusions on the relationships between Biblical texts. In this instance he is writing about the relation between the Fourth Gospel and this first Letter of John.

The similarities between 1 John 5,7–9 and John 5,37–40 discussed above point to an interesting aspect of the relation between the Gospel of John and 1 John. In the Gospel, the Scriptures of Israel testify to Jesus, and they can do so because God himself has testified in Israel's history. The authority of the Scriptures is obvious not only from the explicit statements in John 1,45 and 5,39, but also from the quotations from and allusions to the Scriptures found throughout the Gospel. In the First Letter, it is the Gospel of John that testifies to Jesus, and it can do so because God himself has testified in the history of Jesus. The authority of the Scriptures has not disappeared in the First Letter (see, e.g., 3,12), but the Scriptures do not explicitly function as a witness on behalf of Jesus; John's Gospel instead does. One could say that 1 John relates to John's Gospel as John's Gospel relates to the Scriptures. In the First Letter, the Gospel has an authority that is comparable to the authority of the Scriptures in the Gospel.¹

The further step in the argument that is being taken here by Menken involves defining Scriptural authority and considering the possibility of a transmission process whereby that authority is seen to move backwards and forwards along a line of tradition. By the way the idea finds expression in the text, that authority becomes retrojected into the earlier stage of tradition. One is familiar with the historical setting in which the religious community attributes authority to teaching and doctrines. What is now being discussed is a sharper process of authorisation in the expressions used and in the way the texts are being written about.

The authority the Gospel has acquired in the First Letter agrees with certain traits of the Gospel itself. I already pointed to its claim that it is the product of the Spirit, and to its conclusion stating that it aims at a life-giving faith in Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God (20,30–31). Significant is also the evident

¹ "Three That Testify' and 'The Testimony of God' in 1 John 5,6–12". Contribution to a Festschrift for G. Van Belle, forthcoming.

allusion to the beginning of Israel's Scriptures at the beginning of John's Gospel: "In the beginning . . ." (Gen 1,1; John 1,1). It strongly suggests that the evangelist had the intention to write a book with an authority comparable to that of Scripture, or even higher, because the "beginning" of John 1,1 lies before the beginning of Gen 1,1.² John confirms that John's Gospel was written with the claim to become Scripture, and implicitly treats it as if it is Scripture.

My intention in this present essay, in honour of Maarten and in celebration of over thirty years of our friendship, is to examine this chain of tradition together with its attributions of authority, expressed or implied. I wish to do this in relation to a different block of canonical and post-canonical material, namely the apocalyptic texts associated with John. But we should also raise the question of how this Johannine tradition might relate to the material of the Gospel and the first Letter which was the subject of Menken's investigation.

Firstly it is important to raise the question of the method of approach. In this regard I, like Menken in his recent writings, am looking back to the work of C.H. Dodd between the 1930's and 1950's.³ Dodd's book *According to the Scriptures* (1952)⁴ was described by Howard Marshall as "one of the shortest but most seminal books of modern New Testament study."⁵ Marshall continues:

Dodd did two things in this book. The first. . . was his claim that rather than going to selected, isolated proof texts in the Old Testament, the New Testament writers went to selected fruitful areas within which they found material that they understood in a contextual manner. The second point. . . is that Dodd argued that this activity with the Old Testament formed what he called the 'sub-structure' of New Testament theology, by which I take it he meant that the Old Testament provided the New Testament writers with the key categories and broad structure of a theology for which the major structure was given by the saving history which they interpreted.

² [Original footnote in quotation] In this connection, it is also interesting that in John 18:9, 32, the evangelist speaks of words of Jesus being "fulfilled", just as he speaks of Scripture being "fulfilled" (12:38; 13:18; 15:25; 17:12; 19:24, 36). See G. Van Belle, *L'accomplissement de la parole de Jésus: La parenthèse de Jn 18,9*, in *The Scriptures in the Gospels* (ed. C.M. Tuckett; BETL 131; Leuven: Leuven University Press—Peeters, 1997) 617–627.

³ John M. Court, *A Generation of New Testament Scholarship* (History of Biblical Interpretation Series; Blandford Forum: Deo Publishing, 2012) chapter 5.

⁴ C.H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology* (London: Nisbet, 1952). The book originated in the Stone Lectures delivered at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1950.

⁵ I. Howard Marshall, *New Testament Theology: Many Witnesses, One Gospel* (Downer's Grove IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 2004) 39.

Dodd's procedure here is illustrated by Maarten Menken⁶ with reference to the prophet Zechariah in an earlier essay. It also illuminates the apocalyptic-eschatological theme, on which I will be concentrating in the present article, in relation to Biblical theology:

C.H. Dodd offered a reconstruction of what he called 'the Bible of the Early Church': those portions of the OT that are preferably used as sources of quotations and allusions in the NT. Under the heading 'Apocalyptic-eschatological Scriptures' Dodd mentioned Zechariah 9–14, and indeed, from this series of complex and obscure oracles come such quotations as those on the king riding on a donkey (Zech. 9.9 in Matt. 21.5, Jo. 12.15); on the thirty pieces of silver thrown into the temple (Zech. 11.13 in Matt. 27.9–10); and on looking on the pierced one (Zech. 12.10 in Jo. 19.37, Rev. 1.7). As this brief list already shows, several of these apocalyptic-eschatological prophecies from Deutero-Zechariah are applied in the NT to Jesus' passion and death: they serve an apocalyptic-eschatological interpretation of the death of Jesus.

Menken's appreciation of Dodd's method continues in a subsequent paper:

The best explanation . . . is to my mind the assumption that certain Old Testament passages were especially well known and widespread among early Christians as referring in their eyes to Christ, to his ministry, death and resurrection, to the salvation he brought, and to the community of his followers. In C.H. Dodd's reconstruction of what he called 'the Bible of the Early Church' (Dodd 1952, 61–110), there is a group of scriptural passages entitled 'Scriptures of the Servant of the Lord and the Righteous Sufferer' (Dodd 1952, 88–103). To the 'primary sources of testimonies' in this group belong Isa 42.1–44.5; 49.1–13; and ch. 61 as a whole (Dodd 1952, 108). Both Luke and the author of *Barnabas* have drawn from these popular portions of Scripture.⁷

With this methodological perspective in mind I now turn to a consideration of the apocalyptic material, seeking to trace a chain of tradition, and thence a continuum of theology and scriptural authority, which runs from the Old Testament sources of the Book of Revelation through the canonical Apocalypse and on into the Johannine apocryphal material. It is hoped that the following tabulation of such material in terms of theological themes and examples will show the relationships more clearly

⁶ Maarten J.J. Menken, "Striking the Shepherd: Early Christian Versions and Interpretations of Zechariah 13.7," *Bib.* 92 (2011) 39–59, quotation from p. 39. Dodd's references to Zechariah occur in *According to the Scriptures*, 64–67.

⁷ Maarten J.J. Menken, "Old Testament Quotations in the Epistle of Barnabas with parallels in the New Testament," 8–9 in a paper presented to a workshop in Wuppertal on *Textgeschichte und Schriftrezeption im frühen Christentum*, 2011, and not yet published.

and enable important implications to be drawn. The original idea for this tabulation model can of course be detected in the earlier work of C.H. Dodd (1936).⁸

The precursor to the treatment of the apocalyptic material in this present essay can be found in my earlier monograph on the Johannine Apocalyptic Tradition.⁹ There the evidence was concentrated in the statistical form of the distribution of quotations from the Old Testament, the New Testament Gospels, and the New Testament Epistles and Revelation, within the apocalypses. As I wrote then:

It is vital to chart the relationship between these texts [the apocalypses] and what might be called the original inspiration in Christian Scripture. Frequent reference has been made, in studying each of these texts, to the application of biblical themes and topics. It would be most useful to symbolise this biblical relationship, in the most concrete way possible, by tabulating comparatively the use of biblical quotations from the Old Testament, and from the New Testament Gospels and Epistles.

On that occasion I concentrated on explicit and direct quotations, while recognising that the picture could be enhanced, if speculatively, by reference to biblical allusions. It would now be appropriate to move beyond the statistical evidence and survey the Scriptural relationship in the thematic terms, suggested by the analogy with the work of C.H. Dodd.

The thematic comparison is outlined in the following table under three broad headings: prophetic utterances (the original inspiration giving rise to quotation); the theology of worship and the practice of the liturgy; and the concepts of Church and of individual salvation. In addition I have included a reference point to the literary genre of apocalyptic, and a note about specific evidence in the texts for the practices of formal reading, and of the acknowledged quotation from, Scripture. The columns of appropriate data from the Old Testament and the New Testament should be self-explanatory. But it is probably necessary to provide a preliminary justification for the inclusion of the final column, at the right hand of the table. In one sense the act of reading the table right across the page, as demonstrating a continuity and evolution within Scripture, provides in itself a reason for this column's inclusion. But it also raises the fundamental

⁸ C.H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1936).

⁹ John M. Court, *The Book of Revelation and the Johannine Apocalyptic Tradition* (JSNTSup 190; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press (Continuum), 2000), quoting from pp. 164ff.

question about the relationships of apocryphal and pseudepigraphical material to canonical Scripture.¹⁰ Do these apocryphal texts use Scripture, and if so, how? Are they interpretations, extensions or expansions of Scripture? Should they be described as parabiblical, or more generally can their existence be said to be determined by a specific relation to Scripture. How is this related to the canonical process, at the various stages both of the creation of these texts, and of their subsequent transmission and collection? And how does the use of such texts relate to particular contexts in the history of Christianity, where their Scriptural inspiration may be taken with greater or lesser confidence? These questions provide an agenda for subsequent consideration, while their use in this table can facilitate this further, post-Biblical understanding of the continuity of Scripture.

This tabulation is not intended to be definitive, but rather indicative of the possibilities in this area of enquiry. The main themes have been selected in relation to the issues that are highlighted in the later apocalyptic texts. This enables us to trace backwards, to the earlier sources, the acknowledgments of received authority which take place within the continuum of Scripture that we are positing.

The primary theme in this table is that of prophetic utterance, an original divine inspiration received and transmitted as oral communication. The act of recording these messages represents their first acknowledgment in a literary form (whether in a collection of the sayings of prophets, or in other genres such as poetry or wisdom sayings). Such sayings are frequently introduced by variant formulae flagging up their divine source (e.g. "Thus says the Lord") even when the messenger is known and the human agency acknowledged. So when quoted in the context of the Hebrew Bible these sayings clearly attest a scriptural authority. The tradition makes explicit where that authority rests, not least by drawing attention to disputes between prophets, and by raising the question of false prophecy.

The New Testament documents equally provide evidence to attest this practice of quotation from the Hebrew Bible, at the historical point when it was the only written Scripture. But these New Testament documents also reveal the introduction of a new authority, sometimes corroborated by the Old Testament texts, and sometimes in conflict with them. This

¹⁰ The 2012 Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense LXI is set to raise the question of the "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the Scriptures" at its meeting this year, July 26–28, under the Presidency of Eibert Tigchelaar.

THEMES	OLD TESTAMENT DATA
<i>Apocalyptic genre</i>	Daniel, Zechariah, Ezekiel, (1 Enoch)
<i>Prophetic utterances (Original inspiration, giving rise to quotations from OT and NT)</i>	Old Testament prophets (canonical; +prophetic elements in e.g. Psalms) “Messenger speech” Formulae such as “Thus says the Lord” Ultimate authority, delivered by human agencies
<i>Scriptures read/quoted</i>	concept of witness (Psalm 89:37) ctr. False prophecy (4 Maccabees 18.10–19)
<i>Theology of Worship and</i>	Psalter
<i>Practice of Liturgy</i>	Temple: e.g. 1 Kings 6 & 8—Solomon’s temple Ezekiel 40–43; Haggai (post-Exilic temple) Priesthood: Melchizedek (Genesis 14); Levites; Aaronic priesthood; High Priest. Leviticus 1–7; Exodus 19.5–6; Isaiah 61.6 Sacrifice: offerings of propitiation/atonement Passover: Exodus 12–13; Numbers 9.6–12 Family Seder as symbol of sacrifice
<i>Concepts of Church and individual salvation</i>	People of God: Ezekiel 37.26–28 Psalms—collective and individual concepts Jerusalem: David’s capital as unity symbol New Jerusalem: Ezekiel 40–48; Isaiah 54.11–12

NEW TESTAMENT DATA

APOCALYPSES

(including deutero-canonical texts)

Matthew 24; Mark 13; Luke 21;
1 Thessalonians 4; 2 Thessalonians 2

Revelation and successors

Christian prophecy
as mode of teaching and preaching
(see David Aune; Eugene Boring)
Matthew 5: "But I say to you..."
Authoritative utterance in Sermon on Mount
Paradigms and conversations within
Christian teaching: Martin Dibelius
Controversies in matters of faith and practice
(Christians in relation to Judaism)
Revelation uses "hymn fragments" to express
exhortation/reassurance in time of crisis.

Apocalyptic communication (through seer)
e.g. quoted "prophecies" from Psalms 51, 89 in 2 Apoc Jo. 8
Use of quotations from both Old and New Testaments

Apostolic preaching: Acts 1.8, 22; Revelation 11.3
Revelation 22.6, 20, ctr. 22.18–19; 1 John 4.1–6

Oracles in response to questioning (of and by seer)
John the seer as respected figure, charged with
communication of Christian truth
Literary format of dialogue or tutorial
(Applied Theology)
Questions motivated by intellectual curiosity,
but also answers sought for present problems
Pressure for more and more revelations
Greek word *martus* evolves from "witness" to "martyr"

Jesus in synagogue (Luke 4.16–30)
Mark 2.25; 12.10, 26; Matthew 12.3, 5; 19.4; 21.16;
Luke 10.26.

Reading in synagogue: Acts 13.15, 27; 15.21; 17.2; 18.4

Christian hymns and canticles
(e.g. Luke 1.46–55, 68–79; Philippians 2.6–11)

Materials of Revelation as inspiration for later liturgical
texts

Jesus' challenge to Temple authority—Mark 11.17

Church participation in angelic liturgy reserved for New
Jerusalem*

Mark 13.1–2; Luke 21.20 (destruction prophesied)

Melchizedek (Hebrews 5.10)
Christ as High Priest (Hebrews 4.14–5.10)
1 Peter 2.9; Revelation 1.6; 5.10:

Qumran 11Q13 Melch.) *HistMelch* (Jewish-Christian trad.)
"patriarchs, priests and levites" (2 Apoc Jo. 24)
Use of O.T. terms for Church hierarchy (cf. Didache)

kingdom and priests

Lord's Day: Christian practice of Sunday worship
(Revelation 1.10: visionary experience)

John Chrysostom *De die dominica*
Message communicated through worship
JoChrysApoc 21 recalls John 13.23, 25 ("the Lord's breast")

Memorial of Jesus' death: "Eucharist"

Death of Christ as fulfilment of OT sacrifice
(explicit in Hebrews,? Revelation)

John Chrysostom Apocalypse—illustrations of
theory of worship and practice (e.g. ritual) in
reflection of Eastern Orthodox practice.

God's pilgrim people—Hebrews 12

Army of martyrs (Revelation)

Kingdom of God

Originally a collective future hope
Increasingly individual emphasis; ?influence of
monasticism

New Jerusalem*—Revelation 21

City of God's presence—no temple needed

Fate: the destiny of the individual in Heaven or Hell
Last Judgment: 2 Apoc Jo. 17 (Hebrews 4.13)
"Jerusalem dressed as a bride" 2 Apoc Jo. 17; Rev 21.

(cf. Acts, Ephesians, Hebrews
for doctrines of church)

authority rests in the words and actions of Jesus himself. When Early Christian writers of the New Testament work with and interpret the sayings of Jesus they effectively find themselves in the role of Christian prophets,¹¹ recording and applying his authoritative teaching in a radical development of Scripture. The Sermon on the Mount provides a clear example of the authoritative utterances of Jesus, set within a context of Old Testament tradition. Christian teachers are charged to carry on this responsibility of prophetic utterance: "Whoever speaks must do so as one speaking the very words (oracles) of God" (1 Pet 4:11).

Prophecy should not be too narrowly defined as a literary genre in this context, any more than in the Old Testament. So for example the book of Revelation uses poetic exclamations, sounding like the fragments of hymns, to express a prophetic exhortation and reassurance in a time of crisis. Another idea, clearly related to prophecy, is the concept of "witness" illustrated by an image from nature in Ps 89:37. This is demonstrated in the New Testament with reference to the preaching of the apostles (see Acts 1:8) and dramatised in the imagery of the two witnesses in Revelation 11. In this third stage of the process, with the canonical and extra-canonical apocalyptic texts, it can be seen how the Greek language of "witness" (*martus*) has evolved to embrace the idea of martyrdom. So the two witnesses in Revelation 11 die for their faith as a consequence of their prophetic activity.

Apocalyptic communication is frequently delivered in such texts by the person of the Seer, a prophet designated with a special authority. Like the earlier prophets the Seer is the direct recipient, and agent of the transmission, of a divine revelation. In these apocalyptic texts there is a widespread use of quotation from Old and New Testament sources, or a deeply embedded use of Biblical language and allusion where there is no direct quotation. An interesting development in the style of presentation of these revelatory pronouncements is the use of a dialogue in which the Seer participates, either as a questioner or himself being questioned. In the canonical apocalypse John asks the questions, as when he speaks with the elder (e.g. Rev 7:13–17). By the time of the Third Apocalypse of John it is John the Theologian who gives the authoritative answers, in response to questions from James the Lord's brother. This use of oracular responses in

¹¹ See David E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1983); M. Eugene Boring, *Sayings of the Risen Jesus: Christian Prophecy in the Synoptic Tradition* (SNTSMS 46; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

a question and answer dialogue is a highly significant feature. Authoritative communication of this kind, as a living Scripture, is a good illustration of how the Church viewed the practice of teaching and the promulgation of Christian truth. The practice arose naturally from Christian conversation, the discussion of anxieties in the controversial issues of Christian faith and practice. The stimulus for such questioning came from immediate problems in living the Christian life; but it also seems to reflect a natural intellectual curiosity about the future, and in particular life after death. The pressure is on for more and more revelations.

The next main theme in this tabulation concerns the practice and theology of worship. This is seen in a Scriptural context and therefore contributes to the thinking on Scriptural authority. The Old Testament provides a range of evidence, both from the poetry of the Psalter and from the historical texts, offering glimpses and insights into the Hebrew practice of worship, from the nomadic experiences through to the institutional and cultic arrangements of the Jerusalem temple. The concepts of the Temple can be observed through its inauguration, loss and restoration. The holy intentions of worship are demonstrated in dedicated and holy personnel, varieties of priesthood at different stages in Israel's history, and aims and practices of the sacrificial system (as documented in the cult and in its spiritual substitute of synagogue worship, seen initially as a temporary stop-gap). Another vital theme which embraces the sweep of history from the nomadic and pastoral to the domestic context of worship in the family is that of the Passover festival, where the *seder* gives expression to the historical depth and continuity of sacrifice.

The Christian tradition, which can be traced early in the New Testament, demonstrates a complex of relationships to the Old Testament data, perpetuating the Scriptural authority of some practices, while reforming others, or providing a radical reinterpretation of basic ideas. Most striking is the relationship between the Christian Eucharist and the Jewish Passover: this memorial of Jesus' death provides, as one example, an interpretation of that death as the fulfilment of Old Testament sacrifice. The Sabbath worship in the synagogue similarly offers a basis for the Christian development of Sunday observance, marked out as the Lord's Day and a weekly commemoration of Christ's resurrection. The earliest Christian hymns, and canticles for use in worship, can be traced in the New Testament; they often echo in their poetic structure the forms and parallelism of the book of Psalms, originating in Temple worship. The authority of the Temple is challenged directly by Jesus in the Gospel narrative, because he represents a divine redefinition of that authority. Christ is the new High

Priest; according to the Letter to the Hebrews that authority is represented distinctively in relation to the priest/king Melchizedek. The continuing importance of priesthood within the religious community is emphasised variously in the Christian concepts of the elder or presbyter (leading to apostolic succession) and of the priesthood of believers within the Kingdom of God.

The later apocalyptic texts maintain this continuity of thought, while developing fresh definitions of ideas in distinctive ways. The book of Revelation offers copious examples of hymnic and liturgical materials, for prophetic and theological purposes within the book. These probably reflect developing patterns of worship within the communities of Asia Minor, as well as providing creative inspiration for later liturgies. The theology which permeates Revelation's texts is that vision of the Church participating in the angelic worship reserved for the New Jerusalem. The most spectacular development of this line of thinking is provided by the concepts underlying the liturgy associated with St. John Chrysostom (which became widely influential in Eastern Orthodoxy). Chrysostom's ideas about the Lord's Day are reflected in the apocalypse attributed to him. Here the tutorial structure becomes a means of communicating the theological message authoritatively through the practice of worship, in the ways defined and interpreted. The language of the "holy people" is also more widely reflected in these deuterocanonical texts. Melchizedek figures at Qumran and in Jewish-Christian tradition. Old Testament designations of leadership and priesthood are employed for the hierarchy of the Christian Church, in ways that must underline the continuity in God-given authority for these religious personnel.

The final theme which this tabulation seeks to illustrate is the conceptualisation of the religious life, both in collective terms as the Church, and in terms of individual destiny and salvation. It is noteworthy that this combination of collective and individual concepts can be found within the variety of the book of Psalms. A fundamental definition for Israel is that of the people of God, initially receiving God's law during their wilderness wanderings. At the later stage, associated with king David, the idea of the city of Jerusalem as a political capital and symbol of unity assumed great theological importance. Already within the Old Testament, seen as an historical consequence of political failures, the concepts of king and city evolved into the wider possibilities of messiahship and New Jerusalem.

The New Testament builds firmly on existing models, giving them theological approval. The Christian community are the pilgrim people of God,

whose destination is the heavenly city. God's Kingdom achieves new definition from the teaching of Jesus. The reality of suffering and persecution, inherited from Israel, crystallises in the experience of an army of martyrs. The Church is designated by a variety of images, many developed from the Old Testament.¹² The New Jerusalem is given visionary definition, both as the focus of angelic worship and the actual place of God's presence, so the prototype idea of the Temple now becomes redundant.

With the apocalyptic texts there is a noticeable shift of emphasis, while the future hope remains as the primary context of thought. Anxiety about the future is increasingly evident and this concentrates upon what will happen to the individual. Some have detected the influence of developing monasticism in this greater emphasis on the isolated and fearful individual. The context of thought comes closer to the Doom paintings of the Medieval Church in this focus on the destiny of the individual in Heaven or Hell. The apocalyptic texts dwell on the scenario of the Last Judgement as well as upon a sequence of preceding stages, comprising ordeals, penitence and purgatory. But the portrayal of the New Jerusalem and the bliss associated with it, the vision of the Christian Church as the Bride of Christ (as depicted in Revelation 21) remains the powerful image of future hope.

This is no mere exercise in traditional Biblical Theology. The continuity and evolution of ideas, from the Old Testament to the deuterocanonical apocalypses, gain special significance, and this is not only as stages in a history of thought. Repeatedly one recognises the acknowledgment of theological indebtedness, simply because these inherited ideas represent a confirmation of divine authority received from existing Scripture. What is proclaimed prophetically at the outset is recognised as an eternal word of God. Each stage of Scripture emerges to acknowledge the relationship, and attest to the authority, of what has gone before.

¹² See for example Paul S. Minear, *Images of the Church in the New Testament* (Philadelphia PA: Westminster Press, 1960).

„DAS BUCH DIESER PROPHETIE“ – DIE SCHRIFTEN ISRAELS UND DIE SCHRIFT DES SEHERS: ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZUR SCHRIFTHERMENEUTIK DER JOHANNESOFFENBARUNG

Michael Labahn

1. *Schrift voller Schriftbezüge*

In seinem 2011 erschienenen Beitrag zur Johannesoffenbarung, in dem Karlheinz Müller für ein bleibendes Erbe jüdischen Denkens in dieser Schrift argumentiert, beschreibt er das Verhältnis des Verfassers zu den Schriften Israels folgendermaßen:

...sein Umgang mit der Schrift ist nicht argumentativ, und er zitiert die Schrift nicht. Er benutzt sie vielmehr als ein ihm selbstverständlich sowie umstandslos verfügbares, hochaktuelles Medium der Welterklärung und Lebenshermeneutik – und lässt gerade dadurch erkennen, dass er von einer ungebrochenen Kontinuität zwischen Israel und der Kirche ausgeht.¹

Treffend ist der selbstverständliche und unmittelbare Rückgriff auf die Schriften Israels beschrieben, bei dem die Referenztexte distanzlos Teil der neuen Wirklichkeitskonstruktion werden, die die Johannesoffenbarung entfaltet.² *So knüpft die Johannesoffenbarung an dieser Autorität an, lässt sie aber zu ihrer eigenen werden, indem sie ein neues Ganzes³ schafft. Die rezipierte Schrift wird zu neuer autoritativer Schrift verdichtet, wobei sie ihre Überzeugungskraft aus sich selbst gewinnt.*

¹ K. Müller, „Noch einmal die Einhundertvierundvierzigtausend: Anmerkungen zur judenchristlichen Kompetenz des Verfassers der Johannesapokalypse,“ in *Mächtige Bilder: Zeit- und Wirkungsgeschichte der Johannesoffenbarung* (ed. B. Heininger; SBS 225; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2011) 132–166, 142.

² Vgl. zur Sache kurz M. Labahn, „The Resurrection of the Followers of the Lamb: Between Heavenly ‚Reality‘ and Hope for the Future. The Concept of Resurrection within the Imagery of Death and Life in the Book of Revelation,“ in *Resurrection of the Dead: Bible Traditions in Dialogue* (ed. G. Van Oyen und T. Shepherd; BETL 249; Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 315–338, 315–316; s.a. F. Tóth, *Der himmlische Kult: Wirklichkeitskonstruktion und Sinnbildung in der Johannesoffenbarung* (ABG 22; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2006); U. Schnelle, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (UTB 2917; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007) 712–733.

³ Vgl. zum Begriff S. Alkier, „Die Johannesapokalypse als ein zusammenhängendes und vollständiges Ganzes,“ in *Die Johannesoffenbarung: Ihr Text und ihre Auslegung* (ed. M. Labahn und M. Karrer; ABG 38; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2012), 147–171, 147.

Schon zuvor macht Müller in seinem Beitrag deutlich, dass die Johannesoffenbarung hinsichtlich der Dichte ihrer Schriftrezeption im Kanon neutestamentlicher (und auch frühchristlicher) Schriften singularär zu betrachten ist, da sie „vom Alten Testament einen äußerst dichten und die gesamte übrige neutestamentliche Literatur weit überbietenden Gebrauch macht.“⁴

Gegenüber Müller wird kritisch angefragt werden müssen, ob lediglich eine zitierende Verwendung von Referenztexten als argumentativ gelten kann; die Schriftrezeption der Schriften in der Johannesoffenbarung verschmilzt ihre primäre Quelle(n)⁵ zwar zu einem affirmativ bestimmenden, zugleich aber rhetorisch bestimmten und durch seine narrativen Konstruktionen sinnbildenden Text.⁶

Die Johannesoffenbarung nutzt das Spektrum der Schriften Israels in beachtenswerter Breite, was auch den Bezug auf Schriften des griechischen Kanons der Bibel einschließt.⁷ Die Forschungserkenntnis, dass ein angemessenes Verständnis der Johannesoffenbarung ohne das Verstehen ihrer Schriftrezeption und ihrer Schrifthermeneutik nicht möglich ist, ist ein wesentlicher Fortschritt der verschiedenen der Schriftrezeption gewidmeten Arbeiten.⁸ Die Johannesoffenbarung verwendet die Schriften zudem in einem formal weit gefächerten Rezeptionsspektrum, das von

⁴ Müller, „Noch einmal die Einhundertvierundvierzigtausend“, 142. Vgl. auch die anschauliche Bemerkung bei G.K. Beale and S.M. McDonough, „Revelation,“ in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (ed. G.K. Beale und D.A. Carson; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2007) 1081–1161, 1081: „No other book of the NT is permeated by the OT as is Revelation“.

⁵ Vgl. U. Schnelle, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (UTB 1830; 6th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007) 559: „Als Hauptquelle dient dem Seher das Alte Testament.“

⁶ Anders z.B. auch H. Hübner, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments 3. Hebräerbrief, Evangelien und Offenbarung. Epilegomena* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 206–207, der einen m.E. ebenfalls nicht haltbaren Gegensatz zwischen Argumentation und Bildersprache aufmacht: „Der Seher Johannes will nicht theologisch argumentieren! Er will vielmehr seinen Lesern *Bilder* vor Augen stellen; seine Leser sollen *sehen*.“

⁷ Vgl. M. Labahn, „Die Septuaginta und die Johannesapokalypse: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer Verhältnisbestimmung im Spiegel von kreativer Intertextualität und Textentwicklungen,“ in *Die Johannesapokalypse: Kontexte und Konzepte / The Revelation of John: Contexts and Concepts* (ed. J. Frey, J.A. Kelhoffer und F. Tóth; WUNT 287; Tübingen: Mohr – Siebeck, 2012) 149–190, 176–184.

⁸ Vgl. die Literatur bei Labahn, „Die Septuaginta und die Johannesapokalypse,“ 151.

strukturellen und kompositionellen Übereinstimmungen⁹ über Motive, Begriffe bis hin zu Anspielungen mit unterschiedlicher Evidenz¹⁰ reicht.

Angesichts dieser sachlichen und formalen Dichte der Schriftrezeption in der Johannesoffenbarung ist es auffällig, dass keine durch *formula quotationis* eingeführten Zitate zu finden sind. Dies bedeutet nicht, dass in der Johannesoffenbarung Passagen fehlen, die ein so hohes Maß an sprachlicher Kohärenz aufweisen, dass sie in der Literatur als „unmarkierte“, „implizite“ oder „freie“ Zitate bezeichnet werden können (vgl. z.B. Offb 1:7: Mischzitation von Dan 7:13⁰ und Sach 12:10 dem hebräischen Text bzw. der θ^1 -Überlieferung nahestehend;¹¹ Offb 2:27; Ps 2:9; Offb 6:14; Jes 34:4; Offb 15:3b–4; Ps 85[86]:9¹²).¹³ Dabei ist die Bezeichnung ‚unmarkiert‘ missverständlich, da auch die sprachlichen Übereinstimmungen ein

⁹ Z.B. zum Ezechielbuch: M. Karrer, „Von der Apokalypse zu Ezechiel: Der Ezechieltext der Apokalypse,“ in *Das Ezechielbuch in der Johannesoffenbarung* (ed. D. Sängler; BThSt 76; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2004) 84–120, zeigt, dass der Einfluss des Ezechielbuches bis auf die Strukturen der Erzählung der Johannesoffenbarung ausgeweitet werden muss, wobei er in Aufnahme älterer Forschung eine bestimmte Überlieferung als Vorbild ausmacht. In p⁹⁶⁷ (wohl 1. Hälfte 3.Jh. n.Chr.) und Codex Wirceburgensis (La^v: 6.Jh. n.Chr.) ist 36,23b β –38 nicht enthalten und steht Ez 37 zwischen Kap. 38–39 und 40, was dem Rezeptionsschema der Johannesapokalypse nach Karrer entspricht. Daraus erschließt Karrer, dass „die Apk im großen Duktus der Abfolge von p⁹⁶⁷ näher steht, das aber einmal zugunsten des A- und B- bzw. protomasoretischen Textes durchbricht (Ez 37,10 in Apk 20,4). Damit spricht sehr viel dafür, dass die Apk als Leittext einem zu p⁹⁶⁷ verwandten LXX-Text folgte, aber außerdem die Umstellung der protomasoretischen und A-B-Textform kannte“ (aaO. 117).

¹⁰ Vgl. s.a. M. Labahn, „Geschrieben in diesem Buche: Die ‚Anspielungen‘ der Johannesapokalypse im Spannungsfeld zwischen den Referenztexten und der handschriftlichen Überlieferung in den großen Bibelhandschriften,“ in *Von der Septuaginta zum Neuen Testament: Textgeschichtliche Erörterungen* (ed. M. Karrer, S. Kreuzer und M. Sigismund; Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung 43; Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2010) 339–383, 344–345.

¹¹ S.a. D. Tripaldi, ‚Discrepat evangelista et Septuaginta nostraque translatio‘ (Hieronymus, Briefe 57,7,5): „Bemerkungen zur Textvorlage des Sacharja-Zitats in Offb 1,7,“ in *Die Johannesoffenbarung: Ihr Text und ihre Auslegung*, 131–143.

¹² Vgl. J. De Vries, „Ps 86MT/Ps 85LXX in Apk 15,4b β ,“ in *Von der Septuaginta zum Neuen Testament*, 417–423, 418. Für de Vries ist das $\delta^1\tau_1$ „eine (zurückhaltende) Zitateinleitung.“

¹³ S. Moyise, „The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,“ in *The Psalms in the New Testament* (ed. S. Moyise and M.J.J. Menken; London: T&T Clark, 2004) 231–246, 231: „there are a number of allusions which I would qualify as unmarked quotations in terms of verbal affinity to known sources. But John’s technique is not to introduce them with an introductory formula or even a break in syntax.“ M. Tilly, „Textsicherung und Prophetie. Beobachtungen zur Septuaginta-Rezeption in Apk 22,18f,“ in *Studien zur Johannesoffenbarung: FS Otto Böcher* (ed. F.W. Horn und M. Wolter; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2005) 232–247, 232, verwendet in Unterscheidung zu den „mit den üblichen Formeln explizit als solches“ eingeführten Passagen den Begriff „implizite Zitate.“

Element der Markierung von Rezeption sind; oftmals lassen sich weitere Rezeptionssignale, also „Markierungen“ (wie auch im Falle der Anspielungen), finden.¹⁴

Als ein Beispiel für ein freies Zitat dient die Beschreibung des Blickes des erhöhten Christus in Offb 1:14b: „und seine Augen wie eine Feuerflamme“. Es zeigt exemplarisch, wie ein Referenztext nicht als außerhalb des Rezeptionstextes liegende Autorität aufgenommen, sondern zu neuem Text wird, der auf die unmittelbaren Konsequenzen für seine Adressaten orientiert ist.

Der Referenzbereich der Beschreibung des Erhöhten in Offb 1:13–16 ist zunächst Dan 7.¹⁵ In Offb 1:14 wird Dan 7:9 als eine Art Palimpsest verwendet,¹⁶ der durch das narrative „setting“ der Johannesoffenbarung unter Verwendung eines weiteren Referenzverses, Dan 10:6,¹⁷ überschrieben wird. Wie die inhaltliche Übereinstimmung (Beschreibung eines Engels und die des erhöhten Christus) und die sprachliche Kohärenz als Markierungen signifikant belegen,¹⁸ kann die Aufnahme von Dan 10:6 in die Nähe eines freien Zitates gerückt werden:¹⁹ Fünf der sieben Worte des Anspielungstextes sind identisch, die Abweichungen lassen sich zudem durch den Rezeptionsprozess erklären. Die zentrale Differenz durch die Verwendung von φλόξ im Rezeptionsvers gegenüber dem λαμπάδες des Referenztextes lässt sich durch den grundlegenden Einfluss von Dan 7:9 begründen, der die kreativ verwendete Basis für Offb 1:14 bildet.²⁰

¹⁴ Zum Konzept der Markierung: J. Helbig, *Intertextualität und Markierung: Untersuchungen zur Systematik und Funktion der Signalisierung von Intertextualität* (Beiträge zur neueren Literaturgeschichte III/141; Heidelberg: Winter, 1996).

¹⁵ Vgl. G.K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John* (Lanham MD/New York: University Press of America, 1984) 156.

¹⁶ Zur Rezeptionsmethode des Palimpsests vgl. H. Thyen, „Die Erzählung von den bethanischen Geschwistern (Joh 11,1–12,19) als ‚Palimpsest‘ über synoptischen Texten,“ in *The Four Gospels: FS F. Neiryneck* (ed. F. Van Segbroeck, C.M. Tuckett, G. Van Belle und J. Verheyden; 3 vol.; BETL 100; Leuven: Peeters, 1992) 2021–2050, 2021–2025. Im Hintergrund steht G. Genette, *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré* (Collection „poétique“; Paris: Seuil, 1982).

¹⁷ Dieser Referenztext nimmt auch auf die Fortsetzung der Darstellung des Erhöhten in Offb 1:15 Einfluss; vgl. z.B. A. Satake, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (KEK 16; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008) 143.

¹⁸ Offb 1:14b και οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλόξ πυρός.

Dan^{LXX} = Dan⁹ 10:6 και οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ λαμπάδες πυρός.

¹⁹ Der anerkannte Bezug wird gerne als „Anspielung“ bestimmt: z.B. D.E. Aune, *Revelation* (3 vol.; WBC 52; Nashville TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1996–1998) 95.

²⁰ S.a. M. Labahn, „Die Schriftrezeption in den großen Kodizes der Johannesoffenbarung,“ in *Die Johannesoffenbarung: Ihr Text und ihre Auslegung*, 99–129, 105–107.

Die aus Dan 10:6 entnommene Beschreibung der Augen erinnert an die Darstellung des Blickes antiker Götter und Heroen.²¹ Analoge Beschreibungen herausragender Menschen nähern diese den Göttern an und bilden damit einen Resonanzraum für das Christusporträt in Offb 1:14;²² vgl. vor allem Suet Aug 79:2 (über Augustus)²³ und Stat Silv I 1:99–104 (über eine Reiterstatue des Kaisers Domitian aus dem Jahr 91 n.Chr.).²⁴

Die Beschreibung der „Augen wie eine Feuerflamme“ unterstützt also die göttliche Beschreibungslinie im Porträt des erhöhten Christus; es betont seine Macht auch in Konkurrenz zur Propaganda und zum Selbstverständnis der irdischen Machthaber.

Der weitgehend wörtlich aufgenommene Referenztext ist auch ohne *formula quotationis* als Rezeption markiert. Das (freie) Zitat autorisiert nicht den Rezeptionstext, sondern der Rezeptionstext entwickelt seine eigene Autorität wie auch seine eigene Argumentation, die den erhöhten Christus von den Herrscherbildern der Umwelt der Offenbarung absetzt und so als wahre Herrschaftsfigur beschreibt.

Angesichts des Beispiels wird deutlich, dass die wenig scharfe Bezeichnung „unmarkiert“ ihr spezielles Recht daraus gewinnt, dass ein metasprachliches Rezeptionssignal wie eine Zitationsformel fehlt. Eine *formula quotationis* markiert unübersehbar, dass ein Rezeptionstext einen Referenztext aufnimmt. Dies kann belegen, und dies liegt in frühchristlicher Rezeption vor, dass ein Autorität beanspruchender Referenztext als

²¹ Vgl. Aune, *Revelation*, 95 (mit Belegen) sowie G. Strecker und U. Schnelle unter Mitarbeit von G. Seelig, eds., *Neuer Wettstein: Texte zum Neuen Testament aus Griechenland und Hellenismus. Band II. Texte zur Briefliteratur und zur Johannesapokalypse* (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1996) zu Offb 1:14: 1463–1466; z.B.: Hom *Il* XIX 364–368 (der göttliche Achilleus); Apollod *Bibl* II 4,9 (Herakles, als Signal der Sohnschaft von Zeus); Vergil *Aen* VI 299–304 (Charon).

²² S.a. K. Huber, *Einer gleich einem Menschensohn: Die Christusvisionen in Offb 1,9–20 und Offb 14,14–20 und die Christologie der Johannesoffenbarung* (NTA 51; Münster: Aschendorff, 2007) 155.

²³ Suet *Aug* 79:2: „Seine Augen waren hell und glänzend; er mochte gern, daß man in ihnen etwas von göttlicher Kraft fand (oculos habuit claros ac nitidos, quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris), und freute sich, wenn jemand, den er scharf anblickte, den Blick niederschlug.“ Zitiert nach *Neuer Wettstein*, 1467.

²⁴ Stat *Silv* I 1:99–104: „[99] Erfreue dich beständig an des Volkes und des erhabenen Senates [100] Geschenk! Apelles wäre begierig, eine Zeichnung von Dir auf seinen Wachs tafeln festzuhalten, [101] und der Greis aus Athen hätte gewünscht, im neuen Tempel [102] des Eleischen Jupiters ein Bildnis von dir aufzustellen. Und das milde [103] Tarent würde dein Antlitz, das rauhe Rhodos deine Augen, die dem Funkeln der Sterne [104] gleichen (tua sidereas imitantia flammis / lumina), dem Phoebus vorziehen und ihn [im Vergleich mit Dir] geringachten.“ Zitiert nach *Neuer Wettstein* II/2, 1466–1467. S.a. Herodian I 7:5 über das Aussehen von Kaiser Commodus.

Argumentationshilfe im Rahmen einer gestaltenden Rezeption verwendet wird. Der Text der Johannesoffenbarung verzichtet trotz unübersehbarer Schriftrezeption bis hin zu zitatähnlicher Kohärenz zwischen Referenz- und Rezeptionstext im Gegensatz zu zahlreichen anderen frühchristlichen Schriftrezeptionen auf dieses Medium.²⁵ Dies muss innerhalb der Schrifthermeneutik dieses Werkes erklärt werden. Offensichtlich wird die rezipierte Schrift im Text der Johannesoffenbarung zu neuer autoritativer Schrift verdichtet, die ihre Überzeugungsstärke nicht durch die Referenz, sondern aus sich selbst gewinnt.

Neben der generellen Bedeutung der Schriften Israels für die Sinnbildung der Johannesoffenbarung sind die rhetorisch-argumentative Autorität und die kreative Gestaltungskraft des Sehers als Erzähler seiner Visionen von der Durchsetzung und Zielführung der Herrschaft Gottes und des Lammes zu beachten, wie es sich den großen Studien zu Einzelschriften in der Johannesoffenbarung mit durchaus breit gefächerten Einzelbeobachtungen entnehmen lässt.²⁶ Die Schriften Israels vermitteln dem Seher die Sprache und die Bilder für seinen Entwurf und seine Aussagen über die Ereignisse in der eigentlichen, himmlischen Welt sowie für das erwartete Ziel aller Geschichte, dem Neuen Jerusalem;²⁷ diese Rezeptionen gestaltet der Seher zu einem neuen Sinnkosmos um.

Ein weiteres Beispiel für Bindung, Freiheit und Adressatenorientierung bei der Aufnahme eines Referenztextes, das die Kontext- und Zieltextorientierung der Rezeption in der Johannesoffenbarung bestätigt, ist Offb 12:14. Interessant ist, dass diese Episode nicht allein die kreative Selbstständigkeit gegenüber dem Referenztext, sondern auch die mögliche souveräne Mischung verschiedener Referenztexte illustriert. Nach der Entrückung des neugeborenen Sohnes der gebärenden Frau (12:5), dem Satanssturz (12:7–9) und der Bewahrung der Frau vor dem Drachen in der

²⁵ Hübner, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments* 3, 206, fordert daher: „Aber für die Apk sollte man weithin auf die zumindest für die übrigen neutestamentlichen Schriften sinnvolle Unterscheidung von Zitat und Anspielung verzichten, sie passen nicht in das theologische Koordinatensystem dieser Schrift.“

²⁶ Vgl. exemplarisch Beale, *The Use of Daniel*; J. Fekkes, III, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedents and their Development* (JSNTSup 93; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994); B. Kowalski, *Die Rezeption des Propheten Ezechiel in der Offenbarung des Johannes* (SBB 52; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2004); s.a. S. Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation* (JSNTSup 115; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995).

²⁷ Vgl. M. Labahn, „Apokalyptische Geographie: Einführende Überlegungen zu einer Toponomie der Johannesoffenbarung,“ in *Imagery in the Book of Revelation* (ed. M. Labahn und O. Lehtipuu; CBET 60; Leuven: Peeters, 2011) 107–143, 129–137.

Wüste (12:6) wird ihre Flucht unter Verwendung alttestamentlicher Referenztexte neu erzählt (12:13–16).

Der Frau werden zwei Flügel des großen Adlers gegeben. Das Motiv vom Adler lässt sich ebenfalls in ein Motivgefüge der Wüstenerzählung einfügen.²⁸ In Ex 19:4 erinnert Gott am Berg Sinai Mose an sein Heilshandeln des Auszuges aus Ägypten:

Ihr habt selbst alles gesehen, was ich an den Ägyptern getan habe, und ich habe euch hoch genommen wie auf Adlersflügeln (ὡσεὶ ἐπὶ πτερύγων ἀετῶν), und ich habe euch nahe zu mir hergebracht (LXX–D).

Wenn Offb 12:14 von den „zwei Flügeln des großen Adlers“ spricht (αἱ δύο πτέρυγες τοῦ ἀετοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου), so kann dies als Adaption des Vergleichs des göttlichen Schutzes aus dem Exodusgeschehen²⁹ auf das aktuelle Schutzhandeln gedeutet werden. Auch wenn der Seher nicht direkt von Gott spricht, so symbolisieren die verliehenen Flügel den direkten Schutz der das Gottesvolk repräsentierenden Frau. Auszuschließen ist aber auch nicht ein Mischeinfluss von Jes 40:31: „Die aber auf Gott harren, werden Kraft eintauschen, sie werden Flügel bekommen wie Adler (ἀλλάξουσιν ἰσχύν πτεροφύησουσιν ὡς ἀετοί; LXX–D).“

Das Wachsen der Flügel (πτεροφύησουσιν) ist ebenso ein Differenzmerkmal wie eine Parallele. Offb 12:14, spricht vom Verleihen fertiger Flügel, Jes 40:31 metaphorisch vom Wachsen der Flügel. Diese Differenz ist durch die kreative Schriftrezeption des Sehers leicht zu überwinden. Stände auch Jes 40:31 im Hintergrund von Offb 12:14 so wären gleichermaßen der göttliche Schutz wie auch die Notwendigkeit der Treue des Gottesvolks thematisiert. Heinz Giesen macht darauf aufmerksam, dass die Größe des Adlers sich wiederum in den Kontext der Kaiserkritik von Offb 12–13 einreihen lässt.³⁰ Der Adler ist bekanntlich das Jupiter repräsentierende römische

²⁸ Vgl. zum Exodushintergrund von Offb 12:14–16 z.B. J. Doehorn, „Und die Erde tat ihren Mund auf: Ein Exodusmotiv in Apc 12,16,“ *ZNW* 88 (1997) 140–142; J. Doehorn, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie: Der eschatologische Teufelsfall in Apc Joh 12 und seine Bedeutung für das Verständnis der Johannesoffenbarung* (WUNT 268; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011) 381ff.

²⁹ Anders Kowalski, *Rezeption des Propheten Ezechiel*, 163, die meint, von einer „deutlichen Anspielung auf Ez 17:3.4 sprechen (zu; ML) können, wobei das Motiv der Adlerflügel nicht genuin ezechielisch ist, sondern aus der Exodustradition stammt.“ Für Kowalski ist vor allem das Adjektiv „groß“ das entscheidende Rezeptionssignal von Ez 17:3, was allerdings übersieht, dass das Adjektiv ein Vorzugswort des Sehers ist. So würde es überraschen, wenn der Seher nicht auch das Motiv der großen Flügel aufnehmen würde. Zudem lässt sich die Bewegung, die mit den Adlerflügeln verbunden ist, aus Ex 19:4 ableiten.

³⁰ Nach H. Giesen, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (RNT; Regensburg: Pustet, 1997) 293, ist Ex 19:4 der leitende Referenztext, ein Mischeinfluss von Ez 17:3 hingegen schwierig,

Feldzeichen, das hier nun mit Hilfe des Vorzugsadjektivs *μεγάλος* überboten wird.

Aus den Anspielungen bzw. Echos der Referenztexte wird ein neuer Erzählstrang gebildet, der theologische und soteriologische Gedanken seiner Vorlagen aufnimmt. Eine polemische Auseinandersetzung und subversive Unterminierung textexterner Machtstrukturen entspricht dem Erzählgefälle der Johannesoffenbarung. Machtvoll sind nicht die römischen Machtinsignien, die durch den Erzählzusammenhang verteufelt werden,³¹ sondern das Wirken Gottes und seines Lammes zum Schutz der Seinen. Die Schriftrezeption ist somit integriert in den Kontext der Wirklichkeitskonstruktion der Johannesoffenbarung und bringt die Referenztexte neu zum Klingen.

Die Rezeption von Prätexten aus den Schriften Israels ist in hohem Maße eine *Transformation*; diesen Prozess umschreibt Martin Karrer mit der passenden Metapher der „Einschmelzung.“³² Reale Leser/innen mögen die Referenztexte aus den Schriften Israels übersehen, wenn sie keine hinreichenden Schriftkenntnisse besitzen. Was die intendierten Leser / Leserinnen der Johannesoffenbarung angeht, beginnen aber bereits in Offb 1:1 Textsignale, die auf eine Kenntnis der Referenztexte als Verständnisbedingung oder Verstehenshilfe verweisen. Dazu gehört schon die übergreifende Wahrnehmung, dass der Seher die Geltung der Schriften zur Autorisierung seiner eigenen Schrift als Schrift benützt, indem er die Anspielungen in seinen eigenen Text einschmilzt. So gesehen, zielt seine Hermeneutik nicht auf ein Verbergen der Schriftreferenzen, sondern auf deren Verstehen in einem Text, der dadurch seinerseits zur durch die Schriften autorisierten, den endzeitlichen Gotteswillen proklamierenden Schrift wird

Die rezipierten Texte begegnen nicht anders als durch den Text der Johannesoffenbarung und seiner Sinnbildung; die Rezeptionen aus den Schriften werden *ihr* Text – sie werden zur „Schau“ ihres Sehers. Das durch die Offenbarung Gottes vermittelte, geschriebene und in ihrem

weil das signifikante und für den Seher gut zu verwendende *μεγαλοπτέρυγος* in Offb 12:14 nicht aufgenommen ist.

³¹ Zum subversiven Programm der Verteufelung politischer Herrschaft vgl. z.B. M. Labahn, „Teufelsgeschichten: Satan und seine Helfer in der Johannesapokalypse,“ in *Zeitschrift für Neues Testament* 14/28 (2011) 33–42.

³² Karrer, *Von der Apokalypse zu Ezechiel*, 88: „Deren Autor (der Johannesapokalypse; ML.) versteht seine Tätigkeit als Wiedergabe einer von ihm (seinen Angaben nach) geschauten Visions- und Auditionsreihe, die frühere Schriften nicht zitiert, sondern in den neuen Formulierungshorizont einschmilzt (1,11.19 u.ö.).“

Wortbestand zu sichernde Buch (dazu der folgende Abschnitt) verdichtet die Schriften zu neuer Schrift, die die entscheidende Orientierung von apokalyptischer Tragweite leisten will.

Dies ist durchaus hermeneutisch programmatisch zu verstehen. Durch Zitationsformeln markierte Zitate wären ein Hinweis jenseits der Textualität der Johannesoffenbarung, die dieses Konzept von Sinnbildung durchbrechen würden. Die Schriften Israel werden in der Johannesoffenbarung zu neuer Schrift verschmolzen. Sie behalten eine über ihren ursprünglichen Kontext hinausreichende Autorität und Bedeutung, die nicht mit ihrem Rezeptionstext konkurriert. Durch die Verschmelzung werden weder ihre Geltung noch ihre Autorität aufgegeben, sondern sie wird in neuer Schrift zu dem ihrer Geltung und Autorität entsprechenden Sinn gebracht.

2. Die Johannesoffenbarung als „Schrift“

Im Konzert des neutestamentlichen Schrifttums reflektiert die Johannesoffenbarung überraschend deutlich auf ihre Schriftlichkeit. Sie stellt sich selbst als Buch vor und verdankt sich einem himmlischen Schreibbefehl (1:11, 19; s.a. 14:13; 19:9; 21:5 sowie die Schreibbefehle für die Sendschreiben: 2:1 u.ö.). Mehr noch, sie schreibt ihre eigene Schriftlichkeit, ihren Wortbestand und damit ihren Inhalt göttlicher Offenbarung (1:1, 3) durch eine „Textsicherungsformel“ fest (22:18f.).

2.1 Die Johannesoffenbarung als „Buch“

Bücher begegnen in keiner neutestamentlichen Schrift so häufig wie in der Johannesoffenbarung. Die Johannesoffenbarung variiert die Vokabeln und verwendet sowohl $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ (im NT nur in Offb 10:2.9.10³³), $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ (23mal von 34 ntl. Belegen: 1:11; 5:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9; 6:14; 10:8; 13:8; 17:8; 20:12^{tribus}; 21:27; 22:7, 9, 10, 18^{bis}, 19^{bis}) und $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (3:5 und 20:15³⁴; jeweils für das „Buch des Lebens“).³⁵

³³ Als Variante auch in 10:8.

³⁴ Als Variante auch in 20:19a sowie in Offb 13:8 und 22:19b jeweils für das „Buch des Lebens.“ Auffällig ist die Variation, die die Johannesoffenbarung bei der Bezeichnung des Buches bezeugt.

³⁵ Zur Verwendung der Vokabeln $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\delta\iota\omicron\nu$, $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ und $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ im NT vgl. die jeweiligen Artikel von H. Balz, in *EWNT* 1 (2ed., 1992), 521–525; zur Verwendung des Buchmotivs in der Johannesoffenbarung jetzt L. Baynes, *The Heavenly Book Motif in Judeo-Christian Apocalypses, 200 B.C.E.–200 C.E.* (JSJSup 152; Leiden: Brill, 2012) 143–167.

Verwendet werden diese Vokabeln für einen inhaltlich weiten Raum geschriebener Werke von dem siebenfach versiegelten Buch (5:1–5, 8–9) über die zu verzehrende Schriftrolle (10:2–10) bishin zum „Buch des Lebens“ (3:5; 13:8; 17:8; 20:12, 15; 21:27), aber auch zur Selbstbezeichnung des vom Seher Johannes geschriebenen Werkes (1:11; 22:7, 9, 10, 18–19).³⁶ Das Format und der Inhalt der Schriftstücke sind dem aktuellen literarischen Kontext zu entnehmen.³⁷ Die verschiedenen Bücher nehmen eine hervorragende Rolle in der Sinngebung des Sehers ein. Sie sind von den Schriften Israels als Motivspender inspiriert bzw. spielen auf Einzelepisoden aus den Schriften an; die Referenzpassagen werden den eigenen narrativen und rhetorischen Bedürfnissen angepasst.

Eine konzeptionelle Eigenleistung der Johannesoffenbarung ist das „Buch mit den sieben Siegeln“ (Offb 5:1–9), das durch Ez 2–3 inspiriert ist. Dieses Buch ist für den plot der Johannesoffenbarung von entscheidender Bedeutung. Nur weil sich in der Erzählwelt ein Charakter findet, der „würdig“ (ἄξιος) ist, dieses Buch zu öffnen, können die im „Buch,“ das der Seher im Begriff zu schreiben ist, aufgezeichneten Ereignisse zu ihrem Ziel kommen.

Nachdem die Himmelskörper ihre Funktion eingestellt oder verändert haben oder herabgefallen sind (6:13), dient die Buchrolle zur poetischen Beschreibung der Auflösung des Firmaments, an dem nach antiker Vorstellung die Himmelskörper befestigt waren, das von unsichtbarer Hand zusammengerollt wird. Dies Motiv ist eine deutliche, nahezu zitatarige Anspielung an Jes 34:4a,³⁸ das in der Wendung ὁ οὐρανός... ὡς βιβλίον ἐλισσόμενον zusammengefasst wird.

In mehrfacher Hinsicht rätselhaft ist das „Büchlein“ (βιβλαρίδιον), das der Seher in Offb 10:2–10 zu verschlingen hat. Eindeutig liegt eine Anspie-

³⁶ Dies entspricht Joh 20:30, wo rückblickend auf die bisher erzählte Geschichte von einem Buch gesprochen wird (s.a. 21:25).

³⁷ Vgl. auch M. Karrer, *Die Johannesoffenbarung als Brief: Studien zu ihrem literarischen, historischen und theologischen Ort* (FRLANT 140; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986) 168.

³⁸ Jes^{LXX} 34:4a: „Und der Himmel wird zusammengerollt werden wie eine Buchrolle (καὶ ἐλιγίσηται ὁ οὐρανός ὡς βιβλίον)...“ (Übers.: LXX–D); zur Rolle dieses ersten Weltuntergangsszenariums in der Darstellung der Johannesoffenbarung vgl. M. Labahn, „Erfahrungen von Krieg und Zerstörung als Rezeptionsimpuls und die Frage nach der Möglichkeit von Hoffnung: Die Darstellung der apokalyptischen Reiter aus Offb 6 bei Frans Masereel und Basil Wolverton,“ in *Worte und Bilder. Beiträge zur Theologie: Christlichen Archäologie und Kirchlichen Kunst. Zum Gedenken an Andrea Zimmermann* (ed. M. Lang; Theologie – Kultur – Hermeneutik 13; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2011) 23–56, 37–38.

lung auf Ez 2:8f.; 3:1–3 vor,³⁹ doch ist sowohl die Bezeichnung lexikalisch umstritten wie auch der intratextuelle Bezug. Die Textüberlieferung variiert βιβλαρίδιον mit βιβλίον (10:8), was allerdings nicht dagegen spricht, βιβλαρίδιον als echten Diminutiv zu bestimmen.⁴⁰ Das Büchlein von Offb 10 ist vom Buch mit den sieben Siegeln in Offb 5:1ff. aufgrund der sprachlichen Eigenständigkeit⁴¹ wie den fehlenden Siegeln zu unterscheiden. Offb 10 entwickelt die Figur des Sehers weiter; das „Büchlein“ steht für die prophetische Botschaft seines im Entstehen begriffenen Buches. In Aufnahme von Ez 2–3 macht sich der Seher den Gegenstand seiner Botschaft körperlich zu eigen.⁴²

Das „Buch des Lebens“, das mit anderen Büchern konkurriert (20:12: . . . και βιβλία ἠνοιχθησαν, και ἄλλο βιβλίον ἠνοιχθη . . .), in denen die Werke der Toten für das Gericht aufgeschrieben sind (. . . ἐκρίθησαν οἱ νεκροὶ ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν), hat eine hohe Bedeutung für die Motivierung der Adressaten der Johannesoffenbarung. Wie das Konzept der Auferstehung, die bereits im ErzählAtlas der Offenbarung vor dem himmlischen Thron eine narrative Realität darstellt (6:9; 7:9–17; 14:4; 15:2–4),⁴³ schärft das „Buch des Lebens“ ein, dass alle, die für Gott und das Lamm ihr Leben durch das Bewahren der Gebote und des Zeugnisse einsetzen,⁴⁴ also im Sinne der Sendschreiben Sieger sind, gewiss sein können, dass ihnen das Leben zugesagt ist (3:5: Ὁ νικῶν οὕτως . . . οὐ μὴ ἐξαλείψω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς βίβλου τῆς ζωῆς). Offb 13:8, demzufolge dieses Buch vor der Schöpfung bereits verfasst worden ist,⁴⁵ klingt prädestinatorisch, allerdings wird dabei die Rhetorik des Textes unterschätzt. Die Erzählung vermittelt Trost, der darin besteht, dass man überwinden kann. Die Festschreibung des Namens vor Gründung der Welt garantiert die Möglichkeit der Verweigerung gegenüber den verschiedenen Götterkulten und vor allem des Widerstandes gegen ideologische Ansprüche römischer

³⁹ Vgl. Kowalski, *Rezeption des Propheten Ezechiel*, 148–153.

⁴⁰ Z.B. Satake, *Offenbarung des Johannes*, 254; anders Giesen, *Offenbarung des Johannes*, 231–232, der eine mit βιβλίον synonyme Bezeichnung als „Buch“ annimmt.

⁴¹ Anders Satake, *Offenbarung des Johannes*, 255, mit Hinweis auf Offb 10:8.2.0.2.

⁴² S.a. T. Holtz, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (ed. K.-W. Niebuhr; NTD 11; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008) 81.

⁴³ Vgl. Labahn, „The Resurrection of the Followers of the Lamb“, 322–330.

⁴⁴ Vgl. zum Wertesystem des Lebensbuches J.L. Ressegueie, *The Revelation of John: A Narrative Commentary* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2009) 249–250.

⁴⁵ Die Wendung ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ist nicht auf den Schächtschnitt des Lammes, sondern auf das Buch des Lebens zu beziehen; vgl. z.B. U.B. Müller, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (ÖTK 19; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus/Würzburg: Echter, 1984) 252.

Kaiserverehrung.⁴⁶ Somit geht es um den Ermöglichungsgrund der ethischen Forderung angesichts eines scheinbar übermächtigen Gegners. Das Befolgen des Rufes zur Verweigerung ist möglich, weil die Möglichkeit der Verweigerung in Gottes uranfänglichem Willen selbst begründet ist. Dieser Gedanke lässt sich soteriologisch vertiefen, da das Lebensbuch dem Lamm als geschlachtetem zugesprochen wird. Es stehen diejenigen im Buch des Lammes, die durch das Befreiungshandeln dieses Lammes und ihre persönliche Annahme in der Taufe in diese Gemeinde eingegliedert worden sind.⁴⁷ Dem Trost entspricht die Mahnung, das Leben zu behalten. Wer anders handelt, steht nicht im Buch des Lebens geschrieben (17:8; 20:15).⁴⁸

Vor diesem Spektrum ist das Verständnis der eigenen Schrift als „Buch“ in den leserlenkenden Rahmenpassagen Offb 1 und 22 noch einmal gesondert zu beachten. Acht von 23 Belegen für βιβλίον, also etwa ein Drittel, entfallen auf die Selbstbezeichnung des Schreibens des Sehers. Zu prüfen gilt, was für eine Art Schriftstück mit βιβλίον gemeint ist und ob daraus ein Hinweis auf die Schrifthermeneutik zu gewinnen ist. Denn bekanntlich bezeichnen frühjüdische wie neutestamentliche Texte die Schriften als βιβλίον bzw. βιβλία und βιβλος (Jos *Ant* XI 337; Philo *Migr* 14; 3Esr 5:48; 7:6, 9; Tob 1:1; Mk 12:26; Lk 3:4; Apg 1:20; 7:42). Die Torarolle wird zudem als ἡ βιβλος oder τὸ βιβλίον bezeichnet: Jos *Ant* IV 303; 2Makk 8:23; Dan 9, 2; 1Makk 12:9.⁴⁹

(1) In Offb 1:11 bekommt die göttliche Autorisierung der Johannesoffenbarung aus 1:1–3 ihre Verankerung in der Autobiographie des erzählten Erzählers wie auch der Lebenswelt der Adressaten, als deren Bruder und Mitgenosse sich der Seher vorstellt. Der Seher wird instruiert:⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Zu dieser doppelten Front der Johannesoffenbarung z.B. E. Esch-Wermeling, „Brückenschläge: Die alttestamentlichen Traditionen der Offenbarung und Anspielungen auf die Zeitgeschichte: Methodische Überlegungen und Fallbeispiele,“ in *Kaiserkult, Wirtschaft und spectacula: Zum politischen und gesellschaftlichen Umfeld der Offenbarung* (ed. M. Ebner und E. Esch-Wermeling; NTOA 72; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011) 139–163, 160–161.

⁴⁷ S.a. Satake, *Offenbarung des Johannes*, 300. Auf eine Weiterführung des vom Lamm ausgehenden Protestes gegen den Machtanspruch Roms verweist K. Wengst, *Wie lange noch? Schreien nach Recht und Gerechtigkeit – eine Deutung der Apokalypse des Johannes* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2010) 142.

⁴⁸ Nach der lateinischen Textüberlieferung (it^c diu haf etc. vgl. Aune, *Revelation*, 199 19.g-g) hat das Abweichen von der Botschaft des Buches des Sehers negative Konsequenzen für die Lebensgarantie des Lebensbuches.

⁴⁹ S.a. Balz, Art. βιβλαριδιον, βιβλίον und βιβλος, 524.

⁵⁰ Zur narrativen Funktion der Verschmelzung der Lebenswelt der Adressaten mit der des (erzählten) Erzählers in Offb 1:11 vgl. D. Pezzoli-Olgiati, *Täuschung und Klarheit: Zur*

... was du gesehen hast, schreibe in ein Buch (ὁ βλέπεις γράψον εἰς βιβλίον) und sende es den sieben Gemeinden ...

Der erzählte Erzähler bekommt von der Himmelsstimme den in 1:19 wiederholten Schreibbefehl. Sein Schreiben erfolgt auf himmlische, göttliche Veranlassung und vertieft den Gedanken der göttlichen Offenbarung (1:1) hin zu dem entstehenden Schriftstück selbst. Buchinhalt ist das, was der Seher als göttliche Offenbarung zu sehen bekommt (ὁ βλέπεις). Dies soll in einem Schriftstück (βιβλίον) aufgezeichnet (γράφον) werden. Das Schriftstück selbst zielt auf Kommunikation und Öffentlichkeit; es soll den sieben Gemeinden in der Asia zugesandt werden (πέμψον ταῖς ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις). Für Martin Karrer ergibt sich aus der Funktionsbeschreibung eine klare Identifikation des Schriftstückes:

Die Versendung aber ist – ganz gemäß den Konstitutiva der brieflichen Kommunikationsform, die sich eben durch die Textübermittlung zwischen räumlich getrennten definiten Kommunikationspartnern von anderen Kommunikationsformen wie Gespräch und Buch unterscheidet – im Begriffsgebrauch durchgängig sicheres Indiz für die Brieflichkeit des zu überbringenden βιβλίον.⁵¹

Diese Schlussfolgerung ist beeindruckend; dennoch muss 1:11, 19 auch im Kontext der Selbstbezeichnungen des Schriftstücks in Offb 22 gelesen werden, wo das Schriftstück noch näher bestimmt wird, indem vom Halten, Bewahren und der Sicherung der Worte der Prophetie dieses βιβλίον gehandelt wird. Das Schriftstück enthält, mehr noch, definiert sich durch seinen Inhalt – Worte der Prophetie – als prophetisches Schriftstück. Das entscheidende Moment liegt nicht in der Sendung, sondern auf der inhaltlichen Bestimmung als normierendes βιβλίον, an dem sich das christliche Handeln entsprechend seines Buchstabens auszurichten hat. Die im Buchform vorliegende prophetische Verkündigung nimmt eine Interpretation der textexternen Welt durch ihre narrative Neukonstruktion vor und zwar so, wie sie angesichts der Kundgebung Gottes zu begreifen ist: Weltliche Herrschaft ist widergöttlicher, satanischer Kampf gegen Gott, mit der zu paktieren ebenso wie Kompromisse mit den heidnischen Gottheiten und

Wechselwirkung zwischen Vision und Geschichte in der Johannesoffenbarung (FRLANT 175; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997) 16.

⁵¹ Karrer, *Die Johannesoffenbarung als Brief*, 168. Karrer verweist auf Est 9:20 und Lukian, *Alex.* 32:49 als Parallelen; s.a. G. Reichelt, *Das Buch mit den sieben Siegeln in der Apokalypse des Johannes* (diss.; Göttingen, 1975) 79.

Götterkulten als Verunreinigung und Hurerei zu deuten sind (vgl. 2:14, 21f.; s.a. 14:4).

(2) Die Deutung des βιβλίον, das der erzählte Erzähler verfasst, wird in *Offb* 22:7, 9, 10, 18–19 vertieft. Zunächst erfolgt eine Seligpreisung (22:7), die die Adressaten und ihr Heil in ein Verhältnis zu dem Buch setzt, aus dem sie diese Seligpreisung verlesen bekommen und sie hören:

Selig ist, wer die Worte der Prophetie dieses Buches bewahrt.

Die Seligpreisung ist ein Rückverweis auf *Offb* 1:1–3.⁵² Die Wiederaufnahme ist inhaltlich und sprachlich gekennzeichnet. In 1:3 wie in 22:7 ist von den λόγους τῆς προφητείας gehandelt, die als Voraussetzung für die Seligpreisung (μακάριος) zu halten sind (1:3: τηροῦντες bzw. 22:7: ὁ τηρῶν). Das Buch von 22:7 ist mit 1:3, wo es entsprechend der Erzählsituation durch die göttliche Offenbarung noch in Entstehung begriffen ist und auf Verlesung zielt, als zu lesendes und zu hörendes (ὁ ἀναγινώσκων καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες) Schriftwerk bestimmt (γεγραμμένα bezogen auf τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας). Das gegenwärtig zugesprochene Heil⁵³ gilt denen, die die im Buch des Sehers enthaltene Prophetie für ihr Leben zum Maßstab erheben.⁵⁴ Die προφητεία umfasst den Komplex 1:4–22:5,⁵⁵ wobei 1:1–3 und 22:6–21 Metatexte mit leserlenkenden Funktionen sind.

Die Makarismen in 1:3 und 22:7 bilden eine Klammer, durch die das Buch, das mit den Worten der Prophetie gleichgesetzt wird, sich der von Gott ausgehenden Offenbarung verdankt. Die existentielle Rezeption seiner Botschaft führt zur Zueignung des Heils. Zugang zur Lebensfülle des Neuen Jerusalems gewinnen nur all diejenigen, die sich dem Anspruch des Buches stellen, das von der Heils- und Lebensfülle dieses Jerusalems

⁵² S.a. Holtz, *Offenbarung*, 142.

⁵³ Zur Sache vgl. die Auslegung von *Offb* 1:3 bei Giesen, *Offenbarung des Johannes*, 59.

⁵⁴ Der Zuspruch des Heils geht dem ethischen Anspruch voraus, ohne dass beide Aspekte auseinander gerissen werden sollten. Sachlich zielt das Halten der Prophetie auf „appropriate (i.e., witnessing) behavior in the present“; B.K. Blount, *Revelation: A Commentary* (New Testament Library; Louisville KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2009) 402. Für T. Hieke und T. Nicklas, „Die Worte der Prophetie dieses Buches“: *Offenbarung 22,6–21 als Schlussstein der christlichen Bibel Alten und Neuen Testaments gelesen* (BThSt 62; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2003) 29, die den „ethischen“ Aspekt“ bestätigen, ergibt sich im Rahmen kanonischer Lektüre ein über die Johannesoffenbarung hinausreichender Spannungsbogen. Aus meiner Sicht verdichtet sich in der Seligpreisung der Bewahrenden zunächst einmal die Pragmatik dieses einen Buches.

⁵⁵ Nach Hieke und Nicklas, „Die Worte der Prophetie diese Buches“, 34–35, sollen die λόγοι τῆς προφητείας über den Text der Johannesoffenbarung hinausweisen.

zu berichten weiß. Das Buch stammt aus Gottes Offenbarung und eröffnet zugleich Gemeinschaft mit Gott.

Offb 22:8–9 berichtet die Wirkung dieser Offenbarung auf den Seher, die in der Proskynese vor dem Engel besteht. Der Engel begründet seine Abwehr in direkter Rede (V. 9). Er stellt sich auf eine Stufe mit dem Seher und seinen Mitknechten, die als Propheten dargestellt werden. Dies greift auf das Selbstverständnis der Johannesoffenbarung zurück, das bereits in 1:1a sichtbar wurde. Als ἀποκάλυψις ist sie das an einen Propheten ergangene Gotteswort, in dem Gott über sein zukünftiges Handeln vorab Auskunft gibt und ein sachlich entsprechendes Handeln der Rezipienten einmahnt.

In 22:10 ergeht, motiviert durch den wiederkehrenden Hinweis auf den nahen Kairos (ὁ καιρὸς γὰρ ἐγγύς ἐστιν; s.a. 1:3) die Anordnung, das Buch nicht zu versiegeln. Diese Aufforderung ist eine Transvestie der danielischen Versiegelungsbefehle (Dan 8:26; 12:4, 9; s.a. 4Esra 14:6, 45f.; vgl. 1Hen 1:2)⁵⁶ und zielt damit auf das Bekanntwerden des Buches.

Das so verstandene Buch beansprucht eine Unversehrtheit, die den Anspruch des Geschriebenen als Gottes Anspruch durch dieses Buch auf die Adressaten herausarbeitet; vgl. Offb 22:19:

Und wenn jemand (etwas) von den Worten des Buches dieser Prophetie (ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων τοῦ βιβλίου τῆς προφητείας) wegnimmt, so wird Gott seinen Teil von dem Baum des Lebens und von der heiligen Stadt, von denen in diesem Buch geschrieben ist, wegnehmen.

Das Verhalten zur Botschaft des Buches wird in ein reziprokes Verhältnis zum endzeitlichen Gerichtshandeln Gottes gesetzt. Eine stärkere Auto-risierung des Buches als göttlich sanktionierte Schrift ist kaum denkbar. Mit dem Entzug des Anteils vom Lebensbaum und der Bürgerschaft im Neuen Jerusalem wird die Mitgliedschaft in der Heilsgemeinde in Frage gestellt. Dies bedeutet, dass die Warnung in 22:19 „die unbedingte Geltung der Offenbarung nach Umfang und Inhalt“⁵⁷ feststellt.

Die Johannesoffenbarung versteht sich selbst als ein Schriftstück, das durch die Offenbarung Gottes entstanden ist. Es versteht sich als geschriebener Text, der verlesen und gehört werden soll.⁵⁸ Das Schreiben zielt auf

⁵⁶ Aune, *Revelation*, 1216–1217, mahnt zur Unterscheidung zwischen dem Motiv der Versiegelung und des Verbergens. Offb 22:19 nimmt Dan 12:4 auf, nutzt aber zugleich das Motiv, das seinem Buchkonzept entspricht.

⁵⁷ Holtz, *Offenbarung*, 145.

⁵⁸ Zum Lesen von Schrifttexten in der Antike: J. Achtemeier, „Omne verbum sonat: The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity,“ *JBL* 109 (1990) 3–27.

eine Öffentlichkeit, die das Buch aktiv rezipiert. Es will Lebensorientierung sein, an deren Verwirklichung sich der Zugang zum Heil entscheidet.

2.2 *Die Johannesoffenbarung als zu lesendes und zu hörendes „Schriftwerk“ (Offb 1:3)*

Im *titulus* Offb 1:1–3 als einem Paratext⁵⁹ zur Johannesoffenbarung wird das folgende Werk für den Leser / die Leserin autorisiert und er /sie wird, ganz in der Funktion eines Vorwortes,⁶⁰ über dessen Zweck unterrichtet, „zu zeigen . . . , was in Kürze geschehen muss“ (V. 1; s.a. V. 3^{fin}). Anfang und Ende einer rhetorischen Einheit entwickeln ein hohes Leserleitpotential. Nach Stefan Alkier entwickelt die Einleitung einen

über diese briefliche Kommunikationssituation hinausweisenden Lektürevertrag. Der bzw. die die Apokalypse Vorlesende und ihre Hörer und Hörerinnen werden für den Fall seliggepriesen, dass sie das Gehörte auch bewahren, indem sie sich in ihrer Lebenspraxis danach ausrichten und damit seine Wahrheit bezeugen.⁶¹

Die leserleitende Texteröffnung schließt mit einer direkten Anrede der Rezipienten, in der sie durch den Lektürevollzug in der ersten der sieben Makarismen⁶² soteriologisch neu bestimmt werden (Offb 1:3):

Selig, der die Worte der Prophezeiung vorliest, und die, die hören und das halten, was in ihr geschrieben ist (καὶ τηροῦντες τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα); denn die Zeit ist nahe.

Die Prophetie, die in der Johannesoffenbarung aufgezeichnet wird, wird in 1:3 nicht als „Schrift“ (γραφῆ), sondern als „Geschriebenes“ (γεγραμμένα)

⁵⁹ Zur Funktion und Charakteristik kurz J. Zumstein, „Der Prolog, Schwelle zum vierten Evangelium,“ in *Kreative Erinnerung: Relecture und Auslegung im Johannesevangelium* (ed. Zumstein; ATANT 84; Zürich: TVZ 2004), 105–126, 114–115. Zur Diskussion um Gattung und literarische Einheitlichkeit vgl. J.-W. Taeger, „Offenbarung 1.1–3: Johanneische Autorisierung einer Aufklärungsschrift,“ in Taeger, *Johanneische Perspektiven: Aufsätze zur Johannesapokalypse und zum johanneischen Kreis 1984–2003* (ed. D.C. Bienert und D.-A. Koch; FRLANT 215; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006) 157–173.

⁶⁰ Vgl. Zumstein, „Der Prolog,“ 114: „... das Vorwort muss die Hörschaft über den Zweck des Werks unterrichten...“. Als „Vorwort für das ganze Buch“ bestimmt Satake, *Offenbarung des Johannes*, 119, den Abschnitt 1,1–3, mit den Elementen „Titel . . . , . . . Herkunft, ihre Bestimmung, ihren Inhalt und den Weg ihrer Weitergabe (V. 1).“

⁶¹ Alkier, „Die Johannesapokalypse“, 152.

⁶² Zu Form, Funktion und Aufgabe der Seligpreisungen in der Johannesoffenbarung vgl. z.B. H. Giesen, „Heilszusage angesichts der Bedrängnis: Zu den Makarismen in der Offenbarung des Johannes,“ in *Glaube und Handeln. Bd. 2: Beiträge zur Exegese und Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (ed. Giesen; EHS.T 215; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1983) 71–97.

bezeichnet; dies erlaubt die Nachfrage nach dem Gewicht dieser Beschreibung. Die Seligpreisung stellt die von Gott stammende Offenbarung Jesu Christi (1:1) als eine schriftgewordene, les- und hörbare Prophetie vor, die die angebrochene und sich vollziehende Zukunft den Adressaten so zur Kenntnis bringt, dass sie ihr Verhalten in ihrer Gegenwart streng nach den Maßstäben dieser Botschaft ausrichten müssen. Das Schriftwerk beansprucht von Textbeginn her höchste Autorität. Der Lektürevollzug durch einen Vorleser zielt auf aktives, das Gehörte begreifendes und existentiell verwirklichendes Hören des Geschriebenen. Das Verlesen des Geschriebenen erinnert kaum zufällig zunächst an die synagogale Schriftlesung;⁶³ die niedergeschriebene und zu verlesende Offenbarung nimmt eine analoge Autorität ein.

Beachtet man, dass dieses „Geschriebene“ von Beginn des Schreibens äußerst kreativ die Schriften Israels rezipiert und zu einem neuen narrativen Ganzen verdichtet und verschmilzt, dann liegt schon in 1:3 die Annahme nahe, dass der vorliegende Text als schriftgewordene Offenbarung Gottes für sich eine Schriftautorität beansprucht, die der von ihm frei aufgenommenen Schriften Israels entspricht. Die Offenbarung Gottes ist Schrift geworden, die die Schriften Israels im endzeitlichen Sinn zur Vollendung bringt.

2.3 *Die Johannesoffenbarung als ein „unabänderlicher Text“ (Offb 22:7, 18f.)*

In 22:18–19 werden mit einer so genannten „Textsicherungsformel“ die Worte der Johannesoffenbarung festgeschrieben. Kein anderes ntl. Buch ist dabei so schriftfixiert wie die Johannesoffenbarung. Wie in Dtn 4:2⁶⁴ und Dtn^{LXX} 12:32⁶⁵ wird der Inhalt der Offenbarungsschrift als unabänderlich dargestellt. Dieser ungeheuerliche Anspruch macht die Johannesoffenbarung

⁶³ Hierzu z.B. S. Safrai, „The Synagogue,“ in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions* (ed. S. Safrai and M. Stern in cooperation with D. Flusser and W.C. van Unnik; CRINT II/2; Assen/Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1976) 908–944, 927–933.

⁶⁴ Dtn 4:2: „Ihr sollt zu dem Wort, das ich euch gebiete, weder etwas hinzufügen noch etwas davon entfernen (οὐ προσθήσετε πρὸς τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἀφελίετε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ). Haltet die Gebote des Herrn, eures Gottes, alle, welche ich euch heute gebiete“ (LXX–D).

⁶⁵ Dtn^{LXX} 12:32[13:1]: „Jedes Wort, das ich dir heute gebiete, dieses sollst du halten, so dass du es tust. Du sollst nichts zu ihm hinzufügen noch sollst du etwas von ihm entfernen (οὐ προσθήσεις ἐπ’ αὐτὸ οὐδὲ ἀφελίεις ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ)“ (LXX–D).

zu einem neuen christlichen Grunddokument, dessen Akzeptanz über Leben und Tod entscheiden kann:

(18) Ich bezeuge jedem, der die Worte der Prophetie dieses Buches hört: Wenn jemand (etwas) zu diesen hinzufügt, so wird Gott auf ihn die Plagen, die in diesem Buch geschrieben sind, hinzufügen. (19) Und wenn jemand (etwas) von den Worten des Buches dieser Prophetie wegnimmt, so wird Gott seinen Teil von dem Baum des Lebens und von der heiligen Stadt, von denen in diesem Buch geschrieben ist, wegnehmen.

„Aus der Leserperspektive“ erhält Offb 22:18–19 nach Thomas Hieke und Tobias Nicklas eine Funktion, bei der „eine göttliche Weisung in Schriftform in ihrem Wortlaut geschützt und ihre Beachtung und Einhaltung angeordnet wird, oder: Das Buch, dem nach 22:18–19 nichts hinzugefügt und von dem nichts weggelassen werden darf, ist ‚Heilige Schrift‘.“⁶⁶ Dieser Anspruch selbst lässt sich schon aus der Einleitung in Offb. 1:1f. ableiten. Geht die Botschaft der Johannesoffenbarung auf Gott selbst zurück und wird sie dem Seher in einer zuverlässigen Kette übergeben, so ist jede Veränderung ausgeschlossen und ein Frevel gegen Gott. Deswegen ist es auch Gott selbst, der nach 22:18–19 das Zuwiderhandeln sanktioniert.

Das Ende der Johannesoffenbarung in Kap. 22 entspricht der Einleitung in Offb 1:3, insofern nunmehr Anweisungen getroffen werden, wie mit dem Werk und seinem Inhalt weiter umzugehen ist. Das Buch offenbart die Wirklichkeit, gesehen mit den Augen des Sehers, der das zu sehen bekommt, was Gott ihn sehen lassen will. Es ist ein Einblick in die apokalyptische Konfrontation, die von seinen Anhängern unbedingte Gefolgschaft fordert. Das Buch geht mit seinen Lesern eine Übereinkunft ein, dass das Bewahren der in ihm aufgestellten Forderungen zwar eine Isolierung und eine Gefährdung des menschlichen Lebens bedeuten kann, aber letztlich auf Lebensgemeinschaft mit Gott und dem Lamm zielt, die bereits durch die geschriebene Offenbarung verlässliche Gültigkeit haben (wie der Eintrag im „Buch des Lebens“).

⁶⁶ Hieke und Nicklas, „Die Worte der Prophetie diese Buches,“ 77. Allerdings bestreiten sie für die pragmatische Ebene gerade diesen Anspruch, da es darum gehe, dass der Leser sich an das Geschriebene „halten“ muss (*aaO* 76). Für Hieke und Nicklas geben 22:18–19 „in der Strafsanktion deutliche Hinweise auf einen größeren Zusammenhang . . . , der über den Anspruch und den Bestand von Offb hinausgeht“, und reklamieren entsprechend: „dann wird es immer unwahrscheinlicher, dass sich ‚die Worte der Prophetie dieses Buches‘ ausschließlich auf Offb beziehen können.“

3. *Die Verdichtung der Schriften zu neuer „Schrift“*

Die Verschmelzung der Referenztexte aus den Schriften Israels zu einer eigenen „Schrift“ hohen Anspruchs ermöglicht die Annahme, dass das „Einschmelzen“ des Rezipierten in der Rezeption ein hermeneutisches Programm des Sehers darstellt, in dem Offenbarungen Gottes in den Schriften zu einer neuen normativen Schrift verdichtet werden. Diese These hat sich an dem Selbstverständnis der Johannesoffenbarung als ein „geschriebenes“ „Buch,“ dessen Wortlaut es durch die „Textsicherungsformel“ schützt, bestätigt. Die Befestigung dieses „Geschriebenen“ bestätigt den Anspruch der Wirklichkeitskonstruktion auf Geltung für das Leben der Leser und Leserinnen. Die die Orientierungsleistung der Schriftautorität beanspruchende Sinnbildung und ihre ethischen Maßstäbe zielen auf aktive „Bewahrung.“ Die textexterne Welt soll im Licht der subversiven Erzählung durchschaut und der Glaube entsprechend in Abgrenzung zu den „heidnischen“ Kulturen und vor allem zur Kaiserverehrung gelebt werden. Die Sicherung des „Buches dieser Prophetie“ ist also kein statisches Konzept, sondern entspricht der Pragmatik seiner Erzählung.

THE THEOLOGOUMENON “NEW”:
BRIDGING THE OLD AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

Archibald L.H.M. van Wieringen

Introduction

For many years already, Maarten Menken, in honour of whom this contribution is cordially dedicated, has been dealing with the incidence of the Old Testament in the New Testament. His inaugural lecture, in which he deals with Old Testament quotations in 2 Thessalonians, already demonstrates this interest.¹

This interest cannot be considered separately from the Catholic context of exegetical study.² The Pontifical Bible Commission explicitly mentions the relationship between the Old and New Testament as one of the aspects of Catholic Bible interpretation.³ Because of the fact that this relationship is considered to be “far from simple,” the classic schema of “Old Testament announcement—New Testament fulfilment” is no longer adequate.⁴

During the last decades, research into the New Testament relationship to the Old Testament has developed immensely. It no longer only concerns the question as to which Hebrew, Greek or other text form of the Old Testament is used in the New Testament text. At present, the *context* of the Old and New Testament texts involved form the main point

¹ M.J.J. Menken, *Getransformeerde traditie: Christologie in 2 Tessalonicenzen* (Utrecht: Katholieke Theologische Universiteit te Utrecht, 1994) 15–19. See further the series edited by Maarten J.J. Menken and Steve Moyise, “The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel” and published by T&T Clark (*The Psalms in the New Testament*, 2004; *Isaiah in the New Testament*, 2005; *Deuteronomy in the New Testament*, 2007; *The Minor Prophets in the New Testament*, 2009).

² See M.S. Smith, “God in Israel’s Bible: Divinity between the World and Israel, between the Old and the New,” *CBQ* 74 (2012) 1–5.

³ Pontificia Commissio Biblica, *L’interprétation de la Bible dans l’Église* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1994) § III A 2.

⁴ See also: Pontificia Commissio Biblica, *Le peuple juif et ses Saintes Écritures dans la Bible chrétienne* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2001) especially § I A 2, § I D 4.

of discussion. A development has taken place from quotation analysis to context analysis.⁵

In this contribution, therefore, I wish to examine one aspect of this context: the theologoumenon “new.” For many centuries, indeed from its very inception, the concept “new” has been given much attention in Christian theological reflection. In the past, almost all Christian thinking and reflection began from the “newness” that Jesus Christ or Christianity was considered to have brought, and “new” was understood to be in opposition to “old,” with all its consequences for the classical Christian theological view on Judaism.⁶ I wish to show that the theologoumenon “new,” which arises in the Old Testament prophetic post-exilic literature and in which continuity and discontinuity play an important role,⁷ proves itself to be fertile and fruitful in Biblical writings and significant for the interpretation of similar literary expressions in New Testament texts.⁸

Biblical Prophecy

Biblical texts are not objective reports of historical events, but propaganda literature. Within the framework of the theological views of this

⁵ See Menken and Moyise, *Isaiah in the New Testament*, especially 279–283 and my description of the re-use of Isaiah in Ben Sira from the perspective of the implied reader: A.L.H.M. van Wieringen, “Sirach 48:17–25 and the Isaiah-Book: Hezekiah and Isaiah in the Book of Sirach and the Reader-Oriented Perspective of the Isaiah-Book,” in *Rewriting Biblical History* (ed. J. Corley and H. van Grol; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 7; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011) especially 204–207.

⁶ The use of the term “antithesis” regarding the relation between Old and New Testament or between Judaism and Christianity, is no exception, certainly not in German exegesis before World War II; see as a random example: M. Hoepers, *Der neue Bund bei den Propheten: Ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte der messianischen Erwartung* (FThSt 39; Freiburg: Herder, 1933) 118–121. See further the description of Adolf von Harnack and Rudolf Bultmann in: C.J. den Heyer, *Eén Bijbel—Twee Testamenten: De plaats van Israël in een Bijbelse Theologie* (Verkenning en Bezinning 1; Kampen: Kok, 1990) in particular 11–27. See for a survey of the exegesis in the 60s and 70s especially: E. Zenger, “Die Bundestheologie—ein derzeit vernachlässigtes Thema der Bibelwissenschaft und ein wichtiges Thema für das Verhältnis Israel—Kirche,” in *Der Neue Bund im Alten: Zur Bundestheologie der beiden Testamente* (ed. E. Zenger; QD 146; Freiburg: Herder, 1993) 13–41.

⁷ Pace for example: R.F. Collins, “New,” *ABD* 4 (1992) 1086–1087, according to whom the theologoumenon “new” does not start before the New Testament.

⁸ For the question as to the relation between literary (dis)continuity and historical (dis)continuity, see also: J.J. Collins, *The Bible after Babel: Historical Criticism in a Post-modern Age* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2005) 51.

propaganda, the theologoumenon “new” arises in the post-exilic prophetic Biblical literature.⁹

In Biblical literature, prophecy is closely related to developments during the period of the monarchy (1085–587 BCE). From a historical point of view, the period of the monarchy in Israel can be understood as being a successful filling in of the vacuum that the world power Egypt left behind, when, during the 21st dynasty, from about 1085 BCE, its political influence began to wane. Before the new world power from Mesopotamia had expanded its sphere of influence towards the Mediterranean, several small kingdoms arose in the Levant. The Kingdom Israel and the Kingdom Judah, which grew out of the initially undivided Kingdom of David and Solomon (if this kingdom indeed existed), are just two examples.¹⁰

The Biblical view, however, is different.¹¹ After the ideal start with David and Solomon, the period of the monarchy is considered to have been a succession of crises which went from bad to worse. The ideal Davidic kingdom split into two realms in 931 BCE: the Northern Kingdom Israel and the Southern Kingdom Judah. These two fratricidal realms even waged war against each other; a war which is nowadays known as the Syro-Ephraimite War, fought in ca. 734 BCE. The capture of Samaria, the downfall of the Northern Kingdom and the beginning of the Assyrian exile in 721 BCE, from which up until this very day no-one has returned, mark the next phase of this decline. Finally, it culminates in the capture of Jerusalem, the destruction of the temple, the downfall of the Southern Kingdom and the beginning of the Babylonian exile in 587 BCE.

Biblical prophecy is presented as being the counter-force during this decline. The post-exilic prophetic intention, which wishes to separate the faith in the Lord God from the political system of the monarchy, so that the faith in the Lord God will not perish with the decline and final ruin of the monarchy, but can survive, albeit in a different form, arises from the pre-exilic prophetic criticism on the monarchy. This view results in the post-exilic form of the theologoumenon “new.”

⁹ See for a first exposé: H. Renckens, *De godsdienst van Israël* (De godsdiensten der mensheid; Roermond: Romen & Zonen, 1962) 181–216; see also: H. Renckens *A Bible of Your Own: Growing with the Scriptures* (Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 1995) 53–68.

¹⁰ See K.L. Noll, *Canaan and Israel in Antiquity: An Introduction* (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 200–203.

¹¹ From a historical point of view, see W. Dietrich, *Die frühe Königszeit in Israel: 10. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Biblische Enzyklopädie 3; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1997) 274–277; from the perspective of the “canonical approach,” see B.S. Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 1992) 157–161.

Prophecy and Biblical Theologies

In expressing its criticisms, Biblical prophecy associates itself with already existing theologies, which do not originate from the prophecy itself.

(1) First of all, “king theology” has to be mentioned here. According to this theology, the real King is the Lord God, while the concrete king in Jerusalem is king only because of God’s consent. The preposition עִם “together with” marks the relation between God and the house of David (2 Sam 7:9; 1 Kgs 1:37; 11:38–39; 2 Kgs 18:3–7; Pss 89:25; 132:11–12).

The royal descriptions of the ideal leader in Isaiah in chapters 7, 9 and 11, as the Immanuel, as the Child that is born, and as the Sprout from the stump of Jesse, are critical counter-images to the failing King Ahaz.¹²

(2) The so-called “ברית—theology” is used in prophetic literature as well. This theology is already present in the Torah and primarily contains the promises given by God to Abraham and his seed (especially Gen 15:18; 17), and the Sinaitic revelation given by God to Moses and his people (especially Exod 19:5; 24). Because of the ברית, Abraham’s seed becomes God’s people; because of the gift of the Torah on the mountain of God, the people are affirmed as God’s people. Because of the ברית, God and the people receive their own distinctive role in relation to each other: God is the God of the people and the people are the people of God.¹³

The prophetic literature adopts this ברית—theology. It becomes especially visible in the use of the possessive pronouns and can be used both positively and negatively.

In Isa 6:9–10, the famous “*Verstockungsbericht*,” the people are indicated by using the aloof expression הזה העם “that people,” seeing blindly and hearing deafly. Conversely, in Isa 40:1, as the beginning of the main unit 40–66, the expression עמי “my people” is used in the mouth of God, who is called אלהיכם “your God,” the God of the people concerned.

A similar word-play can be seen in Hos 1–2, in which the son, begotten by the adulterous woman in 1:9, initially, at God’s instigation, is named לא עמי “not-my-people,” but, finally, is addressed by God using the words

¹² For a detailed analysis, see A.L.H.M. van Wieringen, *The Implied Reader in Isaiah 6–12* (BIS 34; Leiden: Brill, 1998) especially 244–245.

¹³ See Ch. Dohmen, “Der Sinaibund als Neuer Bund nach Ex 19–34,” in *Der Neue Bund im Alten: Zur Bundestheologie der beiden Testamente* (ed. E. Zenger; QD 146; Freiburg: Herder, 1993) 64–67.

"you are my people indeed." This transition also means a change in how God is referred to: he who once was called *עמי אלה* and now is called *עמי*, will say *אלהי* "my God indeed."

(3) "Creation theology" can also be mentioned here. The earth, the flora and the fauna, and humanity as well, are created by God. After the exile, this theological view will lead to the narrative of Gen 1:1–2:3.

Prophetic literature uses flora and fauna in colouring concrete situations. When the people fail and prophetic criticism resounds, the land is full of briars and thorns (Isa 7:23–25), but when they return to the land out of the exile, the steppe starts blossoming (Isa 35:1).¹⁴

The Prophetic Theologoumenon "New"

It appears that, regarding its theological expressions, prophetic literature does not lead to a new theology. However, in its post-exilic form, it has created a new theology using the theologoumenon "new." Wherever prophetic literature uses the word *חדש* and synonyms and other expressions from the word-field "new" as a theologoumenon, this is not meant as a *novum* as in opposition to something that is old, but rather expressing a continuity, which is closer to our word "anew," however in a different form, also implying a kind of discontinuity.¹⁵

In concreto, in prophetic literature, existing or contemporary theological expressions are elaborated with the theologoumenon "new," by which a prophetic-theological expression arises. In prophetic literature, various examples can be traced, in which continuity and discontinuity both play their own specific role.

(1) In this way, the "new David" arises within the framework of the "king theology." In order to indicate the "new David," the word "new" is not used, but (implicit) equivalents are.

¹⁴ See A.L.H.M. van Wieringen, "Jesaja 6–12: Die Vegetationsbildsprache und die prophetische Struktur," in *The Book of Isaiah / Le Livre d'Isaïe: Les oracles et leur relectures unité et complexité de l'ouvrage (Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense XXXVII)* (ed. J. Vermeylen; BETL 81; Leuven: Peeters, 1989) 203–207.

¹⁵ See P.J. Gräbe, *Der neue Bund in der frühchristlichen Literatur: Unter Berücksichtigung der alttestamentlich-jüdischen Voraussetzungen* (Forschung der Bibel 96; Würzburg: Echter, 2001) 53. The fact that the word *חדש* is etymologically connected to the waxing moon *חדש* could play a role here: R. Noth, "*חדש* *ḥādās*," *TWAT* (1979).

The royal counter-images in Isaiah start with the Immanuel, born from the עִלְמָה (Isa 7:14). This is the technical term for a woman until the birth of her first child, indicating that the first birth has to be considered as a new birth: it indicates a fresh inception of the house of David without the involvement of King Ahaz or anyone else from his inner circle. A Greek equivalent does not exist; both the translation παρθένης “virgin” and νεάνις “a young woman” are justifiable, on the understanding that the textual focus is not on the woman, but that the expression עִלְמָה emphasizes the newness of the Immanuel. The indication יֶלֶד “child,” namely within the framework of a birth, expressed by the verb יָלַד, shapes the aspect “new” in Isa 9:5. In Isa 11:1, the word הֹטֵר “sprout” has this function. Whereas Isa 7:14 indirectly alludes to David using the preposition עִם, David is mentioned explicitly in 9:6 concerning the Child and indirectly in 11:1 concerning the Sprout, using the proper name יֵשׁוּ.¹⁶

The “new David” does not mean a *de facto* restoration of the monarchy. Zerubbabel, being the grandson of Jehoiachin, the second last King of Judah, is put forward as a royal ruler in Ezra-Nehemiah and in the late prophetic books Haggai and Zechariah. He was involved in laying the foundation of the new temple in Jerusalem (Ezra 3:8; 5:2; Zech 4:9) and held the function of פָּחָה “governor” for some time (Hag 1:1, 14; 2:3, 22). In Hag 2:23, Zerubbabel is even indicated with the Davidic word עֶבֶד “servant,” which plays such an important role in the return of the people from the exile to Jerusalem in Isa 40–66. Nevertheless, Zerubbabel’s real function certainly does not concern the final responsibilities of a Persian satrap.¹⁷

The *continuity* in the theological expression “new David” embodies a *discontinuity* regarding the political system. The Davidic line finds new forms in the continuation of the Davidic promise. Supported by the absence of words like מֶלֶךְ “king,” the attention focuses on the implementation of law and justice and on the person who fully stands up for these. The continuity is found in the Davidic promise made by God, using the עִם-category; the discontinuity is found in the change of attitude of the

¹⁶ See A.L.H.M. van Wieringen, *The Reader-Oriented Unity Of The Book Isaiah* (ACEBTSS 6; Vught: Skandalon, 2006) 159–160.

¹⁷ See E.S. Gersteiner, *Israel in der Perserzeit: 5. Und 4. Jahrhundert v.Chr.* (Biblische Enzyklopädie 8; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005) especially 86–87. For the historical-literary (dis)continuity of Zerubbabel, see R.P. Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed: Reactions and responses to failure in the Old Testament prophetic traditions* (London: SCM Press, 1979) 162–168; P.R. Ackroyd, “Continuity and Discontinuity: Rehabilitation and Authentication,” in *Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament* (ed. D.A. Knight; The Biblical Seminar; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990) 224.

addressees, whose neglect of the promise will never again lead to a new threatening crisis.

(2) Regarding “creation theology,” this process of using the theologoumenon “new” occurs as well, resulting in the expression *שמים חדשים וארץ חדשה* “new heaven and new earth” in Isa 65:17; 66:12. The terms *שמים* and *ארץ*, which form a fixed word pair in Biblical texts, indicate the entire decor within which the Biblical texts take place. In Isaiah, this decor is explicitly mentioned in the introduction as well as in the conclusion. In chapter 1, the accusation against Jerusalem, which, in verse 9, is considered as being a Sodom and Gomorra, is formulated before “heaven and earth” (verse 2). When, after the return from the exile, the rebuilding of Jerusalem and its temple takes place, this new Jerusalem is situated within the decor of heaven and earth once again, now indicated as *שמים חדשים וארץ חדשה*. Indicating God’s activity, the verb *ברא* “to create” is used for both the decor of heaven and earth and for Jerusalem (Isa 65:17–18).¹⁸

(3) The prophetic expression *ברית חדשה* “new covenant” occurs in Jer 31:31–33.¹⁹ It is composed of the *ברית*-theology in combination with the prophetic theologoumenon “new.” God’s promises are continued in a new, post-exilic state of affairs. Although the discontinuity is discernible in the past experience of exile (an interruption), the continuity is expressed, in the fact that the decline of the Northern and Southern Kingdom did not mean the end of the relationship of the people Israel with the Lord God. Exactly because of this, anything suggesting an old covenant is absent in the context of Jer 31:31–33. The new covenant is nothing other than the old one, an expression of continuity, on the understanding that, now, it is free from any possible interruption, an expression of the discontinuity with the pre-exilic situation.²⁰

(4) In the framework of the prophetic re-interpretation of the “covenant theology,” the idea of the “new name” occurs. As a literal expression, it only occurs in Isa 62:2, but as a process it is also present in Hos 1–2.

¹⁸ For an elaborate analysis, see van Wieringen, *Reader-Oriented Unity*, especially 98.

¹⁹ For a detailed analysis, see B. Becking, *Between Fear and Freedom: Essays on the Interpretation of Jeremiah 30–31* (OTS 51; Leiden: Brill, 2004) especially 245–263.

²⁰ See in particular: A. Schenker, “Der nie aufgehobene Bund: Exegetische Beobachtungen zu Jer 31,31–34,” in *Der Neue Bund im Alten: Zur Bundestheologie der beiden Testamente* (ed. E. Zenger; QD 146; Freiburg: Herder, 1993) 112.

In Isa 40–66, both Zion and the Servant receive new names.²¹ Concerning Zion, these new names are mentioned concretely (Isa 60:14.18; 61:3, 6; 62:4.12; cf. 1:26); however concerning the Servant they are not (43:1; 45:3–4; 49:1), although the well-known name **ישראל** is mentioned regarding him (Isa 48:1).

Against this background, the naming of the new Davidide in Isa 9:5 can be understood as well: **פלא יועץ אל גבור אביעד שר שלום** “deviser of wonderfulness, heroic mighty one, father of eternity, ruler of peace” all function as programmatic titles.²²

In the realization of the theologoumenon “new” in the “new name,” the continuity and discontinuity can be discerned in the role of Zion/Jerusalem. The city remains in focus and once again becomes an inhabitable place. The continuation is situated on God’s side. The discontinuity is found on the addressees’ side, expressed in their new names. The role of the Zion-inhabitants has been changed. They are no longer adulterous or idolatrous, but once again faithful to the Lord God.²³

(5) Finally, the “new exodus” has to be mentioned. The key text is Isa 43:16–19. In this text, the Lord speaks. Before rendering his direct speech, the Lord is described as doing certain activities: he “gives” a path through the sea (participle **גוֹתֵן**), i.e. a path through the mighty waters, and he “brings forth” the horse-cavalry (participle **מוֹצִיא**). But this mounted army lies down (*yiqtol*-forms **יִשְׁכְּבוּ** and **יִקוּמוּ**), because it has become exhausted (*qatal*-forms **דָּעֲכוּ** and **כָּבוּ**). Next, the Lord speaks and beckons to see the **חדשה** “newness” and to no longer remember the **ראשונות** “former things.”²⁴

The identification of “the newness” is clear and is connected to the return out of exile, but the identification of “the former things” has resulted in many discussions. In the past, “the former things” were equated with the exodus out of Egypt, in view of the images of a path through the waters and an army with horses that became stuck (Exod 14–15). Because of the

²¹ Cf. M.C.A. Korpel, “The Female Servant of the Lord in Isaiah 54,” in *On Reading Prophetic Texts: Gender-Specific and Related Studies in Memory of Fokkelen van Dijk-Hemmes* (ed. B. Becking and M. Dijkstra; BIS 18; Leiden: Brill, 1996) especially 163–164.

²² According to B. Gosse, *David and Abraham: Persian Period Traditions* (Transeuphratène Supplément 16; Pendé: Gabalda, 2010) 69, the re-naming of Abram into Abraham in Gen 17:5 should be situated in the Persian period and expresses a post-exilic theology.

²³ See van Wieringen, *Reader-Oriented Unity*, especially 186–187.

²⁴ See further H. Leene, *De vroegere en de nieuwe dingen bij Deuterofjesaja* (Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij, 1987) 21–22; van Wieringen, *Reader-Oriented Unity*, 66–68.

fact that God's activity concerning the path through the sea and the cavalry takes place in the now-moment of the text in Isaiah, the Egypt-exodus cannot be the antecedent of "the former things."²⁵ "The former things" have to be identified with the past failure of the addressees; the newness takes the form of the old well-known activity of God concerning a path through the sea and a cavalry becoming stuck. What could be considered as "old," namely the liberation from Egypt, is actualized in a new liberation. A way out of the house of slavery, Egypt, becomes a way out of the house of exile, Babel; the path through the sea of water, becomes a path through the sea of sand (i.e. the sandy desert situated between Babel and Zion/Jerusalem).

In this realization of the theologoumenon "new," the continuity is found in the continuation of God's liberating activity. The discontinuity is connected only with the different place where the liberation takes place; a different place due to the guilt of the addressees, but which belongs to a past that is no longer allowed to be remembered.

The Hasidic Reception of the Theologoumenon "New"

Biblical prophecy terminates shortly after the Babylonian exile. Its discriminating task has been accomplished. The prophetic hermeneutics of the theologoumenon "new," however, is continued in post-prophetic texts. It is true that the theologoumenon "new" is historically embedded, namely in the experiences of the monarchy ending in the exile and the return out of that exile, but it cannot be equated to a specific historical reference.²⁶ Because of this, it can be re-used in new situations and transformed in new texts with new readers. In this way, it can combine continuity, namely on the side of the Lord God, and discontinuity, namely on the side of the people of God.

In the 2nd century BCE, the continuation of the prophetic theologoumenon "new" is expressed in the literary phrase שִׁיר חֲדָשׁ "a new song," especially in texts which are related to the Hasidim.²⁷ Characteristic is Ps 149. This psalm enables the transition of the "you" to the praise of the Hasidim's assembly, using the call formulated in verse 1 to sing to the Lord שִׁיר חֲדָשׁ "a new song." Because of the fact that, in verse 5, the characters "I",

²⁵ Therefore *pace* C. Westermann, "שִׁיר חֲדָשׁ *hādāš neu*," *THAT* 1 (1978).

²⁶ Cf. Becking, *Jeremiah 30–31*, 263.

²⁷ See also: Westermann, "*neu*," p. 530.

“you” and “the Hasidim” merge, this transition takes place in the course of the psalm. In this way, this psalm forms the climax in the literary identity, in which the indications **ישראל** “Israel” and **בני ציון** “sons of Zion” are appropriated (verse 2). Pss 144–145, which belong to the literary production of the Hasidim, contain the expression **שיר חדש** as well.²⁸

The expression **שיר חדש** does not indicate a change in the praise to God. God’s praise has already been sung and does not change at all. In the expression **שיר חדש**, the praise which has to be sung to God, is continued and marks, therefore, the aspect of continuity in the theologoumenon “new.” The discontinuity takes place, again, on the side of God’s people. In times of a new crisis and threat evolving from Jewish Hellenism and the Seleucian oppression, a change is expected on the side of the faithful.

Because of the fact that the Hasidim are not only responsible for the conclusion of the book of Psalms, but, of course, also for its final redaction, it is not surprising that this expression occurs elsewhere in the Psalms as well. Besides in the psalms of David 33:3; 40:4, the expression plays a role in 96:1; 98:1, which belong to the later Pss 93–100 concerning the Lord’s kingship. In a syntactically identical context, the call resounds to sing a new song, against the background of the power of the Lord over all nations.²⁹

This interest in liturgy cannot be dissociated from the hymn in 1 Chron 16 as being the ideal psalm. David organizes the liturgy and places singers in the temple. Next, the text narrates as to how to sing. The text of the psalm is a kaleidoscope of allusions to Pss 96; 105; 106. Especially the conclusion of the hymn shows the ideal function by re-shaping the doxology in Ps 106:48 into a narrative action in 1 Chr 16:36.³⁰ By emphasizing this role of David, a connection to the “new David” in the prophetic literature occurs as well.

The New Testament Reception of the Prophetic Theologoumenon “New”

In New Testament texts, the prophetic theologoumenon “new” is re-used as well. The literary expressions in the New Testament in which “new”

²⁸ H. van Grol, “1 Chronicles 16: The Chronicler’s Psalm and Its View of History,” in *Rewriting Biblical History*, 57.

²⁹ See F.-L. Hossfeld and E. Zenger, *Psalmen 51–100* (HTKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2000) 34.668.

³⁰ See van Grol, “1 Chronicles 16,” 112.

plays a role,³¹ become more expressive against the background of this theologoumenon.

(1) In view of the *Wirkungsgeschichte*, the expression ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη “the new covenant” is the most eye-catching.

(a) This expression mainly occurs in texts concerning the last meal of Jesus together with his disciples the day before his death, in the synoptic gospels mentioned in Matt 26:28; Luke 22:20 and in the Pauline writings in 1 Cor 11:25.³²

Although the meal itself in Matthew (and Mark) on the one hand and in Luke and 1 Cor 11 on the other hand, has a different position, the pattern of actions is one and the same, both concerning the bread and the cup: taking + saying a blessing (+ breaking) + giving + explaining. The content of the blessing or thanksgiving of Jesus is not narrated. The expression ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη does not belong to the blessing; it is part of Jesus’ word of explanation, which accompanies his action of giving and which clarifies his cup-action to his table-companions.

Being characteristic to “covenant theology,” the personal and possessive pronouns are very important here. The expression καινὴ διαθήκη is not combined with a possessive pronoun, but with a definite article: ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη “the new covenant.” Jesus connects his blood to this defined new covenant, using the personal pronoun μου “of mine.” This new covenant, therefore, is not the new covenant of the character Jesus,³³ but the already existing new covenant, namely the one which is mentioned in the prophetic literature, most explicitly in Jer 31:31.³⁴ To this covenant, Jesus connects his own life using the personal pronoun μου connected to

³¹ Besides the literary New Testament expressions containing the theologoumenon “new,” broader theological contexts play a role as well, which I cannot deal with here; for an example see R.E. Watts, *Isaiah’s New Exodus and Mark* (WUNT 88; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997).

³² Further, the expression is used in 2 Cor 3:6.

³³ Pace J. Gnllka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus (Mk 8,27–16,20)* (EKK 2/2; Zürich: Benziger, 1979) 241 who believes that the “new covenant” starts with the cup of the Last Supper. Pace Gräbe, *Der neue Bund*, 104 who neglects the element “new” and the use of the personal pronoun μου.

³⁴ Cf. A. Schenker, *Das Neue am neuen Bund und das Alte am alten: Jer 31 in der hebräischen und griechischen Bibel* (FRLANT 212; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006) 94–95 about the role of the Septuagint of Jer 31:31.

the word αἷμα "blood."³⁵ Next, the prophetic use of the theologoumenon "new" is emphasized by a prophetic word of Jesus in Matt 26:19; Mark 14:25; Luke 22:15–18.

The issue of continuity and discontinuity in the theologoumenon "new," therefore, is different from the way (dis)continuity plays a role in the expression ברית חדשה "new covenant" in the prophetic literature. The transition to the newness has already taken place in the Old Testament new covenant;³⁶ Jesus has no (different) new covenant. What happens is the adoption by Jesus of the new covenant to his own life. Jesus, therefore, uses the personal pronoun μὲν, but also involves his table-companions, exactly because of the fact that the explanatory direct speech occurs during his action of giving. In Luke 22:19, 20; 1 Cor 11:24, this involvement is intensified by the words ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν "for you." Paul also involves the celebrating assembly in 1 Cor 11:26.³⁷

(b) In Hebrews, partly different words are used concerning ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη. In my view, these words can be further understood against the background of the theologoumenon "new."³⁸ In chapters 8–10, the theme of the covenant is discussed, explicitly referring to Jer 31:31 in Heb 8:8–12 and using the words πρώτη "first," δεύτερα "second"³⁹ and καινὴ / νεά "new." The word παλαιά "old," however, does not occur; the verb παλαιῶω "to make old" does.

Using these words, Hebrews places itself at the centre of the tension between continuity and discontinuity. On the one hand, it believes in a

³⁵ Cf. B. Lang, "Der Becher als Bundeszeichen: 'Bund' und 'neuer Bund' in den neutestamentlichen Abendmahlstexten," in *Der Neue Bund im Alten*, especially 211–212 who believes that the expression (καινὴ) διαθήκη does not derive from the historical Jesus, but that the paschal congregation made the connection between Jesus' blood and the Old Testament "new covenant."

³⁶ Pace Gräbe, "Der neue Bund," 120 who thinks in terms of a contrast between the time before and after Christ (meaning with "Christ" not the theologoumenon "Christ," but the historical figure of Jesus Christ).

³⁷ For the actualization towards the celebrating assembly found in the Roman Eucharistic prayer, see: A.L.H.M. van Wieringen, "Citeert *Qui pridie?*," in *Kleine Geschiedenissen* (ed. P.J.A. Nissen and J.E.A. Ackermans; Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1995) 17–20. For the New Testament context, see B. van Iersel, *Marcus: Uitgelegd aan andere lezers* (Baarn: Gooi & Sticht, 1997) 395.

³⁸ For a good description of the "strangeness" of Hebrews, see K. Backhaus, *Der neue Bund und das Werden der Kirche: Die Diatheke-Deutung des Hebräerbriefs im Rahmen der frühchristlichen Theologiegeschichte* (NTA 29; Münster: Aschendorff, 1996) 355–363.

³⁹ Cf. John 4:54.

continuation of especially the cult in Jesus Christ,⁴⁰ while on the other hand, it observes a transition to a new situation in which this cult is fulfilled by Jesus Christ forever and does not need to be continued by faulty people. The reason why the covenant concerned is said to be οὐκ ἄμεμπτος "not blameless," is not due to God's fault, but due to the fault of the people of the covenant (cf. Rom 7:12; 8:3), just as the discontinuity in the theologoumenon "new" in prophetic literature is situated on the side of the people of the covenant as well.⁴¹

(2) Besides "covenant theology," creation theology also plays an important role in the reception of the theologoumenon "new" in the New Testament.

(a) Especially in the Pauline literature, the connection between "new" and "creation" occurs. It takes its form in various combinations: καινότης ζωῆς "newness of life" (Rom 6:4), καινὴ κτίσις "new creation" (2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15) and καινὸς ἄνθρωπος / νέος (ἄνθρωπος) "new man" (Eph 2:15; 4:24; Col 3:10).

The oldest text is Gal 6:15, in which Paul rejects circumcision because of the faithful being a καινὴ κτίσις. In this way, the question as to continuity and discontinuity is posed explicitly. The discontinuity regarding circumcision, also influenced by the prophetic text of Jer 4:4, in which the circumcision of the flesh and the circumcision of the heart are contrasted (see Deut 10:16; 30:6), a circumcision that Paul connects to baptism in Rom 2:29, benefits the continuity on behalf of God in his liberating care for people who wish to believe. In 2 Cor 5:17–18 too, Paul emphasizes this continuity on behalf of God using the expression ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ "from God." The new creation has its consequences in the judgement of people and thus marks a transition: judgement no longer takes place according to the criteria of the world, but according to God's criteria.

In Rom 6:4, therefore, καινότης ζωῆς is mentioned within the framework of baptism, which is understood as being a transition from death to life with Christ. This transition has ethical consequences, which are also mentioned in Rom 7:6, the conclusion of the pericope 6:1–7:6, using the word καινότης "newness," combined with πνεῦμα "spirit."⁴²

⁴⁰ See Gräbe, "Der neue Bund," 134 who emphasizes the continuity as well.

⁴¹ Cf. J. de Vuyst, "Oud en Nieuw Verbond" in *de Brief aan de Hebreëen* (Kampen: Kok, 1964) 256.

⁴² See U. Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer (Röm 6–11)* (EKK 6/2; Zürich: Benziger, 1980) 69–70.

(b) In Ephesians and Colossians, which belong together regarding style and content and which, although not written by Paul himself, are obviously Pauline, the expression *καινός άνθρωπος / νέος (άνθρωπος)* is elaborated concerning the issue of the unity between Jews and Greeks/pagans in Christ. Ethical consequences are mentioned once again. Continuity is granted in Christ, whereas Jesus himself embodies the discontinuity: the Christ has been preached already for a very long time, but now this Christ has become truth in Jesus (Eph 4:21).

This elaboration in later Pauline texts is possibly connected to the growing distinction between Jews and Christians as two “independent” groups. The experience of this discontinuity is textually expressed in the continuity of the new man, exactly as this unity was found in Adam and in Abraham before the distinction between Jews and non-Jews and which is restored in the new man.⁴³

(c) Further, the new decor of heaven and earth is re-used in *καινοὶ οὐρανοὶ καὶ γῆ καινὴ / καινός οὐρανός καὶ γῆ καινὴ* “a new heaven and a new earth” in 2 Pet 3:13; Rev 21:1. This re-use is connected to the eschatological perspective that is expected in Christ. From this perspective, the expression *καινός ὄνομα* “a new name” is re-used in two of the letters to the seven churches (Rev 2:17; 3:12).

(3) Finally, the expression *ὥδῃ καινὴ* “a new song” in Rev 5:9; 14:3 has to be mentioned. The fact that the Hasidim, from whom this expression is borrowed, had a strong eschatological awareness, possibly plays a role here.⁴⁴ Once again, it is not a change in the praise to God that is at issue, but rather a change on the side of those who are singing God’s praise.

The New Testament Elaboration of the Prophetic Theologoumenon “New”

New Testament texts not only re-use the prophetic theologoumenon “new” via the Hasidic reception, but also contain a specific elaboration in line with this theologoumenon by combining “new” to other theological concepts. I wish to outline these elaborations in short by enumerating them.

⁴³ Cf. J. Behm, “καινός, καινότης, ἀνακαινίζω, ἀνακαινώω, ἀνακαινώσις, ἐγκαινίζω,” *TWNT* 3 (1938) 452; R. Schnackenburg, *Der Brief an die Epheser* (EKK 10; Zürich: Benziger, 1982) 332–336; J.R. Lundbom, “New Covenant,” *ABD* 4 (1992) 1093–1094.

⁴⁴ H. van Grol, “War and Peace in the Psalms: Some Compositional Explorations,” in *Visions of Peace and Tales of War* (ed. J. Liesen and P.C. Beentjes; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2010; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010) 186–188.

(1) Firstly, the "new Adam," which occurs in 1 Cor 15:45, has to be mentioned here. Paul does not use the word "new," but the words *πρῶτος* "first" and *ἔσχατος* "last." Continuity and discontinuity also play a role in explaining Jesus' resurrection from death. The life of man is continued, but in a different way because of the resurrection of the man Jesus. This implies that, once again, the discontinuity is located on the side of men, whereas God stands for the continuity.

(2) The combination with the concept *ἐντολή* "commandment" is prominent. The expression *καινή ἐντολή* "a new commandment" is characteristic for the Johannine literature. In John 13:34, Jesus gives his disciples a new commandment: loving each other, namely in the way Jesus has loved his disciples. Concerning the content, loving each other is not a new commandment at all. This commandment frequently occurs in Old Testament law texts (see e.g. Lev 19:18). The new commandment intends no contrast to or discontinuity with some old commandment, but rather a continuation of the already existing commandment. The theologoumenon "new" here once again means "anew." The moment at which Jesus gives the new commandment, however, is relevant: his own group is about to let him down and, thus, is about to do exactly the opposite of the new commandment.

The continuation which is expressed by the theologoumenon "new" here, is made explicit in 1 John 2:7–8; 2 John 1:5. A possible contrast between *καινή* "new" and *παλαιά* "old" is not at issue; the continuity is even expressed using the words *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* "from the beginning."⁴⁵

(3) The eschatologically re-used forms of the theologoumenon "new" in Revelation are elaborated using the expression *Ἱερουσαλή καινή* "the new Jerusalem" (Rev 3:12; 21:2). Moreover, in the end, all things become *καινά* "new things" in Revelation (21:5).

(4) In New Testament texts, the word "new" is used in a few other circumstances, which may be comprehended from the perspective of the theologoumenon "new" as well. In Mark 1:27 *ἡ διδαχὴ ἡ καινὴ αὕτη* "this new teaching" occurs (cf. Acts 17:19). Against the background of the theologoumenon "new," this expression intends the continuation of the proper

⁴⁵ See: H.-J. Klauck, *Der erste Johannesbrief* (EKK 23/1; Zürich: Benziger, 1991) 122; Cf. M.J.J. Menken, *1, 2 en 3 Johannes: Een praktische bijbelverklaring* (Tekst en toelichting; Kampen: Kok, 2010) 38 who relates "new" to the *eschaton* that has started with Jesus.

story about the God of Israel in contrast to the regulations of the scribes and Pharisees.

The metaphor used in Matt 9:17; Mark 2:21–22; Luke 5:36–39 is significant seen against the background of the theologoumenon “new” as well. It rejects a contrast between a negative “old” and a positive “new,” in favour of “old.” After all, “old” has to do with continuity as well (cf. Matt 13:52).⁴⁶

To end with, the expression *μνημεῖον καινόν* “a new grave” is used in Matt 27:60; John 19:41. Against the background of the theologoumenon “new,” this expression of newness might anticipate the resurrection.

(5) Finally, the theological idea of the “new Moses” has to be mentioned here. It is not expressed by using the word “new.” Within the framework of this contribution, I can only indicate two forms of expression in brief.

- (a) Without making use of the proper name “Moses,” a strong similarity between the characters Jesus and Moses is created by the first form. This occurs e.g. in Matthew: the massacre of the innocents (Matt 2:16–18 // Exod 1:15–22), the return from Egypt (Matt 2:19–21 // Exod 13:17–15:21) and the forty days in the desert (Matt 4:1–2 // Exod 24:18) are well-known examples. The setting of the Sermon on the Mount in 5:1–2 also indicates this parallelism: the position of Jesus and Moses, of the disciples and the elders and of the people are the same in Matthew and in Exodus.⁴⁷
- (b) The second form uses the proper name “Moses.” A good example is John 1:17. Because the conjunction *ἀλλά* “but” is not used here, not a contrast, but rather a parallelism is intended.⁴⁸ The notions *χάρις* “grace” and *ἀλήθεια* “truth,” therefore, are not in contrast to *ὁ νόμος* “the law.”

⁴⁶ See: J. Lambrecht, *Nieuw en oud uit de schat: De parabels in het Matteüsevangelie* (Leuven: Vlaamse Bijbelstichting, 1991) 168–169 according to whom “Law and Prophets,” in Matthews’ view, remain valid for Christians.

⁴⁷ See S. Pasala, *The “Drama” of the Messiah in Matthew 8 and 9: A Study from a Communicative Perspective* (EHS.T 866; Bern: Peter Lang, 2008) 115.

⁴⁸ Cf. A.J. Köstenberger, “John,” in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (ed. G.K. Beale and D.A. Carson, Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2007) 422 who, furthermore, points out the analogy with Exod 34:6.

Concluding Remark

The theologoumenon “new,” originating from the prophetic post-exilic literature, is richly used in Biblical texts. It evokes that, in the relationship Old Testament—New Testament, the “New” Testament should be considered as being at least an essential continuation of what we anachronistically call the “Old” Testament. Neither Jesus nor the New Testament offer something new in contrast to something that is old, but both Jesus and the New Testament texts must primarily be understood as being the continuation of what already exists, in the prophetic literature and in the Hasidic literature. Paul, therefore, uses the expression *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς* “according to the Scriptures” in 1 Cor 15:3–4. It is exactly this expression which was chosen by the Nicea-Constantinople Council in its formulation of the catholic symbolum: *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*. Faith is based on old texts which count for new.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ I am greatly indebted to Drs. Maurits J. Sinninghe Damsté, Musselkanaal, the Netherlands, for the English correction of this contribution.

"WHICH IF A MAN DO THEM HE SHALL LIVE BY THEM":
JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN DISCOURSE ON LEV 18:5

Eric Ottenheijm

Jewish and Christian interpretations of the second part of Lev 18:5 (אשר) יעשה אתם האדם וחי בהם, "which if a man do them, he shall live by them") have been the object of recent scholarly interest. This verse appears two times in Paul's letters (Rom 10:5 and Gal 3:12). James Dunn considers it as reflecting the core theology of the Judaism Paul knew by cultural upbringing and his Pharisaic education, typified by Sanders as "covenantal nomism."¹ In Dunn's analysis, the verse stipulates the religious paradigm of living under the regulatory directions of the Law, a view fiercely rejected by Paul. Dunn's synthesis has, however, become questioned. Simon Gathercole plausibly argues that the key words "live by them" were understood in Paul's times not only as referring to covenantal life but also as gaining eternal life.² We will argue that Lev 18:5 was also quoted to discuss the issue of whether and how man was able to keep the Law, either with respect to earthly or eternal life. To make this case we concentrate on the first part of the quote. Our aim is to analyse the interpretations in a systemic way by focusing on the ways in which these readings assess "which if a man do them," in the light of "he shall live by them." Thus we will argue that first and early second Century CE sources quote Lev 18:5 in discussions on whether and how it is possible to keep the Law.

¹ J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans 9–16* (WBC 38b; Dallas TX: Word Books, 1988) 601: "Lev. 18.5 can be regarded as a typical expression of what Israel saw as its obligation and promise under the covenant."

² S.J. Gathercole, "Torah, life, and salvation: Leviticus 18:5 in Early Judaism and the New Testament," in *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New* (ed. C.A. Evans; Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2004) 126–145. Rabbinic distinctions between life as this life and "life in the world to come" appear in *Sipra Ahare Mot* 9, 13; see Fr. Avemarie, *Tora und Leben: Untersuchungen zur Heilsbedeutung der Tora in der frühen rabbinischen Literatur* (TSAJ 35; Tübingen: Mohr, 1996) 377, 390–391; *Midr. Tannaim* on Deut 16:18 (ed. Hoffmann 96f); compare on this text Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 439–441. Avemarie, *Tora und Leben* 383, notes 54, 55 observes that this distinction appears later in comparison with texts that refer to eternal life.

Early Jewish Texts on Lev 18:5

There is no methodology to discern intentional readings of Lev 18:5 in early Jewish texts. Gathercole pragmatically detects traditions by looking at a sequence of minimally two words from Lev 18:5. Following this method a limited number of texts qualify.³

1. *LXX Lev 18:5*

The LXX version of Lev 18:5 has two noteworthy aspects. Firstly, it accentuates the point that all laws must be obeyed by man in order to live: “and you shall keep all my orders and all my statutes and you shall do them (καὶ φυλάξεσθε πάντα τὰ προστάγματά μου καὶ πάντα τὰ κρίματά μου καὶ ποιήσετε αὐτά).” Remarkably, Paul does not use the doubly mentioned adverb πάντα (all) which, following the paradigm of Dunn, might have served his rhetoric well.⁴ Secondly, the LXX translates ‘live’ with a future tense: ἃ ποιήσας ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς. The future reading in LXX Psalms has been analysed as indicating an eschatological interpretation, and in other instances the LXX follows this tendency. Possibly an eschatological perspective is present here as well.⁵

2. *Philo*

In *De Congressu Eruditionis Gratia* 86–87 Philo quotes Lev 18:5 in a version close to the LXX: ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς. In a metaphorical manner Philo opposes the life as a youngster in Egypt with an adult’s life in Canaan. The Biblical commandments are interpreted as instructions to abandon customs of people in the Land that concur with human nature and to attain true wisdom and a virtuous life: “Therefore, real true life, above everything else, consists in the judgments and commandments of God, so that the customs and practices of the impious must be death.” Living the Law thus equals reaching a higher state of mind and is tantamount to what the Greeks call the “good life,” including life after death.⁶ Finally,

³ Gathercole, “Torah, Life, and Salvation,” 129. We do not discuss texts assessed negatively by Gathercole such as Bar 4:1, *Let. Aris.* 127, 1QS 4, texts included though in James Dunn’s discussion of Lev 18:5.

⁴ Avemarie, *Torah und Leben*, 587, note 23. The addition πάντα further only occurs in LXX Lev 18:26.

⁵ Gathercole, “Torah, Life, and Salvation,” 129–132.

⁶ Gathercole, “Torah, Life, and Salvation,” 128. A similar explanation of Lev 18:5 is offered by Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 2, X 47, 1–2 (3).

the opposition Law-life versus impious customs-death is reminiscent of the Two-Ways teaching.⁷

3. *Psalms of Solomon*

A reading of Lev 18:5 is manifest in the *Pss Sol.* 14:1–3: “The Lord is faithful to those who truly love him, to those who endure his discipline, to those who live in the righteousness of his commandments, in the Law, which he has commanded for our life (πορευομένοις ἐν δικαιοσύνη προσταγμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐν νόμῳ ᾧ ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν εἰς ζωὴν ἡμῶν). The Lord’s devout shall live by it forever (ἄσποιο κυρίου ζήσονται ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα); the Lord’s paradise, the trees of life, are his devout ones.” (transl. Wright 1985)⁸ It is part of a hymn contrasting the fate of the righteousness with the “sinners and criminals” (14:6), who will inherit “Hades, and darkness and destruction” (14:9). The righteous will inherit life (future ζήσονται), spelled out in eschatological terms (εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα) as a result of living within the Law (ἐν αὐτῷ).⁹ This life implies an embodied existence in a Messianic era, or participating in the resurrection, a destiny not shared by the sinners.¹⁰ The basis for this eschatological life is living within the Law. However, other than some cultic remarks, legal specifications for this life or ethical rules are not given.¹¹

4. *Damascus Covenant*

Among the explicit comments a passage in the Damascus Covenant ranks as first. This document was considered to reflect the early stages of a Jewish sect close to the Essene movement and the later Qumran community.¹²

⁷ G.S. Oegema, *Für Israel und die Völker: Studien zum alttestamentlich-jüdischen Hintergrund der paulinischen Theologie* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) 95. The motif of the Two Ways Doctrine was widespread in early Judaism and known in Greek thought as well, H. Van de Sandt and D. Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity* (CRINT III/5) (Assen/Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 2002) 58.

⁸ *Psalms of Solomon* were composed in Palestine either in the second half of the first Century BCE or the first half of the first century CE; R.B. Wright, “Psalms of Solomon,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Volume II. Expansions of the ‘Old Testament’ and Legends, Wisdom, and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985) 641.

⁹ Thus Gathercole, “Torah, Life, and Salvation,” 133.

¹⁰ Wright, “Psalms of Solomon,” 643, 645.

¹¹ Wright, “Psalms of Solomon,” 645.

¹² See discussion in J.J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2010) 12–51.

But with those who remained steadfast in God's precepts, with those who were left from among them, God established his covenant with Israel for ever, revealing to them hidden matters in which all Israel had gone astray: his holy sabbaths and his glorious feasts, his just stipulations and his truthful paths, and the wishes of his will which man must do in order to live by them and they dug a well of plentiful water; and whoever spurns them shall not live. (CD III, 13–16)¹³

The basic rhetoric of this fragment asserts that keeping the Law is only possible in its sectarian setting. The phraseology "hidden matters" echoes Deut 29:28 and connotes the revelation of the meaning of the commandments by the Teacher of Righteousness.¹⁴ Sabbath and feast days are mentioned in particular, probably because of the specific sectarian calendar held by the community. The text addresses a community that strictly adheres to the commandments as taught by the author of the document and thus represents the prophetic "rest of Israel," the kernel of an eschatological community. Its claim is that the Law only promises life to those who perform it in its sectarian interpretation.¹⁵ The phrase, "which a man must do in order to live by them," reiterates the words of Lev 18:5 and stresses the necessity to practise the Law in the manner in which it is taught in the community. Adhering to the sectarian Law is the condition for obtaining (eternal) life.

5. 4 Ezra

The apocalyptic treatise *4 Ezra* is constructed in the form of a dialogue between Ezra and the angel Uriel and written at the end of the first century CE, after the demise of the Temple in 70, which event it reflects

¹³ Translation F. García-Martínez and E. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition. Vol. 1* (Leiden, 1997) 35. In a parallel of this text in fragment 4QD^a 11 11–12, the words "by them" are omitted.

¹⁴ A. Shemesh and C. Werman, "Hidden Things and their Revelation," *RevQ* 18/71 (1998) 409–427. The enigmatic figure of the Teacher of Righteousness refers to past, present and eschatological teachers of the community and denotes the interpretative authority of the sect; F. García-Martínez, "Beyond the Sectarian Divide: The 'Voice of the Teacher' as Authoritative Conferring Strategy in Some Qumran Texts," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts* (ed. S. Metso, H. Najman and E. Schuller; Leiden: Brill, 2010) 235 and compare Collins, *Qumran Community*, 37–38.

¹⁵ The movement, according to Collins, *Qumran Community* 36, responds to a divine initiative in a manner that "does involve a conversion in practice, a turning away from a way of life that is perceived as sinful and a "return" to the strict observance of the law of Moses."

upon.¹⁶ Its main issue is the question of theodicy in terms of God's justice and mercy and Israel's faithfulness to God's covenant.¹⁷ The passage concerned discusses the perfect character of the Law and man's obligation to keep it:

You are not a better judge than God, or wiser than the Most High! Let many perish who are now living, rather than that the law of God which is set before them be disregarded! For God strictly commanded those who came into the world, when they came, *what they should do to live*, and what they should observe to avoid punishment. (mandans enim mandavit Deus venientibus quando venerunt, *quid facientes viverent* et quid observantes non punirentur). (4 Ezra 7:20–21)

It is unclear whether the text intentionally alludes to Lev 18:5.¹⁸ However, the opposition of life and punishment revokes the Biblical opposition so typical of the theology of the Law in Lev 26. 4 Ezra attributes sin to this generation due to their failure to keep the Law, the punishment for which was the destruction of Jerusalem.¹⁹ Ezra's defence is that since Adam man has not been able to uphold all of the Law (4 Ezra 3:21–22).²⁰ However, 4 Ezra's answer, by means of the angelic voice, is that God's justice is linked to adhering to all the commandments, even if only a few men will be able to do this (4 Ezra 8:1). A dualistic view on humanity as divided between "apostates who repudiate God and his commandments, and the righteous who keep the Law perfectly" permeates this text.²¹ In the new, Messianic age, which is about to come, reward and punishment will be meted out.²²

In this theodicy, the last sentence of our fragment states that all men are informed by God of the practice which enables men to live and how to avoid punishment, for "it is better for transgressors to perish than for the

¹⁶ M. Henze, "4 Ezra and 2 Baruch: Literary Composition and Oral Performance in First-Century Apocalyptic Literature," *JBL* 131 (2012) 181–200 shows that it contains traditions circulating probably in oral form.

¹⁷ Bauckham, "Apocalypses," in *Justification and Variegated Nomism. Volume 1: The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism* (ed. D.A. Carson, P.T. O'Brien and M.A. Seifrid; Tübingen: Mohr, 2001) 161.

¹⁸ Gathercole, "Torah, Life, Salvation," 138. Compare Vg Lev 18:5: "custodite leges meas atque iudicia quae faciens homo vivet in eis ego Dominus."

¹⁹ R. Bauckham, R., "Apocalypses," 161, 174.

²⁰ Bauckham, "Apocalypses," 163; Henze, "4 Ezra and 2 Baruch," 191, note 28 notes that this evil inclination differs from the Rabbinic concept of the *yezer hara*.

²¹ Bauckham, "Apocalypses," 172, who, however, nuances his view by claiming that sin is not considered as equal to denying God or His commandments.

²² Bauckham, "Apocalypses," 156.

glory of the law to be besmirched by having mercy on them.”²³ Punishment and life are both understood in a clear eschatological perspective, life referring both to this and the next world. Only a few will succeed in a strict adherence to the Law.

Tannaitic Readings of Lev 18:5

There are compelling reasons to include Tannaitic readings in this study.²⁴ Firstly, the main teachers mentioned in our texts on Lev 18:5 were active in the late first and early second century CE, i.e. the first generations after the fall of the Temple. Secondly, although Rabbinic Judaism was the cultural product of a new scholarly elite, it also continued and developed notions from Second Temple Judaism.²⁵ Indeed, like Philo and Psalms of Solomon, some Rabbinic traditions label the commandments as the means given to Israel to separate themselves from the habits of the nations and thereby attain life.²⁶ This usage of Lev 18:5 is, however, marginal. Rabbinic expositions on Lev 18:5 discuss three issues related to the practice of the Law: Lev 18:5 is adduced to legitimate (1) refraining from sinful action as a form of complying with the Law; (2) transgressing or limiting the range of a commandment in order to safeguard life and, finally (3) the study of the Torah by a non-Jew.

6. *Mishna*

Lev 18:5 is mentioned once in the Mishnah, at the end of tractate Makkot:

- (A) Everyone who is guilty of extirpation but has received lashes is not liable to extirpation, as it is said: “And he is made vile, your brother, in your eyes” (Deut 25:3): the words of R. Hananya ben Gamaliel.
- (B) Said R. Hananya ben Gamaliel: if someone who commits one transgression loses his soul, one who performs one commandment, how much more so will his soul be given to him!

²³ Bauckham, “Apocalypses,” 165, quoting E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: SCM, 1977) 416.

²⁴ Gathercole, “Torah, Life, Salvation,” 138–139 only discusses *m. Mak.* 3:15; Oegema, *Für Israel und die Völker*, discusses only three texts, one of which evidently is a late parallel.

²⁵ This is argued in S. Fraade, “Rabbinic Midrash, Ancient Biblical Interpretation,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud* (ed. Ch.E. Fonrobert and M.S. Jaffee; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 99–120.

²⁶ *Midr. Tannaim* Deut 16:18 (nr. 22); *Ex. Rab.* 30:22; *Tanḥ. Mišpatim* 3.

- (C) R. Shimon says: From its place (in the Torah) it teaches (this), as it says: “And the souls that do (these) shall be cut off etc.” (Lev 18:29) and it says: “which if a man does, he shall live by them” (Lev 18:5); thus, to everyone who sits and does not commit a transgression, reward is given as to one who fulfils a commandment. (*m. Mak.* 3:15 following Ms. Kaufman; *y. Mak.* 3:12 (32b); *b. Mak.* 23b; *Yalqut Torah* 579 and 737)

The first mishnah (A) teaches that everyone who underwent physical punishment by lashes is not liable any more to קרת, extirpation, i.e. premature death, a punishment by the hand of God.²⁷ Playing with a change of the two middle consonants of the verb in Deut 25:3 the midrash reads גלקה, “lashed,” instead of גקלה, “made vile”, thus resulting in a reading of the verse as “he who has received lashes will be a brother in your eyes,” i.e., guiltless again. This teaching is the start of a chain of traditions (B, C) expanding on sinning. It urges the reader to abstain from sinning by stressing the merits inherent in performing a commandment. The third lemma, the midrash of R. Shimon (C), even celebrates not doing a sin by remaining passive (‘sits’) as a form of keeping the Law.²⁸ R. Shimon equates punishment for sin with the reward for observing a commandment.²⁹ If transgressing leads to premature death (Lev 18:29) then not transgressing may be equated with observing a commandment, which leads to life (Lev 18:5).³⁰ Therefore, the reward given for non-transgressing is similar to that performing a positive act: life here and now.³¹ In R. Shimon’s view, keeping the Law can consist of refraining from committing a sin.

²⁷ W. Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten* II (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1903) 436–440. Gathercole, “Torah, Life, Salvation,” 139 refers to *T. Ab.* 14:15 for an early Jewish parallel of this concept.

²⁸ *Sipre* Deut 25:3 (ed. Finkelstein, p. 304) offers a different version of this midrash. Compare also W. Bacher, *Die exegetischen Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965) 87. The reading of *Sipre* addresses a person attaching himself to the social sphere of a sinner or a pious person and does not discuss a person refraining himself from doing this sin. Finkelstein in his commentary, however, harmonizes with the Mishnah. Ms. London (Margoulioth 341) reads: “if a little amount of tribulations falls on someone who is attached to who transgresses, to someone who is attached to who performs a commandment how much the more so.” The version reading preserved in *Midrasch Chachamim* (ms. Aptowitzer, Vienna) and the quotations in *Midrash Hagadol* omit the whole midrash.

²⁹ The expression “from its place it teaches” is used when two verses from the same passage are used to explain an exegetical problem, Bacher, *Terminologie*, 87.

³⁰ Gathercole, “Torah, Life, Salvation,” 139 fails to see that the conclusion is part of the teaching of R. Shimon. The midrash plays on the mention of the word “doing” in both verses; in one case doing leads to extirpation, in the other case doing leads to life. This legitimates the teacher to equal the merit for non-doing in the case of Lev 28:29 (= non-transgressing) with the merit for doing promised in Lev 18:5.

³¹ Compare Gathercole, “Torah, Life, Salvation,” 139; Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 380.

7. *Halakhic Midrash* (1)

Lev 18:5 is adduced in Tannaitic teachings to legitimate transgression of commandments if one's life is threatened. A same midrashic reading is adduced in these instances: "(which, if a man does,) he shall live by them" (Lev 18:5): "lives by them, not dies by them." This midrash is quoted to limit the necessity of choosing martyrdom in the case of a forced transgression of the Biblical commandments, to legitimate the rule of life-saving actions during the Sabbath or holidays (*piquah nepeš*) and to limit subsequent fasting within a time interval of 40 days. Moreover, it appears in discussions on the possibility of being healed by means of heretical practices. In all cases, the midrash limits the practice of the Law. Thus, for example, in a situation where this might lead to one's violent death:

- (A) Whence can we deduce that if they say to one, "Worship the idol and thou wilt not be killed" that he may worship it so as not to be killed? Because Scripture says: "He shall live by them" (Lev 18:5): but not die by them.
- (B) You might take this to mean even in public, therefore Scripture says: "And ye shall not profane my holy name" (Lev 22:32). (*Sipra Aḥare Mot* 9, 13 (ed. Weiss 86b); *b. Sanh.* 74a; *b. 'Abod. Zar.* 27b; 54a; *Yalqut Torah*, 277)

The rhetorical phraseology (B) "You might think (...) Scripture teaches," limits the application of the reading to the private sphere. Thus, if a person is confronted with this choice in public, he should rather choose death instead of transgressing the Law. This curtailing of the application of the midrash on Lev 18:5 is not accidental. In further cases the midrash is accompanied by a narrative that restricts its theoretical application. This is the case e.g. in a case of circumspect healing:

It once happened to Eleazar ben Dama³² that he was bitten by a serpent and Jacob, a native of Kefar Sekaniah, came to heal him in the name of Yesu Pandera³³ but R. Ishmael did not let him; whereupon Ben Dama said, "My brother R. Ishmael, let him, so that I may be healed by him: I will even cite a verse from the Torah that he is to be permitted"; but he did not manage to complete his saying, when his soul departed and he died. Said R. Ishmael to him: "happy art thou, Ben Dama, for you have left this world in peace and have not broken the fence of the Sages, for it is written: 'Who does not break the fence, a snake will not bite him' (Qoh 10:9)". But did not a snake actually

³² *b. 'Abod. Zar* 27b adds: "the son of the sister of R. Ishmael."

³³ Missing in *b. 'Abod. Zar* 27b, which labels him, however, as a pupil of Yesu haNošri.

bite him? Well, no snake will bite him in the world to come! And what could Ben Dama have said? Now, what is it that he might have said? “He shall live by them”: but not die by them. (*y. Šabb.* 14:4 (14d/15a)³⁴)

A relative of R. Ishmael, Ben Dama, is bitten by a snake and wants to be cured by the spells of an alleged Christian teacher, Jacob.³⁵ Ishmael refuses and subsequently Dama dies and is lauded for his behaviour since now he will merit life in the world to come. Nonetheless, the narrative intentionally introduces the midrash on Lev 18:5 both to question this theodicy and to curtail a possible misuse of Lev 18:5. This is made explicit in the parallel in the Babylonian Talmud:

And R. Ishmael? (i.e. what could have been his argument, since): This (i.e. the midrash on Lev 18:5) is only meant when in private, but not in public; for it has been taught: R. Ishmael used to say: Whence can we deduce that if they say to one “Worship the idol and thou wilt not be killed”, that he may worship it so as not to be killed? Because Scripture says: “He shall live by them” (Lev 18:5), but not die by them; you might take this to mean even in public, therefore Scripture says: “And ye shall not profane my holy name” (Lev 22:32). (*b. ‘Abod. Zar.* 27b)

The Talmud combines the application of the midrash to martyrdom and to healing and concludes that its application is restricted from the beginning. The midrash was applied less problematically, however, to legitimate *piquah nepes*.³⁶ This rule, the term of which echoes the rule to clear a body covered by debris during the Day of Atonement (*m. Yoma* 8:7), prescribes that restrictive Laws of the Sabbath or Holidays may be broken in the case of physical or medical danger. Lev 18:5 is not adduced in the discussion between Tannaitic sages in the *Mekilta*, but the Tosefta records the midrash in the name of R. Aḥa, a second century teacher:

R. Aḥa in the name of R. Akiva: (...) well, the commandments were only given to Israel in order to live by them, as it is said: “which if a man does, he shall live by them” (Lev 18:5): (this means) live by them, and not that he dies by them! (*t. Šabb* 15:17, ed. Lieberman, p. 75)³⁷

³⁴ Parallels in *y. ‘Abod. Zar.* 2:2 (40d/41a); *b. ‘Abod. Zar.* 27b; *Qoh. Rab.* 1:24 (Wilna: 1:3).

³⁵ On heretical connotations through connections with Christian circles, D. Boyarin, *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1999) 34–35.

³⁶ On the terminology and history of this principle, L. Doering, *Schabbat: Schabbat-halacha und Schabbatpraxis in antiken Judentum und Urchristentum* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1999) 566–568.

³⁷ In *Tanh Masa’ei* 1 (ed. Buber, 162) and *Shekkel Tov* Gen 17 (ed. Buber, 304) in the context of circumcision on Sabbath.

A similar, non-problematic application of the midrash is the rule that limits the issuing of fast days within an interval of forty days, since this might endanger human life.³⁸

The midrash on Lev 18:5 probably originated in a context of martyrdom during the Bar Kokhbah uprising, in the circles of R. Ishmael or his colleague R. Akiva.³⁹ The discussion about its restricted application must have been due to the subtle but revolutionary move in the reading of the words “live by them” since life does not refer to merit but postulates physical life as the benchmark for the practice of the Law; practising the Law should not endanger one’s life. Its midrashic rhetoric is, moreover, that this benchmark is provided by the Law itself. Thus, the Law legitimates that in some circumstances a Law must be broken to uphold the Law. In this sense, Lev 18:5 may have been interpreted as a commandment.⁴⁰ According to other teachers, however, this logic endangered the integrity of the Law and the necessity to fulfil it.⁴¹ The Ben Dama story shows it could even become associated with heretical practices and indeed, its application was neutralized where the social-religious boundaries of Judaism were at stake.⁴²

8. *Halakhic Midrash* (2)

A third midrashic reading of Lev 18:5 also focuses on the beginning of the verse: “which, if a man does.” Since there is no specification here as to who must perform the Law, the Rabbis saw fit to adduce this verse to legitimate Torah study for non-Jews:

³⁸ R. Levi in *y. Ta’an.* 4:8 (68d); Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 105–106.

³⁹ Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 107; S. Safrai, “Martyrdom in the Teachings of the Tannaim,” in *Sjaloom. Ter Nagedachtenis aan Mgr. Dr. A. Ramselaar* (Hilversum: Folkertsma stichting, 1983) 157–158, 160.

⁴⁰ Thus Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 104–105: “(...) der Vers stand auch im unmittelbaren Zusammenhang mit biblischen Gebotstexten, konnte also selbst gleichsam als Gebot verstanden werden.” Note, however, that the combination of this midrash with *pikkuah nephesh* appears in *t. Šabb* 15:17 (R. Aḥa) but not in the lengthy discussion on *piquah nepeš* featuring R. Aḥa, R. Akiva and R. Ishmael (*Mekilta*, Šabta 1).

⁴¹ Especially those Laws that served to mark the social boundaries of Judaism, Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 106, note 8 and compare note 13: commandments for which Israelites had given their lives were held in high esteem. In times of trouble, Jewish identity was strengthened: Safrai, “Martyrdom,” 159–160; Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 107–108.

⁴² This may explain the tendency to limit the application of this verse to escaping martyrdom; Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 106, note 8 notes a “bedeutsame Einschränkung” and suggests that this goes back to Tannaitic times.

R. Meir says: how do we know that even a heathen (*goy*) who practices Torah,⁴³ that he is like the High priest? Scripture says: ‘which if a man does he shall live by them’; priests and Levites and Israelites is not said, but (מִדָּדֵהוּ) “man”. This teaches that even a heathen⁴⁴ who delves in the Torah, he is like a High priest! (*Sipra Ahare Mot* 9, 13, ed. Weiss 86b)⁴⁵

The logic of the midrash is bewildering, since also for R. Meir it must have been impossible for non-Jews to practise the Law, i.e. obey commandments. Nonetheless, if the midrash equates a studying non-Jew with the High priest, it presumes that even a partial partaking in the Law, such as Torah study, suffices. Probably due to this dynamic view on Torah practice and the dangers it might have posed for the social boundaries of Torah practice, the midrash was critically commented upon in Amoraic generations. In the Babylonian Talmud (*b. ‘Abod. Zar.* 3a) it is juxtaposed and overruled by the midrashic teaching of the third-century teacher R. Yohanan that the Torah was given only as a “heritage to the community of Jacob” (Deut 33:4) and Torah study was accessible only to Jews. This neutralizing of a radical exegesis resembles what we saw in the application of Lev 18:5 to cases of mortal danger. In both cases, the consequences of a midrashic reading had to be curtailed, not by eliminating it but by juxtaposing it with another, allegedly more powerful interpretation.

New Testament Readings of Lev 18:5

9. *Mark 10:17–22 and Luke 10:25–37*

Readings of Lev 18:5 possibly underlie two synoptic teachings of Jesus.⁴⁶ Jesus is approached by an unnamed person, who afterwards appears to be rich (Mark 10:22), with a question as to what to do to earn eternal life (Mark 10:17 and par.): “Good teacher, what should I do to inherit eternal life?”⁴⁷ The combination of doing (ποιήσω) and future living (ζωήν αἰώνιον)

⁴³ Other versions read *oseq baTorah*, a technical expression for study of the Torah.

⁴⁴ The object of the midrash changes in later versions: *Yalq. Tora.* 587; *Yalq. Torah* 591 read *goyim*; *b. Sanh.* 59a/b. *‘Abod. Zar.* 3a read idolaters (*oved kokavim*); proselytes (*gerim*) in *Midr. Pss.* 1:18 (ed. Buber, 18); *Tanh. Wayeqahel* 8; converted idolaters in *Midr. Num. Rab.* 13:15–17; Sadduceans (*kutim*) in *Yalq. Torah* 751.

⁴⁵ On the reading of ms. Assemani of *Sipra*, Avemarie, *Torah und Leben*, 493.

⁴⁶ Gathercole, “Torah, Life, Salvation,” 140–142 notes that Luke 10:28 has been noticed as relating to Lev 18:5 before, but not taken into consideration by Dunn and others.

⁴⁷ Translation follows A.Y. Collins, *Mark: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 2007) 473.

is reminiscent of LXX Lev 18:5 but cannot be qualified as a direct quotation.⁴⁸ Nonetheless, Jesus answers by referring to the practice of commandments: “You shall not murder, you shall not commit adultery, you shall not steal, you shall not bear false witness, you shall not defraud, honour your father and mother” (Mark 10:19).⁴⁹ A reference to Lev 18:5 gains plausibility since the text stipulates the commandments as a way to life. Remarkably, however, the accent is put on the ethical or social commandments.⁵⁰ Apparently this does not satisfy the man, since he claims that all this has been his practice for long. Jesus orders that he should follow him and leave all his possessions behind. The radicalism of these supererogatory actions does not preclude the system of commandments. It addresses, however, a vexing question, i.e. whether compliance with the commandments was enough to attain to spiritual achievement.⁵¹ Jesus asks him to do more than was required, to break with social boundaries and follow him.

In Luke, Jesus teaches the great love commandment in a dialogue with a *nomikos*, a lawyer, who asks how to inherit eternal life.⁵² Jesus asks how he reads and approves of his answer, the double love commandment in its form of the combined quote from Deut 6:4 and Lev 19:18b: εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁρθῶς ἀπεκρίθης· τοῦτο ποιεῖ καὶ ζήσῃ, “You have answered right: do this, and you shall live” (Luke 10:28).⁵³ Again, the combination of doing and living (future) is reminiscent of Lev 18:5.⁵⁴ As in Mark, the issue is how to fulfil the Law and in what manner.

⁴⁸ Gathercole, “Torah, Life, Salvation,” 141–142; Collins, *Mark*, 476 refers to the texts discussed above and notes the presence of Lev 18:5 in CD 3:12–16.

⁴⁹ On the sequence of the first two commandments in manuscripts of Mark, Collins, *Mark*, 473, note b.

⁵⁰ Collins, *Mark*, 478. Matt 19:19 connects these with the love commandment of Lev 19:18 and defines a centre around which to practise the commandments; compare U. Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus III: Mt 18–25* (EKK 1/3; Zürich: Benziger/Neukirchener, 1997) 122.

⁵¹ Collins, *Mark*, 479. She also points to the accumulation of treasures in Heaven as a motif to abandon all property.

⁵² Gathercole, “Torah, Life, Salvation,” 140 points to the use of future tenses; J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke (X–XXIV). Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (New York: Doubleday, 1985) 881. The question may have been influenced by Mark 10:19: F. Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas 2. Teilband Lk. 9.51–14.35* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1996) 85, note 13.

⁵³ On the quotations, see Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 878–879; Bovon, *Lukas*, 85 rightly notices “Alles dreht sich ums Tun (...).”

⁵⁴ Gathercole, “Torah, Life, Salvation,” 141; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 881: “The verb *zēsē* may allude to Lev. 18:5 (...) Addressed to the Christian reader, they form part of Lucan parenthesis.” Bovon, *Lukas*, 87 does not mention Lev 18:5 but refers to Gal 3:12.

10. *Rom 10:5 and Gal 3:12*

The presence of Lev 18:5 in Galatians and Romans is a quagmire for scholars. Why would Paul, who argues for a life based on faith, quote a text that confirms an existence based on keeping the commandments?⁵⁵ It appears, however, that its function in Galatians differs from Romans.⁵⁶ In Galatians, Paul quotes Lev 18:5 to create a contrast between Law and faith: since man cannot fulfil the Law he evokes the curse for not doing the Law (Gal 3:10).⁵⁷ In Romans, however, Lev 18:5 is quoted to summarize what it is to live under the Law: Μωϋσῆς γὰρ γράφει τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ [τοῦ] νόμου ὅτι ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς. “For Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law; that the man which doeth those things shall live by them” (KJV). Paul continues with a ‘midrashic’ reading of Deut 30:12, 14: in Christ the righteousness of the Law has come to its goal.⁵⁸ Thus, Paul compares living in the realm of the commandments (ἐν αὐτοῖς) by living by (ἐκ) faith.⁵⁹ Lev 18:5 is subject to a reading that outbids one type of righteousness with another kind: doing the Law is impossible outside the realm of faith and only feasible within the interpretation as offered in the Christian community.⁶⁰ Doing the Law without this realm only leads man to sin, since man’s sinfulness prevents him from doing the Law perfectly.⁶¹ Paul’s answer in Romans to the vexing conundrum evoked

⁵⁵ N. Chibici-Revneanu, “Leben im Gesetz: die paulinische Interpretation von Lev 18:5 (Gal 3:12; Röm 10:5),” *NT 50* (2008) 105–107; Fr. Avemarie, “Paul and the Claim of the Law According to the Scripture: Leviticus 18:5 in Galatians 3:12 and Romans 10:5,” in *The Beginnings of Christianity: A Collection of Articles* (ed. J. Pastor and M. Mor, Jerusalem: Yad ben Zvi, 2005) 130–136 discerns four types of interpretation in Patristic and three in modern exegesis. A balanced assessment of (possible) hermeneutics in Paul’s use of Scripture is provided in S. Moyise, “How does Paul read Scripture?,” in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality. Vol. 1: Thematic Studies* (ed. C.A. Evans and H.D. Zacharias; London: T&T Clark, 2009) 184–189.

⁵⁶ Avemarie, “Paul and the Claim of the Law,” 147.

⁵⁷ B. Matlock, “The Curse Of Galatians 3.10–14”, in *Torah in the New Testament. Papers delivered at the Manchester-Lausanne Seminar of June 2008* (ed. M. Tait and P. Oakes; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2009) 154–179 assesses and defends the ‘unfulfillability’ explanation.

⁵⁸ For τέλος (Rom 10:4) as the goal (“Ziel”) of the Law and the implications for Lev 18:5, Avemarie, “Claim of the Law,” 147. Prof. Friedrich Avemarie, whose sudden death in October 2012 shocked the scholarly world, was so kind to discuss this matter with me and sent me his forthcoming paper on Rom 10 (“Israels rätselhafter Ungehorsam. Römer 10 als Anatomie eines von Gott provozierten Unglaubens”) where he elaborates the connection between Rom 10:4 and Rom 10:5.

⁵⁹ Chibici-Revneanu, “Leben im Gesetz,” 112, 114, 117 argues how Paul interprets the different adverbs as referring to a different religious existence.

⁶⁰ Avemarie, “Claim of the Law,” 145–146.

⁶¹ Rom 5:19–21. Compare U. Wilckens, *Der Brief and die Römer (Röm 6–11)* (EKK VI/2; Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1989) 224: “Was aber dort (in the book of Leviticus, Eric O.)

by Lev 18:5—how can man fulfil the Law?—is that one fulfils the Law in the realm of Christian faith.⁶²

Conclusions

The view that Lev 18:5 indicated a regular Jewish pattern of Law observance as the means to attain to (eternal) life is corroborated (Philo, *Pss Sol.*) but also needs nuance. Jewish and Christian sources quote Lev 18:5 in discourses that discuss how the Law can be fulfilled and even question man's ability to comply with the fullness of the Law. The answers to this problem are different, ranging from adherence to a specific interpretation (CD) or necessitating supererogatory actions (synoptic traditions). Paul and *4 Ezra* question the possibility for man to keep the Law because of human sinfulness. In Paul's vision no person is able to keep the Law outside the realm of Christian faith. *4 Ezra* says only a few are able to pass the test. The Rabbis do not stress the necessity to keep all of the Law and defend, quoting Lev 18:5, partial compliance with the Law or even breaking a commandment in case of danger. In early Jewish and Christian circles, Lev 18:5 was more than a rhetorical device for the promise inherent in observing the Law; it also raised questions on whether and how this practice was possible.

eine Verheissung ist, wird bei Paulus eine Warnung bzw. zur Verurteilung des Sünders, der nicht in allem bleibt von dem Buch des Gesetzes, um es zu tun."

⁶² Rom 1:17; Gal 3:10–11, quoting Hab 2:4. Even if they did not share Paul's Christological concentration, the Rabbis used this same verse to label faith as a guiding principle with which the Law can be fulfilled: Mek. *Wayehi* 7 (ed. Lauterbach, 252–256); *b. Makk.* 23b–24a.

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW:
A RESOURCE FOR AN ECOLOGICAL READING

Margaret M. Daly-Denton

Recently I attended a performance of Philip Glass' opera, *Satyagraha*, a portrayal of Gandhi's formative years in South Africa (1893–1914). The libretto consists entirely of aphorisms from the *Bhagavad Gita*, sung in the original Sanskrit, in mantra-like repetition, with, in this particular production, English translations projected onto elements of the set. So, for example, while the action onstage portrays Gandhi mobilizing the oppressed Indian minority and developing the nonviolent civil disobedience movement known as *Satyagraha* (Sanskrit for “The Force of Truth”), the audience hears the Gandhi character sing from the *Bhagavad Gita*:

Let a man feel hatred for no being,
let him be friendly, compassionate;
done with thoughts of “I” and “mine,”
the same in pleasure as in pain, long suffering.

This imaginative means of giving the audience access to Gandhi's deepest convictions by evoking the religious tradition that inspired and motivated him struck me as not unlike the way the gospel writers use the Old Testament. The use of Psalm 22 in the passion narratives is an obvious example, especially if one thinks of the liturgical “performance” that this has generated, where the psalm is experienced, most strikingly during the Good Friday service, as the prayer of the crucified Jesus. There is a profound sense in which the Gospels give their readers access to Jesus' deepest convictions by evoking the Scriptures that inspired and motivated him. This is not to say that Jesus' deepest convictions and motivations have literally been accessible in detail to the Gospel writers. It is more a matter of their construal of Jesus being worked out as a re-reading of the Scriptural heritage that they shared with him and of their reliance on the Scriptures as they looked for the words and categories that would persuade their readers to accept their view of him.

This essay will suggest that the intertextual mesh of New Testament reference to the Old has significant potential to be a resource for a Christian response to a major contemporary challenge: the ecological depredation of our planet. Among those concerned about this crisis, there is a

widespread recognition of the capacity of religions to shape people's attitude towards the natural world. As the Foreword to the proceedings of a major international and inter-faith colloquium on the environment, sponsored by the University of Harvard, puts it, "Religions provide basic interpretive stories of who we are, what nature is, where we have come from, and where we are going... Religions also suggest how we should treat other humans and how we should relate to nature."¹ Religions and their sacred texts may well, therefore, have a significant role to play in the repairing and sustaining of Earth. Biblical scholars are at the forefront of the religious response to the environmental crisis, working to develop ways of reading that will inspire greater care for Earth among those who revere the Bible as "Holy Scripture."

At first glance, the New Testament seems to have less potential for this task than the Old with its more obviously "ecological" passages: creation narratives, for example, laws providing for the land's Sabbath rest, nature poetry in the psalms, the divine speeches in Job. But that is only until we remember that for the early Christians, the Scriptures of Israel were presupposed. One of the eco-justice principles devised by The Earth Bible Team, an international group of scholars working under the leadership of Norman C. Habel, is "The Principle of Voice," the idea that in the biblical writings Earth has a voice, sometimes raised in protest or mourning, other times raised in celebration, but often suppressed in the reception of these writings because of the anthropocentric preoccupations of readers.² This contribution to Maarten Menken's *Festschrift* will suggest that attentiveness to the ways in which the Old Testament is re-read in the New can often raise the voice of Earth to audibility with beneficial results in terms of an ecological reading. This essay focuses on the Fourth Gospel, as its author is currently preparing the "John" volume of the forthcoming Earth Bible Commentary.³ She hopes that this sharing of work in progress will be a fitting tribute to a scholar whose close textual work on the verbal

¹ From the Series Foreword of the Harvard multi-volume collection, "Religions of the World and Ecology." Dieter T. Hessel and Rosemary Radford Ruether, eds., *Christianity and Ecology: Seeking the Well-Being of Earth and Humans*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2000) xvi.

² The Earth Bible Team is responsible for *The Earth Bible*, a five volume collection of essays approaching the Bible from an ecological perspective (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000–2002).

³ So far one volume has appeared, Norman C. Habel, *The Birth, the Curse and the Greening of Earth: An Ecological Reading of Genesis 1–11* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2011); Michael Trainor, *About Earth's Child: An Ecological Listening to the Gospel of Luke* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2012).

form of Old Testament quotations in the New is such a valuable and dependable resource.

Reading John Ecologically

Approaching the Fourth Gospel from an ecological perspective presents quite a challenge. A certain dualism pervades the gospel, showing through in contrasts between “flesh” and “spirit,” “above” and “below,” “heavenly” and “earthly” (3:6, 12, 31). These contrasts may not actually reflect “dualism proper in the religio-historical and phenomenological sense,” but rather dualities drawing on natural symbols, “the simple contrasting of good and evil, life and death, light and darkness, and so on [that] is in fact coextensive with religion itself.”⁴ The God of Israel is, after all, the creator of both light and darkness (Isa 45:7). Even so, the Johannine Jesus does come across as an other-worldly being making a brief stay on Earth before ascending to the heavenly realm from which he came. He seems airily unconcerned about the ethical issues that the synoptic Jesus confronts: justice, care for the poor, detachment from greed—all of which lend themselves to the consideration of inter-generational justice and to extension beyond purely human concerns to those affecting the wider Earth community. These are just some of the challenges that a reading of the gospel from an ecological perspective must face. This essay will suggest that a closer look at the Old Testament background to the title “the Christ” as applied to Jesus in the Fourth Gospel may have potential to resource a contemporary reading from our location on a critically endangered planet.

Believing that Jesus is the Christ

The first title that a disciple applies to Jesus in the Fourth Gospel is “The Messiah” (1:41). In fact, the Fourth Evangelist’s motivation in writing is to persuade the readers and hearers “that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God” (20:31). Is there any way in which believing this could spell “good news” for the Earth? Uncovering something of the Scriptural underlay to the Evangelist’s claim may suggest a way. The rootedness of the designations

⁴ Stephen C. Barton, “Johannine Dualism and Contemporary Pluralism,” in *The Gospel of John and Christian Theology*, ed. Richard Bauckham and Carl Mosser (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2008) 3–18, at 7.

“Messiah,” “Christ” and “Son of God” in ancient Israel’s royal traditions suggests that Jesus fulfils the best ideals of kingship, even if in an unexpected way by being the diametric opposite of a king, an “anti-king,” in fact. As the Johannine Jesus’ response to Pilate’s question, “You are a king then?” is translated in the NEB version, “‘King’ (Note the inverted commas!) is your word” (18:37).⁵

Going by writings such as Psalm of Solomon 17 (the earliest extant text to use the term “Messiah” in a technical sense),⁶ the 4QIsaiah Peshier,⁷ and 4QFlorilegium,⁸ with its reference to “The Branch of David,” it seems that in the late Second Temple period the “Root of Jesse” passage in Isaiah 11 was widely regarded as expressing that hope for a Davidic “anointed one” that believers in Jesus would eventually claim had now been fulfilled. With our anthropocentric mindset, we tend to focus on Isaiah’s portrait of a righteous king filled with the divine spirit whose just rule benefits the poor. Even the paratextual features of our modern printed Bibles—stanza divisions, editorial sub-headings, etc.—discourage us from reading beyond verse 5. To read on, though, would be to include in the “job specification” for the ideal king the realization of that paradisaical vision that begins in verse 6 with “The wolf shall lie down with the lamb.” In favour of this reading, verse 10 clearly forms an inclusion with verse 1 and, in fact, Paul’s rather informal citation of the “root of Jesse” passage in Rom 15:12 would suggest that he would agree. The question arises, Would it be consistent with what we know of the Israelite ideal of kingship to include in it Isaiah’s vision of a cosmic harmony that affects the whole natural world? The question is important because if, in the Johannine view, bringing about a situation where “They shall not hurt or destroy” (Isa 11:9) is an integral part of what Jesus was sent to do, then it would also be what his disciples are meant to be doing. “As the Father has sent me, even so I send you” (John 20:21).

Kingship in the Scriptures

This is where attention to the way the New Testament is drawing on the Old opens up ecological possibilities. In the royal traditions, kingship

⁵ *The New English Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961).

⁶ J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 2 (New York: Doubleday, 1985) 668.

⁷ Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (Leiden: Brill, 1994) 186.

⁸ García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 136.

exercised righteously is often described in nature imagery. It is like the daylight on which so much of life on Earth depends, for example. “One who rules over people justly, ruling in the fear of God, is like the light of morning, like the sun rising on a cloudless morning, gleaming from the rain on the grassy land” (2 Sam 23:3–4). In the Psalter, “The Prayers of David the Son of Jesse” conclude with Ps 72 where a description of the ideal king’s (Solomon’s?) reign climaxes in a rhapsody where “a positively unimaginable fruitfulness is evoked by the image of the grain fields ripe for the harvest.”⁹ This passage is most probably alluded to in John 4:35–38. A hermeneutics of suspicion might note that the psalm’s description of the just king’s beneficial effect on the natural world is fundamentally anthropocentric, that the fruitfulness of the land is seen as principally for human benefit, that the so-called “mandate to dominate,” the baneful effect of the presumed divine permission to “subdue the earth” (Gen 1:28), is lurking in the textual background.¹⁰ However, there are biblical portrayals of kingship where nature is valued, respected and admired for its own sake. Solomon, who prayed for wisdom at the outset of his reign (1 Kgs 3:9), is remembered for his knowledge and appreciation of the wonders of the natural world. “He would speak of trees, from the cedar that is in the Lebanon to the hyssop that grows in the wall; he would speak of animals, and birds, and reptiles, and fish” (1 Kgs 4:33). The attribution of Proverbs to Solomon is part of this tradition, crediting him with such powers of observation as those displayed in “his” delightful proverb about the ability of ants, badgers, locusts and lizards to adapt and survive (Prov 30:24–28).

A fascinating re-reading of this view of kingship is found in the first century BCE composition, *The Wisdom of Solomon*. By this stage of his literary afterlife a thoroughly sapientialized Solomon has become a Hellenistic polymath with expertise in cosmology, geology, astronomy, meteorology, zoology, demonology, psychology, botany, pharmacology. Pseudepigraphical “Solomon” recounts what he has learned from “Wisdom, the fashioner of all things.”

For it is he who gave me unerring knowledge of what exists,
to know the structure of the world and the activity of the elements;
the beginning and end and middle of times,

⁹ Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis MN: Augsburg Fortress, 2005) 207.

¹⁰ Norman C. Habel, *An Inconvenient Text: Is a Green Reading of the Bible Possible?* (Ade-laide: Australasian Theological Forum Press, 2009) 1–10.

the alternations of the solstices and the changes of the seasons,
 the cycles of the year and the constellations of the stars,
 the natures of animals and the tempers of wild animals,
 the powers of spirits and the thoughts of human beings,
 the varieties of plants and the virtues of roots. (Wisd 7:17–20)

The source of this wisdom given to the king is none other than the generative force that made the world in the first place. To the extent that a king is imbued with this wisdom, “the world” for which he is responsible will flourish.

The multitude of the wise is the salvation of the world,
 and a sensible king is the stability of any people. (Wisd 6:24)

The parallelism of Pseudo-Solomon’s poetry arouses the suspicion of androcentrism: that his “world” is actually the world of people and not what we today would recognize as the interconnected biotic community of all life on Earth. This suspicion is confirmed by his prayer:

O God of my ancestors and Lord of mercy,
 who have made all things by your word,
 and by your wisdom have formed humankind
 to have dominion over the creatures you have made,
 and rule the world in holiness and righteousness,
 and pronounce judgment in uprightness of soul,
 give me the wisdom that sits by your throne,
 and do not reject me from among your servants. (Wisd 9:1–4)

Interestingly though, it is the poetic parallelism in this prayer that ultimately deconstructs the notion of rule, by qualifying it with the precision, “in holiness and righteousness . . . in uprightness of soul.” In the Wisdom of Solomon, this wise rule is the antithesis to the exploitative attitude towards the natural world that characterises the “ungodly” rulers:

Come, therefore, let us enjoy the good things that exist,
 and make use of the creation to the full as in youth. . .
 everywhere let us leave signs of enjoyment,
 because this is our portion, and this our lot. . .
 Let our might be our law of right,
 for what is weak proves itself to be useless. (Wisd 2:6, 9, 11)

The principle of “might is right,” the presumption that the mere fact that we have the technological ability to exhaust earth’s resources entitles us to do so is surely the great stupidity of our age. Like “the first formed father of the world,” in need of Wisdom to “deliver him from his transgression” (Wisd 10:1), we lack the “strength to rule all things” (Wisd 10:2),

a strength that would involve “ruling all things in mercy,” (Wisd 15:1), a way of ruling that would completely subvert the notion of kingship.

Doing “The Work” of God

The nexus between the creativity of God and the king’s exercise of his rule that is such a strong characteristic of The Wisdom of Solomon opens up a way into reading the Fourth Gospel from the perspective of Earth. The convergences between Pseudo-Solomonic and Johannine thought are particularly valuable because The Book of Wisdom probably gives us our nearest approximation to the kind of theological reflection that has shaped the Fourth Evangelist’s understanding of Jesus. The understanding of the natural world in the Wisdom of Solomon is, in its own way, a re-reading of older wisdom traditions, in particular of the speech where a personified Wisdom tells of her involvement in the making of the world (Prov 8:22–31). The Johannine Prologue’s opening words, “In the beginning” do indeed allude to Genesis 1:1, but also—if one thinks of convergent thought worlds and not just verbal congruence—to Wisdom’s assertion, “Ages ago I was set up, at the first (ἐν ἀρχῇ), before the beginning of the earth” (Prov 8:23). By means of a rich web of allusion and echo, the prologue suggests that Jesus embodies the divine wisdom continually at work in the world, the wisdom that “holds all things together” (Wisd 1:7), that “reaches mightily from one end of the earth to the other, ordering all things well” (Wisd 8:1).

The image of the Creator evoked in the Fourth Gospel is less the “Genesis” God calling Earth into being than the “Wisdom” God continually giving life in an ever-present activity of creation. In fact, the Johannine Jesus seems to resist literalization of the mythic tale of God making the world in six days and resting on the seventh. “My Father is still working,” he insists, “and I also am working” (5:17). The God revealed by the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel is very much the “hands-on” God of Psalm 65:

You visit the earth and water it,
 you greatly enrich it;
 the river of God is full of water;
 you provide the people with grain,
 for so you have prepared it.
 You water its furrows abundantly,
 settling its ridges,
 softening it with showers,
 and blessing its growth.

Jesus' role is to do this God's work (4:34; 9:4; 17:4). His work is, therefore, God's ongoing work of giving life to the world (6:31). "The Father loves the Son and shows him all that he himself is doing" (5:20). "The Father who dwells in me does his works" (14:10). Jesus' disciples are to engage with him in that creative work, even to do greater works (14:12).

Jesus the Shepherd

The saying of the Johannine Jesus, "I came that they may have life, and have it abundantly" (10:10) is frequently used to point up Jesus' ecological credentials, often by well intended interpreters who think that in order to read the Gospels from the perspective of Earth, all you have to do is to regard "they" in this saying as referring to all creatures. A richer and more cogent reading is possible, I would suggest, if one takes into account the whole saying, in its Johannine context and against its Old Testament background. "The thief comes only to steal and kill and destroy. I came that they may have life, and have it abundantly" (10:10). The contrast is between the responsible shepherd—a pastoral figure in the true sense of the word—and the predatory thief. In the whole portrayal of Jesus as the model shepherd the Fourth Evangelist is weaving into the gospel yet another strand of the royal traditions that can be traced right back to the first appearance of David in the Bible as a young shepherd "keeping the sheep" (1 Sam 16:11).

It was an article by Maarten Menken that first alerted me some years ago to the possibility that the biblical traditions surrounding King David might be more influential in the Fourth Gospel than had previously been supposed. Maarten suggested that the non-Septuagintal verb "lifted" in the quotation from Psalm 41 in John 13:18—"The one who ate my bread has lifted (*ἐπήρην*) his heel against me."—may well be explained by the Evangelist's association of the psalms with King David and, in particular, by his recollection of the story of David's experience of betrayal at the time of Absalom's conspiracy. According to the Greek Psalter, the betrayer has "made great" (*ἐμεγάλυνεν*) his heel against the psalmist. The verb *ἐπήρην* may have dislodged *ἐμεγάλυνεν* in John's quotation under the influence of 2 Sam 18:28 where the conspirators are said to have "lifted up their hand" against the king.¹¹ Maarten's article was truly seminal for me in

¹¹ "The Translation of Psalm 41.10 in John 13.18," *JSNT* 40 (1990) 61–79.

that it opened up the possibility that other psalm quotations in the Fourth Gospel might show traces of their perceived connection with David the psalmist, or at least that Davidic “authorship” of the psalms might turn out to be a fascinating hermeneutical key to a gospel where Jesus is presented as “the Christ,” without ever being addressed or referred to as “Son of David.”¹²

Foremost among the “shades of David” in the Johannine presentation of Jesus is the image of the shepherd willing to risk or even lay down his life to protect his sheep from predators. It is a *topos* of ancient Near Eastern monarchic ideology that a king is expected to prove himself fit to rule during an initiatory period of battle with the wild beasts in a hostile wilderness or desert setting. Mark’s reference to Jesus spending forty days in the wilderness with the wild beasts before inaugurating his ministry taps into this tradition (Mark 1:13). Philo draws on it in his “Life of Moses” when describing the period that the young Moses spent as a shepherd in the wilderness of Midian (Exod 3:1).

The chase of wild animals is a drilling ground for the general in fighting the enemy, and the care and supervision of tame animals is a schooling for the king in dealing with his subjects, and therefore kings are called ‘shepherds of their people,’ not as a term of reproach, but as the highest honour . . . The only perfect king . . . is one who is skilled in the knowledge of shepherding.¹³

Philo’s presentation of Moses as a king plays somewhat loose, of course, with the biblical tradition, but suits his own agenda.

The biblical tradition exemplifies widespread awareness of the idea that kings are shepherds, not least in the frequent ascription of the title “Shepherd of Israel” to God. In the Deuteronomistic history, the young David gives an account of his shepherding exploits, by way of assurance to Saul of his readiness and ability to fight Goliath in defence of the nation. “Your servant used to keep sheep for his father; and whenever a lion or a bear came, and took a lamb from the flock, I went after it and struck it down, rescuing the lamb from its mouth; and if it turned against me, I would catch it by the jaw, strike it down, and kill it” (1 Sam 17:34–35). The delightful irony of this is, of course, that the future king is actually giving the ineffectual king, whom he is about to replace, a presentation on

¹² Margaret Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel: The Johannine Reception of the Psalms* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

¹³ Mos. I, XI, 61 trans. F.H. Colson, *Philo* (LCL; Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1959).

his own royal credentials. Later in the story Jonathan will reproach Saul for his persecution of David, reminding him that “he took his life in his hand when he attacked the Philistine” In the Septuagint, the phrase “he took his life in his hand” (ἔθετο τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ) uses the verb τίθημι to convey the idea of “putting one’s life on the line” in exactly the way that we find it used in John 10:11. This suggests that the king’s putting of his life on the line to protect his flock from predators, even laying down his life, is yet another way in which our understanding of Jesus’ “kingship” has to be nuanced to the point of complete subversion of the conventional notion of rule.

There is considerable potential for this understanding of Jesus to inspire and motivate his disciples to be pastoral people, carers who seek the flourishing of creation, and not predatory thieves who exploit and destroy. Predation is a naturally occurring feature of life on Earth. However, in many post-colonial settings it has gone far beyond natural incidence, all because of human folly. Native fauna and flora are threatened with extinction as a result of the introduction of “foreign” animals and invasive plants. In the Coromandel Peninsula of New Zealand, a potter called Barry Brickell runs as a tourist attraction a narrow gauge railway that he originally built in order to access clay and kiln fuel. The revenues that the railway generates fund the replanting of the native forest, destroyed by the early European settlers, in order to restore the land’s natural biodiversity. The railway also funds the creation of a wild life sanctuary and wetland habitat, protected by a vermin-proof fence, to shield indigenous animals and birds from the predatory attentions of introduced species. This sanctuary provides a safe place for the release of injured and rare species, across the indigenous biotic spectrum. Surely a contemporary example of someone being a “good shepherd” to the environment!

The Grain of Wheat that Must Die

Ecological thinking, in dialogue with the biblical tradition is really a matter of learning to respect “the way” of the natural world, “the way of an eagle in the sky, the way of a serpent on the rock” to cite the wisdom attributed to Solomon (Prov 30:19). The Johannine Jesus observes the “way” of nature, that “Unless a grain of wheat falls into the earth and dies, it remains just a single grain; but if it dies, it bears much fruit” (12:24). The Irish theologian James P. Mackey reflects on this fact of all life on Earth,

Every transformation in the universal process of evolutionary creativity involves a death of existing forms or a de-formation. And since it is form that makes each thing and species of thing to be and to be what it is, the de-forming becomes the negative, nihilating force whereby one form of reality or thing is turned into another and thus itself made to cease to be what it was. This negative, nihilating, no-thinging force is then the inevitable negative pole of the positive force of creative evolution that forever brings new or renewed forms of being.¹⁴

Jesus, being himself the grain of wheat that dies, models that way of “nihilating no-thinging” that is a prerequisite for any kind of new creation. Perhaps this Johannine principle, based on observation of the natural world, could become the foundation for an ecological ethic drawn out of The Fourth Gospel. Disciples taking Jesus as their “Way” (14:6) will inevitably find themselves facing the prospect of some kind of dying. As the Johannine Jesus states it, “Whoever serves me must follow me, and where I am, there will my servant be also” (12:26). The Old Testament background to this saying challenges believers in Jesus to respond to their “king”—whose royal title must always appear in inverted commas—as Ittai the Gittite did to David: “Wherever my lord the king may be, whether for death or for life, there also your servant will be” (2 Sam 15:21). Whether it is a matter of dying to our present destructive addictions or of “living simply so that others may live,” as Gandhi taught, to put into practice the ecological implications of such a response would be—no less than Jesus’ own subversion of the notion of kingship—a Wisdom-taught subversion of the notion that human beings “rule” the Earth (Wisd 15:1).

Conclusion

Challenged by scientists and ecologists, each of the world’s great religions is currently delving into its heritage to identify and highlight whatever life-affirming and earth-respecting features can be found there. To attempt to read the Fourth Gospel in this way is not to suggest that Jesus or the early Christians had an ecological consciousness. It is to tap into the ongoing generativity of an early Christian text, the meaning that lay a couple of thousand years ahead of it when it was first written, but that jumps off the page when we read the gospel in 2012 as people who have been complicit

¹⁴ James P. Mackey, *Christianity and Creation: The Essence of the Christian Faith and Its Future among Religions* (London: Continuum, 2006) 35.

in squandering and endangering the Earth's finite resources. As Maarten Menken has shown in his scholarly writings, the New Testament authors were engaging in quite a daring re-reading of the Scriptures. As Christianity—along with all other world religions—enters its ecological phase,¹⁵ we are challenged to do our own daring re-reading of our defining texts. Allowing the use of the Old Testament in the New to raise to audibility the voice of Earth in the Fourth Gospel will enable us to re-imagine it so that it can resource us for the test that the ecological crisis presents, calling, as indeed it does, for “a whole new interpretation of what it means to be Christian.”¹⁶

¹⁵ Mary Evelyn Tucker, *Worldly Wonder: Religions Enter their Ecological Phase* (Chicago IL: Open Court, 2003).

¹⁶ John F. Haught, “Christianity and Ecology,” in *This Sacred Earth: Religion, Nature, Environment* (ed. Roger S. Gottlieb; New York: Routledge, 2004) 232–247 (235–236).

INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE AFTER THE NEW TESTAMENT

“BEARING THE ENTIRE YOKE OF THE LORD”: AN EXPLANATION OF
DIDACHE 6:2 IN THE LIGHT OF MATTHEW 11:28–30

Huub W.M. van de Sandt

The basic tradition of the Two Ways in *Didache* 1–6 offers two contrasting moral ways which serve as a framework for the subsequent exposition of two sets of opposing ethical characteristics or antagonistic groups of people associated with the way of life (*Did.* 1–4) and the way of death (*Did.* 5), respectively. In addition to the *Didache*, the Two Ways tradition can be found in a variety of early Christian documents including the *Doctrina*, the Letter of *Barnabas* 18–20 and some five later writings.¹ Modern scholars generally explain the close resemblances between these different versions of the Two Ways (including *Did.* 1–6) as being caused by their dependence upon an earlier Jewish Two Ways document which is no longer known to us. However, if we compare the Two Ways as they are presented in the *Didache* with the various forms of the Two Ways as they occur outside the *Didache*, it is interesting to see that the latter demonstrate no familiarity with the section in *Did.* 1:3b–2:1 and the supplement in *Did.* 6:2–3. In fact, it appears that these early Christian writings attest to a separate circulation of a form of the Two Ways, closely related to *Did.* 1–6 but without the material in 1:3b–2:1 and 6:2–3.²

The passage in *Did.* 1:3b–2:1 clearly interrupts the connection between *Did.* 1:3a and 2:2 and it stands out from the immediate context in Chaps. 1–6 in terms of its high number of close parallels to the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. The segment calls upon the reader/hearer to love one's enemy, to abandon retaliation and to give to the needy. This is the more striking because a similar accumulation of traditional Gospel motifs is absent from the remainder of the Two Ways manual of *Did.* 1–6. In fact, apart from the collection of Jesus tradition in 1:3b–2:1, there is hardly any reference to the specific Christian doctrine in the Two Ways manual of

¹ These include the Apostolic Church Order, the Epitome of the Canons of the Holy Apostles, the Life of Shenoute, the Ps. Athanasian Syntagma Doctrinae, and the Fides CCCXVIII Patrum.

² H. van de Sandt and D. Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity* (CRINT 3/5; Assen: Van Gorcum / Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2002) 55–72.

the *Didache*. A similar remarkable feature occurs at the end of the comprehensive ethical treatise, where *Did.* 6:2 suddenly grants that partial compliance with all previous admonitions suffices. Furthermore, with respect to food, everyone is allowed to determine for themselves what is to be eaten, and only a minimum requirement is laid down (6:3). There is widespread scholarly consensus that *Did.* 1:3b–2:1 and 6:2–3 are Christian additions to the basic tradition of the Two Ways.

After the sharp warning in *Did.* 6:1 to preserve the aforesaid prescriptions in their entirety, an atmosphere of concession and tolerance pervades the two subsequent verses:

¹See to it that no one leads you astray from this way of the doctrine, since [the person who would do so] teaches apart from God. ²For if you can bear the entire yoke of the Lord, you will be perfect, but if you cannot, do what you can. ³As for food, bear what you can, but be very much on your guard against food offered to idols, for it is worship of dead gods.

If *Did.* 6:2–3 is a supplement to the original Two Ways teaching, what does it mean and where does it come from? And to what does the “entire yoke of the Lord” refer? Does it refer to the whole Torah, so that partial compliance with all Torah commandments would be allowed?³ Does the expression apply to the instructions of the preceding chapters of *Did.* 1–5 as a whole?⁴ Or does it pertain to the commandments of the Lord, as laid out in the sayings of Jesus quoted in 1:3b–2:1?⁵

Agreements between the Didache and the Matthean Gospel

The expression “yoke of the Lord” recalls Matt 11:28–30. This is not surprising, since there is widespread recognition that there are significant agreements between the Gospel of Matthew and the *Didache* in terms of

³ See K. Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre). Barnabasbrief. Zweiter Klemensbrief. Schrift an Diognet* (Schriften des Urchristentums 2; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984) 96; J.A. Draper, “Do the *Didache* and Matthew Reflect an ‘Irrevocable Parting of the Ways’ with Judaism,” in *Matthew and The Didache: Two Documents from the same Jewish-Christian Milieu?* (ed. H. van de Sandt; Assen: Van Gorcum/Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2005) 217–241 (227–230); Van de Sandt and Flusser, *The Didache*, 269.

⁴ G. Garleff, *Urchristliche Identität in Matthäusevangelium, Didache und Jakobusbrief* (Beiträge zum Verstehen der Bibel 9; Münster: LIT, 2004) 135–144.

⁵ K. Niederwimmer, *The Didache* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 1998; German original, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993) 123; W. Rordorf and A. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des Douze Apôtres (Didachè)* (2nd ed.; SC 248bis; Paris: Cerf, 1998) 32–33.

words, phrases and motifs.⁶ The Trinitarian baptismal formula in *Did.* 7 corresponds with the one in Matt 28:19 and the introduction and the text of the Lord's Prayer in *Did.* 8:2–3 is close to Matt 6:5–13. Moreover, both the communities of the *Didache* (*Did.* 11–13) and Matthew (Matt 7:15–23; 10:5–15, 40–42; 24:11, 24) had to deal with regular visits from wandering apostles and prophets, who were not always authentic and honest. Finally, the contents of the reproof passages in Matt 18:15–17 and *Did.* 15:3 agree in emphasizing the merciful and benevolent manner in which reproach was administered.⁷

There is then a strong affinity between Matthew and the Two Ways in *Did.* 1–6. The Two Ways teaching may even have served in some form as a pre-baptismal instruction within the communities of the *Didache* and Matthew.⁸ Its collection of Jesus sayings in the evangelical section (*Did.* 1:3–2:1) is very close to the Sermon on the Mount. The exposition about the love of one's neighbour (*Did.* 1:2) as being equal to loving one's enemies (*Did.* 1:3b–d) recalls the radical requirements of Matt 5:44, 46–47. In addition, the evangelical section includes a passage comparable to the prohibition of violent resistance (*Did.* 1:4b–d; cf. Matt 5:39–41). This is especially true of *Did.* 1:4b and Matt 5:39b, although the somewhat awkward wording of striking (δῶ ῥάπισμα) someone on his right cheek in 1:4b is slightly different from its stylistically better Matthean counterpart (ῥάπιζει). Other analogous passages are the affirmation in *Did.* 1:5d, which is close to Matt 5:26 ("he shall not go free until he has paid back the last penny") and the exhortation to be charitable in *Did.* 1:6 and Matt 5:42.

The analogous material is extensive enough to suggest a literary relationship between the two documents. Scholars have assumed time and again that the *Didache* draws on the final form of the Gospel of Matthew.⁹ If the document was composed in the second half of the second century

⁶ See H. van de Sandt, "Matthew and the Didache," in *Matthew and his Christian Contemporaries* (ed. D.C. Sim and B. Repschinski; LNTS 333; London: T&T Clark International, 2008) 123–138.

⁷ For references, cf. Niederwimmer, *The Didache*, 204, n. 10; H. van de Sandt, "Two Windows on a Developing Jewish-Christian Reproof Practice: Matt 18:15–17 and Did 15:3," in *Idem, Matthew and the Didache*, 173–192 (173, n. 2).

⁸ G. Braumann, "Zum Traditionsgeschichtlichen Problem der Seligpreisungen MT V 3–12," *NovT* 4 (1960) 253–260 (259–260); W. Popkes, "Die Gerechtigkeitstradition im Matthäus-Evangelium," *ZNW* 80 (1989) 1–23 (17).

⁹ For references, cf. J.S. Kloppenborg, "The Use of the Synoptics or Q in Did. 1:3b–2:1," in *Van de Sandt, Matthew and the Didache*, 105–129 (105, n. 2).

or later, as some believe,¹⁰ then there is a strong case that the *Didache* has used the Gospel as we have it. However, there is a growing consensus emerging in recent scholarship that the text was composed round about the turn of the first century CE.¹¹ If the *Didache* was edited that early, there is no need to suppose that there is literary dependence of the document on one of the Synoptic gospels. Another option might be that Matthew used the *Didache*,¹² but this is problematic as it implies that the *Didache* was composed much earlier than is generally thought. It is therefore more likely that both the *Didache* and Matthew draw on a common tradition.¹³

Did. 6:2 may thus depend on a similar tradition to that of Matt 11:28–30, since they both preserve a saying that is based upon the motif of the “yoke of the Lord,” which is found only here in the NT gospels. Moreover, the theme of perfection (*Did.* 6:2), as we will see, is a major theme both in the *Didache* and in Matthew. Most commentators like to stress, however, that the wording of Matt 11:28–30 and the phraseology of *Did.* 6:2 are saying something different. Whereas Matthew says that this yoke is light and thus can be carried with ease, the text of the *Didache* suggests that the yoke is so heavy that only “perfect” Christians are able to bear it.¹⁴ In this paper, I would like to correct this view by examining the subsequent phrases of the statement in *Did.* 6:2 in the light of their Matthean parallels with special attention to Matt 11:28–30.

¹⁰ R.H. Connolly, “Canon Streeter on the *Didache*,” *JTS* 38 (1937) 364–379 (367–370); F.E. Vokes, *The Riddle of the Didache: Fact or Fiction, Heresy or Catholicism?* (The Church Historical Society 32; London: SPCK, 1938) 51–61, 86.

¹¹ Van de Sandt and Flusser, *The Didache*, 48.

¹² Minus *Did.* 8:2b; 11:3b; 15:3–4 and 16:7 according to A.J.P. Garrow, *The Gospel of Matthew's Dependence on the Didache* (JSNTSup 254; Sheffield: T&T Clark, 2004).

¹³ J.P. Audet, *La Didachè: Instructions des apôtres* (Études Bibliques; Paris: Gabalda, 1958) 166–186; W. Rordorf, “Does the *Didache* Contain Jesus Tradition Independently of the Synoptic Gospels?,” in *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition* (ed. H. Wansbrough; JSOTSup 64; Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 394–423; Rordorf and Tuilier, *La Doctrine*, 91, 232; Van de Sandt and Flusser, *The Didache*, 48–50.

¹⁴ C.N. Jefford, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (VCSup 11; Leiden/New York/København/Köln: Brill, 1989) 94–95; W.J.C. Weren, “The Ideal Community According to Matthew, James and the *Didache*,” in *Matthew, James and Didache: Three Related Documents in Their Jewish and Christian Settings* (ed. H. van de Sandt and J. Zangenberg; SBLSymS 45; Atlanta GA: SBL, 2008) 177–200 (197). See also H. Lilje, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel: Eine Kirchenordnung des ersten christlichen Jahrhunderts* (2nd ed.; Die urchristliche Botschaft 28; Hamburg: Furche, 1956) 56.

A Comparison between Did. 6:2 and Matt 11:28–30

Below, we will examine the corresponding clauses in *Did.* 6:2 and Matt 11:28–30. We will see that even though the parallel material in the two passages does not display identical vocabulary or word order, it does basically express the same idea.

“*The Entire Yoke of the Lord*” (*Did.* 6:2a)

1. *Matthew*

Within the gospels, the wording “yoke” only occurs in Matthew, where it is found twice in 11:28–30. This passage belongs to a section which is surrounded in 11:25 and 12:1 by the Matthean redactional phrase “at that time” (ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ);¹⁵ its key themes are “revelation” and “yoke.” In 11:25 Jesus states that it is not the “wise and understanding,” but rather the “babes” to whom God reveals himself. He then moves from his song of praise through v. 26 to a disclosure of his own role in God’s plan in v. 27. The Son reveals to those he chooses what the Father has revealed to him.¹⁶

The teaching of vv. 25–27 is followed immediately by the invitation in vv. 28–30. Acting upon the authority announced in v. 27, Matthew has Jesus present his call to discipleship in v. 28. The disciple is required to do something. The condition for receiving the twice-mentioned promise of rest is a two-fold demand:

²⁸Come to me, all who labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.

²⁹Take my yoke upon you, and learn from me; for I am gentle and lowly in heart, and you will find rest for your souls.¹⁷ ³⁰For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.

¹⁵ The phrase is used only in 11:25; 12:1 and 14:1 in the gospel; cf. L. Lybaek, *New and Old in Matthew 11–13: Normativity in the Development of Three Theological Themes* (FRLANT 198; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002) 149.

¹⁶ According to v. 27 the mutual and exclusive knowledge of Father and Son mediated by the Son is for the benefit of others. Compare John 1:18 and 14:9.

¹⁷ According to Maarten Menken (*Matthew’s Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist* [BETL 173; Leuven, University Press, 2004] 267) the clause in Matt 11:29c (“and you will find rest for your souls”) is an “unmarked quotation” from Jer 6:16 and he suspects that it “may well derive from a LXX that was corrected towards the Hebrew...” (268–269). The sentence in Jer 6:16 LXX as a whole runs as follows: “Stand by the ways (Στήτε ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁδοῖς), and look, and ask for the ancient paths of the Lord; and see what is the good way (ποία ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς ἢ ἀγαθή), and walk in it, and find purification (rest) for your souls.” The mention of the “way(s)” and “the good way” in this verse underlying Matt 11:29c is striking.

The yoke may refer to wisdom¹⁸ but it is more often applied to the Law in Jewish sources.¹⁹ The expression “my yoke” (ὁ ζυγός μου) is completely lacking in this form elsewhere,²⁰ even in the LXX. The phrase is to be regarded as a distinctive manner of speaking and is closely related to his authoritative clause, “but I say to you,” in the antitheses of Matt 5:21–48.

In Matt 5:21–48 Jesus appears to be using his authority to expound the demands of the Torah. The frequent self-references, “But I say to you,” demonstrate that the status of his antithetical statement is not just a second opinion in legal matters. The tone is final, definitive, and conclusive. In Matt 11:27, in the passage right before 11:28–30, the authority to disclose “these things” to infants is delivered to the Son who will reveal the Father to whom he chooses.²¹ Matthew presents Jesus as an authoritative teacher in order to establish a binding interpretation of the Torah against the views of a contending party.

At the time Matthew wrote his Gospel, the Matthean community was largely a Jewish Christian sect that was encountering severe opposition from the Pharisees and those belonging to emerging rabbinic Judaism. The image of the yoke becomes part of the anti-Pharisaic polemic in the gospel of Matthew. This tension, conflict, and struggle probably concerned the interpretation and practice of Jewish Law.²² It is undeniable that Matt

¹⁸ Interestingly, Wisdom is equated with the Torah in Sir 17:11; 19:20; 21:11, 23, 24; 34:8; 45:5.

¹⁹ See G. Bertram and K.H. Rengstorf, “ζυγός,” *TWNT* 2 (1935) 898–904; W.D. Davies and D.C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (3 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988–1997) 2:289–290; C. Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom and the Easy Yoke: Wisdom, Torah and Discipleship in Matthew 11.25–30* (JSNTSup 18; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987) 42–43. Rabbinic texts which speak of the “yoke of the Law,” “yoke of the Kingdom” etc. are conveniently gathered by H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (4 vols.; München: Beck, 1922–1928) 1:176–177, 608–610.

²⁰ M.J. Suggs, *Wisdom, Christology and Law in Matthew's Gospel* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1970) 99–100; Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom and the Easy Yoke*, 133; Davies and Allison, *Saint Matthew*, 2:289.

²¹ Jesus has his own tradition directly from the Father. See Davies and Allison, *Saint Matthew*, 2:275, 280; B.Th. Viviano, *Study as Worship: Aboth and the New Testament* (SJLA 26; Leiden: Brill, 1978) 188; Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom and the Easy Yoke*, 33. Matt 11:28–30 is closely related to the subsequent two Sabbath controversies which are situated in 12:1–8 and 9–14. This high degree of self-awareness is also found in the clause “something greater than the Temple is here” in the Sabbath debate (Matt 12:6). Jesus proclaims his own authority replacing and fulfilling the role of the temple as the focus of God's presence.

²² See e.g. A.J. Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* (CSJH; Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994) 7–9 and *passim*; J.A. Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 1990) 86–90; A.F. Segal, “Matthew's Jewish Voice,” in *Social History of the Matthean Community*:

5:20 presumes a high degree of concern about the fulfillment of the Law on the part of the "Pharisees and scribes." They are righteous insofar as they live according to the demands of the Law. The suggestion that emerges from the verse, however, is that Matthew's community pursues a greater righteousness. This moral standard implies a lifestyle based on a different interpretation of the Law. It involves exceeding the legal requirements of the Torah to the extent that additional norms not explicitly mentioned in the biblical commandments are also stringently adhered to. In the antitheses of Matt 5:21–48, Jesus appears to use the controlling clause, "but I say to you," to expound the demands of Torah.

2. Didache

The yoke-terminology has already been examined by Celia Deutsch²³ and Jonathan Draper,²⁴ who came to the conclusion that in both the early Jewish sources and the earliest Christian material the word "yoke" primarily refers to the Torah. Moreover, since the "entire yoke" in *Did.* 6:2 is found in the context of the restrictions on idol-meat in 6:3, it is likely to refer to the observance of the entire Torah. With respect to food, everyone is allowed to determine for themselves what is to be eaten and only a minimum requirement is stipulated (6:3). But what does "the whole yoke of the Lord" mean? If the wording τοῦ κυρίου stands for God, the text suggests compliance with the entire Torah as the ideal but at the same time shows a tolerant attitude to those who are not capable of bearing (the yoke of) "all" Torah commandments. Throughout the *Didache* there is ambivalence as to whether κύριος refers to Jesus or to the Lord God. In several places, the *Didache* refers to "the Lord," thus indicating that the authority of the exalted Lord is behind its traditions.²⁵ Does it—in light of Matthew—refer to Jesus as the sole reliable interpreter, the ultimate teacher, of the Torah? And if so, what significance would this reading have for the interpretation of our verse?

Cross-Disciplinary Approaches (ed. D.L. Balch; Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 1991) 3–37 (32–37); G.N. Stanton, *A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992) 113–145.

²³ *Hidden Wisdom and the Easy Yoke*, 126–130, 133–135.

²⁴ "Do the Didache and Matthew Reflect," 227–230. See also his "Torah and Troublesome Apostles in the Didache Community," *NovT* 33 (1991) 347–372; revised and reprinted in Idem, *The Didache in Modern Research* (AGJU 37; Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 1996) 340–363 (352–357).

²⁵ In the *Didache*, "the Lord" (κύριος) refers to the authority of Jesus (see 9:5; 11:2, 4, 8; 12:1; 14:1; 15:1), his coming at the end of time (10:6; 16:1, 7–8) and traditions that are ascribed to him (6:2; 8:2; 9:5; 15:4). "The Lord" refers to God in 4:1 (twice), 12, 13; 10:5 and 14:3.

“You Will Be Perfect” (Did. 6:2b)

1. *Matthew*

The concept of “being perfect” is found in two instances in the Gospel of Matthew (5:48 and 19:21); beyond these two occurrences, the word “perfect” is not found in the gospels at all. In Matt 5:20 Jesus demands that the disciples’ righteousness must exceed (περισσεύση . . . πλείον) that of the scribes and Pharisees.²⁶ This requirement is echoed in 5:48: “You, therefore, must be perfect (τέλειοι), as your heavenly Father is perfect (τέλειος).” The latter verse serves to conclude the section of the antitheses in 5:21–48, a pericope that presents examples of what it means to abide by a “greater righteousness.” In these antitheses, Jesus’ demands transcend or exceed the requirements of the Law rather than opposing them.²⁷ Not only must you not kill, you must not even reach that level of anger (5:21–22). Not only must you not commit adultery, you must not even look desirously at another man’s wife (5:27–28). The counter-statement radicalizes, intensifies and transcends the premise rather than revoking or changing it. The other sayings concern divorce, teachings about oaths, retaliation, and love of one’s enemy. Being perfect involves doing more than others.²⁸ It refers to doing more Torah than the minimum level of morality laid down in the Torah.

The demand in Matt 19:21 corresponds to the greater righteousness announced in Matt 5:20, implying that there must be more Torah observance than the legal minimum.²⁹ In Matt 19:16–22 Jesus tells the Rich

²⁶ See R.A. Guelich, *The Sermon on the Mount: A Foundation for Understanding* (2nd ed.; Waco TX: Word, 1982) 135 and 156; U. Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (4 vols.; EKK 1/1–4; Zürich: Zürieger / Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1985–2002) 1:230; J.P. Meier, *Law and History in Matthew’s Gospel: A Redactional Study of Mt. 5:17–48* (AnBib 71; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1976) 116–119; Davies and Allison, *Saint Matthew*, 1:501. Because it is characteristic Matthean terms that constitute its content, the relevant verse in Matt 5:20 is likely to be redactional.

²⁷ See also D.C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community* (Studies of the New Testament and Its World; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998) 130–131; Davies and Allison, *Saint Matthew*, 1:504–505; R. Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (8th ed.; FRLANT 29; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970) 143–144.

²⁸ Interestingly, the term *περισσόν* in Matt 5:47 reflects the verb *περισσεύση* in v. 20. This inclusion denotes a righteousness measurable in terms of magnitude and a rigorous observance of all commandments. See B. Przybylski, *Righteousness in Matthew and his World of Thought* (SNTSMS 41; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) 85–87. See also Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, 1:240–241; similarly Davies and Allison, *Saint Matthew*, 1:500.

²⁹ Davies and Allison, *Saint Matthew*, 3:46; W. Carter, *Households and Discipleship: A Study of Matthew 19–20* (JSNTSup 103; Sheffield: JSOT, 1994) 117; Luz, *Das Evangelium nach*

Young Man that he must keep the Decalogue's second table and the commandment to love his neighbour as himself in order to achieve salvation. When the man asserts that he has kept all these commandments and asks for a more elaborate explanation, Jesus replies: "If you wish to be perfect (τέλειος), then go, sell all your possessions and give to the poor." This higher ethical standard, the call to renounce possessions and give to the poor, should be understood as the concrete enactment of the command to love one's neighbour.

Following Jesus requires observing the commandments and, conversely, there can be no true observing of the commandments if they are not kept in accordance with their explanation by Jesus.³⁰ When Jesus invites those who labour and are heavy laden to take on his yoke in Matt 11:28–30, he is in effect inviting them to study Torah, to accept his interpretation of it and to live by it. The passage teaches perfection in such a way that it leads to a life in accordance with the features spelled out particularly clearly in Matt 5:20 and 19:21.

2. Didache

Since the word τέλειος ("perfect") is lacking in the other Gospels it is surprising to find it twice in the *Didache*. In *Did.* 1:4 the phrase, "and you will be perfect," occurs in a non-retaliation context: "If anyone slaps your right cheek, turn the other to him as well, and you will be perfect." In addition to turning the other cheek, the section also deals with going an extra mile and not reclaiming one's own property from someone who has taken it. Since the instructions in this verse exceed the literal interpretation of the commandments with respect to retribution, they present a case for more than the Law requires. The other instance is found in *Did.* 6:2a, where those who are able to carry the "whole yoke of the Lord" are called "perfect": "If you can bear the entire yoke of the Lord, you will be perfect." The close

Matthäus, 3:46, 123–125; J. Gnllka, *Das Matthäusevangelium* (2 vols.; HTKNT 1/1–2; Freiburg/Basel/Wien: Herder, 1986–1988) 2:165. See also H. van de Sandt, "Eternal Life as Reward for Choosing the Right Way: The Story of the Rich Young Man (Matt 19:16–30)," in *Life Beyond Death in Matthew's Gospel: Religious Metaphor or Bodily Reality?* (ed. W. Weren, H. van de Sandt and J. Verheyden; Biblical Tools and Studies 13; Leuven/Paris/Walpole MA: Peeters, 2011) 107–127. See also Draper, "Torah and Troublesome Apostles," 357–359.

³⁰ See also M. Konradt, "Die vollkommene Erfüllung der Tora und der Konflikt mit den Pharisäern im Matthäusevangelium," in *Das Gesetz in frühen Judentum und im Neuen Testament* (ed. D. Sänger, M. Konradt and C. Burchard; NTOA 57; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006) 129–152 (152); Idem, "The Love Command in Matthew, James, and the Didache," in Van de Sandt and Zangenberg, *Matthew, James and Didache*, 271–288 (274–278).

correspondence between the clause “you will be perfect” (τέλειος ἔσῃ) in *Did.* 6:2 and the wording of “(and) you will be perfect” ([καί] ἔσῃ τέλειος) in 1:4b suggests the same redactional hand. By repeating the clause 1:4b in 6:2, the composer of the *Didache* reminds his readers of the specific Torah approach in the previous verse.³¹ The “yoke of the Lord” in *Did.* 6:2, then, is the yoke of Jesus and “perfection” refers to the fulfillment of the radical ethical demands of Jesus as summarized in 1:3b–2:1.

The inserted collection of Jesus tradition following 1:3a and using Synoptic traditions, functions as a specific interpretation of the double love command and the Golden Rule (1:2). It is an editing, updating and rewriting of traditional Two Ways material into a new specific Christian form. Since the basic norms of conduct displayed in the early form of *Did.* 1–6 might equally be suited for instructing a Gentile to become a Jew,³² it was probably the composer of the *Didache* who added the Christianizing sections in *Did.* 1:3a–2:1 and 6:2–3. “Perfection” is linked with the fulfillment of the double love commandment and the evangelical section appears as an explication of the love commandment. The τέλειος in *Did.* 6:2, referring to the bearing of the entire “yoke of the Lord,” involves the fulfillment of the radical ethical demands as summarized in *Did.* 1:3b–2:1. In both Matthew and the *Didache*, striving for perfection involves a “higher righteousness” with respect to current observance of the Torah. The moral instructions in Matthew and the *Didache* are more demanding than those in the Torah as conventionally interpreted in contemporary Judaism.

“*But If You Cannot, Do What You Can*” (*Did.* 6:2c)

1. *Matthew*

As we have seen, *Did.* 6:2 uses the terminology of “yoke,” combined with the term “perfect”—reflecting the Christian exposition of the love command in *Did.* 1:3b–2:1—so as to refer to an intensification of the Torah requirements. In light of Matt 11:28–30, however, the vocabulary, “yoke

³¹ Rordorf and Tuilier, *La Doctrine*, 32–33; Draper, “Do the *Didache* and Matthew Reflect,” 225–227; J. Schröter, “Jesus Tradition in Matthew, James, and the *Didache*: Searching for Characteristic Emphases,” in Van de Sandt and Zangenberg, *Matthew, James and Didache*, 233–255 (249).

³² A. Milavec, “The Pastoral Genius of the *Didache*: An Analytical Translation and Commentary,” in *Religious Writings and Religious Systems: Systemic Analysis of Holy Books in Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Greco-Roman Religions, Ancient Israel, and Judaism* (2 vols.; ed. J. Neusner, E.S. Frerichs and A.J. Levine; Brown Studies in Religion 2; Atlanta GA: Scholars, 1989) 2:89–125 (121–123).

of the Lord," might also reflect an additional aspect that is intrinsically related to the "yoke." Let us examine Matt 11:28–30 more closely.

Matt 11:28–30 is strongly related to the subsequent two Sabbath debates in 12:1–8 and 9–14.³³ The Pharisees at the scene regarded the plucking of grain on the Shabbat as forbidden (Exod 34:21) and also considered the act of healing the man with the withered hand on the Sabbath as unlawful. In Jesus' response, the Scriptural command from Hos 6:6, "I desire mercy (ἔλεος), and not sacrifice" (Matt 12:7), plays a major role: Mercy is superior to sacrifice. Instead of showing loving-kindness to the hungry disciples and meeting human needs, the Pharisees condemned these actions on the basis of a strict Law-based interpretation.³⁴ By insisting upon literal compliance with the Sabbath law in these two cases, they fail to notice the violation of this greater mercy-commandment.³⁵

The saying from Hosea 6:6 is repeated in Matthew 9:13, where it plays a similar role: the Pharisees are likewise rebuked here for having forgotten about the superior value of mercy. In Matthew's gospel, the Hosean "sacrifices" are associated with restraints on plucking grain (12:1–8), on healing on the Sabbath (12:9–14) and eating with sinners (9:10–13), and mercy is declared to be of greater importance.³⁶ In Matt 23:23, the term "mercy" (ἔλεος) is used as one of the three weightier matters of the Law which are ignored by the other Sages:

Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you tithe mint and dill and cumin, and have neglected the weightier matters of the Law (τὰ βαρύτερα

³³ For a more elaborate explanation see H. van de Sandt, "Matthew 11,28–30: Compassionate Law Interpretation in Wisdom Language," in *The Gospel of Matthew at the Crossroads of Early Christianity* (ed. D. Senior; BETL 243; Leuven/Paris/Walpole MA: Peeters, 2011) 313–337.

³⁴ For the above interpretation, see Y.E. Yang, *Jesus and the Sabbath in Matthew's Gospel* (JSNTSup 139; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 161–188, 195–214; S.-O. Back, *Jesus of Nazareth and the Sabbath Commandment* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press, 1995) 102–105; W.R.G. Loader, *Jesus' Attitude towards the Law: A Study of the Gospels* (WUNT 2.97; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997) 201–204. See also Ph. Sigal, *The Halakah of Jesus of Nazareth According to the Gospel of Matthew* (Lanham MD: University Press of America, 1986) 128–136, 136–142; Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community*, 130–131; J.M. Hicks, "The Sabbath Controversy in Matthew: An Exegesis of Matthew 12.1–14," *ResQ* 27 (1984) 79–91 (84, 88, 89).

³⁵ See Overman, *Matthew's Gospel*, 78–79; Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community*, 126–127; Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, 2:233; Gnllka, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, 1:446; Loader, *Jesus' Attitude*, 205.

³⁶ M.S. Kinzer, *Post-Missionary Messianic Judaism: Redefining Christian Engagement with the Jewish People* (Grand Rapids MI: Brazos, 2005) 53–54; see also E. Ottenheim, "The Shared Meal—a Therapeutical Device: The Function and Meaning of Hos 6:6 in Matt 9:10–13," *NovT* 53 (2011) 1–21 (16–19).

τοῦ νόμου): justice and mercy and faithfulness. These you ought to have done, without neglecting the others.

The Pharisees tithed mint and dill and cumin, they set great store by following the letter of the Law, but they fall short by forgetting what is of primary importance. The requirement of tithing ought to be subordinated to higher moral qualities.³⁷ Tithing, purity, and dietary laws are affirmed but firmly subordinated to acts of justice, mercy, faithfulness, and love.³⁸ The radical demands occurring in the antitheses of 5:21–48 are crystallizations of neighbourly love, the neighbours being the concrete victims of a neglect of mercy, justice, and faithfulness. The stricter interpretation of the commandments in the antitheses presents an attitude towards life that is beneficial to one's neighbour and emphasizes a more generous, positive attitude towards people throughout. The performance of mercy in the ministry of Jesus is contrasted with the failure of other Sages to show acts of mercy and in this sense the Pharisaic halakha as presented in Matthew was "heavy," in that it makes higher demands on the faithful.

In Matthew, the absolute importance of the principle of love for interpreting the Law is emphasized in many ways. The love command of Lev 19:18 is quoted as much as three times in Matthew (5:43; 19:19; 22:39). It is also repeatedly articulated with the help of cognates expressing the concept of "mercy" like ἔλεος (9:13; 12:7; 23:23), ἐλεεῖν (9:27; 15:22; 17:15; 20:30, 31) and σπλαγγιζέσθαι (9:36; 14:14; 15:32; 18:27; 20:34). Thus the emphasis on the love commandments, mercy, and justice serve both the community in its internal orientation and in its contrast to other groups. "My yoke" stands for an interpretation of all commandments that stresses love, justice and mercy as the core of Jesus' message.

2. Didache

In the *Didache* the Way of Life begins with a summary of the Law consisting of the double love command (the "love of God" and the "love of one's neighbour") and the Golden Rule in its negative form ("do not yourself do to another what you would not want done to you"). The topic clause in 1:3a ("Here is the teaching [that flows] from these words") shows the following part to be interpretation. By inserting the evangelical section right after

³⁷ See K.G.C. Newport, *The Sources and Sitz im Leben of Matthew 23* (JSNTSup 117; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995) 140–142.

³⁸ See also U. Luz, *Studies in Matthew* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2005) 200; K. Snodgrass, *Matthew and the Law* (SBLSP; Missoula MT: Scholars, 1988) 536–554 (543); Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 128.

1:3a, the explanation of the double love command and the Golden Rule (1:2) was Christianized while the traditional Jewish interpretation in *Did.* 2:2–7 accordingly became the "second commandment." The explanation of the essentials of the Way of Life in *Did.* 1:2 (double love commandment and Golden Rule) continues all the way through three chapters before reaching its conclusion in 4:14b.

Matt 11:28–30 contrasts "my yoke," that is, the observance of the Torah as interpreted by Jesus, with the observance of Torah as interpreted by other Sages, to argue that Jesus' way is easy and light. The passage in the *Didache* shows a similar compassionate interpretation. It represents an adjustment to all believers who are not capable of bearing the entire "yoke of the Lord" and may have difficulties in observing Jewish dietary laws. It is even possible that like Matthew, the *Didache* in its explicit mention of the "yoke of the Lord," also sets the interpretation of Jesus over against that of the scribes and Pharisees. After rigorously teaching a comprehensive ethical blueprint and imposing a high standard for the Way of Life, the *Didache* ultimately relaxes the rules and appears to suggest that partial compliance with the commandments of the Torah suffices for those who, Jews and gentiles alike, cannot bear them.

Conclusion

As far as we can tell, the vast majority of Jewish Christians in the *Didache* community continued to observe the whole Law, taking for granted that they were still obligated to do so. On what grounds does the author of the *Didache* show himself to be uncompromising on some points and lenient on others? With regard to the gentiles, there might be a parallel between the way Jewish rabbis welcomed gentile Godfearers into their synagogues and the minimal requirements in *Did.* 6:2–3.³⁹ The teaching might thus include an absolute minimum (the avoidance of idol-meat) and an ideal level that embraces the Torah.⁴⁰

³⁹ The Noachide laws were designed to establish a minimum of obligations for the Godfearers so that they could be saved with the Jews who were required to strictly keep the whole Law of Moses. See Van de Sandt and Flusser, *The Didache*, 243–253.

⁴⁰ J.A. Draper, "A Continuing Enigma: The 'Yoke of the Lord' in *Didache* 6.2–3 and Early Jewish-Christian Relations," in *The Image of the Judaeo-Christians in Ancient Jewish and Christian Literature* (ed. P.J. Tomson and D.L. Lambers-Petri; WUNT 158; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2003) 106–123 (113); C.N. Jefford, "Tradition and Witness in Antioch: Acts 15 and *Did* 6," in *Perspectives on Contemporary New Testament Questions: Essays in Honour of T.C. Smith* (ed. E.V. McKnight; Lewiston NY: Mellen, 1992) 408–419.

On the other hand, rather than imagining two levels of observance or two different groups of observants, I would suggest in the light of Matthew that *Did.* 6:2 calls on every believer to observe the entire Torah as interpreted by the Lord. In Jesus' interpretation and practice of the Torah, the love commandments serve as the centre of the Law. By asking the reader to "bear the entire yoke of the Lord," to become "perfect," and to "do what you can," *Did.* 6:2 highlights the superior ethical standards surpassing the scope of widely accepted Torah precepts. Perfection is required of those within Israel and of those gentiles who join the community. At the same time, however, the final clause, "But if you cannot, do what you can," shows an awareness of the easy nature of the "yoke of the Lord." Whereas both the evangelical section in *Did.* 1:3b–2:1 and *Did.* 6:2 highlight the radical demands and incite gentiles to keep the precepts of the Torah as best they can, the latter passage also offers a compassionate interpretation in circumstances where such leniency results in the fulfillment of a more important demand of the Law. The Torah is to be observed on the basis of the fundamental norms emphasized by Jesus. Compliance with the "entire yoke of the Lord" not only points to a radical restatement of all Torah commandments, but reflects an empathic attitude as well to those who were unable to observe this yoke.

ISAIAH 60:17 AS A KEY FOR UNDERSTANDING THE TWO-FOLD
MINISTRY OF ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΙ AND ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΙ ACCORDING TO
FIRST CLEMENT (1 CLEM 42:5)

Bart J. Koet

One of the most interesting aspects of 1 Clement, a letter from the ἐκκλησία of Rome to that of Corinth, is its use of Jewish traditions as examples for its audience. It is appropriate to honour my “Doktorvater” Maarten Menken, who guided my dissertation on the interpretation of the Old Testament [=OT] in Luke-Acts, with a contribution about its use in this letter as part of our investigations concerning the use of Scriptures in the Early Church. In 1 Clem 42:5 Clement refers to Scripture: ‘For the Scripture says somewhere: “I will raise their ἐπίσκοποι in righteousness and their διάκονοι in “faith/trust”.’¹

¹ 1 Clem 42:5; καὶ τοῦτο οὐ καινῶς ἐκ γὰρ δὴ πολλῶν χρόνων ἐγγράπτο περὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ διακόνων οὕτως γὰρ που λέγει ἡ γραφὴ Καταστήσω τοὺς ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους αὐτῶν ἐν πίστει. In what follows we shall leave both words (*episkopoi* and *diakonoi*) for the most part untranslated and use transcribed forms. Translating *ἐπίσκοποι* with bishops seems to be anachronistic, although translating “overseer” would lose the connection, which does exist with the later concept of bishops. In this article we cannot deal with this element. In recent decades the word *διακονία* is often seen as synonymous with lowly service either within the church or expressed more broadly towards the needy in society. However, important philological research has been undertaken on the word *διάκονια* and related expressions in classical Greek and the Greek of the New Testament [=NT] to falsify this assumption: see J.N. Collins, *Diakonia. Re-interpreting the Ancient Sources* (New York/Oxford: OUP, 1990) and Anni Hentschel, *Diakonia im Neuen Testament: Studien zur Semantik unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Rolle von Frauen* (WUNT 2. 226; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2007). See also my “Luke 10,38–42 and Acts 6,1–7: A Lucan Diptych on Diakonia,” in *Studies on the Greek Bible* (Fs. Francis T. Gignac; eds. J. Corley and V. Skemp; CBQ Monograph Series 44; Washington D.C., 2008), 163–185 and my “Like a Royal Wedding. On the Significance of *diakonos* in John 2,1–11,” *Diakonia, Diaconiae, Diaconato: Semantica e storia nei Padri della Chiesa. XXXVIII Incontro di studiosi dell’antichità cristiana. Roma, 7–9 maggio, 2009* (ed. V. Grossi, B.J. Koet and P. van Geest; Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 117; Roma: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 2010) 39–52. The most important author in this debate is Collins. Through meticulous research into the meaning of the *diakon*-clusters in ancient literature, he showed the extent to which the “Christian” Greek of the NT differs from common early usage. Collins concludes that the *diakon*-terms were not used specifically to express a notion of loving and caring service and that the Greek *diakon*-terms were “floaters.” Often *diakon*-words designate the carrying out of orders and the performance of deeds. Central notions expressed by *διάκονια* might cluster around notions of “mediation, intercession, agency, and mission in the name of a principal.” Thus the notion of “mandate” can be prominent. I will also not translate *presbuteroi* and *ekklesia*.

Scholars often identify this as a quotation from Isa 60:17. However, there are quite a few differences between Isa 60:17 and the text quoted here. The question arises as to this reference: is it really a quotation? Another question is why Clement introduces in this allusion—in a quite unexpected way—a reference to *diakonoi*?²

The aim of this article is to investigate the manner in which 1 Clem 40–44 uses OT material, especially Isa 60:17, as a model for *episkopoi* and *diakonoi* and, in addition, as a basis for understanding the relationship between the two functionaries.³ In order to deal with these questions we will start with situating the reference in the context of the whole letter as well as in the immediate context.

First Clement as a Letter

W.C. van Unnik has described how the famous Church historian Adolf von Harnack said farewell to university teaching in July 1929 in Berlin. There were two speeches: one by a senior student and one by the professor himself. The senior student happened to become one of the most famous Christians of the twentieth century: Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the theologian and martyr. Von Harnack dedicated the last session of his seminar to First Clement, because he argued that this book was the most important document for insights into the history of the Church.⁴

² The relation between the ministries as depicted in our text and the later forms of ministries in the Early Church is beyond our reach. We concentrate ourselves on the text of 1 Clement itself. For a study of the development of the ministries and especially of sequential ordination, see John St. H. Gibaut, *The Cursus Honorum: A Study and Evolution of Sequential Ordination* (Patristic Studies 3; New York: Peter Lang, 2000). See now also the collected articles of Alexandre Faivre, *Chrétiens et Églises: Des identités en construction. Acteurs, structures, frontières du champ religieux chrétien* (Paris: Cerf, 2011).

³ How is it possible that *episkopoi* already in the community of Corinth became the more important (liturgical) leaders? In this context I cannot investigate any further the sociological connotations of *episkopoi* in Greco-Roman context, but for the reasons of this institutionalization, see H.O. Mayer, *The Social Setting of the Ministry as Reflected in the Writings of Hermas, Clement and Ignatius* (Studies in Christianity and Judaism 12; Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier, 1991).

⁴ W.C. van Unnik, *Studies over de zogenaamde eerste brief van Clemens I. Het litteraire genre* (Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, NR deel 33, no. 4; Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandse Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1970) 151. Now published as “Studies on the So-called First Epistle of Clement. The Literary Genre,” in *Encounters with Hellenism: Studies on the First Letter of Clement* (ed. C. Breytenbach and L.L. Welborn; Leiden: Brill, 2004) 115–181, here 115. See in the same volume: A. von Harnack, “Einführung in die Alte Kirchengeschichte: Das Schreiben der römische Gemeinde an die korinthische aus der Zeit Domitians (I. Clemensbrief),” 1–103 = id. (Leipzig, 1929). Here I quote from the edition of 2004.

First Clement is the name of a quite extensive epistle, written in the name of the *ekklesia* of Rome to the one in Corinth. Eusebius in *Hist. Eccl.*, (iii. 16) summarizes the reason of the epistle as follows: “There is one acknowledged epistle of this Clement great and admirable, which he wrote in the name of the church of Rome to the church at Corinth, sedition having then arisen in the latter church.”

This sedition focuses on certain problems in Corinth. In 1:1 the situation is typified as a *stasis*, a rising. In a language sometimes reminiscent of Pauline themes Clement describes in the beginning of this letter (1:2–3:1) how the community of Corinth walked in the laws of God (1:3) and thus how it flourished.⁵ According to Clement, in contrast with this recent past, the present time, however, is characterized instead by a whole series of vices like jealousy, envy and strife (3:3). Although in the beginning of his epistle Clement⁶ is vague about how these vices expressed themselves concretely, we soon read indications through phrases about “the worthless” rising against “those in honour,” “those of no reputation” against “the renowned,” “foolish” against “the prudent” and “young” against “the old” (*presbuteroi*). But the specific problem is not disclosed until 44:6: “some *presbuteroi* who have fulfilled their *leitourgia*⁷ blamelessly have been removed” (see also 44:3 and 47:6).

Elsewhere there are hints of a kind of power struggle in Corinth. In 45:1 Clement refers to the quarrels in Corinth as mentioned in 1 Cor 1–4, while in 54:2 there is a reference to some tensions between the *presbuteroi* and the people. He exhorts possible instigators of the sedition, strife or schism to go into (self-)exile (the famous “Auswanderungsrat”).⁸

Like Paul did in his letters to the Corinthians, the author of 1 Clement deals with this problematic situation by writing a letter. What was the aim

⁵ Compare the introduction of 1 Corinthians (1 Cor 1:1–3) with the introduction of 1 Clement. In both texts the community is addressed as “called saints.” For the relation between 1 and 2 Corinthians and 1 Clement, see D.G. Horrell, *The Social Ethos of the Corinthian Correspondence: Interests and Ideology from 1 Corinthians to 1 Clement* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996).

⁶ Although the prescript states that the letter is written by the *ekklesia* of Rome, Dionysius of Corinth (see Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* IV 23:10) refers to Clement as the author. For convenience’s sake, we will follow this tradition.

⁷ *Leitourgia*: ‘public service’, ‘public service of the Gods’, ‘from λείτος, ‘public’ + ἔργον ‘work’.

⁸ P. Mikat, “Der ‘Auswanderungsrat’ (1 Clem 54:2) als Schlüssel zum Gemeindeverständnis im I Clemensbrief,” in *Bonner Festgabe Johannes Straub zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. A. Lippold and N. Himmelman; Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher 39; Bonn: Rheinland, 1977) 213–223.

of this letter and what was the strategy followed by its author? It is Van Unnik, who shows that one can detect a rhetorical strategy in this letter.⁹ As in quite a few of his articles he first focuses on key words. Clement uses *ὁμόνοια* and *εἰρήνη* as a usual formula indicating welfare and happiness of a state or of a community.¹⁰ Especially on the basis of this formula and on the use of the word *συμβουλή* in 58:2, Van Unnik argues that the literary genre of First Clement can be understood as being of the *genos sumbouleutikon*, in Latin the *genus deliberativum*.¹¹ It indicates that the aim of the letter was to give advice.

O.M. Bakke supported Van Unnik's assessment of 1 Clement. One can find most of the main characteristics of the *genus deliberativum* in 1 Clement.¹² Deliberative rhetoric is hortatory or dissuasive and in 1 Clement this is reflected for example in the abundant use of hortatory subjunctives (see e.g. 7:2; 9:1; 13:1; 28:2, etc.). In deliberative rhetorical texts, the future is the main time reference, and in 1 Clement this is manifested in the comparative frequency of imperatives. According to Bakke, in a deliberative rhetorical context there is a certain standard set of appeals, among which appeals to advantage or warnings of danger were fundamental. One can find in 1 Clement warnings like those against incurring great danger (14:2, see 41:4 and 51:9).¹³

As a last point Bakke signals that in a deliberative context proof by example is characteristic.¹⁴ Van Unnik also mentioned this. Again and again Clement adduces examples, quite a number taken from the OT. In his discussion about ζῆλος, for example, he refers to Cain and Abel, to Jacob and Esau, to Joseph and his brothers, to Moses and his fellow countryman, to Aaron and Miriam, to Dathan and Abiram, and to David and Saul (1 Clem 4). He refers not only to the OT, but also to recent examples like Peter and Paul (1 Clem 5; cf. Gal 2:9). The lengthy first part of 1 Clement

⁹ Van Unnik, "Epistle of Clement," 151–163.

¹⁰ Van Unnik, "Epistle of Clement," 146–151.

¹¹ Aristotle was one of the first scholars to develop a rhetorical approach to genre. He divided the art of rhetoric into three genres: *deliberative*, *forensic* and *epideictic*.

¹² O.M. Bakke, "Concord and Peace." *A Rhetorical Analysis of the First Letter of Clement with an Emphasis on the Language of Unity and Sedition* (WUNT 2.143; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2001) 33–62, for a summary, see 320–321. For the examples of hortatory subjunctives, see 35–36. For 1 Clement as belonging to the *genus deliberativum*, cf. Barbara E. Bowe, *A Church in Crisis: Ecclesiology and Paraenesis in Clement of Rome* (HDR 23; Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 1988), especially 33–74.

¹³ Bakke, *Concord and Peace*, 38–54.

¹⁴ Bakke, *Concord and Peace*, 57–61.

ends with an extended quote from Job (mostly from 4:16–5:5; see 1 Clem 39:2–9).

By using these examples of the past and references to ancient texts, Clement shares with his audience moral examples from the past and prepares them for the arguments he is going to use, when dealing with the reason of the turmoil in Corinth.

The Structure of First Clement and the Place of 1 Clem 40–44 Within It

In 40:1 Clement makes the transition to the specific problem of disharmony in Corinth's *ekklesia*.¹⁵ The beginning of this part of the letter is often discussed in scholarly literature especially because of its content: a deliberation about the structure of the church.¹⁶ However, what exactly is the size of the relevant passage and its place in the letter?

Scholars often argue that 1Clement consists of two parts, which are connected, but at the same time are recognizable as independent units. In his commentary, E. Lona sees Chapters 1–39 (including the prescript) as the first part and 40–65 (including the postscript in 65:1–2) as the second one.¹⁷ He argues that the first part is a quite extended argumentation, describing the causes of the division and adducing a number of comparable examples from the past.

In his compositional analysis of 1 Clement Bakke sees 4:1–39:9 as the *thesis/quaestio infinita* or *quaestio generalis*.¹⁸ According to him, in this section Clement exhorts his audience to certain virtues and behaviour, which secures concord, and warns against vices and behaviour that leads to sedition. This involves an abstract, theoretical, general approach to the question of concord.¹⁹ The second part, 40:1–61:3, is described as the *upothesis*, the *quaestio finita*, or *quaestio particularis*, which gives a concrete, non-theoretical, practical treatment of a problem.²⁰ Thus, Bakke sees the connection between the first part of 1 Clement and the second as

¹⁵ Bakke, *Concord and Peace*, 184.

¹⁶ Horacia E. Lona, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (Kommentar zu den Apostolischen Vätern II; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 1998) 426: "Es handelt um den Abschnitt des Briefes, der wegen seiner Aussagen zur kirchlichen Verfassung am meisten die Aufmerksamkeit der Forschung auf sich gezogen hat."

¹⁷ Lona, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, 24–30.

¹⁸ See Bakke, *Concord and Peace*, e.g. 155 and 232.

¹⁹ See Bakke, *Concord and Peace*, 232.

²⁰ See Bakke, *Concord and Peace*, 155 and 232.

between a theoretical discourse and its practical application.²¹ This concurs to a certain extent with Lona's observations. He argues that while the first part of 1 Clement is a large-scale demonstration, it is in 40:1 that Clement starts to deal with the concrete problem.²²

Although in 40:1 there is a new beginning, we have to look whether there is a smaller unity within this second part of the letter. Lona sees 40:1–44 as the unity, dealing with the concrete controversy in Corinth, but argues at the same time that Chapter 45 belongs to it, because the whole section is closed in 45:7–8 with a doxology.²³

Bakke sees 40:1–43:6 as a unity, followed by the unity 44:1–47:7.²⁴ According to him, in 40:1–43:6 the theme is “order among the people of God according to the will of God.” In the first half of this section (40:1–41:4) the cult of the Temple is introduced as an example, while in the second half Clement focuses upon the order in the apostolic times and post-apostolic times (42:1–43:6). Bakke argues that after demonstrating that an order presupposing an appointed leadership according to God's will, Clement turns more explicitly to the situation in Corinth in 44:1–47:7. Bakke summarizes this passage in the phrase: “Clement blames the Corinthians for the present state of affairs”.²⁵ According to Bakke, it is in Chapter 44 that Clement comes to the point: the apostles knew (through the Lord Jesus Christ) that there would be strife (ἔρις) over “the name of bishop” (44:1).²⁶ Thus, the apostles appointed bishops and deacons and arranged that after their death other approved men should succeed to their λειτουργία (44:2). According to Clement, the apostolic origin and succession is legitimating the position of those successors and, consequently, no one is free to remove from their service those who were installed by the apostles or their successors and with approval of whole the *ekklesia* (44:3). But such a development is exactly what happened in Corinth. This becomes clear from 44:3, 6, where the most concrete description of the issue at stake can be found: the Corinthians have removed some men in office in spite of their good service. Bakke sees 45:1 as a transition to a new sub-text.

Although Lona is correct in recognizing a formal ending at 45:8 and a new beginning at 46:1, in this article we are reading 1 Clem 40–44 as a

²¹ Bakke, *Concord and Peace*, 211–212.

²² Lona, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, 426.

²³ *Der erste Korintherbrief*, 426–427.

²⁴ Bakke, *Concord and Peace*, 259–261; and see the table of the composition of the letter on pp. 275–277.

²⁵ Bakke, *Concord and Peace*, 261–264, for the quote p. 261.

²⁶ Bakke, *Concord and Peace*, 261.

relatively independent part of the letter and as the context of the reference to Isaiah. While the address ἀδελφοί at 45:1 indicates a new beginning, our main contention is that the prevailing subject matter throughout 1 Clem 40–44 is the different forms of ministry in the OT as well as in Christianity and that this serves to introduce the first explicit statement of the concrete problem at Corinth in 44:3, 6.

Isa 60:17 in 1 Clem 42:5

Thus, in 1 Clem 40:1 there is a new beginning. Because Clement and his audience have looked into the depths of the divine knowledge (as translated by Kirsopp Lake), he opens the discussion with a statement: “We ought to do in order all things which the Master commanded us to perform at appointed times.” In the following Clement discusses the order of Israel’s society as a model for the Christians in Corinth.

In Chapters 40–41 the commandments of “the Master” regarding sacrifices and services are discussed for Israel (40) and for the Christian community (41). Firstly, he describes the order of Israel: the appointed times for sacrifices (40:2) and the places and the persons involved (40:3). The focus is on the order of the persons and in 40:5 he mentions four ranks: High Priest, the priests, the Levites and the layman (here λαϊκός). He stresses that it is the Master (ὁ δεσπότης !) who imposed this order (40:1, 2, 3, 4; 41:3).²⁷ The word “order” may be the catchword of this section: “Let each one of us, brothers, be well pleasing to God is his own τάγμα (“order”, “rank”; 41:1).²⁸ In Chapter 41 Clement starts to apply these regulations to the community of Corinth and uses the sacrifices in the Temple of Jerusalem (41:2–4) as examples. This application is joined with a quite severe warning.

In Chapter 42 Clement continues the discussion about the subject of “order” by turning to the divine order of the Christian community rooted in the divine origin of Jesus Christ and in the mission of the apostles as

²⁷ When referring to God, in his own text Clement uses normally δεσπότης. See A. Jaubert, *Clément de Rome. Épître aux Corinthiens* (SC 167; Paris: Cerf, 1971) here 66–67 note 4. This concurs with the Jewish usage to avoid the name of God. In the later books of the LXX like Wisdom, Sirach and Daniel one can find δεσπότης as referring to God.

²⁸ According to Jaubert (“Thèmes Lévitiques dans la Prima Clementis,” VC 18 [1964] 193–203) the stress on “order” concurs with the principles of post-biblical levitical or sacerdotal circles. She refers e.g. to 1 Esdras 1:15 (LXX), Aristeas 92–95 and to some texts from Qumran.

given to them by Jesus the Christ (42:1–2) and by sketching the origin of the ministries of *episkopoi* and *diakonoi* in their appointment by the apostles (42:4). The relation between Christ and the Apostles is the argument for the divine origin of the *episkopoi* and the *diakonoi*. In 42:5 he uses Isa 60:17 as a model for bishops and deacons.

In Chapter 43 he uses the narrative of the divine choice of the tribe of Aaron for Israel's priesthood (Num 17) as the mirror image of the problems in Corinth. In Chapter 44 he applies this story to the quarrels about the name of the episcopate and finally tells his audience about the removal of *presbuteroi* in Corinth.²⁹

It is in this context that Clement stresses that—although the apostles when they preach from city to city appoint their first converts as *episkopoi* and *diakonoi*, these ministries are not a new phenomenon (42:5). He can say this, he claims, because this pair has been recorded in writings for many years. With a formal introductory phrase (“for the Scripture says thus somewhere”) Clement alludes to a passage which seems to have its origin in Isa 60 as the biblical root of these two ministries.

Before dealing with the question whether this is a citation or not, we will turn to the text of Isaiah. Isa 60 is part of the third section of Isaiah, Isa 56–66, a section nowadays often called Trito-Isaiah. Isa 60–62 is often seen as the kernel of the whole section.³⁰ The theme of these chapters is an announcement of salvation directed to Jerusalem. According to W.A.M. Beuken, Isa 60 itself consists of three sections:

- 60:1–9 (YHWH in Zion);
- 60:10–16 (the reversal of the fate of Zion)
- 60:17–20 (Zion as a new creation).

According to Isaiah, Jerusalem will be a light, attracting the (other) nations and (their) kings. While in the past the kings of other nations have devastated Jerusalem, now they will rebuild the gates, which at the same time are no longer necessary and will be left open (60:11). In the last section the prophet describes how the Lord transforms the city into a better place: instead of bronze, God will bring gold to Zion; instead of iron, silver.³¹

²⁹ For this passage, see W. Moriarty, “1 Clement’s View of Ministerial Appointments in the Early Church,” *VC* 66 (2012) 115–38.

³⁰ W.A.M. Beuken, *Jesaja* (De Prediking van het Oude Testament IIIA; Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1989) 157–158: cf. *id.*, “The Main Theme of Trito-Isaiah: The Servants of YHWH,” *JSOT* 47 (1990) 67–87.

³¹ Rev 21:22–7 refers extensively to the vision of peace as depicted of Isaiah 60.

In the Hebrew text it is in this context that the Lord promises a new time of justice in the future: "I shall make Peace your overseer and Righteousness your governors" (60:17b; my translation).³² As argued by Beuken, the abstract concepts of "Peace" and "Righteousness" are personified and they express the idea that there will be a new constellation.³³ He suggests that when Peace and Righteousness rule, there will be no need for authorities. This seems to be *Utopia*: no rulers and no quarrels.

The text of this passage in the LXX is less utopian. This translation introduces leading figures instead of abstract concepts: *καὶ δώσω τοὺς ἄρχοντάς σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους σου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ*. "And I will appoint your rulers in peace and yours overseers in righteousness" (NETS). The Greek word *ἄρχων* is not uncommon in the LXX. It is "upper class". Again and again *archontes* are mentioned right after the king (see e.g. Neh 9:32; Est 1:16; Zeph 1:8; Jer 24:1; Jer 41:21; Bar 1:9; 2 Chr 29:20) or in connection with the chief-general or they are the leaders of a city. The Greek word *ἐπίσκοπος* used for the second group is infrequent in the LXX (14x). Those so designated do have an important function, but this is comparable to that of police or inspectors (see 1 Macc 1:51; cf. Num 4:16).³⁴ In the LXX the vision of total peace and righteousness in a future Zion is transformed into the vision of a peaceful reign of the rulers and of righteous overseers. A certain hierarchy is perhaps discernible here: the first group seems to be the more important one and thus those functionaries are guaranteeing the overall peace, while the second group seems to be responsible for overseeing the process of righteousness.

In the literature, it is a commonplace to refer to Isa 60:17 as the source of the reference to Scripture in 1 Clem 42:5. However, regarding the form and the content of this reference, it is hardly possible to identify it as a formal quotation. As noted by most of the commentators the allusion is far from literal. For a formal quotation one needs an introductory formula or a *verbatim* quotation and preferably both. Authors of the NT and in the

³² It is clear from the different translations that 60:17b is not so easy to translate: *𐤇𐤏𐤁* can refer to driving a flock (Num 15:2) but also to oppressing Israel (Isa 3:5) or a person (the servant of the Lord: Isa 53:7) or even one's soul (Isa 58:3).

³³ Beuken, *Jesaja*, IIIA, 181.

³⁴ *Ἐπίσκοπος* in Josephus, two times: *Antiquitates Judaicae* 10,53, 187: *episkopoi* together with *kritai* as the task to care for the interests of everyone; In 12, 254 *episkopoi* are a kind of "policeman" who have to oversee that the orders of king Antiochus (e.g. the defense to circumcise) were followed by the Jews.

early church used these formal criteria to mark scriptural citations as a matter of course.³⁵

Here, the introductory formula is somewhat ambiguous. Clement says, “the Scripture says somewhere (σου)”. While he suggests to quote and thus to be—to a certain extent—precise, he leaves the source of his biblical argument open.³⁶

The ambiguity of the introductory formula concurs with the fact that the reference is not *verbatim*.³⁷ C.A. Evans lists five differences between the LXX and the phrase in 1 Clement: 1) καταστήσω instead of δώσω; 2) the two clauses are reversed; 3) διάκονοι instead of ἄρχοντες; 4) “in faith” instead of “in peace”; and 5) Clement uses the third person plural, while the LXX uses the second person singular for the functions.³⁸

At the same time, the similarities are such as to allow us to assume that Isa 60:17 is the source of 1 Clement.³⁹ The most important is that they have in common the phrase τοὺς ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνη. However, how is it possible that the author adduces such a reference in his letter? And why should he do it?

A possible answer to the first question is that Clement in writing about Christian ministry, will understandably have made an immediate association with the Isaiah-text: the word *episkopoi* is the link between the source text and the “receiving” one.⁴⁰

³⁵ M.J.J. Menken, *Matthew's Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist* (BETL 173; Leuven: Peeters, 2004) 1, distinguishes two types of quotations from the OT: Marked quotations which are more or less verbatim and thus recognizable borrowings and which are introduced (or concluded) by a formula, that makes clear that these words in question come from Scripture. Unmarked quotations: more or less verbatim borrowings without a citation formula. For a discussion about the differences between quotations, allusions and echoes, see Steve Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New: An Introduction* (London/New York: Continuum, 2001) 5–6.

³⁶ Also elsewhere in 1 Clement the author uses an introductory formula with σου to introduce a non verbatim reference to or a paraphrase of Scripture: 15:2 and 21:2. In 28:2 it introduces a reference to Ps 138:7–10, which is closer to the Hebrew than to the LXX, while in 26:2 it refers to an unknown source. Cf. Hebr 2:6–8 and 4:4, where the author uses σου to introduce a more verbatim quotation.

³⁷ Ireneaus, *Haer.* IV, 26:5, also uses Isa 60:17. His quote is closer to the Isaiah text and he uses it to depict the *presbuteroi* of the *ekklesia* and thus sees *presbuteroi* and *episkopoi* as synonyms. There is not a trace of a reference to *diakonoι*.

³⁸ C.A. Evans, “The Citation of Isaiah 60:17 in 1 Clement,” *VC* 36 (1982) 105–107, here 105.

³⁹ See Isa 60:17 (LXX): καὶ ἀντὶ χαλκοῦ οἶσω σοι χρυσιον ἀντὶ δὲ σιδήρου οἶσω σοι ἀργύριον ἀντὶ δὲ ξύλων οἶσω σοι χαλκόν ἀντὶ δὲ λίθων σίδηρον καὶ δώσω τοὺς ἄρχοντάς σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους σου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.

⁴⁰ It is not impossible that for Clement the combination between *episkopoi* and *δικαιοσύνη* was attractive. The last concept was dear to him: he uses this word thirteen times.

Another reason for making the connection with Isaiah could be that the Isaianic text mentions a two-fold leadership. Moreover, the leadership structure is the same in each case: leaders and their assistants. In the LXX the *episkopoi* are the assistants of the *archontes*, while in 1 Clement the *diakonoi* are the assistants of the *episkopoi*. D.A. Hagner typifies the reference as a quotation but notes that a number of words have been altered and the lines transposed. He tries to explain the differences between the reference in 1 Clem 42:5 and the text of Isa 60:17 (LXX). He suggests that the variant *diakonos* is probably introduced by Clement, because it is important for his argument. According to Hagner it is also possible that he simply quoted from memory and mistakenly remembered τὸς διάκονους for τὸς ἄρχοντας.⁴¹

However, it could be that there is more strategy involved, then Hagner thinks. In Isa 60:17 LXX there is two-fold leadership at stake, with difference of level between the different categories of leaders. The *archontes* are clearly higher, while the overseers (here *episkopoi*) are in charge in the name of these *archontes*. Also in 1 Clement we find a two-fold leadership with a difference of level between these different leaders. Now the *episkopoi* are mentioned in the first place, while their assistants are ranked in the second place. It is interesting to note that the overseers seem to be qualified to do righteousness, while the *diakonoi* are related to πίστις.⁴²

This two-fold structure fits Clement's concept of the two-fold leadership in the church as will be clear from other places where he mentions leadership models in his work. In his excursus about ministry, apostolic succession and church law, Lona refers to three passages where Clement deals with the structure of ministry in 1 Clem 42–44: one hears about *episkopoi* and *diakonoi* in 42:4–5, about the episcopate in 44:4 and about *presbuteroi* in 44:5.⁴³ Although Lona on the one hand argues that we cannot find in 1 Clement a difference between the *episkopoi* and the *presbuteroi*, on the other hand he claims that the problem is about the

⁴¹ D.A. Hagner, *The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome* (NovTSup 34; Leiden: Brill, 1973) 67.

⁴² It is interesting to note that J.N. Collins identifies fidelity as the hallmark of a *diakonos*; see *Are All Christians Ministers?* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 1992) 48; cf. *Diakonia* (1990) 202. For the relation between *diakonoi* and *pistis*, see 1 Tim 3:9.

⁴³ *Der erste Korintherbrief*, 471–481. Lona stresses the fact that the theme “ministry” is crucial for 1 Clement, but he argues (472) that questions around the ministry are inextricably linked with the theme of the unity of the community.

removing of *presbuteroi* and not about removing *episkopoi*.⁴⁴ This last remark seems to refer to 44:5–6. Is this last passage an indication that he does seem to reckon with a difference between these categories? J. Gibaut sees 44:4–5 as a strong indication that in 1 Clement the titles *episkopoi* and *presbuteroi* are interchangeable.⁴⁵ He argues that in this passage the activity of the episcopate is associated with that of the *presbuteroi*. The parallel between 44:4 and 44:6 strongly suggests that here there is no real difference between the episcopate and being *presbuteros*:

To eject from the episcopate those who have **blamelessly** and holily offered its sacrifices (44:4).

To remove some from the leitourgia (referring to the *presbuteroi* of 44:5), which they have fulfilled **blamelessly** (44:6).⁴⁶

In this context Clement does not mention *diakonoi*, which is in fact not a surprise, because the problem is about removing the *presbuteroi/episkopoi*.

In his discussion of the structure of the ministry according to Clement Lona does not refer to 1 Clem 40:5. It seems to me that this passage in Clement's exposition of the ministries in Israel is the first step. At first sight he seems to refer to a four-fold hierarchy. Indeed, the scheme consists here in four layers, in a pyramidal model: at the top the High Priest, who has his own λειτουργία, then he mentions the place of the priests (here Clement uses a cultic term: ἱερεύς), the next place is for the Levites with their ministries (here he uses for ministry the Greek word διακονία). And then there is the λαϊκός (the man of the λαός), who is bound to the ordinances of the λαϊκός.

Clement uses this four-fold model, derived from the Jewish cult as we can find them in the OT, as an example for the Christian community of Corinth. Although it is a four-layer model, the ministry discussed here is

⁴⁴ Lona, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, 474: "Ein Unterschied zwischen Episkopen und Presbytern ist hier nicht vorhanden und von der Argumentationsart her auch nicht zu erwarten. . . . Andererseits geht es in der korinthischen Gemeinde nicht um die Absetzung von Episkopen, sondern von Presbytern."

⁴⁵ Gibaut, *The Cursus Honorum*, 23–24. See R.M. Hübner, "Die Anfänge von Diakonat, Presbyterat und Episkopat in der frühen Kirche," in *Das Priestertum in der Einen Kirche: Diakonat, Presbyterat und Episkopat* (ed. A. Rauch and P. Imhof; Aschaffenburg: Kaffke, 1987) 45–89, here 69 and A. Lemaire, *Les ministères aux origines de l'église: Naissance de la triple hiérarchie: évêques, presbyters, diacones* (Paris: Cerf, 1971) 149.

⁴⁶ The theme of blamelessness of the ministers involved in the removal is already introduced in 43:3.

a *two-fold* pattern and consists of the priests and the Levites. The High priest of the OT is the prototype of Jesus as High priest (see 1 Clem 61:3 and 64) and as such he is *hors concours*.⁴⁷ Also in 1 Clem 32:2 Clement supposes a two-fold model of cultic leadership (here also the cultic term ἱερεὺς and Levites).⁴⁸

In his article on the significance of the OT for the understanding of ministry in Early Christianity, E. Dassmann argues that it is only a comparison.⁴⁹ Here the word “only” is suggestive, because with the comparison there are important legitimizing arguments involved. Although there are clearly differences between the ministry of Israel and that of Christianity—it seems to me that it is not by accident that Clement uses the word ἱερεὺς only for ministers in Israel and Egypt—Clement takes from the example of Israel two arguments, which he applies to Christian ministry: both are a two-fold ministry and both are from divine origin.⁵⁰ This last observation is in fact the third reason for adducing the reference to Isaiah and at the same time it is an answer to the question why Clement introduces the reference. Clement himself stresses that this is not a new phenomenon: because for many years before *episkopoi* and *diakonoi* had been written of (42:5). It is here that he introduces his reference, showing that the ministries of *episkopoi* and *diakonoi* are already long established.

The author refers to an idea which was common in his time: only what is ancient could be of importance.⁵¹ Here, Clement prepares his audience for his defense of the removed *episkopoi/presbuteroi*. Referring to the fact

⁴⁷ It is possible that Clement knew of the use of Jesus as High Priest in e.g. Hebrews 2:17; 3:1; 4:14, 15; 5:5, 10; 6:20; 9:1. It is well known that he knew Hebrews and used this tractate: see e.g. Hagner, *Clement of Rome*, 179–195, here 179.

⁴⁸ I disagree with Lemaire, (*Les ministères* 150) who argues that Clement knows only one ministry.

⁴⁹ E. Dassmann, “Die Bedeutung des Alten Testamentes für das Verständnis des Kirchlichen Amtes in der Frühpatristischen Theologie,” in *Bibel und Leben* 11 (1970) 198–214, reprinted in id., *Ämter und Dienste in den frühchristlichen Gemeinden* (Hereditas 8; Bonn: Borengässer, 1994) 96–113, here 99. Hübner, “Die Anfänge von Diakonat,” 71, sees the connection even as a typology.

⁵⁰ Collins, *Diakonia*, 238–239, rightly stresses that the Christian ministers, like their OT examples are depicted as liturgical ministers. The *diakonoi* are according to him: “non-presbyteral liturgical assistants of presbyters in the presbyters’ capacity of bishop.” He adds: “Because the liturgy included a sacred meal, the deacons presumably acted as ritual waiters, but they would have done this not on a title of being waiters for the assembly but in their capacity as attendants to those responsible for the conduct of the service.”

⁵¹ For this principle, see P. Pilhofer, *Presbyteron Kreiton: Der Altersbeweis der jüdischen und christlichen Apologeten und seine Vorgeschichte* (WUNT, 2.39; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1990).

that the two ministries already existed in Scripture legitimize, according to the author, their position in the church of Corinth.

Concurring with this, is Anne Jaubert's remark about how much the author of 1 Clement values the Jewish prescriptions regarding the cult, and although he seems to know Hebrews (see 1 Clem 36:2) he does not follow its opinion that the Jewish cult and sacrifices are out-dated.⁵² Clement stresses that the regulations of the Jewish cult constitute the regulations in the community of the followers of Jesus and Paul.⁵³ There is not a contrast between them, but, on the contrary, Clement uses the regulations to be found in Jewish traditions as illustrations for the model of followers of the Apostles. As in Israel, there has to be an order in the *ekklesia*. The Apostles received the Gospel from the Lord Jesus Christ, while Jesus Christ was sent from God. The apostles preached the reign of God and they appointed their "firstlings" as overseers (*episkopoi*) and *diakonoï*.⁵⁴ The Jewish two-fold structure of the cultic ministry is used as a matrix, a mould or maybe a mirror for the community in Corinth. More important is Clement's legitimization of the order in Corinth: like the Jewish ministry, the ministry in the *ekklesia* is rooted in divine order and this order has the same structure.⁵⁵

Regarding the stress in the context on the couple of *episkopoi* and *diakonoï* in 42:4–5, it is possible that it is Clement himself who introduced this couple in the Isaiah paraphrase. He could do this because it seems that this combination was in the early church already something like a stock phrase.

The fact that we can find in Clement the twofold ministry *episkopoi-diakonoï* concurs with the (scarce) use of this combination in comparable literature from the early church. In this context we mention them briefly in the next section.

⁵² Jaubert, "Thèmes Lévitiques," 198.

⁵³ For quite a few scholars, this is a reason to assume that the function of the ministers is in the first place cultic. Lona, [*Der erste Korintherbrief*, 472–474], uses 44:3 to show that those *episkopoi/presbuteroi* were not only cultic leaders. In fact, they are even depicted as shepherds, and thus as pastors. For the leaders as pastors, see also 16:1 and 54:2.

⁵⁴ "Firstlings" is possible also related to a form of ministry: see e.g. 1 Cor 16:15. Here we cannot deal with this aspect. However, already H. von Campenhausen refers to this possibility: see *Kirchliches Amt und Geistliche Vollmacht in den ersten Drie Jahrhunderten* (2nd ed.; Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie 14; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1963) 72.

⁵⁵ Cf. Lona, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, 477: "Der Kontinuität in der Weitergabe des Amtes ist von dem Interesse geleitet, das Amt sacral zu legitimieren und die Amtsträger als unabsetzbar auszuweisen, um die Stellungnahme der römischen Gemeinde zu begründen."

Traces of Two-Fold Ministry in Early Christian Literature

In his note on the citation of Isa 60:17 in 1 Clement, Evans argues that Hagner can offer no explanation for the new form of the reference except to say that Clement mistakenly attributed it to Scriptures.⁵⁶ Evans suggests that Acts 6:1–6, a text not considered by Hagner, could be helpful in understanding Clement’s form and the function of the quotation in its context.⁵⁷ Evans gives a list of similar vocabulary in these two passages. Although he does not suggest that Clement’s quotation should be understood as a conscious paraphrase of any portion of Acts 6:1–6, he argues that the quotation of Isaiah 60 has been heavily influenced (although perhaps unconsciously) by ecclesiastical tradition concerning church offices. Because 1 Clem 42:5 is a quotation from memory it has been influenced by its immediate context (the discussion of the apostolic legitimacy of bishops and deacons) and the broader Christian context concerning ecclesiastical leadership.

Evans does not explicitly refer to one element of Acts 6: the two-fold model of that ministry.⁵⁸ The apostles install the seven as their representatives. It is this two-fold structure, which reappears on the few occasions when early Christian literature mentions the combination *episkopoi* and *diakonoi*.

The first time we encounter the combination of *episkopoi* and *diakonoi* is in the introduction of Paul’s Letter to the Philippians (1:1).⁵⁹ The merely mentioning of this combination without any context has led to ample discussion about this phrase. Although there are some scholars who argue that these phrase refers to only one office, it seems to us that at least it refers to two aspects of one office and more probably to two offices and that the first function is logically the more important and that the second one refers to bearers of an office subordinate to the other.⁶⁰

It is the First Letter to Timothy that reflects the first description of the ministry of *episkopos* (3:1–7) and *diakonoi* (3:8–13). One can find the term *presbuteros* in 1 Timothy 5:17, but there it seems again to be synonymous with *episkopos*. What is the relation between this structure and the

⁵⁶ Evans, “The Citation of Isaiah,” 105–106.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, 106.

⁵⁸ Note that in Acts 6 there is no mentioning of *diakonoi* and that the apostles as well as the seven do have a *diakonia*.

⁵⁹ For a discussion, see among others Gibaut, *The Cursus Honorum*, 16.

⁶⁰ For this, see Collins, *Diakonia*, 235–236 and, especially, *Deacons and the Church: Making Connections between Old and New* (Leominster, UK: Gracewing, 2002) 47–58.

picture found in Acts? What are the role and the function of the *episkopos*, the *diakonos* and the widow in 1 Timothy? These questions are difficult to answer. However, it is clear, that 1 Timothy promotes a kind of two-fold ministry. The *episkopos* (here for the first time in Christian literature in the singular) has more responsibilities than the *diakonoï*. The *episkopos* and the *diakonoï* are closely linked and from the structure we learn that the first is in charge and that the latter are his assistants, assistants who are geared not merely to lowly service.

There is another important witness: Did 15:1–2: “Appoint for yourselves *episkopoi* and *diakonoï*, worthy of the Lord, men who are gentle, not money lending, truthful, and tested; for you likewise gratuitously serve the unpaid . . . of the prophet and teachers. Do not, then, look down upon them. For they themselves are your honoured ones in company with the prophet and teachers.”⁶¹

Discussing this passage in his commentary and in seven excurses, A. Milavec observes that this advice is presented without any fanfare or injunction of the Lord: “Hence, one can presume that the communities had already been functioning according to this rule.”⁶² He notes that there is a certain defensive tone in this context: “When members were told ‘Do not look upon them [the bishops]’ (*Did* 15), one can be sure that many had indeed *done just this*” (emphasis of A.M).⁶³ Milavec sketches the meaning of the four qualifications required of the *episkopoi* and *diakonoï*. He refers to the possible links between the Synagogue model of organization and that of the Early Church.

The most remarkable difference between 1 Clem 42 and the Didache is the fact that the manual for living the Way of the Life (suddenly) speaks of *appointing episkopoi* and *diakonoï* worthy of the Lord. One does not find here any hint that, as in 1 Clement somehow apostles stand behind the appointments of these ministers or that these ministries are rooted in Scriptures.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Aaron Milavec, *The Didache: Faith, Hope & Life of the Earliest Communities, 50–70 CE* (New York: Newman, 2003, argues for a quite early date, earlier than 1 Clement. For the more accepted, later dating see e.g. André Tulier, “Les charismatiques itinérants dans la Didachè et dans l’Évangile de Matthieu,” in *Matthew and the Didache: Two Documents from the same Jewish-Christian Milieu?* (ed. Huub van de Sandt; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2005) 157–169; see the English summary, 171–172.

⁶² Milavec, *The Didache*, 581–617, here 583.

⁶³ Milavec, *The Didache*, 586.

⁶⁴ Still, there is some continuity suggested in the Didache: between prophets and teachers at the one hand and *episkopoi* and *diakonoï* on the other.

There is one element which 1 Clement and Didache share: the seemingly obvious connection between *episkopoi* and *diakonoï*. Milavec points out that this combination is curious. One of the reasons for this judgment is that he considers *diakonoï* to be table servants.⁶⁵ In his discussion of the charismatic wanderers in the Didache A. Tulier argues that there is a parallel between the prophets and the *episkopoi* on the one hand and the teachers and the *diakonoï* on the other.⁶⁶ For us it suffices to conclude here that, although it is difficult to place Didache exactly in a timeline, the Didache is a witness, probably a little older than 1 Clement, of a two-fold ministry in an Early Christian community. It is interesting to note that Tulier suggests that the Didache presents assimilation between the teachers and the deacons.⁶⁷ Like in 1 Clement in the Didache the relation between the *episkopoi* and the *diakonoï* is like a leader and his assistants and thus this relation is not as curious as Milavic suggests.

Conclusions

1. Clement uses Isa 60:17 as a key to understanding the ministry in Corinth as a two-fold ministry. The relation between *episkopoi* and *diakonoï* is like a relation between leaders and their assistants.
2. This reference shows that for Clement the ministry of Israel, as reflected in the Scriptures, constitutes a model for the ministry of the *ekklesia*. Clement does not adduce a *verbatim* quotation, but while paraphrasing Isa 60:17 he presents the readers with a suggestive reference to a more or less biblical model. Introducing to the reference the combination *episkopoi* and *diakonoï* as a stock phrase from the nascent Christian community he anchors the two-fold ministry in Biblical tradition.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Milavec, *The Didache*, 590.

⁶⁶ See Tulier, "Les charismatiques itinérants," 159, note 8. Milavic, *The Didache*, 590, refers to the possibility that the Greek text wants us to see not two distinct offices, but only one: bishops who are deacons. We think that the parallel between *episkopoi* and *diakonoï* on the one hand and teachers on the other shows that two offices are at stake. For prophets and teachers as two distinct offices, see also Acts 13:1. See also Herm III, 5,1, where we hear about foursquare (τετραγώνος) stones: "Hear now with regard to the stones which are in the building. Those foursquare white stones which fitted exactly into each other, are apostles, bishops, teachers, and deacons." Elsewhere in Hermas the apostles and teachers are a pair (see e.g. *Sim.* 9:15:4).

⁶⁷ "Les charismatiques itinérants", 163. This concurs with our observation that the *diakon*-stem is not at the first place related to low service, see note 1 above.

⁶⁸ For this see also Collins, *Diakonia*, 330, note 2.

3. This use of a model derived from the memory of an Isaianic text matches the use of OT models elsewhere in 1 Clem 40–44. Although Clement uses two different registers in referring to the ministries of Judaism and those within the community in Corinth, he nonetheless sees a continuity between the two. Both are of divine origin. In this way, Clement establishes an additional way to envisage the continuity between Israel and the Church.
4. Clement introduces the reference to Isa 60:17 because he wants to stress that these ministries are not a new phenomenon. It is an ancient institution, even from divine origin. Clement prepares his audience for his defense of the removed *episkopoi/presbuteroi* (44:4). Referring to the fact that the two ministries already existed in Scripture legitimize, according to the author, their position in the church of Corinth and thus it is a sin to eject them from their ministry.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ I should like to thank Dr John N. Collins (Australia) for his corrections of my English.

BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS IN JUDAEO-GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

Pieter W. van der Horst

Introduction

A striking difference between ancient Jewish and early Christian inscriptions is that in the former one finds only very few biblical quotations (and allusions), while in the latter they are abundant. It is the purpose of this short contribution to present a survey of the relevant material in the Jewish epigraphical record and then to compare it briefly with the situation in Christian inscriptions. I write this paper in honour of my esteemed colleague and friend Maarten Menken, who has spent so much of his lifetime researching the way biblical quotations function in the earliest Christian literature, *i.e.*, the New Testament.

I begin with a demarcation of the material. First, I will not (or only minimally) deal with Jewish inscriptions in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Latin; I will limit myself to those in Greek, which form the vast majority (at least some 75% of the material but probably higher). Second, I will also limit myself to the almost one thousand years between Alexander the Great and Muhammad; medieval material remains outside the scope of this article. Third, I have to limit myself to published material, although well aware that there is a significant amount of evidence that still awaits publication. Fortunately, the situation has dramatically improved as compared to twenty years ago, when I published my *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*,¹ a book in which I still had to rely mainly on the outdated edition of Frey² and a handful of later publications (mainly in a wide variety of journals). In the decades since Frey, but especially in the two decades since my own book appeared, an impressive series of major publications of Jewish inscription corpora saw the light and they form the basis of the present investigation. These are (in chronological order): the Greek inscriptions of Beth She'arim

¹ Pieter W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs: An Introductory Survey of a Millennium of Jewish Funerary Epigraphy (300 BCE–700 CE)* (Kampen: Kok, 1991).

² J.B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, 2 vols. (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1936–1952; reprint of vol. I with a Prolegomenon by B. Lifshitz, New York: Ktav, 1975).

by Schwabe and Lifshitz (cited as BS II);³ those of Egypt by Horbury and Noy (cited as *JIGRE*);⁴ those of Western Europe (but Rome excluded) by Noy (cited as *JIWE I*);⁵ those of the city of Rome by Noy (cited as *JIWE II*);⁶ those of Eastern Europe by Noy, Panayotov and Bloedhorn (cited as *IJO I*);⁷ those of Asia Minor by Ameling (cited as *IJO II*);⁸ those of Syria and Cyprus by Noy and Bloedhorn (cited as *IJO III*).⁹ For North-Africa apart from Egypt we have Lüderitz's edition of the inscriptions of ancient Libya¹⁰ and Le Bohec's edition of the evidence from the rest of North Africa.¹¹ Unfortunately, for Israel itself, apart from the above-mentioned volumes on Beth She'arim and the partial collections of synagogue inscriptions by Roth-Gerson¹² and of the ossuaries by Rahmani,¹³ we still have to rely partly on the outdated Frey until the full results of the Israeli project *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae* (CIIP) are published. Vol. 1 (part 1) on Jerusalem before 70 CE came out recently (in December 2010) but, compendious though it may be with its more than 700 inscriptions, it covers only part of the Jerusalem material.¹⁴ Apart from the rest of ancient Palestine, we now have at our disposal more than 3000 Jewish inscriptions

³ M. Schwabe and B. Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim II: The Greek Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Masada Press/New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1974).

⁴ W. Horbury and D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁵ D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe I: Italy (excluding the City of Rome), Spain and Gaul* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

⁶ D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe II: The City of Rome* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁷ D. Noy, A. Panayotov, H. Bloedhorn, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis I: Eastern Europe* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

⁸ W. Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis II: Kleinasien* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

⁹ D. Noy and H. Bloedhorn, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis III: Syria and Cyprus* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

¹⁰ G. Lüderitz, *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaica* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1983).

¹¹ Y. le Bohec, "Inscriptions juives et judaïques de l'Afrique Romaine," *Antiquités Africaines* 17 (1981) 165–207.

¹² L. Roth-Gerson, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Synagogues in Israel* (Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, 1987 [in Hebrew]). See also F. Hüttenmeister and G. Reeg, *Die antiken Synagogen in Israel*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1977).

¹³ Y. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994).

¹⁴ H.M. Cotton, L. di Segni, W. Eck, B. Isaac, A. Kushnir Stein, H. Misgav, J. Price, I. Roll, A. Yardeni, eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae, vol. I: Jerusalem, Part 1* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010). Interestingly enough, in the more than 700 inscriptions published in this volume there is not even one biblical quotation or allusion. [After the completion of this article, vol. 2 of CIIP, covering Caesarea and the middle coast, was published (2011)].

from antiquity, most of them in Greek, but only very few of them containing biblical quotations. Let us have a look at the evidence.¹⁵

*The Evidence*¹⁶

JIGRE no. 119 (Antinoopolis in Egypt; second cent. CE or later) has a free rendering of 1 Sam 25:29 in Hebrew. Although it is not in Greek, I mention it here because this is the earliest instance of a quotation of one of the two most often cited biblical texts (the other being Prov 10:7; see below). The MT version has, '(If anyone sets out to pursue you [i.e., David] and seeks your life,) the life of my lord will be bound up in the bundle of life¹⁷ in the care of the Lord.' Here Abigail (the speaker) is using a metaphor denoting God's protection and a long life on earth, but in postbiblical Judaism the expression came to signify eternal life in the next world.¹⁸ Hence our inscription is a wish for the deceased Lazarus, 'May his soul rest in the bundle of life.'¹⁹ This expression will, with slight variations, become a standard formula on gravestones in the Middle Ages (usually in an abbreviated form). Here we have the earliest attestation of this usage.²⁰ As we will now see, it soon turns up in Greek as well.

BS II no. 130 is a third century CE inscription from the famous catacombs of Beth She'arim (Galilee) with a very free rendering of 1 Sam 25:29 in Greek. It begins with the wish of the son or daughter (or both), 'May

¹⁵ My survey in *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, 37–39 is now, after 20 years, partly outdated. For the reasons outlined in the Introduction above, the present survey does not claim completeness. The title of the essay by S. Cappelletti, "Biblical Quotations in the Greek Jewish Inscriptions of the Diaspora," in *Jewish Reception of Greek Bible Versions: Studies in Their Use in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (ed. N. de Lange, J.G. Krivoruchko and C. Boyd-Taylor; Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism 23; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009) 128–141 is misleading since she deals only with Prov 10:7.

¹⁶ I will not bother the reader unduly with the wide orthographic variety (spelling 'errors') in the inscriptions since they are irrelevant for my purposes. Hence I will present the inscriptions in their 'correct' form, except when matters of orthography have implications for the interpretation.

¹⁷ Hebr. *we-hayetah nephesh 'adonai tserurah bitsror ha-chayim*.

¹⁸ This can be seen, for instance, in the Targum to 1 Samuel where 'life' is translated as 'eternal life.' For rabbinic references see U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung im hellenistischen Diasporajudentum* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978) 232 n. 64.

¹⁹ *Nuach naphsho bitsror ha-chayim*. Exactly the same Hebrew variant is found in a bilingual Greek-Hebrew epitaph from Taranto of uncertain date (fourth–sixth cent. CE?); see *JJWE* I 118.

²⁰ See O. Eißfeldt, *Der Beutel der Lebendigen* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960) 28–40; K. Berger, *Die Weisheitsschrift aus der Kairoer Geniza* (Tübingen: Francke Verlag, 1989) 179–180.

your portion be good,²¹ my lord father and my lady mother,' but then continues with the words, ἔσται ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν ἐχομένη ἀθανάτου βίου. Schwabe and Lifshitz translate, 'May your soul(s) be bound (in the bundle) of immortal life.' But one may wonder whether this correct; is this really a free quotation of or an allusion to 1 Sam 25:29? Let us first see what the LXX rendering of this text is (unfortunately, Aquila and the other versions of 'the Three' are lost): καὶ ἔσται ἡ ψυχὴ κυρίου μου ἐνδεδεμένη ἐν δεσμῶ τῆς ζωῆς.²² The rendition of this verse in our epitaph has only one word in common with the biblical text, ψυχὴ, but βίος may naturally be taken to be the equivalent of ζωή. And the strange ἔσται is no doubt an error for ἔσται.²³ When we realize that the adjective 'immortal,' like the added 'eternal' in the Targum, represents a common Jewish interpretation of this biblical text, the only thing left to be explained is the form ἐχομένη, here in combination with the genitive. The verb ἔχσθαι has a very wide semantic range, and combined with a noun in the genitive, it can mean: 'to cling to, to lay hold on, to clasp one's hand on, to border on' (LSJ *s.v.* C1–2). Schwabe and Lifshitz (*ad loc.*) refer to Euripides, *Ion* 491, where the chorus sings that they would prefer to cling to a happy life with children (βιοτὰς εὐπαιδος ἔχοιμαν). And in the NT, we have Heb 6:9 where the author says he is confident of better things ἐχόμενα σωτηρίας, things that belong to salvation.²⁴ There can be little doubt that 'holding fast to immortal life' is here the same as 'being bound in the bundle of (eternal) life.'²⁵ So we may reasonably conclude that the author of our epitaph indeed freely quotes, or alludes to (the dividing line between these is often opaque), the text of 1 Sam 25:29. We cannot but concur with Schwabe and Lifshitz when they say, 'It is evident that we have here, in Greek guise, an early form of the benediction for the dead, implying a prayer for the eternal life of the soul' (116).²⁶ Even though in the Middle Ages and later 1 Sam 25:29 will become

²¹ On this εὐμóρει formula see my *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, 120.

²² There are no significant variants in the manuscripts. The Vulgate has: *erit anima domini mei custodita quasi in fasciculo viventium*.

²³ It could be taken as a scribal variant for ἔσσειται, which had a similar pronunciation, but that is a dialect form only used in poetry. See for the many variants of forms of the verb εἶναι also F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods 2: Morphology* (Milano: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1981) 400–408.

²⁴ BAGD *s.v.* 11a gives several more instances and states that 'the "to" of belonging and the "with" of association are expressed by the genitive' (422b).

²⁵ *Contra* van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, 119 n. 19.

²⁶ That 1 Sam 25:29 was seen as referring to eternal life can also be deduced from *JWE* I no. 129 (Taranto, seventh–eighth cent. CE), where the Hebrew text has a significant

the favourite biblical quotation on Jewish tombstones, we see that this popularity had a very modest start in late antiquity.²⁷

We now turn to Prov 10:7, the other biblical verse that will gain a great popularity in the Middle Ages and modern times, and that was also beginning to be popular in late antiquity.²⁸ I leave aside the five instances of this quotation in Hebrew on tombstones from Southern Italy (four from Taranto, one from Oria, all from the fifth–eighth cent.)²⁹ and turn to the Greek instances. The Hebrew text of Prov 10:7 runs: זכר צדיק לברכה. The LXX has: μνήμη δικαίων μετ' ἐγκωμίων. And Aquila renders more literally: μνεία δικαίου εἰς εὐλογίαν.³⁰ We have three instances from Rome, all from the third–fourth cent. CE. Interestingly, none is identical to any of the others. *JWE* II no. 307 follows the LXX but with two subtle corrections: μνήμη δικαίου συν ἐγκωμίω. The LXX has two plurals, against the Hebrew text, and the engraver seems to have corrected the LXX here so as to make it more in agreement with the Hebrew,³¹ although it should not be excluded that the change may be due to the fact that it is the epitaph for one man, a teacher of the Law (νομοδιδάσκαλος) whose name is lost. It is to be noted that we have here (as elsewhere) a clear case of the use of the LXX by Jews long after the translation of Aquila had been brought into circulation. In recent years it has gradually become clear that the still current idea that the Jews abandoned the Septuagint after the first century CE and lost interest in 'the Three' in later centuries (in order to return to the

expansion: 'May his soul rest in the bundle of life and his spirit be for eternal life.' Soul and spirit are identical here.

²⁷ Noy includes in *IJO* I a Latin epitaph with the formula *abligatus in ligatorium vit[a]e* (no. 197 from Merida), but it is from the Middle Ages (9th cent.?).

²⁸ Note that in the late antique rabbinic midrash *Genesis Rabbah* 49.1, Rabbi Isaac says about Prov 10:7, 'If one makes mention of a righteous man and does not bless him, he violates a positive command. What is the proof? "The memory of the righteous shall be for a blessing" (Prov 10:7).'

²⁹ *JWE* I, nos. 120, 122, 131, 133, 137. No. 120 is bilingual and adds the Latin version: *memoria iustorum ad benedictionem*. Note that the Vulgate has: *memoria iusti cum laudibus*; on this difference see below. In a sixth-century trilingual epitaph for Meliosa from Tortosa in Spain (*JWE* I no. 183), the Hebrew has the feminine form of 'the righteous one' and the Latin and Greek translations have rendered it respectively with *benememoria* and *πάμμνηστος*.

³⁰ On Aquila see briefly but instructively J.M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (London/New York: Clark, 2004) 87–89.

³¹ The change of μετὰ to σύν is a change for the better because σύν more clearly expresses the idea of accompaniment, at least in classical or classicizing Greek. See also Cappelletti, "Biblical Quotations," 136–137.

use of the Hebrew text only) is badly in need of revision.³² Even though Aquila gained a certain currency, his translation certainly did not oust the LXX from all Jewish communities.³³

JWE II no. 112 has the text in its Aquilan form: *μνεία δικαίου εις εὐλογίαν*. It is the epitaph of ‘Macedonius, the Hebrew from Caesarea in Palestine,’ as the text says. His provenance from this city, a center of rabbinic activity, may help to understand why he, or rather his relatives, used the Bible translation preferred by the rabbis. Interestingly enough, the third instance, *JWE* II no. 276, has a mixture of the LXX and Aquila’s translation, with a contribution from the author of the epitaph himself: *μνήμη δικαίου εις εὐλογίαν οὐ ἀληθῆ τὰ ἐγκώμια* (‘the memory of the just man is for a blessing, whose laudations are true’). Here *μνήμη* is taken from the LXX, *δικαίου* from Aquila, *εις εὐλογίαν* also from Aquila, *οὐ ἀληθῆ* is an invention of the composer of the epitaph, and *τὰ ἐγκώμια* is based upon *μετ’ ἐγκωμίων* of the LXX.³⁴ Whether this is a conscious harmonizing of both versions, or that the engraver knew both versions and mixed them up when quoting from memory, is very hard to say. Be that as it may, it would seem to indicate that in the fourth century in the Jewish community of Rome both the LXX and Aquila were in use side by side.³⁵

The final instance is from Crete. It is the epitaph of a remarkable woman, Sophia from Gortyn, here called ‘leader of the synagogue’ in Kastelli Kissamou where she was buried (in the western part of the island) in the fourth or fifth century CE (*IJO* I Cre3).³⁶ It is a free rendering of Prov 10:7: *μνήμη*

³² See esp. the various contributions in the volume edited by N. de Lange, J.G. Krivovich and C. Boyd-Taylor, *Jewish Reception of Greek Bible Versions: Studies in Their Use in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism 23; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009). Also T. Rajak, *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) esp. ch. 9.

³³ It is striking that in a Hebrew epitaph from Beth She’arim, *BS* III 25, and in *JWE* no. 133 we have *zekher tsaddiqim livrakha*, possibly influenced by the plural *δικαίων* in the LXX.

³⁴ See my *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, 37–38. Cappelletti, “Biblical Quotations,” 131, points out that in LXX Esther 2:23 *ἐγκώμιον* stands for *berakhah*.

³⁵ See M.H. Williams, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans: A Diasporan Sourcebook* (Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998) 121. At p. 43 Williams surmises that in *JWE* II no. 253 (Rome, third–fourth cent. CE) the words *μνεία τοῦ μελλονμφου* could be taken to be both a variant and an incomplete citation of Prov 10:7: ‘The memory of the bridegroom-to-be (is for a blessing)’. It seems more natural, however, to take *μνεία* here in the sense of ‘tomb’ (memorial).

³⁶ See the discussion of this inscription in my “The Jews of Ancient Crete,” in P.W. van der Horst, *Jews and Christians in Their Graeco-Roman Context: Selected Essays on Early Judaism, Samaritanism, Hellenism, and Christianity* (WUNT 196; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006) 24–26.

δικαίας εις αἰῶνα (spelled as μνήμη δικέας ις ἐῶνα). The words μνήμη δικαίας suffice to identify this phrase as an adapted quotation of Prov 10:7 in its LXX, not Aquilan, version. If, however, one were to take the words εις αἰῶνα to be a variation upon the Aquilan εις εὐλογία, we would again have a mixed quotation of LXX and Aquila, just as in the case of *JJWE* II no. 276 above, but that must remain uncertain. However that may be, it should be noted that here, too, as in the case of the bundle of life in 1 Sam 25:29, the element of eternity seems to be imported into the OT text in which it originally had no place, a phenomenon that can be observed in many a rendition or explanation of biblical texts in postbiblical Judaism.³⁷ But that is not certain. As Joseph Park says, 'It is possible to take this formula as simply declaring or wishing that the deceased is never to be forgotten.'³⁸ However, he, too, suggests that 'the meaning of the words εις αἰῶνα does not seem to be exhausted by a merely this worldly remembrance.'³⁹

We now turn to less common quotations. First there are the famous epitaphs of two young girls on Rheneia (the small burial island of Delos) with prayers for vengeance, *IJO* I Ach70–71 (second–first cent. BCE). The text of the two stones is identical except for the name of the girls (Heraclia and Martina).⁴⁰ In the opening lines the composer of the epitaph calls upon God Most High (ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὑψιστος), 'the Lord of the spirits and of all flesh,' to take action against the murderers of the innocent girl concerned. The phrase ὁ Κύριος τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός is an almost literal quotation of Num 16:22 and 27:16, both of which have ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός. The minor change of θεός to κύριος was probably caused by the fact that θεός had already been used in the immediately preceding words of the invocation and the writer wanted to avoid repetition. The 'spirits' in the quotation undoubtedly are here angels, since a few lines further on it is not only the Lord himself but also 'the angels of God' (10) who are called upon to revenge the child. In Jewish epigraphy this is a unique quotation.⁴¹

³⁷ An Aramaic epitaph with the quotation of Prov 10:7 in Hebrew is *CJF* 892 from Jaffa.
³⁸ J.S. Park, *Conceptions of Afterlife in Jewish Inscriptions* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000) 142.

³⁹ Park, *Conceptions*, 142.

⁴⁰ Still a good discussion is A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* (4th ed.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1923) 351–362; see also my *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, 149. The most recent treatments are *IJO* I, 235–242, and my commentary in P.W. van der Horst and J.H. Newman, *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008) 135–143.

⁴¹ Interestingly enough, the same quotation functions also in a number of medieval Christian epitaphs from Nubia; see A. Lajtar and J. van der Vliet, *Qasr Ibrim: The Greek and*

Another unique case is *IJO* I Mac13 from Thessalonica (fourth cent. CE). It runs: Κύριος μεθ' ἡμῶν, which the most recent editors claim to be 'a paraphrase of the LXX text of Ps 45:8 and 12.'⁴² The text of these identical Psalm verses is: Κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων μεθ' ἡμῶν, 'The Lord of hosts be/is with us.' I find this a dubious case. The stone was found in an ancient Christian cemetery, and the sheer fact that a menorah has been painted in red on the wall of the tomb does not make the inscription Jewish. Moreover, the formula has not been attested elsewhere on Jewish monuments, but 'it is frequently found in Christian inscriptions,' as the editors admit. The phrase 'the Lord be with us' sounds too much like a traditional Christian formula for us to take this inscription to be Jewish without great hesitation.

Another unique quotation from the Book of Psalms is an inscription from Nicaea (modern Iznik) of uncertain date (imperial period or late antiquity), *IJO* II no. 153. The marble stone is not a tombstone but probably part of a synagogue building. The inscription renders Ps 136:25 as follows: διδούς ἄρτον τί πάσι σαρκί ὅτι εἰς ἐῶνα ἔλεος αὐτοῦ. The LXX has: ὁ διδούς τροφήν πάσῃ σαρκί ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ. Most of the deviations from the biblical text are minor except for ἄρτον. But since bread was the most usual kind of daily food in ancient Anatolia, it is quite understandable that someone who quotes by heart uses ἄρτος instead of τροφή. But there is an even easier explanation. Origen records in his *Hexapla* the *varia lectio* διδούς ἄρτον, so that we may assume that, even though we do not (yet) possess ancient manuscripts with this reading, it nevertheless did exist (it may have been Aquilan, but we cannot know for sure). Here our inscription uniquely confirms the *Hexapla*.⁴³ Since this inscription is a very rare case of a biblical quotation in a non-funerary but rather in a synagogal setting, it may be possible that the Psalm verse quoted was part of the Greek liturgy of the Jewish community in Nicaea, but that is impossible to decide.

Coptic Inscriptions (Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement XIII; Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press, 2010) nos. 18, 19, 22 etc.

⁴² *IJO* I, 94.

⁴³ See F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875) 290. C. Zuckerman, "Psalm 135:25 in Symmachus' Translation on a Jewish Inscription from Nicaea (Iznik)," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 20 (2001) 105–111, argues that the text in the quotation follows Symmachus, but with weak arguments. See also the brief discussion in F. Millar's review of *The Cambridge History of Judaism IV*, in *JJS* 59 (2008) 124, and in S. Fine and L.V. Rutgers, "New Light on Judaism in Asia Minor during Late Antiquity," *JQR* 3 (1996) 6–7 (their list of biblical quotations in Jewish inscriptions at p. 8 is not without errors). I have not seen A. Salvesen, "Psalm 135(136):25 in a Jewish Greek Inscription from Nicaea", in *Semitic Studies in Honour of Edward Ullendorff* (ed. G. Khan; Leiden: Brill, 2005) 212–221.

A unique quotation of Isa 40:31 is found in a synagogue inscription from late antique Caesarea (probably the fourth cent. CE). It is an inscription on a floor mosaic with the following text: οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν θεὸν ἀλλάξουσιν ἰσχὺν, 'those who wait for God shall change (= renew) their strength.'⁴⁴ Except for a δέ after οἱ, the text is identical to that of the LXX. It is hard to say what the function of the inscription was; perhaps it was liturgical, or perhaps it was part of a formula for the dedication of the synagogue floor of which it was a part.

A quite different category of material is found in a type of inscriptions discovered only in Phrygia.⁴⁵ Three are from Acmonia (*IJO* II nos. 172–174), one from Apameia (*IJO* II no. 179), and one from Laodicea (*IJO* II no. 213); all date from the third cent. CE. They are different from the other inscriptions for two reasons. Firstly, they do not quote a biblical text but do explicitly refer to biblical passages. Secondly, three of them are unique in mentioning a biblical book by name. All epitaphs in this category contain curses against those who illegally bury a person (or persons) in the tomb which was not destined for them.⁴⁶ *IJO* II no. 172 states that Titus Flavius Alexander prepared the tomb during his lifetime for himself and his wife Gaiana, and then continues, 'If someone opens this tomb after the interment of me, Alexander, and my wife, Gaiana, all the curses that have been written (γεγραμμένοι) against his eyes, his entire body, his children, and his life will befall him.' Here, the 'written curses' are not yet specified, but the other inscriptions leave us in no doubt about where they were written. *IJO* II no. 173, after a similar text about whom the tomb is constructed for, states that 'if anyone after their burial . . . interrs another corpse or causes damage by way of purchase, there shall be on him the curses which are written in Deuteronomy' (γεγραμμένοι ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ). And *IJO* II no. 174 states about such a person that he 'will be accursed and as many curses as are written in Deuteronomy, let them be upon him and

⁴⁴ I used the edition in F. Hüttenmeister and G. Reeg, *Die antiken Synagogen in Israel*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1977) 84, no. 7. [It has recently been re-edited in *CIIP* II 61–62, no. 1142 (see above, note 14)]. This is probably the only inscription with a biblical quotation in Greek from Palestine; see C. Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001) 412–413.

⁴⁵ On Phrygian Jewry in general see my introductory article "The Jews of Ancient Phrygia," *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 2 (2008) 283–292.

⁴⁶ The best study of this material is J.H.M. Strubbe, "Curses against Violations of the Grave in Jewish Epitaphs from Asia Minor," in *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy* (ed. J.W. van Henten and P.W. van der Horst; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 70–128. A short but good discussion of these inscriptions is P.R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (SNTSMS 69; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 60–69.

his children and his grandchildren and all his offspring.' Similarly, *IJO* II no. 213 threatens the person who opens the sarcophagus in order to bury someone else in it that he will be struck by the curses written in Deuteronomy. And when in *IJO* II no. 179 it is said in a threatening tone that if someone tries to bury another person in the same grave, 'he knows the Law of the Jews!', we may be sure that the curses in Deuteronomy are meant.

There can be little doubt that the curses referred to are those in Deuteronomy 27 and 28, esp. 28:22 and 28–29: (22) πατάξει σε κύριος ἀπορία καὶ πυρετῶ καὶ ρίγει καὶ ἐρεθισμῶ καὶ φόνῳ καὶ ἀνεμοφθορία καὶ τῇ ὄχρᾳ καὶ καταδιώξονται σε ἕως ἂν ἀπολέσῳσίν σε... (28) πατάξει σε κύριος παραπληξία καὶ ἀορασίᾳ καὶ ἐκστάσει διανοίας, (29) καὶ ἔση ψηλαφῶν μεσημβρίας ὡσεὶ ψηλαφήσαι ὁ τυφλὸς ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ οὐκ εὐδῶσει τὰς ὁδοὺς σου καὶ ἔση τότε ἀδικούμενος καὶ διαρπαζόμενος πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ οὐκ ἔσται σοι ὁ βοηθῶν ('May the Lord smite you with distress, fever, cold, inflammation, murder, blighting and paleness, and they shall pursue you until they have destroyed you... May the Lord smite you with insanity, blindness and astonishment of mind; and then you will grope at midday, as a blind man would grope in the darkness, and you will not prosper in your ways; and then you will be unjustly treated and plundered all your days, and there will be no helper'). This grim picture of divine vengeance could of course be evoked only in the minds of those who knew what 'the curses written in Deuteronomy' were. So one might infer that the imprecations were directed primarily at the coreligionists of the dedicators. Or did they assume their pagan fellow Phrygians to have knowledge of the Bible as well? One feels inclined to believe so in view of the formulation of *IJO* II no. 179, 'if someone buries here (another person), he knows the Law of the Jews.' The fact that here the law referred to is so explicitly identified as 'the Law of the Jews' may indicate that the writer, when formulating the epitaph, had non-Jews in mind and supposed they knew this Law. (Cf. also *JlWE* I no. 145, from Sicily, where the husband of the deceased says: *adiuro vos (...) per legem quam Dominus dedit Iudaeis, ne quis aperiat memoriam...* 'I adjure you by the Law which the Lord gave the Jews: let nobody open the grave...').⁴⁷ Be that as it may, even though we do not

⁴⁷ W.M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897) 538, makes the implausible suggestion that "the law of the Jews cannot here be the law of Moses (...). It seems to be a special law peculiar to Apameia, apparently some agreement made with the city by the resident Jews for the better protection of their graves."

have here biblical quotations in the strict sense of the word, these inscriptions fully deserve to be mentioned because by their precise reference to a specific book in the Bible, actually even to specific chapters in that book (Deut 27–28), they evoke the contents of the biblical curse verses which then need not be quoted anymore.

Two other inscriptions which evoke (or refer to) rather than quote biblical passages are *IJO* II nos. 175–176, again from Phrygian Acmonia (third cent. CE). They clearly refer to Zech 5:1–4. The first one is a lengthy epitaph of Titedius Amerimnus, in which it is said that he has restored for himself and his wife the tomb of his grandfather, and then the text continues, ‘If somebody buries someone else, may he receive the treacherous blow of the unexpected sort which their brother Amerimnus received. And if one of them is not afraid of these curses, may the sickle of the curse (τὸ ἀράς δρέπανον) come into their houses and leave nobody behind.’ The second inscription ends in an almost identical way, also with the wish that ‘the sickle of the curse’ may enter the house and leave nobody behind. Τὸ ἀράς δρέπανον can hardly be anything else than an allusion to the LXX version of Zech 5:2–4, where, in the Hebrew text, the prophet sees in a vision a scroll (*megillah*) flying around, but where the LXX has δρέπανον for *megillah*, obviously because the translators read *maggâl* (= sickle). This sickle could be taken to be an instrument of God’s curse and of divine vengeance by the Phrygian Jews who engraved the stone since the biblical text itself interprets the sickle as ἡ ἀρά ἢ ἐκπορευομένη ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς γῆς (5:3), that will punish every thief and perjurer with death (and cf. also Joel 4:13 LXX!). Interestingly enough, this is again a testimony to the use of the LXX which differs here so much from the Hebrew text. Aquila is apparently unknown to these Phrygian Jews, but if not unknown, at least not used.⁴⁸

That some pagans did indeed ‘know the Law of the Jews’ is apparent from a non-Jewish inscription from the Greek island Euboea that combines pagan curses with those of Deuteronomy 28; see for the details L. Robert, “Maledictions funéraires grecques,” *CRAI* 1978, 241–289, here 245–252; Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor*, 68–69.

⁴⁸ Whether two inscriptions from Acmonia which threaten the tomb violator with the curse, ‘may an iron broom enter his house’ (*SEG* 6.171–172), should be taken as substitute formulas for ‘the sickle of the curse’ (thus Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor*, 76) remains very doubtful. Ameling does not include them in *IJO* II because he, like other scholars, does not regard them as Jewish; see his discussion in *IJO* II 345–346; also Strubbe, “Curses against Violation of the Grave,” 121–123.

Samaritan Interlude

By way of interlude, I wish to draw attention to the fact that there are also early Samaritan inscriptions with biblical quotations.⁴⁹ Most of them, however, are in Samaritan Hebrew. For instance, *JJWE* I no. 153 from Syracuse (uncertain date [late antiquity]) has a quotation of Num 10:35. *IJO* I Ach50 from Corinth (fourth cent. CE or later) is an amulet with quotes of Exod 15:3; 15:26; 38:8; Num 14:14.⁵⁰ *IJO* III Syr4 from Tyre (fourth–fifth cent. CE) is an amulet quoting Deut 33:26 and Num 10:35. And *IJO* III Syr42 from Damascus (third–fifth cent. CE) is an amulet with quotations of Exod 15:3; Num 10:35; Deut 33:26 and Deut 6:4. We see that the most favourite text is Num 10:35, ‘Advance, O Lord, may your enemies be scattered and may your foes flee before you!’ The apotropaic character of this verse is clear. So is the case with the other favourite, Exod 15:3, ‘The Lord is a warrior.’ The combination of these verses with the beginning of the *Shema*’ in *IJO* III Syr42 is intriguing. But we will have to leave a discussion of these inscriptions to others since it is Greek material that is our topic.⁵¹

We have only one Samaritan inscription with a biblical quotation in Greek, a dedicatory inscription, possibly from a synagogue, in Thessaloniki, *IJO* I Mac17 (fourth–fifth/sixth cent. CE), with a long quotation of Num 6:22–27 (between two *berakhot* in Samaritan Hebrew).⁵² The body of the text is the well-known priestly (Aaronitic) blessing, with a dozen deviations from the LXX that probably derive from a Samaritan revision of

⁴⁹ On Samaritan inscriptions see R. Pummer, “Inscriptions,” in *The Samaritans* (ed. A.D. Crown; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989) 190–194.

⁵⁰ On Samaritan amulets see R. Pummer, “Samaritan Rituals and Customs,” in Crown, *The Samaritans*, 650–690, here 652–654, but esp. Pummer, “Samaritan Amulets from the Roman-Byzantine Period and Their Wearers,” *RB* 94 (1987) 251–263, where he plausibly argues that probably some of the Samaritan amulets were made by Samaritans to be used by Jews and Christians. On biblical quotations in Jewish amulets see, e.g., E. Eshel, H. Eshel, A. Lange, “‘Hear, O Israel’ in Gold: An Ancient Amulet from Halbturm in Austria,” *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 1 (2010) 43–64.

⁵¹ Another interesting aspect of this material that we have to leave aside here is that it testifies to a sizeable Samaritan diaspora; see my “The Samaritan Diaspora in Antiquity,” in P.W. van der Horst, *Essays on the Jewish World of Early Christianity* (NTOA 14; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990) 136–147, which updates and corrects A.D. Crown, “The Samaritan Diaspora to the End of the Byzantine Era,” *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 2 (1974) 107–123.

⁵² See, besides the discussion in *IJO* I 100–105, esp. E. Tov, “Une inscription grecque d’origine samaritaine trouvée à Thessalonique,” *RB* 81 (1974) 394–399; also G.H.R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, vol. 1 (North Ryde: Macquarie Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, 1981) 108–110.

the LXX (not necessarily from the *Samareitikon*, if that ever existed);⁵³ it is much closer to the Hebrew than the LXX version. In view of the major role (high)priests played (and play) in the Samaritan community, it is not surprising that this biblical text was chosen for a synagogue inscription.

Final Observations

We return to the Jewish inscriptions. Biblical quotations appear almost exclusively in funerary inscriptions, hardly in other epigraphic material. As we have seen above, apart from some other isolated quotations (and the references to Deuteronomy), only two biblical verses seem to be highly favoured, 1 Sam 25:29 and Prov 10:7, the two verses which remained the most popular in epitaphs in medieval and modern times as well. To begin with the latter, with the possible exception of the epitaph of Sophia of Gortyn (*IJO* I Cre3) with its unique εἰς αἰῶνα formula at the end, the other instances 'seem generally limited to a type of "memorial" immortality, since the blessing in this case regards not the deceased but his or her memory.'⁵⁴ That is different from the 'bundle of life' inscriptions which quote 1 Sam 25:29. We have seen clear instances where the motif of the binding of the soul in the bundle of life was used in an eschatological sense. It expressed a belief in afterlife (of whatever nature) by eschatologizing a biblical text that originally had nothing but a this-worldly reference, a way of reading that is very familiar in early Jewish exegesis of the Bible.⁵⁵

Finally, the differences from what we see in early Christian Greek epigraphy are great, even if we leave New Testament quotations out of account.⁵⁶ There one does *not* encounter Prov 10:7 or 1 Sam 25:29, neither Zach 5:1–4 or Deut 27–28. What strikes one at first is the great predominance of quotations from the Book of Psalms (with a remarkably high

⁵³ See E. Tov, "Die griechischen Bibelübersetzungen," *ANRW* II 20/1 (1987) 185–186.

⁵⁴ Park, *Conceptions*, 143.

⁵⁵ The phenomenon is too common to need illustration.

⁵⁶ For an early but good collection of evidence see L. Jalabert, "Citations bibliques dans l'épigraphie grecque," *DACL* III/2 (1914) 1731–1756; but see now esp. the exhaustive collection and study by A.E. Felle, *Biblia epigraphica: La Sacra Scrittura nella documentazione epigrafica dell' orbis christianus antiquus (III–VIII secolo)* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2006). For biblical quotations in Christian papyri, see G.H.R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, vol. 2 (North Ryde: Macquarie Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, 1982) 157.

concentration in Syria and Palestine).⁵⁷ For instance, in church inscriptions one often finds Ps 118:20, 'This is the gate of the Lord; the righteous shall enter through it.' On lintels of houses a great favourite is the apotropaic Ps 121:8, 'The Lord will guard your going out and your coming in.' On tombs it is more difficult to specify a clear favourite, but Ps 91:1, 'he who dwells in the shelter of the Most High,' scores high (as it does, by the way, in Jewish amulets and magical books).⁵⁸ Another favourite is Ps 29:3, 'The voice of the Lord is over the waters.' About a third of all Psalms are represented in epigraphic quotations.⁵⁹ Apart from the Psalms, Isaiah is the best represented book in Christian epigraphy. 'Quotations from the New Testament are nearly three times less frequent than those of the Old Testament and none of them enjoy as privileged a use.'⁶⁰ The great popularity of the Psalms in early Christianity is also reflected in various literary sources (including the New Testament). Especially in monastic literature, but also elsewhere, the book of Psalms is quoted or alluded to much more often than any other biblical book.⁶¹ Through its prominent role in the liturgy, the Psalter provided the believers with a rich resource of praise and prayer. They probably knew the Book of Psalms much better than the rest of the Bible, mainly thanks to the liturgy. This is one of the reasons that in this respect the early Christian 'epigraphic habit' (Ramsay MacMullen) is different from that of the Jews (in the synagogues, as far as we know, the Psalms did not play as prominent a role in the liturgy as they did in the church). There are many more reasons for these differences, but to investigate these falls outside the scope of this article.

⁵⁷ Jalabert, "Citations," 1746. See also D. Feissel, "The Bible in Greek Inscriptions," in *The Bible in Greek Christian Antiquity* (ed. P.M. Blowers; Notre Dame IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1997) 289–298.

⁵⁸ See, e.g., B. Rebiger, *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim* (TSAJ 137; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010) 333.

⁵⁹ Felle, *Biblia epigraphica*, 522–524, lists hundreds of instances of Psalm quotations in inscriptions.

⁶⁰ Feissel, "The Bible," 294.

⁶¹ See my "The Role of Scripture in Cyril of Scythopolis' *Lives of the Monks of Palestine*," in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present* (ed. J. Patrich; Leuven: Peeters, 2001) 127–145, for further references, see also J. Gribomont, "Psaumes," in *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du christianisme ancien*, vol. 2 (ed. A. di Berardino; Paris: Cerf, 1990) 2137–2139.

THE USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN SCRIPTURE READINGS IN EARLY CHRISTIAN ASSEMBLIES

Henk Jan de Jonge

From the earliest times, Christians have made the reading aloud of important texts an element of their gatherings. They began by reading out “letters received,” that is, letters from apostles.¹ They could also read letters from apostles received by other congregations and circular letters sent by apostles to more than one congregation.² In time they proceeded to repeat the reading out of letters formerly received.³ Finally, they began to include portions of the OT prophets, the Gospels and other texts as content of the public Scripture reading.

Among those who have studied this historical process, one can detect a tendency to interpret the public reading of Scripture in church as a continuation of the reading of Scripture in the synagogue. To quote an expert on the subject: “The mere idea of reading from a holy Book was borrowed by the Christians from no other institution or tradition than that of the Synagogue. It seems therefore very obvious that there must have been some sort of continuity. . . .”⁴

In this essay, dedicated to a scholar who has written so much on the use of the Old Testament in the New, I would like to reexamine the historical relationship between the public reading of authoritative texts in the gatherings of the earliest Church and that in early Judaism. First, let us review the evidence about the reading of Scripture in the Church until about 400. Since we want to investigate the relationship between public Scripture reading in the early Christian congregations and that in the

¹ See for instance 1 Thess 5:27.

² Col 4:16; Acts 15:31; Eph 3:4; Rev 1:3 and 22:18.

³ A case in point is the repeated reading of 1 Clement in Corinth; see Dionysius of Corinth *apud* Eus. *H.E.* 4.23.11.

⁴ G. Rouwhorst, “The Reception of the Jewish Sabbath in Early Christianity,” in *Christian Feast and Festival* (ed. P. Post *et al.*; Leuven: Peeters, 2001) 223–266, esp. 257; idem, “Christlicher Gottesdienst und der Gottesdienst Israels. Forschungsgeschichte, historische Interaktionen, Theologie,” in *Gottesdienst der Kirche. Handbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft*, 2.2. (ed. M. Klöckener, A.A. Häusling and R. Messner; Regensburg: Pustet, 2008) 491–572, see p. 552; idem, “The Reading of Scripture in Early Christian Liturgy,” in *What Athens has to do with Jerusalem. Essays on Classical, Jewish, and Early Christian Art and Archaeology* (FS G. Foerster; ed. L. Rutgers; Leuven: Peeters, 2002) 305–331, esp. 318–322.

synagogue, we shall concentrate on the Christians' use of OT writings, for in the use of such books the continuity between the synagogal and early Christian reading of Scripture may be supposed to become most clearly observable. For this reason, the following survey will list only those passages in early Christian writings that mention Scripture readings *either* from both the OT and the NT, *or* from the OT alone, *or* from the Scriptures in general which possibly include OT writings. Passages mentioning lessons from the NT alone are not included. The purpose is to collect as many references as possible to the reading or possible reading of the OT in the gatherings of the early Church.

1 Timothy 4:13 (c. 100, Asia, Ephesus?)

The fictive Paul who is the author of this letter urges the fictive addressee Timothy, his co-worker, and leader and organizer of the church in Ephesus, to educate the members of his church in a Christian way of life. In order to achieve this object, Timothy should “give attention to the public reading of Scripture, to exhorting, to teaching.”⁵ For “the public reading of Scripture” the biblical text has only ἡ ἀνάγνωσις. But since παρακλήσις and διδασκαίειν belong to the activities that took place in the informal social gathering of the congregation following the communal meal (see, e.g. 1 Cor 14:3, 6, 26), the “reading” must also have been a reading aloud in the community gathering. Here authoritative texts were read to serve as the basis for exhortation and teaching.⁶ The author of 1 Timothy certainly meant these texts to include a number of letters of Paul. Not only did the Pauline letters serve as the literary model for his own compositions, but the public reading of letters of Paul and other apostles in the gatherings of Christian communities was also a well established tradition by then. This is clear from such passages as 1 Thess 5:27; Eph 3:4; Col 4:16; Acts 15:31 and Rev 1:3 and 22:18. It is unlikely that the “reading” in 1 Tim 4:13 was taken from any Gospel. Mark and Q did exist but do not seem to have circulated widely. If Matthew, Luke and John already existed, they may not have had the authority yet to serve as sources of lessons. It is more probable that what

⁵ 1 Tim 4:13: “Ἐως ἔρχομαι πρόσεχε τῇ ἀναγνώσει, τῇ παρακλήσει, τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ.

⁶ V. Alikin, *The Earliest History of the Christian Gathering: Origin, Development and Content of the Christian Gathering in the First to Third Centuries* (VCSup 102; Leiden: Brill, 2010) 162–163.

“Timothy” was supposed to read was OT prophets. Half a century later, Justin regards OT prophets as a standard source from which public readings could be taken. OT prophets belong also to the repertoire of texts that were read in church according to Irenaeus and *Canon Muratori*.⁷

2 Clement 19:1 (140–150 CE, place of origin uncertain)

The church assembly in which this sermon was read clearly comprised the reading of Scripture, and an expository homily connected with the biblical passage(s) read and containing parenetic exhortations. At the end of his sermon, the author reminds his audience of the preceding lesson: “So then, brothers and sisters, after reading the word of the God of truth, I am now reading you a request to pay attention to what has been written, so that you may save yourself and the one who is reading to you.”⁸ The author does not say which biblical passage(s) had been read. Several attempts have been made to identify the lesson on the basis of the OT quotations used in 2 Clement. Since a number of these are from Isaiah, it has been argued that the reading may have been Isa 54–66. However, this is probably too long a passage to have served as a lesson.⁹ It has been supposed that the way in which Isa 54:1 is introduced in 2:1 and discussed in the following verses suggests that at least Isa 54:1 belonged to the lesson.¹⁰ But Isa 54:1 is quoted in full in the text of 2:1 itself; it need not have been part of the lesson, therefore. Moreover, 2 Clement also refers to synoptic tradition as “written”, γραφή.¹¹ Consequently, we do not even know whether the lesson to which the author refers was taken from the OT or from early Christian literature.¹² The possibility that the reading was from the OT cannot be ruled out, but it could also have been from

⁷ Justin, *Apologia I* 67; *Canon Muratori*, lines 79–80. On these testimonies, see also below.

⁸ 2 Clem 19:1: Ὡστε, ἀδελφοί καὶ ἀδελφαί, μετὰ τὸν θεὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀναγινώσκω ὑμῖν ἔντευξιν εἰς τὸ προσέχειν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, ἵνα καὶ ἑαυτοὺς σώσητε καὶ τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα ἐν ὑμῖν.

⁹ R. Knopf, “Die Anagnose zum zweiten Clemensbriefe,” *ZNW* 3 (1902) 266–279.

¹⁰ Knopf, p. 272; K. Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre). Barnabasbrief. Zweiter Klemensbrief. Schrift an Diognet* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984) 216–217; B.D. Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers* (vol. 1; Cambridge MA/London: Harvard University Press, 2003) 155.

¹¹ 2 Clem 2:4: καὶ ἐτέρα δὲ γραφή λέγει ὅτι . . .

¹² J.B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers. I.2: S. Clement of Rome* (London: MacMillan, 1890) 195.

some Christian writing. The only safe conclusion is that “it cannot be gathered from 2 Clement which Scripture passage had been read as lesson.”¹³

Justin Martyr, Apologia I 67.3–4 (c. 150 CE, Rome)

Justin is the first author to provide a more or less complete order of the gathering of a Christian community on Sunday. This gathering comprised a reading from the Scriptures and a sermon, followed by a Eucharist. This is Justin’s account of the ceremony: “On the day called Sunday there is an assembly of those who dwell in cities or countryside, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, for as long as there is time. Then, when the reader has stopped, the president, in an address, makes admonition and invitation of the imitation of their good things.”¹⁴ This is the first explicit mention of the reading of OT prophets in the assembly. After the sermon, the congregation says prayers and thanksgivings over the bread and the wine. Subsequently, bread and wine are distributed, and only then would the communal supper begin.

Justin states that the reading of the Scriptures took “as long as time permits”. The meaning of this remark is much debated, but it becomes understandable if one realizes that the meal Justin describes took place in the evening.¹⁵ The meal proper or supper (the *συσσίτιον*) would normally be followed by a session during which the participants stayed together, drank wine, sang, and prayed (the *σμπόσιον*); during this second part of the gathering, they listened to the reading aloud of relevant texts and to allocutions; there was teaching and conversation.¹⁶ Subsequently, what

¹³ A.F.J. Klijn, *Apostolische vaders, 2: I en II Clemens...* (Baarn: Bosch en Keuning, 1967) 71. See also W. Pratscher, *Der zweite Clemensbrief* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007) 221: “Welche bzw. ob überhaupt eine bestimmte Schriftstelle vorausgesetzt ist, kann nicht gesagt werden: ... eventuell aus einer Jesaja-Handschrift, einem Testimonium oder dem benutzten apokryphen Evangelium.”

¹⁴ Justin, *Apologia I* 67.3–4: Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκειται, μέχρις ἐγγωρεῖ. εἶτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νοθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μνήσεως ποιεῖται; tra. D. Minnis and P. Parvis, *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr: Apologies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) 259–261.

¹⁵ According to Justin the weekly gathering of the Christians took place in the evening. This is clear from the mention of ‘lamps’ and their being extinguished after the banquet in the *Dialogue with Tryphon* 10.1: πεπιστεύκατε περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅτι... μετὰ τὴν εἰλαπίνην ἀποσβεννόντες τοὺς λύχνους ἀθέσμοις μίξεσιν ἐγκυλιόμεθα; In spite of this clear testimony, several scholars hold that Justin’s eucharist was on Sunday morning.

¹⁶ For the bipartite structure of the banquet and association suppers in the Hellenistic world, see M. Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl und Mahlgemeinschaft* (Tübingen/Basel:

remained of the food was brought by the deacons to those members who had been unable to attend the gathering:¹⁷ the sick, those in prison and the disabled. All that took time. To allow everybody, including the deacons, to come home not too late at night, the supper had to begin in time. This imposed restraints on the time available for the reading of the Gospels and the prophets before the supper.¹⁸

Melito of Sardes, Peri Pascha 1 (160–170 CE, Sardes)

The first sentence of this homily reads: “The passage on the exodus of the Hebrews has been read; the words of the mystery have been disclosed.”¹⁹ This is the earliest instance of a Christian OT liturgical lesson whose contents can be precisely determined: Exod 12:3–32, paraphrased later in the homily. However, this is a special case. The homily was not delivered in an ordinary church assembly on a Sunday or some other weekday, but during the Paschal Vigil Service of a Quartodeciman congregation. This ceremony was celebrated on the night of 14 to 15 Nisan, at the same time as Jewish Passover. The reading of Exod 12 must in one way or another have been suggested by the theme of Passover: the exodus and the institution of the Passover celebration. Nothing suggests that on other days of the year Melito’s congregation used other readings from the Pentateuch.

Irenaeus, Adversus haereses (180–185 CE, Lyon)

In his *Against heresies*, a detailed attack on Gnosticism, Irenaeus states: “This is true *gnosis*: . . . a reading [of the word of God] without falsification and, in conformity with the Scriptures, an interpretation that is legitimate,

Francke, 1996) 99–129; D.E. Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist: The Banquet in the Early Christian World* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2003) 28 and *passim*. For a clear example of the bipartite structure of the banquet, see Lucian, *Asinus* 3. For the activities that took place during the symposium part of the evening, see for instance 1 Cor 14:13–15, 26, 29–31; the drinking is already alluded to in 11:21. 1 Cor 11:17–14:40 deals with one and the same social event, the periodical gathering of the congregation consisting of the (Lord’s) supper (11:17–34) and the symposium (12:1–14:40).

¹⁷ Justin, *Apologia I* 67.5.

¹⁸ Alikin, *Earliest History* 172.

¹⁹ Melito, *Peri Pascha* 1: Ἡ μὲν γραφή τῆς Ἑβραϊκῆς ἐξόδου ἀνέγνωσται, καὶ τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ μυστηρίου διασεσάφηται. For the text, see O. Perler, *Méliton de Sardes. Sur la Pâque* (SC 123; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966) 60–61. The interpretation of this sentence is beset with problems. Perler’s commentary, pp. 131–133, is a good guide.

careful, without danger or blasphemy.”²⁰ The combination of “reading” and “exposition” may probably be taken to indicate that Irenaeus is thinking here of the Scripture reading in the assembly of a Christian church. However, it remains unclear whether the readings could be taken from the OT, and if so, from which books.

More clarity in this matter comes from another passage in Irenaeus’ *Adversus haereses*, where he claims that “all the Scriptures, both the prophets and the Gospels, can be clearly and unambiguously heard by all in the same way.”²¹

Judging by these passages, Irenaeus was acquainted with church assemblies in which Scripture readings could be taken from the OT prophets.

Canon Muratori, lines 69–70 and 78–80 (by 200 CE, Rome [?])²²

This document intends to list the books that can be read in church and some books that cannot. “The Epistle of Jude and two of the above-mentioned John are used in the catholic church;²³ and *Wisdom*, written by the friends of Solomon in his honour. . . . Hermas’ *Pastor* . . . cannot be read publicly to the people in church either among the prophets, whose number is complete, or among the apostles, for it is after their time.”²⁴

²⁰ Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 4.33.8: “lectio sine falsatione et secundum Scripturas expositio legitima, et diligens, et sine periculo, et sine blasphemia”; tra. R. Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyon* (London/New York: Routledge, 1997) 161. For the text, see N. Brox, ed., *Irenaeus von Lyon. Adversus haereses. Gegen die Häresien* (5 vols.; Freiburg/Basel/Wien: Herder, 1993–2001) 4:264. Migne, PG 7.1077.

²¹ Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 3.27.2: “Universae Scripturae et propheticae et evangelicae in aperto et sine ambiguitate, et similiter ab omnibus audiri poss[un]t, . . .” For another reference to liturgical Scripture reading, see *Adv. haer.* 4.35.4: “So many are the differences among them [the Valentinians] on one point, and so many the varied opinions they profess on the same scriptures! When one and the same text has been read, all furrow their brows and shake their heads, saying ‘This is a very profound word, and not all understand the greatness of the meaning it contains; therefore silence is the greatest thing for the wise’”; tra. Grant, *Irenaeus* 162.

²² For the date of *Canon Muratori*, see J. Verheyden, “The Canon Muratori: A Matter of Dispute,” in *The Biblical Canons* (ed. J.-M. Auwers; BETL 163; Leuven: Peeters, 2003) 486–556.

²³ Some scholars have supposed that a negative has fallen out of this sentence. This conjecture is worth considering, but ultimately it seems to me unnecessary.

²⁴ *Canon Muratori*, lines 69–70, 78–80: “Epistula sane Iudae et superscripti Iohannis duae in catholica habentur; et Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta. . . . *Pastorem* . . . legi eum quidem oportet, sed publicare vero in ecclesia populo, neque inter prophetas, completo numero, neque inter apostolos, in fine temporum, potest.”

Canon Muratori probably means that *Wisdom of Solomon* could be read in public in gatherings of the church; in fact, *Wisdom* is mentioned in one breath with Jude and two epistles of John, which are not excluded here from the list of books that could be read in church. If a book could not be read publicly, *Canon Muratori* says so explicitly. With regard to the *Apocalypse of Peter*, for instance, it says: "some of us are not willing that it be read in church." *Pastor Hermae* may be read in private, but "it cannot be read publicly to the people in church." Accordingly, *Canon Muratori* seems to impose no restrictions to the use of *Wisdom of Solomon*.

Besides a number of apostolic authors, *Canon Muratori* allows the public reading of certain prophets. One might hesitate a moment whether early Christian or OT prophets are meant. However, the fact that "the number" of the prophets is said to be "complete" (*numero completo*) indicates that the prophets in question are those of the OT.²⁵

Tertullian, Apologeticum 39.3 (c. 197, Carthage)

"We meet to read the divine Scriptures, to see if anything in the nature of the present times bids us look to the future or open our eyes to facts. In any case, with those holy words we feed our faith, we lift up our hope, we confirm our confidence; and no less we reinforce our teaching by inculcation of God's precepts."²⁶

Unfortunately, Tertullian does not disclose here which books were read in the assembly. The same is true for his remark in *De anima* 9, where he states that in a Sunday service the Scriptures are read: *Scripturae leguntur*. It remains unclear, therefore, whether the Scriptures read according to Tertullian included any books of the OT. In *De praescriptione* 36, he claims that in Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Ephesus and Rome the authentic letters of the apostles are still being read,²⁷ but this does not rule out the possibility that at those and other places OT books were read as well: we simply don't know. Several scholars take *Apologeticum* 22.5 as

²⁵ B.M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987) 307, observes that three major and twelve minor prophets may be meant.

²⁶ Tert. *Apolog.* 39.3: "Coimus ad litterarum divinarum commemorationem, si quid praesentium temporum qualitas aut praemonere cogit aut recognoscere. Certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, disciplinam praeceptorem nihilominus inculcationibus densamus."

²⁷ Tert. *De praescr.* 36: "ipsae authenticae litterae eorum recitantur."

evidence that there were lessons taken from the prophets.²⁸ Here Tertullian states that demons owe their foreknowledge of the future to the fact that they hear the prophets being read aloud: *lectionibus resonantibus carpunt*. However, this need not necessarily refer to liturgical readings of the prophets; it can refer as well to the reading of the prophets in private, both by Jews and by Christians. Private reading in antiquity was often a reading aloud and could thus be overheard by demons.²⁹ All in all it remains unclear whether Tertullian knew of Scripture readings taken from the OT.

Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis VI 14. 113. 3 (first decade of the third century, Alexandria)

Clement argues that the true gnostic has a good conscience, which keeps his soul pure and gives him the Lord's power. His soul is never at any time separated from God: "Giving thanks always for all things to God, by righteous hearing and divine reading, by true investigation, by holy oblation, by blessed prayer, lauding, hymning, blessing, praising, such a soul is never at any time separated from God."³⁰

This passage raises several questions. The combination of holy oblations, prayer, lauding, hymning, blessing and praising, suggests that Clement is using here the image of a liturgical service, the more so since the biblical passage underlying Clement's words, Eph 5:20, also reflects the practices of an early Christian gathering. But, first, are the soul's "hearing, reading, and investigation" also meant to reflect what happened in the gathering of the Christian congregation? Or are they rather forms of private devotion? The latter cannot entirely be ruled out. Secondly, even if the *ἀκοή* and *ἀνάγνωσις* are those practised in a gathering of a Christian community, Clement does not mention any specific book one could read out or hear in such a gathering, let alone any OT book.

²⁸ E.g., G. Rouwhorst, "Christlicher Gottesdienst und der Gottesdienst Israels," see p. 550.

²⁹ Thus J.P. Waltzing, *Tertullien. Apologétique. Commentaire analytique, grammatical & historique* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1931) 165.

³⁰ Clem. Al. *Strom.* VI 14. 113. 3 Ἄει δὲ εὐχαριστοῦσα ἐπὶ πᾶσι τῷ θεῷ δι' ἀκοῆς δικαίας καὶ ἀναγνώσεως θείας, διὰ ζητήσεως ἀληθοῦς, διὰ προσφορᾶς ἀγίας, δι' εὐχῆς μακαρίας, αἰνοῦσα, ὕμνοῦσα, εὐλογοῦσα, ψάλλουσα· οὐ διορίζεται ποτε τοῦ θεοῦ κατ' οὐδένα καιρὸν ἢ τοιάδε ψυχῆ. For the text, see P. Descortieux, ed., *Clément d'Alexandrie. Les Stromates* 6 (SC 446; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1999) 286.

Didascalia (first half of the third century, North Syria)

In a section on the way widows ought to conduct themselves, attention is given to their behaviour in the assembly on Sunday. Unfortunately, “they are not attentive, but either they fall asleep or gossip away about some other matter [than what is going on in the service]... People like this come in empty to the church, and go out even more empty, since they do not listen to what is spoken or read.”³¹ The last words quoted clearly refer to the reading of Scripture, but do not reveal which books were read.

The *Didascalia* is no more specific on this subject in a passage on the good order that must be observed in church assemblies. If in the assembly of the congregation someone turns up from another church, he should be received with the honour that befits him. However, “if, while you [the bishop] are sitting, someone arrives who has a position of honour in the world, either from the same district, or from another congregation, then you, the bishop, whether you are speaking the word of God, or listening, or *reading*, shall not show special respect to such persons by leaving the ministry of your word and appointing them a place...”³² Clearly, the eucharistic service of the congregation of the *Didascalia* included the reading of the Scriptures. But the author does not tell us from which books the lessons were taken.

The *Didascalia* is somewhat more informative in a passage on the liturgical celebrations during the period of “Pascha”. In the night from Saturday to Sunday, “you shall come together and watch and keep vigil all the night with prayers and intercessions, and with reading of the prophets, and with the Gospels and with Psalms, ... until the third hour in the night after the Saturday; and then break your fasts.”³³ This instruction is repeated some lines further down: “Especially incumbent on you, therefore, is ... the vigil and watching of the Saturday, and the reading of the Scriptures and Psalms, ... until the third hour in the night after the Saturday. And then offer your oblations; after which eat and enjoy yourselves,”³⁴ because Christ is risen.

Here it is clear that the lessons read during the Easter vigil included readings taken from the prophets and the Psalms.

³¹ *Didascalia* 3.6; S. Brock and M. Vasey, eds., *The Liturgical Portions of the Didascalia* (Bramcote: Grove, 1982) 20.

³² *Didascalia* 2.58; S. Brock and M. Vasey, p. 16.

³³ *Didascalia* 5.18; S. Brock and M. Vasey, p. 28.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

*Hippolytus of Rome, Homily on the true meaning of the Psalter
(early third century, Rome)*

In the course of this homily on the Psalter,³⁵ the preacher addresses his audience in the following words: "... Let us turn to the reading which took place. Two Psalms were read to us and it is necessary to state why they are the first."³⁶ Hippolytus is referring here to the reading of two Psalms which preceded his homily. He makes it clear, not only that Scripture was read in the assembly,³⁷ but also that in this case the lesson consisted of Psalms 1–2.

Origen, Homilies (215–217 and 230–c. 250 CE, Caesarea in Palestine)

Origen preached in the church at Caesarea in the years 215 to 217 and 230 to c. 250. Towards the end of his life, he himself describes the services in which, after a Scripture reading, he delivered his edifying sermons. "By readings of the Bible and explanations of the readings, we encourage men to be pious towards the God of the universe and the virtues that share piety's throne."³⁸ The services in which Origen used to preach were held in the morning, all days of the week. The order of the service was as follows. A reader read successive passages of one book day by day, in the sequence of the book. After the reading, Origen gave an exposition of what the reader had read. In one of his sermons Origen points out that the reading of the previous day comprised more than he had been able to explain; owing to the constraints of time he had only discussed very

³⁵ For its text, see P. Nautin, *Le dossier d'Hippolyte et de Méliton dans les florilèges dogmatiques et chez les historiens modernes* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1953) 166–183. A. Stewart-Sykes, "Hermas the Prophet and Hippolytus the Preacher: the Roman Homily and Its Social Context," in *Preacher and Audience. Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics* (ed. M.B. Cunningham and P. Allen; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 33–63, has argued convincingly that its author may be identified with the Hippolytus who authored the *Elenchus omnium haeresium*.

³⁶ Ἀναδράμωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τὴν γεγενημένην. Δύο ἡμῖν ἀνεγνώσθησαν ψαλμοί, ὧν τὴν αἰτίαν διηγήσασθαι δεῖ πρώτων τυγχανόντων. Tra. Stewart-Sykes, p. 50.

³⁷ Stewart-Sykes, "Hermas the Prophet and Hippolytus the Preacher," 61.

³⁸ Origen, *Contra Celsum* 3.50: Διὰ τῶν εἰς τὰ ἀναγνώσματα διηγήσεων προτρέποντες μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν θεὸν τῶν ἔλων εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὰς συνθρόνους ταύτης ἀρετάς. H. Chadwick, *Origen: Contra Celsum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965) 162–169.

few things.³⁹ At the request of the audience, Origen could sometimes skip certain portions of the biblical text, in order to discuss passages the audience were curious to hear explained.⁴⁰ About 575 homilies of Origen have been preserved, although many of them only in a Latin translation. He preached on almost all the books of the OT: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes Song of Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The books on which he did *not* preach include Ruth, Daniel, the Minor Prophets and, as it would seem, Esther.⁴¹

Traditio apostolica (ca. 250 CE, Rome)

The *Traditio apostolica* describes the ritual of a eucharistic celebration held in the evening, presided over by the bishop, and attended by a large group of participants.⁴² The ceremony comprises the bringing in of the lamp by a deacon, a prayer of thanksgiving over the lamp, a benediction over the cup, and the distribution of pieces of bread. In alternation with the benediction over, and presentation of, the cup, the Psalms of the Hallel are recited,⁴³ first by children and virgins, subsequently by the deacon, and finally by the bishop. This is certainly a clear case of the use of the OT in the early Christian liturgy. However, this practice cannot really be considered a reading of Scripture. Rather it is a form of praise to God accompanying the preparation of the eucharist.

³⁹ Origen, *Hom Lev.* 7.1 (Migne, PG 12.475): "Plura quidem superiori lectione fuerunt recitata, ex quibus temporis brevitare constricti pauca admodum diximus."

⁴⁰ Origen, *Hom Num.* 15.1 (Migne, PG 12.683): "Licet nos ordo lectionum quae recitantur, de illis dicere magis exigat quae lector explicuit, tamen, quoniam nonnulli fratrum deponunt ea potius quae de prophetia Balaam scripta sunt, ad sermonem disputationis adduci, non ita ordini lectionum satisfacere aequum credidi, ut desiderii auditorum."

⁴¹ O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (5 vols.; 1913–1932; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1914) 2:124–136. R. Williams, "Origenes/Origenismus," *TRE* 25 (1995) 397–420, esp. 404–405.

⁴² B. Botte, *Hippolyte de Rome. La tradition apostolique* (SC 11 bis; 2nd ed.; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968) 100–103, ch. 25. This section is only preserved in the Ethiopic version. The sections 26–28 seem to give directions for the same ceremony. The *Traditio apostolica* also mentions the private reading of 'a holy book' at home; see Botte, section 41, pp. 124–125. No author or title of such a 'holy book' is mentioned.

⁴³ Psalms 113–118. The recitation of the Hallel was also prescribed for certain Jewish Festival days.

*Constitutiones apostolicae (late fourth century? Eastern Church,
Constantinople or Syria?)*

Book 2 of the *Constitutiones apostolicae* contains detailed directions for the celebration of the eucharistic liturgy, comparable to those in the *Didascalia*. The ceremony includes, *inter alia*, the reading of the Scriptures, the singing of Psalms, and an instruction or admonition based on the Scripture reading: τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν καὶ τὴν ψαλμωδίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς διδασκαλίαν (2.54.1). These are the directions for the Scripture reading: “In the middle of the church, let the reader stand upon some high place: let him read the books of Moses, of Joshua the son of Nun, of the Judges, and of the Kings and of the Chronicles, and those written after the return from the captivity; and besides these, the books of Job and of Solomon, and of the sixteen prophets. But when there have been two lessons severally read, let some other person sing the hymns of David, and let the people join at the conclusions of the verses.”⁴⁴ Subsequently, there are readings from the Acts or Paul, and from the Gospels. Even if not all books of the OT are mentioned explicitly, no book seems to be excluded.

The extensive description of the daily eucharistic liturgy in book 8 mentions “the reading of the Law and the prophets, our epistles and Acts, and the Gospels.”⁴⁵ According to Baumstark, “the prophets” must be understood here in the sense of the Masoretic canon: the “first prophets”: Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings; and the “later prophets”: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Dodecapheton.⁴⁶ Whether this is correct, remains to be seen. The hagiographa are excluded.

⁴⁴ *Const. Apost.* 2.54.1: Μέσος δὲ ὁ ἀναγνώστης ἐφ’ ὑψηλοῦ τινοῦ ἐστὼς ἀναγινωσκέτω τὰ Μωϋσέως καὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ, τὰ τῶν Κριτῶν καὶ τῶν Βασιλειῶν, τὰ τῶν Παραλειπομένων καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἐπανόδου, πρὸς τούτοις τὰ τοῦ Ἰώβ καὶ τὰ Σολομώντος καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑξκαίδεκα προφητῶν. Ἀνὰ δύο δὲ γενομένων ἀναγνωσμάτων, ἕτερός τις τοῦ Δαυὶδ ψαλλέτω τοὺς ὕμνους, καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια.

⁴⁵ *Const. Apost.* 8.5.11: τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ Νόμου καὶ τῶν Προφητῶν, τῶν τε Ἐπιστολῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν Πράξεων καὶ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων.

⁴⁶ A. Baumstark, *Nichtevangelische syrische Perikopenordnungen des ersten Jahrtausends* (1921; 2nd ed., Münster: Aschendorf, 1972) 17.

*The Syriac Doctrina Apostolorum (probably fourth century, Syria)*⁴⁷

Canon 10 of this document reads: “Apart from the OT [that is, the Law], the prophets, the Gospel and the Acts of their triumphs [that is, the Acts of the Apostles], let nothing be read on the *bêma* [βήμα] of the church.”

The Teaching of Addai (c. 400?, Edessa)

It is not always easy to distinguish between the ideal picture the author gives of the religious life of the earliest apostolic Church in Edessa and the reality of his own day. But the following may reflect more or less the situation of Edessa c. 400: “Many people assembled daily and came to the prayer service and to the [reading of the] Old Testament and the New of the Diatessaron.”⁴⁸ Addai himself is said to have “taught those who were to read the Scriptures” in church.⁴⁹ In his last speech to his fellow-workers he says: “As for the Law and the prophets and the Gospel, which you read daily before the people, and the Letters of Paul, . . . and the Acts of the Twelve Apostles, . . . read these books in the churches of the Messiah. Do not again read with these any other.”⁵⁰

Egeria, Peregrinatio (c. 400 CE, Jerusalem)

Most of the numerous Scripture readings Egeria hears in Jerusalem are from the Gospels, but several are from the Psalms and the prophets. One example may suffice. On Good Friday from the sixth to the ninth hour, nothing else is done but the reading of lessons. They are taken, first from the Psalms wherever the Passion is spoken of. Then from the Epistles or the Acts; then from the passion stories in the Gospels. “Then the

⁴⁷ W.L. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History* (VCSup 25; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 154: “probably composed in the fourth century.” See R. Messner, “Die ‘Lehre der Apostel’—eine syrische Kirchenordnung: Übersetzung und Anmerkungen,” in *Recht—Bürge der Freiheit* (ed. K. Breitsching and W. Rees; Kanonistische Studien und Texte 51; Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2006) 305–335, esp. 320.

⁴⁸ *The Teaching of Addai*, tr. G. Howard (SBLTT 16, Early Christian Literature Series 4; Chico CA: Scholars, 1981) 73.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 93.

readings from the prophets where they foretold that the Lord should suffer.⁵¹ Finally, from the Gospels again.

Before reaching Jerusalem, Egeria visited a number of sites known from biblical history. On such sites, services could be held in which OT passages were read that reflected the historical relevance of the place. On Mount Sinai, for instance, one read Exod 33:22. The choice of such a passage from the Law was of course exclusively inspired by the place at issue. It answered the needs of Christian archeological tourism rather than reflecting any tradition of synagogal Scripture reading.

This survey shows that in the Christian gathering the Law was not read until well into the third century, beginning with Origen. Melito's use of Exod 12 must be considered an exception, since it was linked up with his Quartodeciman celebration of Easter. Regular reading of the Law begins only in the third century. However, if there was anything the Jews read in their gatherings on Sabbath in the first century CE it was the Law. The only texts they read and discussed in this setting were the books of the Pentateuch.⁵² If Jews in their synagogues read and studied nothing but the Law, whereas Christians did not start to read the Pentateuch until the third century, it is hard to see here any continuity.

Our survey also shows that Christians probably began to read OT prophets by the end of the first century (1 Tim 4:13). From the middle of the second century onward the prophets were a traditional, almost fixed element of the Scripture reading in the church, witness Justin, Irenaeus, *Canon Muratori*, the *Didascalia*, Origen, the *Traditio apostolica*, the Syriac *Doctrina apostolorum*, the *Constitutiones apostolorum* and the *Doctrine of Addai*. With regard to the prophets, the testimony of Melito is lacking, whereas that of Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria is inconclusive. Yet there is an impressive tradition of reading the prophets from the first century onward. However, there is no evidence whatsoever that in the

⁵¹ *Peregrinatio Egeriae* 37: "Item legitur de prophetis, ubi passurum Dominum dixerunt."

⁵² Philo, *Spec.* 2.62–63; *Hypothetica* 7:12 apud Eus. *Praep. ev.* 8.7.12–13; Josephus, *Bell.* 2.289–291; *Ant.* 16.43; *Contra Ap.* 2.175; 2 Cor 3:15. According to the Theodotus Inscription on a synagogue in Jerusalem (*CIJ* 2.1404), the building served εἰς ἀν[άγ]νωσιν νόμου καὶ εἰς [δ]ιδάχ[η]ν ἑντολῶν; on the date of this inscription, see J.S. Kloppenborg, "The Theodotion Synagogue Inscription and the Problem of First-Century Synagogue Buildings," in *Jesus and Archaeology* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2006) 236–282. See also C. Perrot, "The Reading of the Bible in the Ancient Synagogue," in *Mikra* (ed. M.J. Mulder; Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1988) 137–159.

first century CE. Jews read the prophets in their gatherings on Sabbath.⁵³ Readings from the prophets are not mentioned until the beginning of the third century in *m. Meg.* 4:1–5. Then they were read only at the principal services on festival days and on the Sabbath and exclusively as the conclusion of the session. That is why they were called “haftarah” (dismissal). How wide-spread this reading of a passage from the prophets in the synagogues was, is unknown. Evidently, it was not nearly so important as the reading of the Law. He that read the prophets was allowed to leave verses out, but not in the Law (4:4). Only one person read it, not more as in the case of the Law (4:2), and it was not read at services during the week or on the afternoon of a Sabbath (4:1). Since the reading from the prophets was the conclusion of the meeting, it could hardly serve as basis for any exposition or sermon. Attempts to reconstruct a first or second-century cyclic system of OT readings from the Law or the Prophets must be regarded as failed. Since the evidence for the reading of the prophets in public begins for Christians by the end of the first century, but for the synagogue at least a century later, it is difficult to see why one would explain the Christian reading of the prophets as the continuation of the synagogal reading of the prophets.⁵⁴ The reading of the Psalms in the Christian gathering from the third century onward (*Didascalia*, Hippolytus, Origen, *Constitutiones apostolorum*) seems to present a still greater problem: is there any indication that the Psalms were read in the synagogue on Sabbath in the first or second century?

If in their gatherings Jews read the Law, which Christians did not read until the third century, and if the Christians read the prophets, which Jews did not read until 200, there is little or no ground to assume that the Christian Scripture reading was the continuation of the synagogal Scripture reading.

⁵³ One cannot adduce Luke 4:17 as proof to the contrary, since this is a redactional Lukan insertion in Mark 6:2 composed in the interest of Luke’s Christology; any tradition underlying Luke 4:17 is lacking. The same applies to the formulaic phrase “the Law and the Prophets” used in Acts 13:15.

⁵⁴ According to G. Rouwhorst, “Jewish Liturgical Traditions in Early Syriac Christianity,” *VC* 51 (1997) 72–93, esp. 77–78, the reading from the Pentateuch and the prophets in fourth-century Syrian churches would show “traces of Jewish liturgical traditions,” that is, of secondary influence from synagogal practice on Christian practice. However, this suggestion needs verification by means of a more detailed comparison between the reading practices of church and synagogue in the fourth century. Moreover, even if relevant agreements become discernable, the question remains whether it is necessary to suppose influence from one tradition on the other, and if so, whether the synagogue influenced the church or the church the synagogue.

It is not difficult to understand why there is no continuity between the reading of texts in the synagogue and that in the early Christian congregation. The synagogal gathering on Saturday morning was a completely different meeting from that of the Christians on Sunday evening. The Jewish meeting was in essence a study group focusing on the reading and interpretation of the Law. The assembly of the Christians began originally as a weekly party consisting of two parts: the communal meal (the Lord's supper or Eucharist) and the social gathering or symposium. In accordance with wide-spread Graeco-Roman customs, the second part of the evening was adorned with oral presentations of several sorts, among them the reading out of relevant texts.⁵⁵ Plutarch devotes much attention to the question which texts one can best read during the symposium.⁵⁶ The reading of Scripture in the Christian Church continued this Graeco-Roman symposiastic tradition. Since the early Christian gathering on Sunday was not the continuation of the synagogal assembly for the study of the Law on Saturday, Christians at first did not even think of reading the Law. They chose Christian texts, and themselves took the initiative to add OT prophets to these, then also the Psalms. Not until the third century did they begin to choose readings from the Law. Since the early Christian gathering was not the continuation of the Jewish meeting on Sabbath, the readings of the Christians were also different from those in the synagogue.

⁵⁵ Alikin, *Earliest History* 147–150.

⁵⁶ Plutarch, *Quaestiones conviviales* 7.711b–712c.

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S SERMONS 38–41 ON THE BOOK OF BEN SIRA*

Pancratius C. Beentjes

Introduction

Speaking about St. Augustine and the Bible, it is important to be aware that he was familiar with the so-called *Vetus Latina*, a second Century translation from the Septuagint that was used in Northern Africa (and Western Europe as well). Therefore Augustine was neither adherent nor advocate of the Latin translation that in his days was prepared by Jerome and was later on coined *Vulgate*. More than once in his letters to Jerome, St. Augustine urged him to hold on to a Septuagint based Latin translation.¹ In his sermons to the people, Augustine for pastoral (and tactical) reasons did not quote from Jerome's new Latin translation, as the congregation did not accept such "modernism."²

As to the Book of Ecclesiasticus, however, this dilemma did not occur, as Jerome decided not to translate the deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament. Instead he adopted the *Vetus Latina* texts of those books into his new Latin translation. By this decision, as a matter of fact the *Vetus Latina* version(s) of the deuterocanonical books for the most part have survived.

The Book of Ecclesiasticus

Spread over his vast body of works, St. Augustine quotes from the book of Ecclesiasticus, the Latin title of the Book of Ben Sira, about three hundred times.³ However, the bishop not only took quotations from the book; he

* With this essay I like to congratulate my colleague Maarten Menken, who for more than twenty years has been my *collega proximus*. The friendship between both families, however, started much earlier, while being students.

¹ E.g. Augustine, Ep. 71 (= Jerome, Ep. 104); Jerome, Ep. 112.

² See e.g. the famous incident relating to Jerome's translation of Jonah 4:6 (Jerome, Ep. 112.22; 116.35).

³ M. Gilbert, "Jesus Sirach," *RAC* XVII, Stuttgart 1995, col. 878–906 (897).

was clearly well acquainted with its contents.⁴ As a matter of fact, a number of times he explicitly refers to “Ecclesiasticus” or to “the book called Jesus Sirach” as part of the prophetic books of the Old Testament, using collocations such as “quod a propheta dictum est,”⁵ “verba prophetica,”⁶ or “inter propheticos numerandi sunt.”⁷ One of the most significant references occurs in the opening line of Sermon 39—“Audivimus, fratres, per prophetam dicentem deum;” this introduction is followed by “Ne tardes converti ad dominum . . .,” which is a direct quotation from Sir 5:8.⁸ In Augustine’s *Sermones*, we come across references to Ecclesiasticus no less than seventy nine times.

Within the huge collection of St. Augustine’s sermons, there are four that are *explicitly* devoted to the Book of Ecclesiasticus, listed as *Sermones* 38–41. This might suggest that they are a connected series but this is not the case. As can be seen in the following table, opinions differ as to date of each sermon.⁹

This uncertainty makes it almost impossible to comment upon Sermons 38–41 as if they were a coherent collection. Therefore, after the following remarks about Sermons 36–41, each will be discussed in turn.

⁴ A circumstantial overview of St. Augustine’s familiarity with the Book of Ecclesiasticus is offered by A.-M. La Bonnardière, “The Canon of Sacred Scripture,” in *Augustine and the Bible* (ed. P. Bright; The Bible through the Ages, vol. 2; Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame, 1999) 26–41.

⁵ *The Catholic and Manichaean Ways of Life* 1.24.45 (ed. D.A. Gallagher and I.J. Gallagher; The Fathers of the Church 56, Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1966).

⁶ *Two Books on Genesis* 2.5.6 (ed. R.J. Teske; The Fathers of the Church 84, Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1990).

⁷ *On Christian Doctrine* 2.8.13 (ed. D.W. Robertson; The Library of arts 80; New York: Macmillan, 1958, 14th ed.).

⁸ Augustine does not exactly quote according to the *Vetus Latina* text. Instead, he offers a Latin text that is quite close to the so-called *Greek I*, as has been advocated by D. de Bruyne, “Saint Augustin, réviseur de la Bible,” *Studi Agostiniani* (Miscellanea Agostiniana II; Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1931) 521–606. See also M. Gilbert, “Siracide,” *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* XII (Fascicule 71), Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1996) col. 1389–1437 (1412).

⁹ C. Lambot, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones de Vetere Testamento, id est Sermones I-L secundum ordinem vulgatum, insertis etiam novem sermonibus post Maurinos repertis* (CCSL XLI; Turnhout: Brepols, 1961) 474–502; H.R. Drobner, *Augustinus von Hippo: Predigten zum Buch der Sprüche und Jesus Sirach (Sermones 35–41). Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen* (Patrologia. Beiträge zum Studium der Kirchenväter 13; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004) 178–254; Edm. Hill, *The Works of Saint Augustine. A Translation for the 21st Century*, Part III—Sermons, Volume II: *Sermons II (20–50) on the Old Testament* (Brooklyn NY: New City Press, 1990) 208–233; P.P. Verbraken, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin* (Instrumenta Patristica 12; Steenbrugis/Hagae Comititis: Nijhoff, 1976).

Sermon	Date	Expert
38	"Before 411"	Hill, 208
	"unbestimmt"	Drobner, 182
	"aucune date"	Lambot, 474
	—	Verbraken, 62
39	"405–420?"	Hill, 207
	"unbestimmt"	Drobner, 210
	"aucune date"	Lambot, 488
	—	Verbraken, 62
40	"396–400"	Hill, 221
	—	Drobner, 226
	—	Lambot, 493
	'après 395–396'; 'vers 400' ¹⁰	Verbraken, 144
41	"uncertain"	Hill, 226
	"unbestimmt"	Drobner, 230
	"après l'année 400" ¹¹	Lambot, 494
	—	Verbraken, 63

The Central Topic of Sermons 36–41

According to Drobner, the central topic of Augustine's Sermons 36–37 on the Book of Proverbs, as well as of Sermons 38–41 on the Book of Jesus Sirach, is on wealth and poverty.¹² In seven paragraphs Drobner offers a detailed analysis relating to wealth and poverty in Augustine's theology: (1) The testimony of the Gospels; (2) Heretical positions; (3) *Humanitas communis*; (4) Provenance and meaning of wealth and poverty; (5) Appropriate use of wealth; (6) Genuine wealth: *paupertas Christi*; (7) The risks of wealth.¹³

In a summary, the main results are put together: (1) Wealth and being a Christian are compatible on condition that one handles it in a just way; (2) The central problem of wealth is pride. However, one should never forget it is God who is the Giver of all good things; (3) Therefore, instead

¹⁰ Here Verbraken refers to the hypotheses by Morin, Kunzelmann, Lambot, Jourjon, and Beuron relating to Sermon 339.

¹¹ According to Drobner, 231, Lambot erroneously ascribed this date to Sermon 41; see also Verbraken, 63.

¹² "Reichtum und Armut," Drobner, 31.

¹³ Drobner, 31–40.

of earthly wealth one should continuously aim at acquiring an everlasting and imperishable treasure in heaven. Although this is instructive, it should be noted that the topic of wealth and poverty is not restricted to this particular section of Augustine's Sermons, as he appears to suggest. Sermon 50, for instance, could and should also have been included in his analysis.¹⁴

Sermon 38

Sermon 38 contains solid evidence that Sir 2:1–3 has been read as a lesson during the service, for the second part of the fifth paragraph of this sermon opens with the words: "For that very reason—what is it we were told in the reading?," and is immediately followed by a quotation from Sir 2:1–3—"My son, as you come forward for the service of God, stand in justice and fear, and prepare your soul for temptation. Constrain your heart and endure, that your life may grow in the last days."¹⁵ Moreover, the opening of the sixth paragraph of the sermon reads: "There then follows a passage that was not read: 'Everything that is brought upon you accept . . .,'" which is a quotation from Sir 2:4–5.¹⁶ So doing, a substantial passage from the opening of Chapter 2 of the Book of Ecclesiasticus is found in the heart of Sermon 38.

It is striking, however, that the community had to wait until the second part of the fifth paragraph of Sermon 38 before Augustine went into a full consideration of the Ben Sira passage, the first part of which had been read as a lesson during the service. In other words, we might ask why he needed no less than four full paragraphs before paying attention to the lesson that had been read from the Book of Ben Sira?

Now according to Drobner, the central topic of Augustine's Sermons 36–37 on the Book of Proverbs, as well as Sermons 38–41 on the Book of Jesus Sirach, is wealth and poverty. This is no doubt correct but we should also note in Sermon 38, there is at least one other theme that is important, since it is mentioned in the very first sentence: "There are two

¹⁴ "Sermo contra Manicheos de id quod scriptum est in Aggeo propheta: Meum es aurum et meum est argentum"; Lambot, 624–633.

¹⁵ Hill, 210. "Ideo in lectione quid nobis dicum est? *Fili accedens ad servitutem dei, sta in iustitia et timore . . .*"; Lambot, 479.

¹⁶ Hill, 210. "Deinde sequitur quod lectum non est: *Omne quod tibi adplicitum fuerit accipe . . .*"; Lambot, 480.

things enjoined in this life by the Lord, which seem toilsome to us: to hold back and to hold out."¹⁷ Although commentators have previously noted that Augustine hints at a range of thought relating to virtues that were propagated by the Stoa,¹⁸ they do not discuss specific texts.¹⁹

Clearly Augustine considered the emphasis upon the virtues of *continentia* and *sustinentia* an appropriate, or even ideal, approach to the lesson from Sir 2:1–2.²⁰ At a first glance, this might cause some surprise. However, Augustine consistently emphasized “that it is good in life to be temperate” . . . to “find the key to good life in inner stability and self-control,” which undoubtedly are qualities based on ideas of the Stoa.²¹ As to *continentia*, Augustine joins Cicero, who defines this virtue as: “continentia est per quam cupiditas consilii gubernatione regitur.”²² Or in his own words: “continentia . . . non corporis, sed animi virus est.”²³

From Stoic maxims to Ben Sira

Restraint and endurance, “two virtues which purify the soul and make it capable of containing God . . . ; we must wait for the Lord” (38.1). And as long as we cannot see him face to face, we have to walk by faith: “to have our hearts fixed firmly in faith . . . Thus by practicing restraint and practicing

¹⁷ Hill, 208. “Duo sunt quae in hac vita veluti laboriosa nobis praecipuntur a domino: continere et sustinere;” Lambot, 476.

¹⁸ “Continere et sustinere: maxime stocienne passée en proverbe;” Lambot, 476. “Eine stoische Maxime, die Augustinus des öfteren empfiehlt;” Drobner, 204. “He is using a Stoic proverbial Maxim;” Hill, 215 n. 2.

¹⁹ The collocation of the verbs *continere* (“to hold back”) and *sustinere* (“to hold out”) is also found in sermon 20.2—“Donet nobis contra inlecebras et minas inimici, duas virtutes: continere et sustinere, continere libidines ne prospera capiant, sustinere terrores ne adversa confringant.” Subsequently, three biblical passages are quoted: Sap 8:21 (“et cum scirem . . . quia nemo esse potest continens, nisi deus det”), Ps 50:12 (“Cor mundum crea in me deus”), and Sir 2:16 (“Vae his qui perdidērunt sustinentiam”).

²⁰ According to A. Zumkeller, the word “continentia” is found no less than 467 times in Augustine’s vast body of works; A. Zumkeller, “Abstinentia-continētia,” in *Augustinus-Lexikon* (Basel: Schwabe, 1994) I, col. 34–39. Augustine even wrote a tractate called *De Continentia*; see *Augustinus-Lexikon*, vol. I, coll 1271–1274.

²¹ See P.J.J. van Geest, “Stoic against his will? Augustine on the good life in *De beata vita* and the *Praeceptum*,” in *Mélanges offerts à T.J. van Bavel à l’occasion de son 80e anniversaire* (ed. B. Bruning and J. Lam Cong Qu; Louvain: Institutum Historicum Augustinianum Lovanii, 2004; *Augustiana* 54 [2004]) 533–550.

²² Zumkeller, “Abstinentia-continētia,” 35.

²³ Augustine, *De diversis questionibus* 31,1 (CCSL 44A).

endurance . . . you shall hold God fast as your good, you shall have no evil to endure" (38.5).

At this point Augustine starts to refer to Sir 2:1–3—"My son, as you come forward for the service of God, stand in justice and fear, and prepare your soul for temptation. Constrain your heart and endure, that your life may grow in the last days."²⁴ It is quite remarkable, however, that Augustine does not quote the full Latin text,²⁵ but skips some lines (Sir 2:2b–3a), as can be seen in the following chart. With no exception, these lines are missing in all extant manuscripts of the *Sermones*.

That the lines of Sir 2:2b–3a are missing is the more surprising, as the *Vetus Latina* (= Vulgate) text of Sir 2:3a contains a perfect *inclusio* on the verbal form "sustine," which is one of the two central topics of this sermon. A comparison with the Greek text shows that the Latin has three *plusses*:

Sir 2:1–3 iuxta Vulgatam Versionem	Sir 2:1–3 in Sermon 38 (CCSL XLI)
Fili accedens servituti Dei sta in iustitia et timore et prepara animam tuam ad temptationem.	Fili accedens ad servitutum Dei sta in iustitia et timore et prepara animam tuam ad temptationem. ²⁶
Deprime cor tuum et sustine; declina aurem et excipe verba intellectus et ne festines in tempus obductionis.	Deprime cor tuum et sustine;
Sustine sustentationes Dei: coniungere Deo et sustine ut crescat in novissimo vita tua.	ut crescat in novissimis vita tua.

²⁴ For an analysis of Sir 2:1–18, see A.A. Di Lella, "Fear of the Lord and Belief and Hope in the Lord amid Trials: Sirach 2:1–18," in *Wisdom, you are my sister: Studies in Honor of Roland E. Murphy* (ed. M.L. Barré; CBQMS 29; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1997) 188–204; N. Calduch-Benages, *En el Crisol de la Prueba. Estudio exegético de Sir 2,1–18* (Asociación Bíblica Español 32; Estella: Editorial Verbo Divino, 1997); N. Calduch-Benages, "Trial Motif in the Book of Ben Sira with special Reference to Sir 2:1–6," in *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research* (ed. P.C. Beentjes; BZAW 255; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1997) 135–151.

²⁵ Jerome adopted the *Vetus Latina* text of the deuterocanonical books into his edition of the Vulgate. See D. de Bruyne, "Étude sur le texte latin de l'Écclésiastique," *RBén* 40 (1928) 5–48; M. Gilbert, "The *Vetus Latina* of Ecclesiasticus," in *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira* (ed. G.G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér; JSJSup 127; Leiden: Brill, 2008) 1–9.

²⁶ This verse line is also found in Sermon 46.10 and 46.12. Together, Sermons 46 and 47 make up a substantial commentary on Chapter 34 of the Book of Ezekiel.

(1) “sta in iustitiam et timore;”²⁷ (2) “declina aurem et excipe verba intellectus;” (3) “sustine sustentationes Dei.”²⁸ However, these three plusses of the Vetus Latina in no way coincide with the lines St. Augustine has left out here while quoting the Latin text.²⁹ Therefore, one of the following possibilities—or a combination of them—are need to explain Augustine’s omission:

- By omitting Sir 2:2b–3a, the *context* of this passage is purposely altered in order to remove as much as possible the traces of the original wisdom setting of master and young pupil. The quotation from the Book of Ben Sira now functions within quite another setting, viz. a homily.
- Such an alteration was easily to be done, as “sustine” has already occurred at the very end of 2:2a. As a result, a twofold repetition of the same verb later on in 2:3a was not necessary.
- Augustine undoubtedly wanted to lay stress upon the *final line* of this Ben Sira passage (2:3b), as he quotes it again at the conclusion of the fifth paragraph: “Hold onto what God has promised you, *that your life may grow in the last days.*”³⁰ This element from the quotation will make a lasting impression to the audience.

Greed Against Wisdom

Immediately after having cited Sir 2:3b, being the final words from the lesson that had been read, Augustine quotes a passage from the Book of Ecclesiasticus that was not read during the service: “Everything that is brought upon you, accept, and in sorrow endure, and in your humility have patience. Because gold is tried in the fire, and silver, but acceptable

²⁷ From an exegetical point of view, this *plus* in an excellent way summarizes the two crucial theological topics of Chapters 1 and 2 of the Book of Ben Sira.

²⁸ The Hebrew text of Sir 1:1–3:6a is still missing. For all recovered Hebrew Ben Sira manuscripts, see P.C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew* (VTSup 68; Leiden: Brill, 1997 / Atlanta GA: SBL, 2006).

²⁹ As to specific details relating to the Greek text, see J. Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach* (Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum, vol. XII/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965) 133.

³⁰ The Greek of Sir 2:3b (ἐπ’ ἐσχατῶν σου) is a clear reference to Sir 1:13 (τῷ φοβουμένῳ τὸν κύριον εὖ ἔσται ἐπ’ ἐσχατῶν); in the Latin translation, however, this similarity has completely gone: “in extremis” (1:13)—“in novissimo vita tua” (2:3b).

Sir 2:4–5 iuxta Vulgatam versionem	Sir 2:4–5 in Sermon 38 (CCSL XLI)
Omne quod tibi adplicitum fuerit accipe et in dolore sustine et in humilitate tua habe patientiam, quoniam in igne probatur aurum et argentum homines vero receptibiles in camino humiliationis.	Omne quod tibi adplicitum fuerit accipe et in dolore sustine et in humilitate tua patientiam habe. quoniam in igne probatur aurum et argentum homines vero acceptabiles in camino humiliationis.

men in the furnace of humiliation” (Sir 2:4–5).³¹ With only two minor differences, the text of the sermon is identical to the Vetus Latina text.³²

The elements of the two final lines, which build a *chiastic parallelism* (fire: gold and silver // acceptable men: furnace), produce the material for the next phase of the sermon. Gold and silver relate to people, such as robbers, desperadoes, lechers, and traders, who suffer many things for the sake of money. Augustine asks his audience why they should not be willing to suffer (“the furnace of humiliation”) for the sake of life, for the sake of God’s promises: “If you find fault with your greed, then he will invite you to share his wisdom.” The audience is urged “to gather the grains from the Lord’s threshing-floor, the words of God from the Church of God,” in order to “store them away in your heart” (38.6).

As an illustration as well as an application of it, Augustine refers to the story of the rich man in the Gospel of Matthew. With some intervals he explicitly quotes Matt 19:16, 17b, 21. It is striking, however, that prior to the quotation from Matt 19:21, Augustine includes some words from Mark 10:21 (“You lack one thing”).³³ The most obvious reason for borrowing this particular line from the Gospel of Mark would be that in so doing, Augustine makes only Jesus to speak.

A similar feature is found in the final line of this paragraph: “He went on to say: ‘Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also’” (38.7). To the audience it looks as if this phrase is still part of the story of the rich man. This line, however, is found much earlier in Matthew’s Gospel, viz. as part of the Sermon of the Mount (6:21). It is the notion “treasure” that

³¹ Hill, 210.

³² Compared to the Greek text, however, the Latin has two plusses: “in dolore sustine” (2:4) and “et argentum” (2:5). The latter one is undoubtedly caused by the occurrence of the collocation “aurum et argentum” (e.g. Ps 17:3; Zech 13:9).

³³ Matt 19:20b has: “What do I still lack?”

binds both texts (Matt 19:21b; 6:21) together. In the subsequent paragraphs of his sermon, Augustine emphasizes that people should trust their treasure to the Lord, who will keep it in heaven.

At the end of the sermon, Augustine explicitly reverts to the opening paragraphs: “So let us purify our hearts, dearly beloved, and not give up the virtue of endurance, but rather gain wisdom and hold on to the virtue of restraint” (38.11). It is quite intriguing that “to gain wisdom” is now found between the virtues of “endurance” and “restraint.”³⁴

Sermon 39

Contrary to Sermon 38, Sermon 39 from the outset is related to the Book of Ben Sira, since it starts with a quotation from Sir 5:8–9.³⁵ Moreover, the passage is introduced with the help of an eye-catching phrase: “We have heard God, brothers, *saying through the prophet...*”³⁶ In the following chart, Augustine’s quotation is compared to the *Vetus Latina* and *Vulgate* text.

As compared with the Greek text, the *Vulgate* has three minor differences. First, *Deum* does not reflect *κύριον*. In the text of Sermon 39, on the other hand, it has been translated properly (“dominum”).³⁷ Second, the translation *ira illius* (“his wrath”) is the reflection of *ὀργή κυρίου* (“wrath of the Lord”), which in the Greek, therefore, is more specified and direct.

Sir 5:8–9 iuxta <i>Vulgatam</i> Versionem	Sir 5:8–9 in Sermon 39 (CCSL XLI)
Non tardes converti ad Deum et ne differas de die in diem. Subito enim venit ira illius et in tempore vindictae disperdet te.	Ne tardes converti ad dominum, neque differas de die in diem. Subito enim veniet ira eius, et in tempore vindictae disperdet te.

³⁴ During the course of the sermon, there are some more references or allusions to the Gospel of Matthew: Sermon 38.8—“When you did it for one of these least of mine, you did it for me” (Matt 25:40); Sermon 38.10—“Jesus was asleep in the boat...” (Matt 8:23–25); “There are wars, there are famines...” (Matt 24:6–12).

³⁵ The Latin translation in Sir 5:8–9 corresponds to Sir 5:7 in the Hebrew and Greek texts.

³⁶ As to this phenomenon, see the Introduction to this essay.

³⁷ De Bruyne (*Saint Augustine réviséur*, 579–580) mentions two similar occurrences. The Hebrew text of Sir 5:7 has just *וְלֵא* (“to him”).

Third, the active verbal form *disperdet te* (“he will destroy you”) is the reflection of the Greek passive verbal form ἐξολῆῖ (“you will be destroyed”).³⁸ As to the difference of *deum-dominum*, most probably Augustine used a Latin translation that more or less differed from the usual *Vetus Latina* version.³⁹ This example is too small a basis for the hypothesis that Augustine had some knowledge of the Greek text of the Book of Ecclesiasticus.⁴⁰

Ben Sira, both at the beginning (5:1) and at the end (5:8) of this literary passage, is explicitly discussing the theme of “wealth.” The overall theme of Sir 5:1–8—not to trust in one’s own power—in a very acute way is supported by a number of “do not say” clauses, which as a literary vehicle gives the passage an intense expressiveness. With the help of no less than five such clauses, the author has created a *rhetorical* pattern in order to attribute to the reader certain thoughts or remarks, which as a matter of fact, may or may not be produced by the addressed. Their literary function is to offer the author an opportunity to react to a number of misconceptions which, in fact, have been created by himself!⁴¹

As to Sermon 39, there is something quite remarkable to report. Having read the text from beginning to end, one will find out that, in spite of its authoritative opening, the structure and content of the sermon is hardly defined by the quotation from Sir 5:8–9. On the contrary, the text is dominated by two passages from 1 Timothy (6:6–7; 17–19). In all likelihood, Drobner might be right that Sir 5:8–9 was just the Old Testament lesson prescribed for the service of that day, just as the passages from 1 Timothy were the lesson from the Apostle.⁴² And as a matter of fact, there is no doubt that the final lines of this letter relate to wealthy people indeed.

³⁸ The Hebrew has a *Niph'al* (נִפְּחָל), which is a passive verbal form too.

³⁹ For an overview of such Ben Sira passages, see De Bruyne, “Étude sur le texte latine,” 9–15; W. Thiele, *Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)* (*Vetus Latina* 11/2; Freiburg: Herder, 1987–2005) 142–144.

⁴⁰ This aspect deserves a more in-depth investigation, which is beyond the scope of this essay.

⁴¹ For a full analysis of Sir 5:1–8, see P.C. Beentjes, “Ben Sira 5:1–8: A Literary and Rhetorical Analysis,” in *The Literary Analysis of Hebrew Texts* (ed. E.G.L. Schrijver, N.A. van Uchelen and I.E. Zwiep; Publications of the Juda Palache Institute, VII), Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 1992) 45–92 (= P.C. Beentjes, *Happy the One who Meditates on Wisdom* [CBET 43; Louvain: Peeters, 2006] 49–60).

⁴² According to Drobner, 1 Tim 6:7–10 has been documented as a lesson in *Sermo* 177, whereas 1 Tim 6:17–19 has been documented as a lesson both in *Sermo* 61 and in Frangipane 3 (= *Sermo* 345); Drobner, 211.

Sermon 40

Looking for the text of Sermon 40, both the edition of Lambot and the one of Drobner do not reproduce it, since the provenance of Sermon 40 is disputed.⁴³ In fact, this sermon does not exist on its own, as the text of it has been handed down as part of Sermon 339, which “was preached at Hippo, on the anniversary of Augustine’s episcopal ordination.”⁴⁴

Because a quotation from Sir 5:8–9 is part of this sermon, in the Maurist edition three paragraphs (7–9) from Sermon 339 have been printed as a separate Sermon, numbered 40, and were recorded in connection to Sermon 39, which has a similar quotation as its heading.⁴⁵ To my mind, Augustine’s liking for Sir 5:8–9 has undoubtedly caused this special intervention. For in his vast body of works this specific Ben Sira passage is one of his favorite passages: it is quoted by him no less than fourteen times.⁴⁶

The starting point of Sermon 40 is a quotation from Ps 27:14—“Wait for the Lord, do manfully, and let your heart be strengthened, and wait for the Lord.” It is followed by a quotation from Ezek 33:11—“I have no wish for the death of the ungodly; only let the ungodly turn from his very evil way and live.”

However, as a kind of rhetorical question Augustine says, “[w]hy should I not add something to my pleasure, and live how I like as much as I like, and turn to God later on?” (40.3). As an argument against such an attitude his unmistakable reaction is: “Put yourself straight, listen to the scripture: ‘Do not be slow to turn to the Lord’” (Sir 5:8). Within the sermon, three more times this passage from the Book of Ecclesiasticus is repeated, and each time it is expanded a little, until at the end it is quoted in full: “Do not be slow to turn to the Lord, nor put it off from day to day.

⁴³ See Lambot, 493; Drobner, 227. As to the Latin text of Sermon 40 we consulted: D.A.B. Caillau, *Collectio selecta SS. Ecclesiae Patrum complectens exquisitissima opera tum dogmatica et moralia, tum apologetic et oratoria*, Tomus centesimus vigesimus quartus, Parisiis: Parent/Desbarres, 1838, 509–513.

⁴⁴ Hill, 225.

⁴⁵ For more details, see Lambot, 493; Drobner, 226–227. Sermon 40 coincides with Sermon 339.7–9; for the complete text of Sermon 339 and commentary, see H.R. Drobner, *Augustinus von Hippo. Predigten zu Kirch- und Bischofsweihe (Sermones 336–340/A). Einleitung, Revidierter Mauriner-Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen* (Patrologia. Beiträge zum Studium der Kirchenväter 9; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2003) 73–108.

⁴⁶ Gilbert, *RAC* 898.

For suddenly his wrath will come, and at the time for vengeance he will destroy you" (40.5).⁴⁷

It leaps to the eye that Augustine concludes his sermon concentrating on what we should pray for: "... not for passing, worldly things, things that are come and gone and vanish like smoke. What we should be praying for is the fulfillment of justice, and the hallowing of God's name, not for getting the better of the person next door, but for getting the better of the lust and greed inside; not for the healing of the flesh, but for the taming of avarice. That what our prayers should be about: helping us in our inner struggles, till they crown us in our final victory."⁴⁸

Sermon 41

As a matter of fact, the Book of Ben Sira has a number of passages in which *friendship* is the central topic: Sir 6:5–17; 9:10–16; 12:8–12; 13:15–23; 19:13–17; 22:19–26; 27:16–21; 37:1–6.⁴⁹ The text of Sir 22:28, which is in the centre of attention in Sermon 41, is part of the literary unit that in its Latin version(s) spans Sir 22:24–32 and which coincides with Sir 22:19–26 of the Greek.⁵⁰

Immediately at the opening of this sermon, Augustine informs his audience that he can only comment upon "one little saying, very short in the number of its words," which however is "more than enough for us in its weight of meaning."⁵¹ The maxim he is speaking about refers to a quotation from Sir 22:28—"Hold faith with a neighbor in his poverty, so that you may also enjoy his good times."⁵² During this sermon, this quotation will function no less than eight times in total.

⁴⁷ That Sir 5:8 must have been a favorite passage in early and medieval Christianity has convincingly been shown by Br. Carella, "Reconstructing a lost Latin Homily on Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) 5:8," *RBén* 117 (2007) 261–286.

⁴⁸ Hill, 224–225.

⁴⁹ F.V. Reiterer, ed., *Freundschaft bei Ben Sira* (BZAW 244; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1996); J. Corley, *Ben Sira's Teaching on Friendship* (BJS 316; Providence RI: Brown University, 2002).

⁵⁰ J. Marböck, "Gefährdung und Bewahrung: Kontexte zur Freundschaftsperikope Sir 22:19–26," in *Freundschaft* (ed. Reiter), 87–106; Corley, *Ben Sira's Teaching*, 191–211. A peculiar Latin version of this passage found at Toulouse has been published by A. Wilmart, "Nouveaux Feuilles Toulousains de l'Éclésiastique," *RBén* 33 (1921) 110–123.

⁵¹ Hill, 226.

⁵² Sir 22:28 of the Latin corresponds to Sir 22:23 of the Greek. A prosodic Hebrew version of Sir 22:22–23:9 has been published by J. Marcus, *The newly discovered original Hebrew of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus xxxii,16–xxxiv,1). The Fifth Manuscript and a prosodic version of Ben*

Sir 22:28 iuxta Vulgatam Versionem	Sir 22:28 in Sermon 39 (CCSL XLI)
Fidem posside cum proximo in pauperitate illius, ut et in bonis illius laeteris.	Fidem posside cum proximo in pauperitate ipsius, ut et bonis eius perfruaris.

The final word in Augustine's quotation from Sir 22:28 ("perfruaris") is striking since in the Vulgate the verb *perfruar*—"to enjoy to the full"—is quite rare; it is found only six times: Exod 30:38; Deut 8:9; 33:23; Prov 1:33; Eccle 6:6; 9:9. In the Vetus Latina text of the Book of Ecclesiasticus it does not occur at all.

The most probable answer to the question why Augustine's sermon has *perfruaris* would be that the root *perfru** is found no less than 199 times in the works of Augustine and therefore is to be included in his favorite vocabulary.

That being the case, the question is why he should have altered *laetaris* in his own Vetus Latina text into *perfruaris*? Is it possible that Augustine's choice for *perfruaris* has something to do with a text critical question relating to the Greek verb in Sir 22:23b which in the Vetus Latina has been rendered "laetaris"?

The reading ὅπου πλησθῆς in Sir 22:23b—"that you may share"⁵³ or "that you may be filled as well"⁵⁴—which is a unique collocation in the Greek Bible, is only to be found in codex Vaticanus (B), whereas the vast majority of Greek manuscripts have εὐφρανεθῆς—"that you may be glad."⁵⁵ On the one hand, the similarity of this latter verbal form with "laetaris" is striking. On the other hand, however, Norbert Peters might be right with his statement "es ist Retouche des als unfein aufgefaßten πλησθῆς."⁵⁶ This being the case, one may wonder why this retouch was almost unanimously followed, except for codex Vaticanus.⁵⁷ It would be unjustified, however, to assume that St. Augustine was aware of this text critical question and therefore altered the quotation from Sir 22:28 in his sermon.

Sira (Ecclesiasticus xxii,22–xxiii,9) (Philadelphia PA: Dropsie College, 1931) [Earlier published in *JQR* 21 (1930–1931) 223–240]. Unfortunately, the text of Sir 22:23 is missing.

⁵³ T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2009) 497.

⁵⁴ *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (ed. A. Pietersma and B.G. Wright; New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) 737.

⁵⁵ Full details in Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu*, 229.

⁵⁶ N. Peters, *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus* (EHAT 25; Münster: Aschendorff, 1913) 183.

⁵⁷ There is only one passage in the Vulgate (viz. Deut 33:23) that has *perfruar* being the rendering of the Greek verb *ππλημι*.

Augustine's treatment of the maxim from Sir 22:28 is quite intriguing. He starts by saying: "Let us take it first in its simple plain meaning so that everyone can understand it, even those who never rummage about in the more hidden mysteries of the divine scriptures." Then, as matter of fact, he confines himself to the *first part* of the maxim—"Hold faith with a neighbor in his poverty." This part of the maxim, he says, "I find acceptable. But the second part, I must confess to you, I find objectionable." For what will happen "when he dies poor and the riches we were hoping for haven't materialized" and we therefore have held faith for nothing?

In order to illustrate this dilemma, Augustine enters at length into the story of the poor man Lazarus and the anonymous rich man in Luke 16:19–31. With the help of some more Biblical passages, e.g. Matt 10:41–42; 11:28; Phil 2:6–8, he emphasizes that the objective should be to hold faith with a neighbor in poverty, taking "the word 'neighbor' as meaning the name 'Christ' . . ." ⁵⁸ Referring to Sirach as "the prophet," Augustine continues: "then observe how limpidly that maxim runs and, so to say, waters your thirsty mind from the fountain of truth: 'Hold faith with Christ in his poverty, so that you may also enjoy his good times' . . . and see how you will enjoy his good times if you have kept faith with him in his poverty: 'Father, he says, it is my wish that where I am, they too may be with me'." ⁵⁹

Conclusion

St. Augustine's sermons on the Book of Ben Sira are impressive, both in his rhetorical skills and his use of Scripture. Thus during a sermon, he not only quotes a number of Biblical passages, which underscores his knowledge of Holy Scripture, he also does not hesitate to adopt a phrase from quite another Biblical text or even from another Gospel in order to build special effects.

As to Augustine's use of the Book of Ecclesiasticus, it is striking that more than once he quotes a text that is somewhat different from the *Vetus Latina*, which for the Book of Ben Sira, serves as the traditional Latin text. Since Augustine's quotations from the Book of Ben Sira have more than once been brought in line with the Greek translation, a thorough investigation into this phenomenon is needed in order to find out whether he had (some) knowledge of the *Greek text* of the Book of Ecclesiasticus.

⁵⁸ Hill, 232.

⁵⁹ Hill, 232.

Apart from *Speculum* in which Augustine for his quotations from the Book of Ben Sira usually follows the Latin, in his other works he rather frequently appears to correct the Latin Ben Sira quotations according to the Greek.⁶⁰ An investigation into this intriguing question would be very useful. Such an in depth inquiry should also take into full consideration whether, and to what extent, St. Augustine has been influenced by a text type of Ecclesiasticus that was already used by St. Cyprian and has even been given its own siglum (K) by Thiele.⁶¹

⁶⁰ See De Bruyne, "Saint Augustin, réviseur de la Bible," 580–581; Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach*, 16–17.

⁶¹ I would like to thank my colleague Prof. Paul van Geest for his comments on an earlier draft of this article and for his valuable suggestions, and Drs Hans van Reisen (Augustine Institute, Eindhoven) for providing me with photocopies and specific bibliographical information.

JAN VAN DEN DRIESSCHE (JOHANNES DRUSIUS) 1550–1616
AND THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW

J. Lionel North

No less than other *Neutestamentler*, those who study the role of the OT in the NT should heed the prophet, “Consider the rock from which you were hewn, the quarry from which you were cut” (Isa 51:1 REB) and Horace’s reminder, *vixere fortes ante Agamemnona | multi* (*Carm.* 4.9.25–6). If we turn to consider the scholarship of the sixteenth century, the primary tasks were being addressed. The biblical *fontes* were being prepared for editions and grammars, in Hebrew (Ximenes, Reuchlin, Münster etc.), Greek (Ximenes, Erasmus, Robertus Stephanus etc.) and Latin (Erasmus, Stephanus, Hentenius, Lucas of Bruges etc.). Of equal importance were the oriental languages which were becoming available; the Genoa Polyglot Psalter (1516) contained the Aramaic targum and Arabic, the Complutensian Polyglot Bible the targum to the Pentateuch and the Antwerp Polyglot Bible all the targumim and the Syriac Peshitta NT, following Widmanstetter (1555). Then the texts passed to the Church and the study, through printing (Froben, Aldus, Stephanus, Plantin etc.), translation into the vernaculars (Luther, Tyndale, Olivetan, Marmochino, de Reina etc.), preaching and commentary (Erasmus, Luther, Cajetan, Calvin, Beza etc.).

Another “help for the reader” was the *index testimoniorum* which Stephanus inserted into a 1528-Vulgate; it is a list of quotations from the OT in OT→NT order. In his famous third edition of the Greek NT (*Regia*, Paris, 1550), he printed out this list in Greek, a six-page πίναξ μαρτυριῶν, c. 240 quotations where there was coincidence of λέξεις, to which he added a new three-page πίναξ of c. 120 allusions where the coincidence was of διάνοια.¹ Since elsewhere in the *Regia* Stephanus used “Euthalian matter” (on Acts and for the numbers of στίχοι), he may have developed his lists from data derived from Euthalian list-like matter found in one or other of the MSS he had collated for its *apparatus criticus*, e.g. 5, 6, 38, 82.²

¹ The titles of the lists can be found in Greek in T.H. Darlow and H.F. Moule, eds., *The Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (4 vols.; London: BFBS, 1903–1911) 3:587–588.

² For the Euthalian lists cf. *PG* 85.640–645; 668–676; 716–745, discussed by N.A. Dahl, “The ‘Euthalian Apparatus’ and the Affiliated ‘Argumenta’,” *Studies in Ephesians* (WUNT

This then was the century in which Drusius was born, in Oudenaarde in Flanders in 1550; as we proceed we shall compare him with Franciscus Junius who was born in Bourges in central France in 1545. In 1567 Drusius joined his father who had sought asylum in England from persecution. Like many Dutch exiles Johannes attended the University of Cambridge where he learned his Semitics and then was appointed Professor of Oriental languages at the University of Oxford.³ After nine years in England he was able to return to the Netherlands; following eight years in Leiden he taught very successfully for over thirty years at the newly-founded University of Franeker as Professor of Hebrew, becoming one of the greatest and most prolific⁴ Hebraists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nationality was and is less important to citizens of the Republic of Letters, but, since Drusius spent the second half of his life in Friesland, it is possible he counted himself a North-Niederlander. In honour of another North-Niederlander who 400 years later has made himself a master in the

131; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000) 231–275, esp. 248–250: [the lists] “must be a product of very solid work.”

³ He proceeded BA in 1572 and MA in 1573 at Merton College Oxford where he taught until 1576; cf. J. Foster (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses* (4 vols.; Oxford: Parker, 1891) 1.426; J. Venn and J.A. Venn, eds., *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (10 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922–1954) 2.67 (s.v. Drisius). For his later work and influence in Oxford see T.H. Aston (ed. et al.), *The History of the University of Oxford* (8 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984–1994), indexes to vols. 3–4, s.v. Drusius. For his milieu see H.J. de Jonge, “The Study of the NT,” *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century: an Exchange of Learning* (ed. Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes; Leiden: Brill, 1975) 65–110; *id.*, “The Study of the NT in the Dutch Universities, 1575–1700,” *History of Universities* 1 (1981) 113–129; C. Berkvens-Stevelinck et al., eds., *Le Magasin de l’Univers: the Dutch Republic as the Centre of the European Book Trade* (Leiden: Brill, 1992) 155–168; D.K. Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice, and Subjectivity* (Berkeley CA etc.: University of California Press, 1994); H. Jaumann, “Bibelkritik und Literaturkritik in der frühen Neuzeit,” *ZRGG* 49 (1997) 123–134; *id.* et al., eds., *Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001) ch. 1; S.G. Burnett, “Christian Aramaism: the Birth and Growth of Aramaic Scholarship in the Sixteenth Century,” *Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients* (ed. R.L. Troxel et al.; Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005) 421–436; P. Korteweg, *De nieuwtestamentische commentaren van Johannes Drusius (1550–1616)* (thesis Leiden; Melissant, 2006).

⁴ Two lists of *Drusiana* are available: J. Pearson et al., eds., *Critici Sacri: sive Doctissimorum Virorum in SS. Biblia Annotationes & Tractatus* (9 vols.; London: Bee etc., 1660; [hereafter *Cr.S.*] 6.37*–48*; J.-N. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas, de la principauté de Liège, et de quelques contrées voisines* (3 vols.; Louvain, 1768–1770) 1.470–476. Drusius was by far the biggest single contributor to *Cr.S.*; his exegesis was included in vols. 1–7 of this huge and hugely prestigious collection, and, along with 12 other monographs, the notes (alone) of PS in 8.1266–1326; see Shuger’s list of these (n. 3, [199–203]). This reception ensured a wide readership. None of Junius’s numerous works appeared there. In the third edition of the *Cr.S.* (Amsterdam: Boom etc., 1698), Drusius’s extensive *Notae maiores* on the Pentateuch and *Annotationes* on the minor prophets, were published for the first time; see Korteweg, *Drusius*, 135–136.

study of the OT in the NT, I propose to examine a small book in which a fellow-countryman blazed the trail.

From 1528 to the 1580s Stephanus's *ad verbum* (λέξεις) list had been frequently copied, often by Hentenius and then Plantin into many Louvain-editions of the Vulgate.⁵ Perhaps it was one such list that suggested to Drusius and Junius the next task, to answer the accusation of textual *varietas* by reconciling the two forms of the same text found separately in the two Testaments, but in Stephanus's list presented alongside each other without comment. They published their parallels with comment within a few weeks of each other early in 1588. Drusius published in quarto TA'. 'IEPA' ΠΑΡΑ' ΑΛΗΛΑ. | PARALLELA | SACRA, | *Hoc est, Locorum veteris Testamenti cum ijs, quae in | novo citantur, coniuncta commemoratio, | Ebraicè & Graecè. | I. DRUSIUS transscripsit: convertit in Latinum: & | notas adiecit* (Franeker: Radæus; [hereafter PS]). He was one of the first to attempt this task but not the very first: *neque diffiteor adiutum me fuisse aliorum interpretum laboribus* (PS 5); PS 124 is more specific: *magni gravesque viri in conciliandis hisce testimoniis ante me laborarunt . . . praeter me alii nunc in manibus habent*. His purpose was similar to Junius's—*Facit praeterea non parum ad sacrorum librorum auctoritatem, si quis ostendat nihil in iis contineri quod contrariam et repugnantem habeat sententiam*—but he still had something of his own to offer: *audeo affirmare neminem antea, ita ut ego nunc facio, ex professo hoc argumentum tractasse*. Junius published *Sacrorum Parallelorum Libri Tres* simultaneously in Heidelberg and London, though the latter is called a second edition, and in 1591 in London again, when it is called a third edition. It is three times longer than PS: its 374 pages are crowded into a minutely-printed quarto.⁶

⁵ The popularity of the *ad verbum* list continued for over 300 years after 1588 and, in various forms, to the present day. It was copied into Sixto-Clementine Vulgates from 1593, into Pierre Sabatier (1749), C. Vercellone (1861) and M. Hetzenhauer (1906); the Elzeviers copied it into their editions of the NT from 1624 onwards (thence into the Paris Polyglot [1628]); D. Heinsius copied a Greek form into the preface of his *Sacrarum Exercitationum ad NT Libri XX* (Leiden: Elzevier, 1639); B.F. Westcott—F.J.A. Hort, *The NT in the Original Greek* (2 vols.; Cambridge/London: Macmillan, 1881) 2.174–188 (separate pagination) have the NT→OT order; Nestle-Aland (28th ed.; 2012) 836–878 the OT→NT order; H.B. Swete, *An Introduction to the OT in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900) 381–405, and UBS (4th ed., 1993) 887–890 have both orders.

⁶ Both books may owe their titles to the Latin *editio princeps* of the works of John of Damascus which includes his *Sacra Parallela* (Paris, 1577, 1–243). At *Cr.S.*, 6.28 Drusius quotes John on Matt 1:21 from a Greek edition of his *Expositio Orthodoxae Fidei* (PG 94.985A) of which four editions appeared between 1531 and 1575. For a biography of Junius see L. Lupton in *A History of the Geneva Bible* (25 vols.; London: Olive Tree, 1966–1994) 7.67–181; an image of the title page of his first edition is printed on 115. D. Judisch, *A Translation and Edition of the Sacrorum Parallelorum Liber Primus of Franciscus Junius: a Study in Sixteenth*

I

Drusius begins by quoting Augustine:⁷

We must note [here] something that seems quite indispensable in view of the narratives of the evangelists, [*i.e.*] how, when what has been said is narrated to have been said, it is not repeated in exactly the same way, because the verbal difference does not lead to any loss of the truth's meaning. For what they [the brothers] said had been said to them by Joseph, *and trade in the land*, is not found in what he [Joseph] had [earlier] said [Gen 42:19–20; 34]. Yet there was no wish to lie in uttering what they recognised his intention to have been, based as it was on the words he had uttered. For words are necessary only to express what was intended and, to the best of our ability, to bring it to the notice of the hearers.

Augustine's name validated the attempt to show that NT quotations only bring out what OT narratives could have said but did not; perhaps this anticipates his dictum sixty pages further on, *in vetere novum lateat, et in novo vetus pateat* (*Loc.* 2.73, *PL* 34.623).

Two short prefaces follow. In the first he expresses to Kempo van Donia the rather fulsome gratitude owed to his Rector and patron (PS 3–4); Drusius also mentioned PS in a letter to him dated 12th April 1588: *misimus ad te Parallela nostra, quae ut benevolo habeas, etiam atque etiam rogamus*.⁸ The second preface begins *Damus nunc libellum, Lector, forma*

Century Hermeneutics (an unpublished St Andrews PhD thesis, 1979), has been misled by the wrong date he gives to PS ("1591") into overlooking comparisons and contrasts with what is the earlier work. Junius's notes on Matt 27:9 and Acts 7:43 are on 69–71; 116–118 of his third edition. The latter note begins with a comment that shows the orientation of the book as a whole, pastoral, pugnaciously Calvinist with a considerable role given to Satan. It repeats from the preface a word coined to draw attention to what he must have thought was *his own* new method: *hi duo loci [sc. Amos//Acts] quam bene inter se convenient, etsi non obscure demonstrat nostra haec παραλληλῶγραμμος comparatio, tamen quia in verbis aliquid varietatis est, quod imperitiores forte abripere in dubitationem possit, quicquid varietatis est paucis in hoc explicabimus.*

⁷ *Locutiones in Heptateuchum* 1.172 (*PL* 34.498–499 = *CSEL* 28/1.533 = *CC* 33.398). Throughout I have translated as literally and clearly as the dense style of the commentary genre allows, retained the Hebrew and Greek scripts where Drusius has used them and his transliterations of these into Roman script, sometimes into Roman capitals and italics. Abbreviations and ligatures have been expanded. His marginalia are added within [" "]; they do not always agree with the main text! Also within [] I have amplified what I have taken his Latin to require in English. Within [[]] I have supplied other necessary information and provided definitions of technical terms that he could take for granted and precise references in well-known *corpora* for his *patristica*, but these do not always coincide with *e.g.* *PG*. *Interpres* can mean both "interpreter" and "translator".

⁸ See M.H.H. Engels, *Johannes Drusius sr.:70 brieven 1588–1590* (Tresoar [formerly. Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland], handschrift 729 Hs, 2008, letter 7) (available on-line).

quidem novum, sed argumento perveterem (PS 5). Drusius may mean that, over against Stephanus who had listed the Latin and Greek texts in OT→NT order, this is the first time that they had been presented in a variety of the NT→OT order, but that the format, columnar and *Ebraicè & Graecè*, goes back as far as Origen's *Hexapla*. There may also be a reference to Origen's advice for resolving apparent contradictions in the Gospels: *σὺ δὲ παραθεῖς τὰ εὐαγγέλια ἀλλήλοις . . . καὶ συγκρίνων* (*Comm. in Matt.* 16.8, PG 13.1389B) and/or to the ancient 'Euthalian matter'. The parallels are set out in four columns across two facing pages; on the left-hand page there is the Hebrew assumed to be quoted in the Greek in the fourth column, then its translation into Latin; on the right-hand page a Latin translation of the Greek and finally the Greek itself, producing an *abbc* pattern. This format had been followed in his first book, *In Psalmos Davidis Veterum Interpretum quae exstant Fragmenta* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1581). Junius's two-column format used only Latin translations (*bb*). Then follow 13 *canones* (PS 6–7), brief statements of conclusions to which his pioneering investigation had led him. Junius has nothing like these.

1. In citing the testimonies of Scripture [[Jerome's and Stephanus's word for "quotations"]] the apostles and evangelists look to the sense, they do not take account of the words (of course they were not worried about them [the words] to the degree that they ought not to have existed), since the truth of the matter consists not in the words but in the sense.
2. Sometimes they quote the Hebrew truth, sometimes the Greek LXX; in this they also translated Hebrew [words] quite carelessly. The reason for this is easy to believe: at that time this edition was circulating through every hand, had been commonly read in the synagogues and accepted through [common] use.
3. They omit certain [words] unnecessary for the sense, like Matt 3:3, *make straight his paths; in the wilderness* is missing: it is less necessary because in the same verse its synonym occurs, *in the desert*.
4. As interpreters they sometimes add certain [words] of their own to illustrate the sense, as for example the word *μάτην* (Matt 15:9) in the testimony *in vain they worship me, teaching as doctrines the commandments of men*. So Matt 22:24. See also Acts 2:19 and 7:42.
5. *διὰ ἱερεμίου προφήτου* appears to be a slip of memory in Augustine and Eusebius at Matt 27:9, for we should read *διὰ ζαχαρίου προφήτου* because the testimony which follows has been taken from Zech 11:13, but it is more likely that it proceeds from the hand of a copyist. See my notes on that passage.

6. I would think Acts 7:43 where ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος is commonly read is a fault of the scribe, since when quoting this passage Justin [[*Dial. Tr.* 22.2; *PG* 6.521C = *PTS* 47.104–105]] does not have Βαβυλῶνος but ἐπέκεινα δαμασκοῦ, as is certainly read in both Hebrew codices and in the LXX of Amos 5:25. But consult the notes.
7. In quoting prophetic testimonies sometimes they keep an eye on the fulfilment of the prophecy, whose meaning they faithfully express; they do not stick to the words, like Matt 27:9.
8. With them ἐναλλαγὰί [[substitutions]] of persons and numbers are frequent, like Matt 13:15; Mark 14:27; Acts 7:26 and 32, again Matt 3:7 and elsewhere.
9. They use periphrasis at Matt 2:6 *a leader who will feed my people Israel* and tmesis at 4:15 *in the region and shadow of death* and abbreviation of speech at Luke 4:4, *on all the word of God*.
10. Sometimes they mix different passages and conflate [them] into one. You have an example of this mixture in the third chapter of Romans [[3:10–18]]. So [at] Rom 9:33 the testimony has been combined from two passages of Isaiah and conflated.
11. I could believe that Acts 2:18 καὶ προφητεῦσουσι and Mark 12:30 ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου (and frequently elsewhere) are the copyists' scholion or gloss [[intruded]] from the margin.
12. They rarely explain Hebraisms; quite frequently they keep them. [[But]] they do explain Matt 11:10; John 8:17 and 19:36 and in the epistle to the Romans 10:4. Also Acts 7:28 and at that testimony *Abraham believed God and it was imputed to him for righteousness* [[Rom 4:3]]. They keep them in the first letter to the Corinthians 6:16 and elsewhere here and there.
13. There is a transposition of words at Acts 7:42 and of clauses at Acts 2:17. I am not unaware that more rules can be enunciated but I thought these few quite sufficient to achieve what I wanted. For I did not plan to speak fully about these matters nor did I think that, if I did not do that, what I had done would be useless. So we wanted to recall here the main points. We will relate the rest in the notes or at another time, but for now this is the point we should realise, that what of necessity follows [logically?] from sacred literature is also part of it (*ea sacris litteris quoque contineri, quae ex iis necessario consequuntur*). Now let us pass on to the parallels themselves.

PS 8–77 record *c.* 247 quotations in the new NT→OT order, but disproportionately so, since while one fifth of them are from Matt, no parallels from nor notes on Philippians-Philemon, 2 Peter, 1–3 John and the Apocalypse

are adduced (15% of the NT!).⁹ Below I suggest reasons for this. These pages are the work of earlier years (*adolescens*, PS 78) to which Drusius has now added PS 79–123, recent work containing the comments on some of these parallels, along with others on the Latin in the second column. PS [125–127] contain a list of c. 70 authors and other sources he had used and a poem in his honour dated 16th March 1588. Junius treated parallel and note together; he too did not annotate the Apocalypse.

To give a taste of Drusius's notes I translate and annotate the two which he himself bids the reader consult in canons 5 and 6. Having suggested in canon 5 (PS 6) that Matt 27:9 contained a scribal error and that it was not Augustine's and Eusebius's memory that was at fault, and having laid out the evidence for the verse (PS 20–21), his note on vv. 9–10 runs (PS 96–97):

καὶ ἔλαβον] Here are the words in Matthew διὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου, which are an obvious mistake. For it is clear that this testimony is nowhere extant in Jeremiah. But the interpreters, whom I have followed, derive it from Zechariah. So did memory deceive the evangelist when he was writing this? This is the opinion of some, [but] it does not enter their heads either to back it up with proofs or to rebut it. There is a similar mistake in Justin's second [*sic*] *Apologia*, where the name Sophoniah is read, instead of Zechariah [[1.35.10; PG 6.384C = SC 507.224]]. Also in Tertullian's book *Adv.Jud.* [[13.23; PL 2.636–637 = CC 2.1389]], the name of Isaiah occupied the place of Hosea [margin: "Justin has been corrected, and Tertullian similarly" [[*i.e.* in other editions Drusius had examined?]]]. But perhaps someone will put the blame on the copyists and will write anew [[*i.e.* restore?]] διὰ Ζαχαρίου τοῦ προφήτου. I do not disapprove of this that, as Theodorus [[*sc.* Beza, in his 1565 edition onwards]] notes, the error arose from the abbreviation[s] ζοῦ and ιοῦ. This is confirmed by the authority of Eusebius who in book ten of the *Demonstratio Evangelica* said, ἔνθα καὶ ἐπιστήσεις, ἐπεὶ μὴ ταῦτα φέρεται ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἱερεμίου προφητεία, εἴτε χρὴ ὑπονοεῖν περιηρησθαι αὐτὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς κατὰ τινὰ ῥαδιουργίαν, ἢ καὶ σφάλμα γραφικὸν γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν ἀμελέστερον τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν εὐαγγελίων ἀντίγραφα πεποιμημένων σφαλέντος τινός, καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Ζαχαρίου Ἱερεμίαν τεθεικότος, ὡς δέον οὕτως ἀναγεγράφθαι, τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ζαχαρίου τοῦ προφήτου [[PG 22.745BC = GCS 23(6).463]]. So much for Eusebius. But one should know that only *what was said through the Prophet* is read in the Syriac interpreter of Matthew. Also, according to Erasmus, what they call the *Glossa Ordinaria* [[*cf.* PL 114.173]] also mentions that Jeremiah's name is not found in some Latin codices but only *through the Prophet*. But if it is certain that Matthew wrote in Hebrew, I might say something else which no predecessor has said. For *through the Prophet*, that

⁹ Along with Acts the examples quoted in the canons (Matt 2:6; 3:3; 3:7; 11:10; 13:15; 15:9; 22:24; 27:9; Mark 12:30; 14:27; Luke 4:4; John 8:17; 19:36; Acts 2:17, 18, 19; 7:26; 7:28; 7:32; 7:42; 7:43; Rom 3:10–18; 4:3; 9:33; 10:4; 1 Cor 6:16) again show his preference for Matthew.

is, בִּיד הַנְּבִיא, if the Daleth is altered into a Res (which is easily done and is not infrequent because of their similarity), there emerges בִּיר which with the sign of abbreviation means διὰ Ἰερεμίου or *in Jeremiah*. But this is [only] a suggestion, I do not pontificate. Believe or disbelieve as you wish. [margin: “To read Res for Daleth is a mistake of the Greek translator, as often in the LXX and sometimes in Jerome”.]

[The words] ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ render ‘him who was valued by [[a]] the sons of Israel’. *Him whom they valued* for ‘him who was valued’ is quite a novelty and I do not know whether [it is] accurate. What if [[we read]] *him whom they valued from* [[e]] *the sons of Israel*, so as to mean ‘him whom part of the sons of Israel’, or, ‘some of the sons of Israel’, or the sense is, *from the sons of Israel* who are the chief among the sons of Israel? For τὸ *ex* sometimes signifies ἐξαιρετόν τι [[something choice/special]], like *Pharisee from (e) the Pharisees* [[cf. Acts 23:6; Phil 3:5]]. Similarly, from *Cant* [[1:1]] we have *from kisses* [[*ex osculis*=choice/special kisses]]. See my *Observationes*.¹⁰

εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως] I would not dare to agree [that there is] a fault in this passage but Eusebius would. His words on this are clear in the book I have just quoted, ἀντι δὲ τοῦ, ἐνέβαλον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον Κυρίου, εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον ἐσφαλμένως πεποιηκότος (it is a scribe he is talking about) καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως. σαφῶς γὰρ διὰ μὲν τῆς προφητείας εἰς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου ναὸν ἐρρίφθαι λέγεται τὸ ἀργύριον. καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου εἰς τὸν ναόν. ῥίψας γούν, φησίν, Ἰουδαὶς τὰ ἀργύρια εἰς τὸν ναόν, ἀνεχώρησε. However I do not agree with Eusebius. For what is to stop the same coins being both thrown into the Temple and [then] being given, that is, weighed out to buy the potter’s field?

Zech 11:12

Appenderunt LXX [reads] ἔστησαν, so does Aquila. ἔστησαν, they weighed, [resembles] Matt 26:15. Symmachus [reads] ἐστάθμισαν. Likewise I agree. *Argenteos* I supply ‘coins’. Matthew’s 26:15 where generally [[we have]] τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, in Eusebius is, τριάκοντα στατήρας. If this is really the case, now we know at what price Christ was sold. For a στατήρ is a well-known coin.

The second text Acts 7:43 allows Drusius to air his antiquarian interests. Having presented the parallels with Amos 5:25–27 (PS 38–39) and said in canon 6 that there was another scribal error here (PS 6), he goes on (PS 104–106):

¹⁰ Untraced but see *Cr.S.*, 6.827; 8.1253 (§ 12).

τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολόχ] [margin: “the Syriac edition has Malchum, which is the same, as what follows will teach you.”] SUCCHATH MOLECH written without points סוכח. SUCCHA is a tent. Hence is סוכח הג (tent) the σκηνοπηγία of the Jews? There is a festival of that name. A Hebrew MS bids me hesitate for in it [we read] MALCHECHEM, of your king. So where does τοῦ Μολόχ [come] from? There is an easy reply. Unpointed מלך indiscriminately [means] both king and Moloch. I do not know whether it has ever been written [[in LXX Amos?]] τοῦ Μολόχ ὑμῶν. For that is how Jerome refers to it: *Moloch vestro*, with the addition of a word [[*vestro*]] which could be repeated from what follows, on the ἀπο κοινοῦ principle [[that words can be repeated. Junius also uses this rhetorical principle to explain the omission; cf. Augustine above]]. In the compilations of Theophylact,¹¹ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολόχ. τουτέστι τοῦ βασιλέως ὑμῶν might corroborate my conjecture if it were [written] τοῦ βασιλέως ὑμῶν. As matters stand, there is a difference of punctuation in the manuscripts, which means I dare not affirm anything. Another old interpretation is also plausible, *Moloch, your king*; in a book of Hebrew names [we read] *Moloch, your king, whom they are also accustomed to call Melchom*.¹² With great respect, Jerome, Moloch does not mean *your king*, unless perhaps you mean this, Μολόχ ὑμῶν, *your king*. And I believe you have considered that.

Μολόχ] Philo’s *glossarius* [[*Onomasticon?*]] [says], *Moloch, king* [[CC 72.116; 127]]. True, but one should note, since it is taken as a common noun (*appellative*), that Hebrews write MELECH not MOLOCH. Melchom is also found, that is מלכמ, as though ‘their king’. The Greek scholia have τοῦ Μολόχ ἦτοι Μολχόμ, τουτέστι βασιλέως αὐτῶν. ἐκδεδώκασι γὰρ οὕτως Ακύλας καὶ Θεοδοτίων. I would read Μελχόμ or, if you like, Μελχώμ, τουτέστι βασιλέως αὐτῶν. Beware of thinking that [the scholia are] interpreting τοῦ Μολόχ or this passage. Nothing is less credible. On this basis you will [be able to] emend Theophylact. In the Cologne edition [we read] καὶ ἐρμηνεύεται μὲν τὸ Μολόχ, βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν. A word has fallen out, so that it is Μολόχ ἦτοι Μελξώμ. What follows confirms this; ἐκδεδώκασι γὰρ οὕτως Ακύλας καὶ Θεοδόσιος (where I prefer Θεοδοτίων to be read, that is Theodotio. For that is how that interpreter is everywhere named, never Theodosios, if my memory serves me). About this

¹¹ The Hungarian humanist Johannes Sambucus (János Zsámboki, 1531–1584) sent a manuscript of Theophylact’s commentary on Acts to a publisher in Cologne. Almost illegible and corrupt, a Greek edition was nonetheless published in 1567, dedicated to Sambucus. The references to Theophylact at 7:43 are to this edition (77–79 = PG 125.620D–621AB [cf. 916ABC; 1080BC]); one reference mentions the Cologne edition, another Sambucus himself. Theophylact is indebted to Chrysostom on Acts 7:42–43 (PG 60.135–137) and Cyril of Alexandria on Amos 5:25–27 (PG 71.508D–512C). On Zsámboki see J.-F. Maillard (ed. *et al.*), *L’Europe des humanistes (XIV^e–XVII^e siècles)* ([Paris]: CNRS; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995) 436.

¹² This book must be a version of Jerome’s *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* which is a translation of the lost Ἑβραϊκῶν ὀνομάτων αἱ ἐρμηνεῖαι; this onomasticon was accessible to Drusius in a Latin edition of five texts attributed to Philo (Basel: Petri, [1527], 111). This attribution explains *Glossarius Philonis* in the next two notes.

Melchom [margin: “βασιλέως αὐτῶν, that is, Melchom”] that passage [[cf. 1 Kings 11:5]] should be taken into account, καὶ ἐπορεύθη ὀπίσω τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν εἰδῶλου ὑμῶν Αμμῶν. For he was the divinity of the Ammonites. Theodoret, *Quaest. 70* [sic; 71] in *Genesim* [[PG 80.180B]] τῷ δὲ Μιλχῶμ (so we must read; the ordinary reading wrongly is μελχῶ) ἐδούλευον Αμμανίται. And Theophylact is wrong [when we read] σκηνοποιησάμενοι ἔστησαν εἰδῶλον, καὶ κεκηλήκασιν Μολόχ. εἰδῶλον δὲ τοῦτο Μοαβιτῶν. For the divinity of the Moabites was called Chamos. That is clear from 2 Kings 23:13 to which passage I bid you go. There follows in Theophylact (or rather Chrysostom?) εἰδῶλον δὲ τοῦτο Μοαβιτῶν, λίθον ἔχον διαφανῆ ἐπὶ μετόποις [sic] ἄκροις εἰς ἐωσφοροῦ τύπον. This also read in Oecumenius's compilations [[PG 118.148BC]], except for ἐπὶ μετόποις ἄκροις, where there is ἐπὶ μετόπου [sic] ἄκρου. You can translate this into Latin, *But that was the idol of the Moabites, with a transparent jewel in its forehead like Lucifer.*

Ρεμφάν] The manuscripts show a lot of variation with this name and I do not know whether there is more [variation] with any [other name]. The Greek scholia [read] ῥεφφά. I write ῥεφφάν (from which [we get] ῥεμφάν in Vulgate codices. A letter has been removed [m] on account of being inserted by epenthesis [=the insertion of a letter]). About that I have spoken elsewhere.). In Justin, *Dial. Tr.*, p. 45 [[22.2; PG 6.521C = PTS 47.104–105]] [there is] ῥαφάν; Sambucus's Theophylact [has] Ρεφφάν [[see PS 126]]. As it is an old one I think this reading is correct, so that I would not think that the others needed to be disclosed which are noted hereafter. However [[Ρεφφάν]] is still very different from Chiun. Let us enquire why. In the absence of points [Chiun] can be read CHEBAN. In the Greek manner of writing that is χεβάν or certainly χηβάν. [If you] change β into φ you have χηφάν—this is the first stage. Then interpreters seem to have read 𐤒𐤓 for 𐤒𐤓, that is Res for Chaph, as they did elsewhere. I do not repeat an example of this corrupt reading noted by me in my commentary on the words of the NT.¹³ Let him who wishes seek it there. This conjecture of mine is confirmed by the name CHEVAN, by which Saturn is denoted. For this is what the Arabs and Persians call him. The author Abraham Hispanus [[=ibn Ezra]] who is called σοφός [says this] and David Camius [[=Kimhi]] affirms the same, in whose commentaries on this passage are these words, 𐤒𐤓 is *the planet Saturn who is called this in Arabic and Persian, that is, 𐤒𐤓*. So what the Greek scholia note is relevant, τίς δὲ μολόχ; τὸ ἄστρον Ρεφφά, ὃ ἐστὶ σκοτισμός, that is, *But who is Moloch? The star Reffa, by which name is signified darkness.* Certainly Moloch is Saturn to whom, as is well known, they used to offer human sacrifices. But what next? *Is Refan, darkness?* Let us use our brains. In Theophylact's

¹³ Over a period of thirty-five years the same difficulties were bound to be re-examined. The Amos passage is discussed also at *Cr.S.*, 4.6521–6522; the Acts passage frequently, at *ibid.*, 7.2206–2208; 8.1518; *Ad voces Hebraicas Novi Testamenti Commentarius* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1582) 43–44; *Annotationum in totum Jesu Christi Testamentum... Libri Decem* (Amsterdam: Janssonius, 1612) 175; *Ad voces Ebraicas Novi Testamenti Commentarius Duplex* (Franeker: Heinsius, 1616) 143.

notes [we read] ῥεφάν, σκοτισμός ἦτοι τύφωλωσις. So is it blindness? Philo's *glossarius* [[*Onomasticon?*]] [reads] *Rephan, your handiwork* (?—*factura*) or *your rest* [[CC 72.123; cf. 148]]. Old glosses [read] *handiwork* (?) or *kings: our kings or our handiwork* (?). Unless I am mistaken, “rest” is 𐤒𐤓𐤁.

ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος] It was noted in canon 6 that ἐπέκεινα Δαμασκού was read in Justin [[*op.cit.*]]. That is true but it does not help us a great deal because I find that it is the LXX that Justin cites there [and] all copies of that without exception prefer Δαμασκού. So what a surprise it is that here [NT] Greek codices, also ancient Syriac and Latin translations, agree on Βαβυλῶνος! Or is it a μνημονικὸν ἀμάρτημα of the evangelist himself? Or, what I suspect is more [likely], has a copyist's hand erred in writing Βαβυλῶνος for Δαμασκού/? But if Luke has written this he has forgotten his history. But one could blame a copyist who thought that it was the Babylonian deportation that was being dealt with here. Theophylact suggests this when he writes τοῦ προφήτου εἰρηκότος, μετοικιῶ, ὑμᾶς ἐπέκεινα Δαμασκού, οὗτος ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος εἶπεν, ἀκολουθήσας τῇ Ἑβραίων ἐκθέσει. But in the same author Babylon is τέρμα τῆς Δαμασκηῶν χώρας, that is, the limit of Damascene [Syria]. The words that follow, φησὶ δὲ ὁ προφήτης, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τῶν Μοαβιτῶν μανίαν ἐπληρώκατε, ἥτις ἐστὶν γείτων Δαμασκού, διὰ τοῦτο πορεύεσθε Δαμασκού ἐπέκεινα, τουτέστι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα are clearly false. First because he says the region of the Moabites borders Damascus. But also it is ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος which is read in the manuscripts which I have seen, not εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. Moreover, Damascus is to the west [*sic; in occasu*] of the nation of Judaea, Babylonia lies more to the east. Nor is Babylonia beyond Damascus, as some think. In addition, the [prophet's] word here is not about the Babylonian μετοικεσία but another, as I shall show. The result is that it was he who was the first to change the true reading (if indeed someone has changed it) who cannot be freed of the charge of ignorance rather than Luke who said ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος in an unfamiliar way (ξενικῶς), in a proverbial manner of speech for “far beyond your boundaries”. For my part I am not sure that Hebrew words should be understood in the same way. See what follows.

Amos 5:25–27

Admovistis mihi] belongs to the vocabulary of religion. Suetonius and Tacitus used it [margin: “Suetonius, *Caligula* [[32], Tacitus in *Annals* 2 [[.69]]”]. But it is an abbreviation for *admovistis ad aram*. The old edition [[= the Vulgate]] has *obtulistis*, הַקְרַבְתֶּם. *In deserto*] is missing in interpreters of the prophet. It must be added from Justin [[*op. cit.*]] where *quadraginta annis* is also missing, but that is wrong.

Sicchuth regem vestrum] Sicchuth your God, to which you attached the word ‘king’, just like pagans. But what is Sicchuth? Is there an idol with that name? Or has Sicchuth been used for Succhath? That is the view of the LXX. Nor is that [former] interpretation more certain than this, since Jerome also has it and it is still not clear that it is derived from a Hebrew word. It could be translated *image of your king*, that is, μολόχ, as edited by the LXX [margin: “your king is a periphrasis for τὸ Moloch”]. SICCHUTH, likeness,

image, παρά τὸ ἡכח which for Hebrews is חכ. See the dictionaries; perhaps I am dreaming.

Chiun] τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ραιφάν. So the Aldine Bible nor does the Royal [[Antwerp Polyglot]] differ, unless ῥομφά [is read] there. Irenaeus, book 4 chapter 29 [[sic; 4.15.1, PG 7.1013B = SC 100/2.552]] [has] *Dei Remphan* and banishes the pronoun ὑμῶν from these words and it was missing a little earlier, that is after μολόχ, to be μολόχ ὑμῶν, *moloch vestro*.

Statuam vestram] correct [to] *statuas vestras*, so as to refer to [both] Sic-chuth and Chiun. Greek copies which [are quoted] by Aldus [read] τοὺς τύπους, οὓς ἐποίησατε ἑαυτοῖς. This is what I read, and [it is] in Justin and the Royal Bible which follows the Complutensian copy τοὺς τύπους, οὓς ἐποίησατε ἐν αὐτοῖς. Luke is fuller by one phrase, προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς.

Ultra Damascus] Does he really mean Damascus, or, in a proverbial (παροιμιωδῶς) way [does he mean] *beyond Damascus*, that is, beyond your borders? For the northern boundary of Judaea is Damascus. Just so I agree with Stephen's account. But history has it that in the ninth year of Hosea, the king of the Assyrians seized Samaria and transported the Israelites, that is, the ten tribes, to Assyria and settled them in Hala and Habor near the river Gozan amongst the towns of the Medes. This has been written up in almost as many words in 2 Kings 17:6. Therefore *trans Damascus* [means], to Hala and Habor.

II

But then, out of the blue, Drusius introduced something quite different, explanations which he hopes will excuse his failure to complete his notes. Firstly, he had written PS under pressure; he had already complained about working *in hac rerum omnium perturbatione* (PS 5) and now we have the details (PS 123–124): it is the utterly hopeless state of affairs that faces the infant nation. Perhaps he recalls his family's flight to England 20 years earlier and sees the Duke of Alba, the Spanish "butcher of Flanders," reincarnate in the Duke of Parma and the menace of the Armada. Then he moves from politics to theology. He apologises for the absence of dogma in his notes (contrast Junius); he asks what a philologist like himself who is not a learned theologian can offer in a field in which erudite theologians have already been working during some 1300 years.¹⁴ Finally

¹⁴ Korteweg quotes and translates the passage I have summarised above. In a note Korteweg explains the public *perturbatio* as the political crisis into which the Republic had fallen because the Governor-General Leicester had left to England and the Spanish general Parma menaced the country. (n. 3; 92–94; Korteweg's only other reference to PS is on 80).

he nervously adds that, if rumour is correct, even as he writes capable men were dealing with the same subject as PS (see above), so he must quickly drum up support for *his* book, incomplete though it is. Junius may be in mind: writing on 9th June 1588 to Raphelengius, who had succeeded him in the Hebrew Chair at Leiden, to thank him for distributing copies of PS and to send him 50 more, Drusius admits that he had had limited access to Junius's work but denies any plagiarism: *amavi . . . diligentiam et officium in distribuendis Parallelis meis. . . Parallela Junii nulla ad nos pervenerunt praeter unum exemplar, quo usus sum ad dies aliquot . . . Mitto rursus Paral[lelorum] Exempla[ria] 50 . . . sunt etiam meipsum, et omnia mea* (Engels [n. 8], letter 10).

III

Thirteen canons and two sets of notes cannot do justice to a voluminous scholar like Drusius. But this small selection shows the wide range of his scholarship; he commanded Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Greek; the LXX and the Minor Versions; manuscript and printed materials; the three sources of the NT text (*Greek* texts, the Old Latin, Vulgate and Syriac *versions*, the *Fathers* [Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, Augustine, Theodoret, Oecumenius, Theophylact]). As a humanist would, he made use of palaeography, textual criticism, emendation (see his proposals at Matt 2:6, γῆς for γῆ [PS 80] and Acts 7:43, χηφάν for Ρεμφάν [PS 105, above]); he drew on Jewish and classical texts (Philo, ibn Ezra, Kimḥi, Tacitus, Suetonius, Greek scholiasts and glossaries). His preference was to investigate biblical matters grammatically and philologically; he emphasised that Aramaic made a greater contribution than Hebrew to reconciling differences between the NT form of a quotation and its OT original (PS 97–98, on Matt 27:46).

Drusius's reading list (PS [125–126]) reflects an even wider scholarship, but modesty and caution seem to have led him not engage in polemic with secondary literature. Since however it was central to his thinking that there must be explanations for textual *varietas* other than authorial error (see his note on καὶ ἔλαβον), it is strange that he did not engage with Jerome's remarkable statement apropos Gal 3:16, *hoc autem in omnibus pene testimoniis, quae de veteribus libris in novo assumpta sunt testamento, observare debemus, quod memoriae crediderint evangelistae vel apostoli; et tantum sensu explicato, saepe ordinem commutaverunt, nonnunquam vel detraxerint verba uel addiderint*. Seven years later Jerome quoted a more negative form: since memory is *fallible*, *error* can arise and the meaning

change.¹⁵ Canons 1, 3–4 (above) show how far Drusius agreed with this, but the Christian humanist would always consult the originals.

Sometimes Drusius's philology resembles clever word-games and his choice of weapon, so effective in other battles, did not by itself mean that he was going to be successful in opposing the accusation of *varietas*; nor does he seem to have seen that there were other questions to be asked about the purposes quotations served. He admitted that his notes could be *uberiores* (PS 123) and *luculentiora* (PS 124), nor do I always understand him; cf. Shuger (n. 3; 25), "It is not quite clear what Drusius is getting at here [on Jn 1:1, *Cr.S.*, 6.1551], the note is methodologically confusing." However she rightly goes on, "its choice of quotations points to a crucial reorientation of exegesis from patristics to" what she calls "orientalism," to what Miller has recently called "The Antiquarianization of Biblical Scholarship" (*JHI* 62, 2001, 464–482).

I find no reference to PS in the correspondence of Drusius's great contemporary and friend Isaac Casaubon. On 17 December 1588, Claude Dupuy (Paris) promised to send a copy of PS to Joseph Scaliger, then still in Abain (France).¹⁶ But there is no copy of PS in the auction catalogue of Scaliger's library (Leiden, 1609). The work is not mentioned in Hugo Grotius's *Opera Omnia Theologica* (1679). But one scholar is known to have possessed a copy. In 1631–1632 Johannes Cordesius, canon of Limoges, pressed his friend Grotius to find one for him. Hugo passed the request on to his brother Willem. Later Hugo had to apologise that they had failed. Its usefulness may have made PS something of a rarity but Naudé's catalogue of the canon's famous library which contained over 7000 volumes shows that eventually Cordesius was successful (17–18).¹⁷ The growing appreciation of PS and of Drusius's work in general was shown by their

¹⁵ *Hoc autem* is found in *Comm. in Gal.* 1.3 (*PL* 26.353–4[378CD]), written c. 386, following Origen. The parallel form, *Comm. in Mich.* 2.5.2 (*CC* 76.481–2), apropos Matt 2:6, written c. 393, *hoc autem in omnibus pene testimoniis, quae de veteribus libris in novo assumpta sunt testamento, observare debemus, quod memoriae crediderint evangelistae vel apostoli; et tantum sensu explicato, saepe ordinem commutaverunt, nonnunquam vel detraxerint verba vel addiderint*; cf. *id.*, *Comm. in Matt.* 4.27.10 (*CC* 77.264–5).

¹⁶ J. de Reves, ed., *Epistres françoises des personnages illustres et doctes à Joseph de la Scala* (Harderwijk: the widow of Thomas Henry, 1624) 311. For Scaliger's auction catalogue, see H.J. de Jonge, ed., *The Auction Catalogue of the Library of J.J. Scaliger* (Utrecht: H&S, 1977).

¹⁷ See P.C. Molhuysen et al., eds., *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius* (17 vols.; 's-Gravenhage: Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, 1928–2001) 4.1575; 1662; 1669; 5.1750; 1759; G. Naudé, *Bibliothecae Cordesiana Catalogus: cum indice titulorum* (Paris: Vitray, 1643).

incorporation in *Cr.S.* (see n. 4) and M. Po(o)le's multi-volume *Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturæ Interpretum*¹⁸ and by the high praise paid him by Richard Simon, the French biblical critic: "*le plus Sçavant et le plus judicieux de tous les Critiques qui sont dans ce Recueil [Cr.S.]*."¹⁹

¹⁸ 5 vols.; London: Flesher, 1669–76; cf. vol. 4/1 (1674), coll. 660–665; 1453–1455.

¹⁹ R. Simon, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* ([1678]; Rotterdam: Leers, 1685, bk. 3 ch. 15, 443 = ET [1682] 108).

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